Guzmán de Silva and Elizabeth I: A diplomacy of emotion

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ABSTRACT

The Spanish resident ambassadors at the Court of Elizabeth I are pivotal within the scope of Renaissance diplomacy to understanding the Anglo-Spanish relationships during the second half of the sixteenth century. Out of all of Philip II's ambassadors, Don Diego Guzmán de Silva stands out for his particular connection to the queen. This association is arguably a consequence of a mixture of emotions and diplomatic skill, known as diplomatic emotionology. This innovative approach to the study of diplomacy opens up an array of opportunities for Renaissance studies by focusing on the subject and their agency.

KEYWORDS: Anglo-Spanish relations; diplomatic emotionology; history of emotions; Renaissance diplomatic relations; early modern.

Guzmán de Silva e Isabel I: una diplomacia de emociones

RESUMEN: Los embajadores residentes españoles en la corte de Isabel I de Inglaterra son clave, dentro del marco de la diplomacia renacentista, para entender las relaciones anglo-españolas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI. De todos los embajadores de Felipe II, Don Diego Guzmán de Silva destaca por su particular relación con la reina. Esta relación es, sin lugar a dudas, una consecuencia de la mezcla entre emociones y habilidades diplomáticas conocida como emocionología diplomática. Esta innovadora aproximación al estudio de la diplomacia abre una nueva rama de oportunidades para los estudios renacentistas al poner el foco en el sujeto y su agencia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: relaciones anglo-españolas; emocionología diplomática; historia de las emociones; relaciones diplomáticas renacentistas; edad moderna.

Guzmán de Silva e Isabel I: Uma diplomacia da emoção*

RESUMO: Os embaixadores espanhóis residentes na corte de Isabel I de Inglaterra são figuras-chave no âmbito da diplomacia renascentista para compreender as relações anglo-espanholas na segunda metade do século XVI. Entre todos os embaixadores de Filipe II, Don Diego Guzmán de Silva destaca-se pela sua relação particular com a rainha. Esta associação é possivelmente uma consequência de uma mistura de emoções com perícia diplomática, conhecida como emocionologia diplomática. Esta abordagem inovadora ao estudo da diplomacia abre um leque de oportunidades para os estudos do Renascimento, ao centrar-se no sujeito e na sua agência.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: relações anglo-espanholas; emocionologia diplomática; história das emoções; relações diplomáticas renascentistas; Idade Moderna.

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Anglo-Spanish relations in the second half of the sixteenth century revolved to a large extent around the image of the Spanish diplomats at the court of Elizabeth I and their use of diplomacy. Philip II's interests in England were piqued during his time married to Mary Tudor and, from that point onwards, those same interests were placed on the hands of his trusted ambassadors—beginning with Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, Count of Feria at the time and who would later be the first Duke of Feria—who looked to further their king's commands and take advantage of the young and seemingly unknowledgeable queen. Renaissance diplomacy was used by rulers all over Europe looking to craft relations with other monarchs. It was the means to avoid or start war, thus an extremely necessary skill to possess. After her accession to the English throne in 1558, Elizabeth I was watched by five resident ambassadors from the Spanish crown, until the last one was expelled in 1584.[1] These ambassadors had a precious task on their hands: they were to deal with the queen in all matters concerning their king and his dominions, further his interests, and sway her to their king's side. As Mattingly puts it in simple terms, the ambassador's office was one of good; to serve their government as best they could, seeking its preservation and aggrandizement, but above all to aim for peace (1955, 49; 109).

Such was the task placed upon Guzmán de Silva's shoulders in 1564 when he was chosen to become the Spanish resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I. Despite the intrinsic difficulty of the task, it was worsened by the dealings of his predecessor, Álvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila. Quadra was found dead at his house of Durham Place in 1563 from the plague. His residency from 1559 to 1563 was an eventful one, filled with marriage dealings and, above all, religious concerns. As a zealous Catholic, Quadra had a hatred for Protestants and their representatives on the queen's side, creating the perfect set of conditions for him to try and further Catholic plots and schemes to bring England back to the old faith. The state

[1] Philip II counted on five people to be his resident ambassadors: the aforementioned Count of Feria, Álvaro de la Quadra, Guzmán de Silva, Guerau de Spes, and Bernardino de Mendoza. An Italian merchant, Antonio de Guaras, also served as Philip's unofficial ambassador. The first five figures were invested with official ambassadorial status by their monarch, however, Antonio de Guaras fulfilled the same mission *de facto* but he was never recognized *de jure*. This resulted in his imprisonment in 1577, after his correspondence with Don Juan was deciphered (Ochoa Brun 2003, 173).

