

Emotions and early modern diplomacy: The case of Iberian ambassadors at the Elizabethan court*

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ABSTRACT

Emotions underlie world politics and are essential to state actors' strategies and exchanges. Considering the complexities of the early modern Anglo-Iberian relations and the diplomatic sources, it is possible to pursue a line of enquiry which analyzes emotions in foreign affairs policies. This paper explores the Iberian diplomatic missions to the Elizabethan court, applying the current research on emotions in diplomacy to the sixteenth century diplomatic practice and its conventions regarding emotional display. Early modern Iberian diplomatic correspondence reveals a collective dimension, conveying an official – rather than personal – emotional strategy on foreign affairs. Spain's dominant geopolitical and economic circumstances favored a more aggressive diplomatic approach. At the same time, Portugal's more delicate strategic position and the maintenance of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance determined a diplomacy of appeasement. Sovereigns selected their envoys based on how their diplomatic skills and emotional behavior would suit the kingdom's agenda. This diplomatic strategy allowed a collaborative and synchronized emotional behavior amongst state actors to emerge.

KEYWORDS: emotions, diplomacy, early modern era, Anglo-Iberian relations.

Emociones y diplomacia en la edad moderna temprana: el caso de los embajadores ibéricos en la corte isabelina**

RESUMEN: Las emociones subyacen a la política mundial y son esenciales para las estrategias e intercambios de los agentes estatales. Teniendo en cuenta las complejidades de las relaciones anglobéricas en la edad moderna temprana y las fuentes diplomáticas, es posible

Emoções e diplomacia na era pré-moderna: o caso dos embaixadores ibéricos na corte isabelina

RESUMO: As emoções encontram-se subjacentes à política mundial e são essenciais ao desenvolvimento de estratégias e de intercâmbios entre os vários atores políticos. Considerando as complexidades das relações Anglo-Ibéricas do período pré-moderno, bem como as diversas fontes

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seguir una línea de investigación que analice las emociones en las políticas de asuntos exteriores. Este artículo explora las misiones diplomáticas ibéricas en la corte isabelina, aplicando investigaciones actuales sobre las emociones en la diplomacia a la práctica diplomática en el siglo XVI y a sus convenciones en lo referente a la manifestación de las emociones. La correspondencia diplomática ibérica al inicio de la era moderna revela una dimensión colectiva, lo que sugiere que, en materia de política exterior, se seguía una estrategia emocional oficial —en lugar de personal. Las circunstancias geopolíticas y económicas dominantes de España favorecieron una estrategia diplomática más agresiva. Al mismo tiempo, la posición estratégica de Portugal, más delicada que la española, así como el mantenimiento de la Alianza Angloportuguesa dictaron una diplomacia conciliatoria. Los soberanos elegían a sus enviados según se ajustaran sus habilidades diplomáticas y su conducta emocional se a las intenciones del reino. Esta estrategia diplomática permitió la aparición de un comportamiento emocional colaborativo y sincronizado entre los distintos agentes estatales.

PALABRAS CLAVE: emociones, diplomacia, modernidad temprana, relaciones angloibéricas.

diplomáticas, é possível adotar uma linha de investigação cujo foco remete para as emoções na política internacional. Este artigo explora as missões diplomáticas Ibéricas à corte de Isabel I, numa tentativa de aplicar a recente investigação sobre emoções na Diplomacia à prática diplomática do século XVI e às convenções da época sobre a demonstração de emoções. A correspondência diplomática Ibérica do início da era moderna revela uma dimensão coletiva, evidenciando a existência de uma estratégia oficial, e não pessoal, quanto ao uso de emoções em contexto de relações internacionais. Por um lado, as circunstâncias geopolíticas e económicas dominantes de Espanha favoreceram que desenvolvesse uma abordagem diplomática mais agressiva. Por outro lado, a posição estratégica mais delicada de Portugal assim como o interesse na manutenção da Aliança Anglo-Portuguesa determinaram uma diplomacia de apaziguamento. Soberanos selecionavam embaixadores com base não só nas competências diplomáticas, mas também na forma como o seu perfil emocional se adequaria à agenda do reino. Essa estratégia diplomática permitiu o surgimento de um comportamento em relação às emoções colaborativo e sincronizado entre os diversos atores políticos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: emoções, diplomacia, era pré-moderna, relações Anglo-Ibéricas.