of affairs after Quadra's death was gloomy before the arrival of his substitute, since, among other things, Quadra's home was raided, and many Catholics were captured for hearing Mass in the embassy, not to mention that an Italian captain was helped to escape through Durham Place by the ambassador and his household after having shot an English authority.[2] For most of Philip's ambassadors the need to support Catholic interests was of course second nature. Clearly, their religious bigotry, together with Philip's incessant requests to help Catholicism in England, made of their religion a kind of cloak with which to brand themselves servants of the true faith.[3] Quadra may have been influenced by his religious background as a bishop or he might have just been blinded by his obsession with what he thought were heretics breaking with the Holy Church of Rome, but what matters is that he was not able to further a diplomacy in which, as mentioned before by Mattingly, peace was the biggest concern. William MacCaffrey summarizes this in the following lines:

> De Quadra, unable to restrain his feelings, had come to confuse his role as the King of Spain's representative with another one, that of champion and defender of the true faith oppressed. The consequent loss of perspective and judgment on diplomatic matters had made him a worse than useless, indeed, a dangerous servant to his master's interests. (1968, 275–276)

Notwithstanding all these pre-existing obstacles in Silva's way, he went on to have the most efficient and prosperous English embassy during the reign of Philip II. Ambassadors were supposed to successfully accomplish their diplomatic mission relying on their intuition and common sense, as these were the only diplomatic tools at their disposal: "for the most part he had to rely on his own wits and industry to collect intelligence, and his own judgment to evaluate it" (Mattingly 1955, 114). Silva was, like the rest of his fellow ambassadors, a knowledgeable Renaissance man with enough

[2] These events are narrated by the ambassador in his correspondence with Philip II (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 407–410; 440; 448–466).

[3] Ochoa Brun, in his study of Philip's diplomacy, rightly says that the king's ambassadors took Catholicism as the most important matter of their embassies and took helping suffering Catholics on the island as their most pressing concern in their diplomatic dealings, making them in most cases biased, weighing religion over diplomacy (Ochoa Brun 2003, 32). On the other hand, in his study about John Man, Bell explains that the general image of English Protestants in Spain was one of hatred for religion (1976, 77).

resources to undertake his mission, yet it seems the accomplishment of the mission was harder for his peers. He is worth studying for notions of agency and subjectivity, since his own decision-making and reason were the keys to his success.[4] He knew, despite being a bishop like his predecessor, what his mission was and that he was accountable to his lord on Earth and not the Lord in Heaven.[5]

Silva arrived in London on June 18, 1564 with a clear set of instructions from his king. Philip's years as an English ruler had left him with a strong impression that "his personal experience" made him "the world's foremost expert on English affairs" (Parker 2002, 182; 185). Silva had a dual mission. First, he would have to deal with Queen Elizabeth in matters of Flemish commerce for, in Philip's own words: "habeis visto los grandes daños, agravios y robos que los ingleses han hecho y hacen cada día por la mar á vasallos nuestros, así españoles como flamencos" [you will have seen […] the great injury, damage and depredations which the English continue daily to commit on the seas against our subjects both Spanish and Flemish] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 5).[6] He was also to further Catholic interests on the island and try to win the support of Robert Dudley, the favorite of the queen and Master of the Horse. The Elizabethan court revolved around the figure of the queen surrounded by extremely influential courtiers and ministers. In an essay from 1948, John Neale flawlessly explains the importance of these courtiers in order to gain access to Elizabeth I, as well as obtain her approval.[7] Therefore, it only makes

[4] This would be in line with recent studies in the field of New Diplomatic History, where the focus on agents and their impact on bigger diplomatic events have become the norm. Following, for example, Sowerby and Hennings' (2019) recent study, ambassadors have to be studied as individuals with particular needs, interests, and agendas, and not merely as their master's tools (83).

[5] Garrett Mattingly, in his study of Renaissance diplomacy, states that, by the time Silva got his post at the English Court, the number of ecclesiastics as ambassadors were being reduced due to their religious conflicts and their duality of master, king, and God (1955, 216).

[6] Hume also states the same information: "Philip had his hands too full of his own troubles to attempt to rule other countries than his own and his instructions to Don Diego Guzmán are mainly concerned in obtaining for Flemish commerce immunity from attack and for the Catholics resident in England toleration for their religion" (*Calendar* Vol.1i-lxiii). Unless stated otherwise, every translation from the *Documentos inéditos* will come from the official English translation from the archive of British History Online: *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 1, 1558–1567*.