Over the past few years, emotions have been the focus of scholarly work on international relations and public diplomacy in what has become known as the “emotional turn” (Hutchison and Bleiker, 2014; Barclay, 2021). The deep-rooted belief in the dichotomy of emotion versus reason has come under scrutiny, and emotions are emerging as intrinsic to world politics, international relations, and public diplomacy research. On an interpersonal level, our emotional behavior is essential to communicate what matters to us and helps define the type of individuals we are (Hall 2015, 2). At an interstate level, emotions and emotional display can also play an essential

role in state actors' strategies and interactions (Hall 2015, 2; Graham 2014, 522).

Bearing in mind the primary sources on diplomacy (Hotman 1603; Vera y Figueroa 1620; Wicquefort 1689; Callières 1716), I propose to analyze the Iberian diplomatic missions to the Elizabethan court in an attempt to apply current knowledge on emotions in diplomacy to the sixteenth century diplomatic practice as well as its conventions on emotional display (Hall 2015; Hutchison and Bleiker 2014; Koschut 2020). Although emotions, or passions as they were known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Flor 2005), "were portrayed in early modern literature on diplomacy as a dangerous manifestation" (Lemée 2021, 1), there are several situations that may help us shed some light on the subject.

In a historical context in which diplomacy was still just emerging, Sowerby and Hennings observe that analyzing the sociocultural practices that constituted political relationships is crucial to understanding the nature of early modern diplomacy (2017, 2). Therefore, as an exploratory line of inquiry, I intend to examine the Iberian diplomatic missions to the Elizabethan court with the aid of two significant recent concepts: emotional diplomacy and soft power. I suggest that both the Spanish ambassadors' display and the Portuguese ambassadors' concealment of emotions might have pertained to their sovereigns' designed diplomatic strategy and should therefore be studied from a state-level perspective rather than a personal, private one. Similarly, I suggest that the concept of soft power may help explain the Portuguese ambassadors' non-confrontational attitude and the Portuguese diplomacy of appeasement, since Portugal's geopolitical position dictated the need for a different tactic than its Iberian counterpart and therefore a distinct emotional demeanor, constructed and devised as a script intended to be performed by its ambassadors.

Emotions are at the very core of human existence, but it is perhaps worth noting that the term "emotion" is recent—in English since the seventeenth century—, adapted from the French *émotion*, from the Latin *e + movere* (Averill 1996, 206; Dixon 2012, 338). Originally, and up to the emergence of the term "emotion," its meaning was associated with a transfer from one place to another, although it was also used to refer to a state of physical or psychological perturbation, as can

be confirmed in early modern Portuguese and Spanish dictionaries (Covarrubias 1674, 135; Cardoso 1592, 320). According to the *English Oxford Dictionary*, “emotion” is primarily the action of experiencing a sensation in response to a (physical or mental) stimulus. Bradberry and Greaves point out that before the electric signals triggered by our five senses enter the brain at the spinal cord and reach the parts responsible for rational and logical thinking and speech, they must first go through the limbic system, where emotions occur (2017, 6–7). This physical journey ensures we experience things emotionally before we can reason and communicate about them.

However, “emotion” is also defined in the *English Oxford Dictionary* as the part of a person’s character that consists of feelings. According to Crawford, “feelings are internally experienced, but the meaning attached to those feelings, the behaviors associated with them, and the recognition of emotions in others are cognitively and culturally construed and constructed” (2000, 125). Barclay adds to this idea and points out that emotions vary across time and place and are culturally distinctive, i.e. they are an agent in shaping human behavior and social relationships; furthermore, emotions must be analyzed according to their role in political life, determining group dynamics and the operation of power (2021, 456–66).

This would make it crucial to scrutinize emotions, their display, and their instrumentalization in light of Reddy’s proposition that emotions are “culturally [...] shaped, to a significant degree, by the environment in which the individual lives” (2001, 34). The concepts and the processes of language associated with identifying, experiencing, and displaying emotions vary across time and individuals, which means that investigating emotions in early modern times involves adjusting to the frameworks and standpoints of the era.