[7] In the studying of Elizabeth's reign and for political dealings, I would also like to call

sense that Silva's missions should start by gaining access to the queen through her favorite. Elizabeth's inner circle is quite complex and varied; its influence is relevant not only for the study of court politics but also for the understanding of individual, face-to-face dealings between members from that circle and foreign representatives. These members—courtiers and ministers alike—were "the wheels that hold the chariot of England upright" and created, together with their Queen, a "theatre of display" necessary and pivotal to understanding "the high politics and culture of her reign" (Doran 2018, 1; 7).

Two days after his arrival in London, Silva was visited by Robert Dudley, who delivered to him the queen's official greeting. He was charged by the ambassador to ask Elizabeth for an audience and was taken to Richmond four days later for their first official audience.[8] Silva was taken by different Lords—among them Robert Dudley's brother—to the Council Chamber and afterwards led by the Chamberlain to the Presence Chamber where he first saw Elizabeth enjoying a musical piece. When the queen saw the ambassador, she turned to him, took three or four steps towards him and embraced him while speaking in Italian (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 14). After exchanging some bureaucratic information, they turned away from the others, and the queen asked Silva about Philip's family and their health. Elizabeth then offered Silva his first taste of the royal sense of humor: "diciendo cuanto deseaba verse con ella [Joana of Austria], porque una viuda tan moza y una doncella harian buena y agradable vida, siendo ella el marido por ser mayor y Su Alteza la mujer" [saying how much she should like to see her, and how well so young a widow and a maiden would get on together, and what a pleasant life they could lead. She (the queen) being the elder would be the husband, and her Highness the wife] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 15; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 360–366). Taking her leave, the queen

the reader's attention to newer and revised studies of Elizabethan polity: Alford (2002) and Mears (2005).

[8] Dudley might have been the one choosing to greet Silva in the name of the queen, for it was in his best interest to maintain a good relationship with the Spanish ambassador. In previous years, Dudley had tried to garner Spanish support from Quadra with promises of returning England to the Catholic faith were Philip to give him aid in marrying Elizabeth. Records of Dudley defending Catholic interests can be found not only in Quadra's but also in Papal correspondence (Bartlett 1992; Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 312–313).

embraced the ambassador once more and indicated he should speak with her Lords. This congregation of Lords included Robert Dudley and William Cecil, who, according to Silva: "cada uno de por sí me abraza, dándome la enhorabuena de mi venida, mostrando alegrarse della" [came separately and embraced me, congratulating me on my arrival and expressing their pleasure] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 16; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 360–366).

This event must be evaluated closely to understand Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations and even more so if the information already mentioned about the previous embassy is taken into consideration. Silva's predecessor, the Bishop of Aquila, had his house raided by the authorities for religious matters, which led to the ambassador's house arrest. After being struck by the plague, the ambassador died having fallen out of the queen's good graces for his dealings in religion and the furthering of Catholic plots. Months after his death, Silva arrived in London in what should have been a precarious state of diplomatic relations, however, his first audience with the queen proves otherwise. It is essential to understanding why the situation was so peaceful and friendly and what exactly the markers that represent that same atmosphere are.

When dealing with diplomatic affairs, politics, international relations, and particularly early modern diplomatic history, we should take into consideration a series of notions. The study of these diplomatic dealings is done through the lens of specific ambassadors and their written correspondence. This means we must rely on literature and fiction to analyze those sources. Following Timothy Hampton's contemporary study, diplomacy should be understood as symbolic because it is political but semiotic at the same time and the diplomats' role should be "to write, as well as to act" (2012, 5; 16). The space of diplomacy is seen as one in which "the Foucaultian notion of 'power' takes the plural form of shifting diplomatic 'powers,' where authority is mere representation, and where representation must claim whatever authority it can garner through negotiation instead of violence" (2012, 4). The ambassadors' characters are key to analyze the information the ambassadors provide. An ambassador's role is not only to serve their master but also themselves, which imbues a strong feeling of subjectivity and agency into their dealings, which, as such, is key for the shaping of the information they deliver (Allinson

2012, 54). This strongly suggests that studies of diplomacy could be reinforced with the introduction of concepts such as performance. Mark Hutchings deals with diplomatic texts and tackles them through the analysis of their performative values:

> like drama, diplomacy depended on actors and audiences and like drama it was scripted, choreographed, and (sometimes) presented in print to serve as a putative record of the event—which in turn invited an imaginative re-enactment on the part of the reader. (Hutchings 2020, 208)

He believes that once we have understood the importance of the "theatre-making" that takes place between the diplomat and the ruler we can start forging a better link between diplomacy and performance, since both diplomacy and theatre drew on visual and choreographic mechanisms to meet their needs (Hutchings 2020, 211).[9] By understanding the relationship that drama and performance have with diplomacy, we can also draw connections between ambassadors, comedians, and actors, where "the ambassador embodies a political as well as a theatrical coincidence of opposites. […] He is not only seen as substitutive but also as transformative. He is both a historical and a dramatic player" (Rivére 2016, 4, 57; quotation 114).

The first analysis of this encounter between Queen Elizabeth and Guzmán de Silva requires, first and foremost, a diplomatic standpoint where the ceremonial register is seen—as stated by Wicquefort and cited by Roosen—as an essential role of embassies (1980, 457). Everything that Silva narrates in his dispatch is a crucial part of the creation of this diplomatic choreography that, in this case, might have been staged following Elizabeth and her circle's need to begin Anglo-Spanish relations anew. The possible marriage between Elizabeth I and Archduke Charles, a marriage which was in the best interest of Spain and the Empire, but which served the queen as a mechanism to prolong the goodwill of Spain and keep the peace between the two countries, was on the table. The marriage suits will not be studied here since other works deal with them extensively (Doran 1996), however, in the game of diplomacy the never-ending marriage suits until the late stages of Elizabeth's reign were key to diplomatic relations with

[9] There are several relevant studies about the links between diplomatic relations and literary culture: Craigwood and Sowerby (2019) and Sowerby (2016).

neighboring countries. The queen sought to create a device that would materialize this new beginning of Anglo-Spanish relations under the embassy of Guzmán de Silva, a move that must be tackled with the use of diplomatic emotionology. Peter and Carol Stearns (1985, 813) describe emotionology as: "the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression." With this definition, we will trace what could have been the emotion the queen wanted to depict, what the mechanism is through which the emotion is transmitted and what the established meaning of said emotion might be. With this particular analysis, I do not seek to deny or erase the existence of diplomatic ceremonial or performance. I aim to argue that the authenticity of the emotions is not key to this analysis. Whether Elizabeth and Silva were experiencing genuine emotions or displaying false ones does not change the fact that they were both using them in their diplomatic dealings, proving that diplomacy is primarily an interaction between human beings. These interactions, despite their register and format, become tainted by the emotions that the subjects may be feeling. To further examine the impact of emotion in the understanding of diplomatic dealings, we should also consider Rosenwein's theory of emotional communities and its impact on current research. She states that emotional communities are the same as social communities and, like them, they share feelings, affective bonds, and emotional expressions. This would allow us to see the diplomatic community of ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth from 1558 to 1584 as a social and emotional community that, affected by their context and background, have a particular take on emotions that lead them to a unique diplomatic emotionology (Rosenwein and Cristiani 2019, 39).[10]

In his letter to the king, Silva says that the queen showed him how happy she was that he had arrived with kind words: "mostrando alegrarse mucho de mi venida, diciendo cuán deseada la tenía" [appearing to be very glad of my coming and saying how much she had desired it] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 14; *Calendar* Vol.1, 360–366). Despite the value of the words and how they convey emotion, the meeting had a much more precise and powerful way of showing

[10] Rosenwein has influenced much of the work on emotion in recent years. Lynch and Broomhall's 2019 study of emotion, in which emotional communities are the most widely used theoretical take on emotion studies, should be examined.

that feeling of happiness and friendliness the queen is so eager to display. Emotions can be conveyed in many different ways and with various levels of intensity; words can be a great way to show them but there are other methods of conveying a deeper sense of emotion, in this case through physical embrace. Forsell and Åström's (2012) study of hugging and its meaning in greetings is a good starting point to establish some necessary notions. Hugging is not the most common way of greeting—it is not now and was not in the Renaissance—but it is arguably the best way to convey an overwhelming feeling of safety and protection. A hug deals with personal space and touch; it is an action that is closely related to infancy and family ties. It is also a typical emotional expression used in close relationships. By greeting Silva with an embrace in their first meeting, Elizabeth was breaking the established meaning of hugging in society, conveying its strong emotional charge. It is not only the fact that hugs are usually reserved for close friends and family members but is also important to state that the queen was not a person who usually accepted any close contact at all. According to the rest of Philip's ambassadors, the most usual form of contact they receive is kissing the queen's hand, which could be considered the standard way of greeting Elizabeth.[11] The aforementioned study suggests that hugs usually have the power to influence the dialogue following the greeting, which further reinforces the thesis that Elizabeth intended to subtly force Silva into engaging in a friendlier and warmer relationship.[12]

During their first meeting, the queen and the ambassador took part in a diplomatic ceremonial choreography in which, as stated before, performance was central. With their "ritual exchange of signifying gesture and signified sentiment each party was encouraged to

[11] Some of the ambassadors do not even acknowledge the way they greeted the queen in the first meeting; others, however, only go as far as kissing her hand (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 189; Vol. 90, 131; Vol. 91, 201). According to Roosen (1980), ceremony can also work "as a barometer for relationships in the short run" (465), which could mean that Elizabeth's breach of ceremonial pattern by hugging Silva reflects the renewal of diplomatic relations between the queen and the Spaniards.

[12] This idea is supported by studies of International Relations (IR) in which several scholars determine that emotions are key for diplomatic interactions because "emotion is contagious" and "other people's emotion influences one's emotion" (Mercer 2014, 524). This would mean, then, that Elizabeth was trying to start Anglo-Spanish politics anew and sway Silva into her favor by the clever use of emotions. See also: Kertzer and Tingley (2018).

entertain a particular conception of the other." McCraken emphasizes that "[t]hese conceptions were essentially political ones" (2008, 54). The choreography surrounding the queen and all the ministers hugging Silva can also be studied from an International Relations perspective that deals with emotions to enhance its meaning. By hugging the ambassador—in addition to all the connotations that a hug might have—the queen and her representatives were utilizing a psychological tool known as "stroking." They were creating or performing an act embedded with emotion to send a message to their counterpart with the aim of reassuring them of their sincerity (Roosen 1980, 469). The ability to feel emotion is necessary since "without the ability to reference [it], people remain incapable of making so-called 'rational' decisions." By using the stroking method, the queen was actively trying to influence Silva's emotional capacity. With the hug, the ambassador could have been made to feel cared for, protected, and supported, effectively changing his mood. As McDermott argues, emotions can manipulate not only the one that is feeling the emotion but also the person they are with and "people selectively take in information consonant with their current mood state" (2004, 695).

That was the first encounter of the Spanish ambassador with the Queen of England; an encounter containing—like every other meeting that will be studied—a plethora of meanings, tropes, and emotions which would last for the remainder of Silva's time as a Spanish ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I. That these encounters are filled with emotions is something that might have not been considered at the time but is not out of the ordinary: "for when emotion is taken away, what difference is there—I don't say between an animal and a man—but between a man and a tree or a stone?" (Rosenwein 2016, 22). The meetings between Elizabeth and the Spanish diplomats are being studied through the words of the former in their dispatches to Philip II. Words are the very core of emotions since we do not just speak emotion-filled words but create sentences with them, embedding their meaning into them (Rosenwein 2016, 9). What the ambassadors did in their reports was convey the very emotions that they or the queen were feeling during their audiences and express them through words since "[b]y choosing to identify and name one's feelings in one way rather than another, individuals define their emotions in the process of expressing them" (Matt and Stearns 2014, 43).

Silva's embassy lasted four years, from 1564 to 1568 and in that time the diplomatic emotionology was not scarce, since it was the basis for the interactions between the queen and the ambassador. Their initial embrace conveyed a powerful emotion of trust[13]—which could be in turn communicating feelings of safety and protection—that both the queen and Silva deposited on each other. This meant that there is a plethora of scenarios in which this emotional trust can be analyzed but the emotion is not always conveyed over the same medium. For the sake of categorization, the scenarios will be divided into those that convey trust directly through plain words and actions and those that convey the same emotion through jokes.