In the context of world politics, international relations, and diplomacy, we can draw on Crawford’s definition of emotions as “inner states, subjective experiences that have psychological, intersubjective, and cultural components” (2000, 125). Nussbaum points out that cognitive appraisals and value-laden perceptions are imbued with emotions (2001, 17). Graham emphasizes that emotions are inescapable in political judgement, in the context of argument and persuasion, and constitute belonging and identity (Graham 2014, 523–24). Emotions are part of our most private sphere, central to cognition,

discourse, values, and individuality. Hence Damásio's reformulation of "I feel; therefore I am" (1994, 245–52).

Diplomacy incorporates the private scope of emotions while operating in public, transnational, and political dimensions. These different spheres, inner and external, private and public, are combined in the ambassadors' missions and transmissions; their emotions and emotional behavior constitute the bonds of political judgement, intellectual appraisal, rhetoric approaches, and soft power resources.

Joseph Nye's concept of soft power is crucial to this analysis because it offers the notions of attraction and acquiescence to explain the dynamic forces underlying diplomatic missions. For Nye, soft power is attractive power that transcends influence and surpasses the ability to move people by argument or persuasion (2004, 6). Graham notes that soft power resources—legitimacy, leadership, and attraction—enable state actors to guide and shape the preferences of others (2014, 523; Nye 2008, 95), which implies that the latter internalize new beliefs (Krebs and Jackson 2007, 39), confirming that the process of charting mindscapes, or shaping preferences, is part of the diplomat's mission and transmissions. Within this framework, I propose that diplomatic transmissions are perceived as ideology, values, and moral foundations, opinions, and behavior, much in line with Graham's reflection, that is, as ways of communicating different cultural traditions and, as such, other collective expressions and experiences (2014, 524).

Although the concept of soft power was not operative in early modern times and state actors and diplomats did not conceive of their role that way, it is a valuable tool with which to understand early modern diplomacy, especially considering the employment of cooperative tactics.

Although soft power is a relatively new concept in international relations [...], its essence and its use have long been involved in diplomatic endeavours of peacemaking and peacekeeping [...]. In the early modern context, the concept of soft power proves to be interesting in terms of the importance of cooperative tactics and methods favouring political and confessional appeasement. (Carles 2016, 4)

The relevance of the confessional and religious divide in the diplomatic affairs of the period should also be considered and confessional

diplomacy regarded as a form of soft power. Religion played a key role in “defining not only the collective identity of international actors, but also their foreign policies, choice of alliances, and more generally their international outlook” (Anderson and Backerra 2021, 1).

Both Spain and Portugal sent ambassadors to Elizabeth I’s court.¹ These Iberian envoys shared identical religious principles, representing two devoted Catholic kingdoms. They also stood for similar economic and political interests, forwarding their sovereigns’ maritime expansion and commercial claims. Moreover, they were the political agents acting on behalf of two royal dynasties with long-established matrimonial alliances and blood ties.² Portugal’s and Spain’s common ground is made clear in Barbosa de Machado’s words which paraphrase the Portuguese king’s letter to the then-Spanish ambassador in England, Guzmán de Silva.³

Por cartas de Joaõ Pereira Dantas meu Embaixador [...] tenho entendido o defejo, e afeiçao, que mostraes para todas as coufas de meu ferviço, e como os avifaes de tudo [...] muito vos rogo, que o

¹ I will focus on the period from the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, in 1558, up to 1584, when the last representative of the united Iberian crowns under Philip II of Spain, I of Portugal, left England. During that period, Portugal sent six ambassadors to the English court, João Pereira Dantas (1559; 1562–1563), Manoel d’Araújo (1560–1561), Ayres Cardoso (1564), Manuel d’Álvares (1567–1568), Francisco Giraldes (1571–1578), and António de Castilho (1579–1581). Spain sent five ambassadors to the Elizabethan court: Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, 1st Duke of Feria (1558–1561), Álvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Aquila (1561–1563), Diego Guzmán de Silva (1564–1568), Guerau de Espés (1568–1571), and Bernardino de Mendoza (1578–1584).

² That juxtaposition became too real when the Portuguese king, Sebastião, died in 1578, and the consequences of three generations of marriages between the House of Avis and the Habsburgs forced the Iberian Union (Cunha 465). (1) Afonso of Portugal (João II’s son) and (2) Manuel I marry Isabel of Aragon (daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, Fernando II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile); (3) Manuel I later marries Maria of Aragon, sister of his deceased wife, and, (4) his last wife is Leonor of Austria, daughter of the Castilian king and queen Philip I and Joanna of Castile; (5) João III marries Catherine of Austria, also a daughter of the Castilian king and queen (Philip I and Joanna of Castile); (6) Isabel of Portugal, João III’s sister, marries Charles V; (7) Maria Manuela, João III’s daughter, marries Philip II; (8) João Manuel, João III’s son and Sebastião’s father, marries Joanna of Austria (Charles V’s and Isabel of Portugal’s daughter).

³ The king’s letter has not survived the multiple events that ravaged the Portuguese archives, namely the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and the French Invasions in the context of the Napoleonic Wars. Barbosa de Machado’s works were published before those events and include references to a number of manuscripts that have been lost.

queiraes affim sempre continuar, porque além del Rey meu tio fe haver diſſo por muito ſervido de vós por as ſuas couſas, e as minhas ſerem humas meſmas, naõ me eſquecerey eu da obrigação em que vos por iſſo fico [...] porque confio, que affi o tratareis, e o ajudareis como fe fora proprio del Rey meu tio. [By letters from João Pereira Dantas, my ambassador [...], I have understood your affection and desire to do all the things of my service, and how you inform me about everything [...]. I beg you that you continue to do so because your King, my uncle, has benefited greatly from your service and my matters and my uncle's are the same. I will not forget how I will be indebted to you [...] because I trust that you will deal with and assist with my matters as if they were my uncle's, your King's.] (1737, 406-7)⁴

The Portuguese kingdom relied not only on the Portuguese ambassadors' missions but also on the support of the Spanish ambassadors, since both Iberian kings shared the same political and financial concerns, ones in contradiction to the queen of England's, namely the plunder of the Iberian ships. Information flows can also be tracked through the vast network of correspondents.

Notwithstanding what they had in common, Portugal was not a threat or competitor to Protestant England, especially considering the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance of the fourteenth century standing out as one of the oldest recognized coalitions in the history of Europe.⁵ Spain, however, was perceived as such in terms of political, economic, and military hegemony in Europe and overseas. Therefore, the two Iberian diplomatic missions in England had quite different outcomes. The ambassadors' correspondence provides several examples of the friendly relationship between Elizabeth I and the Portuguese envoys while the same English queen invited three of the five Spanish ambassadors to leave her court and country: Álvaro de la Quadra in 1563, Guerau de Espés in 1571, and Bernardino de Mendoza in 1584. These distinct results can perhaps be understood in light of the geopolitical differences between the Iberian kingdoms.

Portugal's strategic position was not a strong one. Spain, its neighboring kingdom on the northern and eastern land borders, was substantially more extensive and powerful. Spain was both a maritime and a continental power, whereas Portugal could only

⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all the translations are mine.

⁵ With the Iberian Union (1580-1640), the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance fell into abeyance.

expand seaward and did not possess any claims in continental Europe territories. Manuel I's wish for Portugal to gain the upper hand in the matrimonial alliances with Castile saw a bitter end with the premature death of Prince Miguel da Paz.⁶ Recognizing the ever-present ever-potential threat that Spain represented as a neighboring kingdom, Portugal maintained peace and a vigilant and cordial understanding with Castile while simultaneously avoiding a hegemony that the Catholic Monarchs and their successors did not fail to attempt to secure (Magalhães 1993, 447). The Portuguese sovereigns also realized the importance of keeping their neutrality in the European conflicts and forging alliances and compromises with other monarchies.

These differences are perceived in the Iberian diplomatic correspondence and may indicate a collective dimension. According to Todd Hall, "official emotion happens when a concerted, institutional actor such as a state displays the behaviour associated with an emotional response in explicit, outwardly directed behaviour" (2015, 16). Diplomacy, like drama, depends on actors and audiences; it is scripted and choreographed, much in agreement with Goffman's concept of a "performance team" or a group of individuals cooperating to project a particular image (Hall 2015, 3; Hutchings 2021, 208; Goffman 1959, 79).