On March 12, 1565, Silva reported to his King that a few days earlier, the queen had sent for him to take part in some festivities, and that he had gladly agreed. There, Silva attended a play in the queen's chambers that dealt with the subject of marriage. Juno was opposed to Diana, the former defending marriage, whereas the latter defended chastity. The play, which was commissioned by Robert Dudley with the intention of furthering his chances of marrying the queen, was part of the revels of the Inner Temple of that same year (Doran 1995; Axton 1970). The play ends with Juno tipping the scales in favor of marriage and with the queen reporting to Silva "todo esto es contra mí" [This is all against me] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 77–78; *Calendar* Vol.1, 404–414). This confirms the idea that, when Elizabeth first placed her trust in Silva by hugging him and showing him interest, genuine or performed, for his coming, the ambassador knew how to respond accordingly and foster the queen's goodwill. The trust shown by Elizabeth complaining to Silva that everyone was trying to persuade her to marry represents an emotion that is a response to Silva's own dealings with the queen. This would not have happened had Silva been an incompetent diplomat. He had the skills that Mattingly regarded as necessary for Renaissance diplomacy, such as the ability to persuade and deliver a moving speech and to write an effective state paper, but they would have been worthless had he not had the most important skill for a courtier according to Castiglione: "a

[13] Jonathan Mercer (2005) believes that trust is necessary for the resolution of group problems. Trust and emotion go hand in hand and might be key for the understanding of IR (95).

gentle and loving behavior in his daily conversation" (Mattingly 1955, 63; Castiglione 1966, 105).

At the end of the same month of March, Silva and Elizabeth had another meeting that revolved around the negotiations of marriage between the queen and, in this case, the French King. Elizabeth had some reluctance when it came to the physical characteristics of her possible husbands and the talk was about how short he was.[14] Once these rumors had been dealt with, the queen decided to put her trust in Silva again: "yo me quiero confesar con vos, pues es Cuaresma y sois mi amigo" [I wish to confess to you as it is Lent and you are my friend]. That sentence started with an enumeration of all the different marriage negotiations that Elizabeth was dealing or had dealt with since the beginning of her reign and concluded—as Silva understands it—with the disclosure that she did not want to marry (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 86; *Calendar* Vol.1, 404–414). This time it was not only the fact that Elizabeth was placing her trust in the ambassador, but that she also decided to call him a friend. None of these scenarios or the mention of being friends would ever be repeated between the queen and any of the Spanish diplomats under Philip II's reign. It will not be until July of 1565 that another of these events takes place. This time Elizabeth was mourning the death of what for her was the closest thing to a mother that she had ever had, Kat Ashley. In this state, she decided to take the ambassador aside and confide in him about her feelings: "Se apartó conmigo, habiéndome dicho que habia estado muy triste por la muerte de la que he dicho que la habia criado" [The queen took me aside and said she had been much grieved by the death of the lady I have mentioned who brought her up] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 155; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 442–458).

The next two examples are connected to the marriage negotiations between the queen and her suitors. This is nothing out of the ordinary, for the vast majority of the work of the Spanish ambassadors was to deal with the queen in matters of royal marriage. In this case, the

[14] The queen said from the very beginning of the marriage negotiations that she would not marry without first meeting her new husband. It was reported first by Quadra that "que si se casase que no sería con hombre á quien no conosciere" [and if she married at all it would only be to a man whom she knew] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 237; *Calendar* Vol.1, 97–109). For that reason, Archduke Charles was asked to go to England and meet the queen. The same happened with the Duke of Alençon, who secretly traveled to the island to meet with Elizabeth.

scenarios are going to be based on the ambassador joking with the queen, proving the trust both have placed in each other, since making these kinds of jokes could be risky for an ambassador. In a letter from August 1565, Silva tells his king that he has been discussing with Elizabeth about her possible marriage to Archduke Charles. Elizabeth had stated her refusal to marry anyone without seeing them beforehand and she was asking the Archduke to come to England to further the negotiations. At this stage, Silva decided to joke with the queen: "Díjele que si entre los que habian entrado con el Embajador y conmigo, habia mirado en alguno que le pareciese que no habia visto, porque podria ser que tuviese en casa más de lo que pensaba" [I asked her whether she had noticed amongst those who accompanied the Ambassador and me any gentleman she had not seen before, as perhaps she was entertaining more than she thought] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 170; *Calendar* Vol.1, 458–470). By gently teasing the queen in this manner, the diplomat might have been trying to see whether or not the queen was actually interested in the suit, but it may have been nothing more than a joke that felt completely natural to the ambassador due to the relationship he had with her Majesty. How Silva words her reaction is quite interesting because he describes her uneasiness: "quedó sin color turbada" [she turned white and was so agitated]. After recovering from the shock, Elizabeth "told the ambassador that 'that is not a bad way, for the Archduke to come'" (Vol. 89, 170; *Calendar* Vol.1, 458–470). Whether or not the queen's reaction was a clue to understanding her intentions or the dealings with the Archduke were just a diplomatic bargain to gain time and keep the peace with Spain and the Empire is something this study will not address. However, the joke is a clever mechanism that confirms the profound trust the queen and the diplomat had in each other.

At the beginning of 1566, Silva reports another meeting with the queen to his King concerning the marriage negotiations between England and the Empire for the possible union between Elizabeth and Archduke Charles. The discussion was turning to matters of religion that would be the ultimate barrier between both parties. The queen complained to the ambassador about this uncertainty concerning religion while saying that she did not know the Archduke's true religion. The queen's ambivalence in religious matters was part of the general talk of the period among the Catholic countries, who

believed that not even the queen knew her true position concerning the Christian faith.[15] Silva turns to humor again as his diplomatic tool in his relationship with Elizabeth. He jokingly told her: "Díjele riendo si sabía ella cuál era la suya a propia, que me la dijese" [I then asked her jokingly whether she knew what her own religion was and would tell me]. This time the queen laughed with the Spanish diplomat and turned the conversation to a different topic (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 263; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 517–527).

The times were getting tumultuous for England and her queen concerning matters such as religion, foreign policy, and, above all, the question of marriage and succession. The queen had managed to escape the marriage question for a decade and Parliament was starting to pressure her, if not to marry, to at least settle the succession and avoid a civil war were she to die prematurely. It was in this setting that Silva reported back to his king about the dissolution of the Parliament of 1566, which had been particularly difficult for the queen. Elizabeth was not pleased with a large majority of the Parliament who, against her express wishes, tried to push her into marrying and determining the heir to the throne. Elizabeth was adamant about not naming a successor while she was alive, in fear of possible plots against her.[16] She decided to dissolve Parliament with the hope of getting a better group of members when the next one was summoned. With this anger and helplessness, she turned to Silva:

> según me ha dicho, muy mal contenta de los Procuradores del pueblo que se hallaron en él […] habiendo salido con su intento […] aunque mal satisfecha de algunos, y así se me quejó antier de nuevo de que la hobiesen dejado todos sola, doliéndose dello y encareciéndome el

[15] At the beginning of his assignment, the ambassador reports to King Philip the idea that the queen might have potentially been close to what was known as a *politique* in terms of religion since she said "que habia tenido necesidad de disimular su ánimo para se valer con sus súbditos en lo que toca á la Religión" [told me that she had had to conceal her real feelings to prevail with her subjects in matters of religion] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 47; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 382–390).

[16] The words of the queen were: "There were occasion in me at that time: I stood in danger of my life, my sister was so incensed against me. I did differ from her in religion and I was sought for divers ways, and so shall never be my successor" (Elizabeth I 2000, 96). For a better understanding of what took place during the parliamentary sessions see Neale (1953).

> peligro en que habia estado, y el mal miramiento y pertinacia que habian tenido muchos. (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 422)
>
> as I am told that she is dissatisfied with the representatives of the people who form it […] she got her way at last […] although annoyed at some of the members. She again complained to me yesterday that she was left alone and grieved thereat, magnifying to me the peril in which she had been, and the pertinacity and disrespect of many towards her. (*Calendar* Vol. 1, 607–615)

Elizabeth faced a hostile situation that left her in a weak position. Feeling lonely and in danger—her own words were "annoyed," "alone," and "in peril"—she turned to Silva probably looking for that feeling of care and protection that had been built up through the four years they had known each other. This was not a mere complaint that Elizabeth was sharing with the ambassador; she was displeased with her own subjects and felt personally attacked and in possible danger, clearly not a situation in which a queen would confide with a foreign ambassador had they not had a strong emotional relationship. This was the last encounter between the queen and the Spanish ambassador before their final meeting and Silva leaving the country.

In the summer of 1568, the time had come for Silva to leave England and embark on a new diplomatic mission in Italy. Like the rest of the Spanish ambassadors, he had been complaining for a long time about the difficulties of keeping his office running. Shortage of money, the hostile religious environment and, most importantly of all, the English weather as too harsh for the Spaniards, were the reasons behind his asking Philip for a relocation. Sometime between August 3 and 4 in Hatfield, Silva had an audience with Elizabeth to tell her officially that he was leaving the island and about the arrival of his substitute, Guerau de Spes. Elizabeth "mostró más pena que pensé, y mudando de color, me dijo que le pesaba en el alma de que V. M. hobiese hecho mudanza, teniendo tan gran satisfaccion de mí y de la manera de proceder en los negocios" [she showed more sorrow than I expected, and, changing colour, told me that she was grieved from the bottom of her heart that your Majesty should make any change, as she was so greatly pleased with my mode of procedure in affairs] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 90, 119; *Calendar* Vol. 2, 63–70). Silva was taken aback by this reaction and seeing Elizabeth so distressed decided to reassure her that he was only taking his leave "por mi salud, teniendo por cierto que los aires desta tierra me eran

muy contrarios" [my sole reason being my poor health, which I was sure this climate did not suit] (Vol. 90, 119; Vol.2, 63–70). Once the queen regained her composure, Silva also talked to William Cecil about his departure, and Burghley reacted accordingly: "que mostró sentimiento, certificándome que la Reina estaría dello penadísima" [he expressed sorrow and assured me that the queen would be greatly pained] (Vol. 90, 120; *Calendar* Vol.2, 63–70).

Elizabeth's response clearly shows that she is emotionally distressed. Silva's departure prompted a series of reactions. It meant the departure of a trustworthy minister and possibly a friend, the disappearance of a long-lasting, well-established relationship in matters both personal and political, and the inevitable feeling of uncertainty about what the future might bring. Silva was not the only one leaving the island; trust was leaving it with him, a trust that was key to the well-being of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations. Trust was the emotion that drove the diplomatic dealings between the Spanish ambassador and the English queen and, with its departure, the protection, safety, care, and comfort attached to it were bound to disappear with it. Silva's description of Elizabeth's reaction, her paleness, and the fact that he found it necessary to reassure her of the lack of any wrongdoing in his decision to leave are the cues to understanding those feelings.[17] The study of emotions—and particularly, in this case, the notion of emotionology—has proven that there is a certain range of situations in which people unconsciously know how to act and what emotions to portray following social standards,[18] however, knowing whether Elizabeth's emotions in this scenario are a social requirement or a genuine reaction might be difficult. This paper has sought to analyze the significance of emotion in human interaction—particularly in the realm of diplomatic relations—by affirming its intrinsic connection

[17] To a certain degree, Elizabeth was right in worrying about what might come after Silva's departure, for the future replacements as ambassadors would be nothing like Silva and would deploy a completely different diplomatic emotionology, much more aggressive and hostile.

[18] Emotionology has studied religious cases like the Holy Week procession, where provoked weeping is part of the public drama, and is actually the norm of that public drama that surrounds these religious events (Matt and Stearns 2014, 146). Mercer's study (2014) also states the importance of culture and societal standards in the understanding of emotions and their interpretations. Another study of IR (Hutchinson and Bleiker 2014) also deals with the key value of emotions in world politics. They also highlight the role of communities and their members with regards to emotions.

to diplomatic ceremony and its performative character. I do not intend to deny any of these notions and my aim is to justify that even if the interactions are performances, true or false, emotion is still embedded in them, giving it a deeper layer of meaning. Accepting that these scenarios were affected by emotion emphasizes their worth, for "emotions play a significant role in world politics, shaping how individuals and collectives are socialized and interact with each other" (Hutchinson and Bleiker 2014, 507). The role of these emotions should be analyzed since they are factors in the formation of "intersubjective relationships and the agency of everyday actors" (Russell et al. 2019, 138). The hugs, turning pale and being on the brink of tears are not emotions per se but they are the keys to or mechanisms for showing emotions such as mutual trust.

The analysis of Silva's embassy at the Court of Elizabeth I has a clear outcome: to put the microlens on the study of diplomatic interactions to discover the true relations that lay underneath the larger diplomatic-political canvas; to value the importance of agency and subjectivity in the formation of these interactions because, after all, they are human interactions; and, above all, to apply the study of emotions to a field that can truly benefit from it. If Silva is taken as a positive example of diplomatic emotionology and his successors are categorized as the opposite, the difference in outcomes could be narrowed down to their idiosyncratic skills, morals, and personalities. Gary M. Bell (1976, 93), in his study of John Man, emphasizes the necessity of knowing the character and skills of diplomats before sending them on a mission, because "the roles and personalities of these men were crucial, and we must know them to fully understand the course of international relations." Emotionology might not be the run-of-the-mill subject of study in the Renaissance, and it is "a fuzzy term," but it does prove its value in an analysis of this sort (Rosenwein and Cristiani 2019, 7). Don Diego Guzmán de Silva is a clear example of the impact of agency and subjectivity in the performance of any task and in the understanding of the motivations and emotions that influence diplomatic relations in Renaissance studies.

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