In the introductions to volumes 1, 2, and 3 of the *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas*, Martin Hume comments on the numerous occasions when Álvaro de la Quadra's arrogance and intolerance was on display (Hume 1894, xiii), of Guerau de Espés's "rough words and haughty demeanour" (Hume 1894, xiv), and of Mendoza's "haughty Castilian temper" (Hume 1896, xliii).⁷ However, based on emotional diplomacy research, I would propose that the diplomats' pathos

⁶ Prince Miguel was born on August 24, 1498 and died on July 19, 1500. He was the son of Manuel I of Portugal and Isabel, the eldest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs. Prince Miguel da Paz was proclaimed in Zaragoza as prince heir of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, Leon, and Sicily.

⁷ It is perhaps worth mentioning that John Man, the last English resident ambassador at the Spanish court, also had his diplomatic mission ostensibly terminated for religious reasons (Bell 1976, 75) and was detained and expelled from Madrid (Mattingly 1955, 192). In Philip II's own words, he was "a heretic," "pernicious and evil-minded," someone who "in many things exceeded the limits of his position [...in] insolence and boldness" ("Extract from the Instruction given to Don Guerau De Spes," on August 9, 1568; Hume 1894, 66).

analysis should be focused not on the private sphere of the individual's personal or responsive emotional attitude but rather on the collective dimension of the state's emotional behavior towards foreign affairs. The ambassadors adopted a collective level of discourse, expressions, and conduct that suited Spain's particular emotional state; the emotions they conveyed were first and foremost official rather than personal (Hall 2015, 16). As England's antagonist, Spain's rhetoric of power and supremacy transcended discourse and was performed by the actors on the political stage of diplomacy (Hall 2015, 3).

In his recent article entitled "Harnessing Anger and Shame: Emotional Diplomacy in Early Modern Context," Emmanuel Lemée proposes that Hall's concept of emotional diplomacy, i.e., "a coordinated state-level behavior that explicitly and officially projects the image of a particular emotional response toward other states" (2021, 2), cannot apply to ambassadors. The reasons for this proposition are threefold. Firstly, ambassadors were strongly discouraged from showing their emotions in the normative literature on diplomacy since it imperiled their credibility as political agents. Emotional displays were thought too delicate and strategic as a tool and should only be used by the sovereign. Secondly, ambassadors' emotional displays were perceived as a serious mistake that should be dismissed, accepted only if rare or occasional. Thirdly, ambassadors' show of emotions would be seen with skepticism once they were construed as personal and not official, therefore, "not to be trusted and acted upon" (Lemée 2021, 20-22).

Despite the significance and validity of these interrelated reasons, other elements should be taken into account in this debate. The Iberian sovereigns' selection of diplomats to send the Elizabethan court must have considered each ambassador's particular emotional behavior and profile, as Gary Bell points out in his analysis of the last Elizabethan resident ambassador in Spain.

John Man's story alerts us to the importance of knowing the individual men who served as diplomats, for in an age of poor communications, new and often still experimental diplomatic conventions, and relatively isolated ambassadors, the roles and personalities of these men were crucial, and we must know them to fully understand the course of international relations. (1976, 93)

That how Philip chose his ambassadors was a diplomatic strategy and not a result of a default option, or a narrow choice of gentlemen

of good standing wanting to become ambassadors, becomes evident in one of his chief ministers Count de Feria's appointment to the Elizabethan court.

The choice was a judicious one, for of all his agents Feria was the least likely to alarm the prejudices of the English. He had already spent some time in this country, and having married one of the Queen's maids of honour was regarded as half an Englishman. He understood the manners and prejudices of the country, and had fathomed the intrigues of the several political factions into which the Court was divided. He possessed Philip's entire confidence. (Stevenson 1865, xii)

Monarchs were also familiar with their ambassadors' inclination for, for example, angry explosions or displays of self-importance. The Iberian sovereigns' appointment of diplomats to the Elizabethan court had a certain continuity, as can be seen by the replacement of an outspoken ambassador with an equally unreserved one or a collected envoy with an identically poised one. The exceptions to this line of continuity become apparent whenever there was a change in the objectives of the diplomatic assignments, as will be observed later in the case of Guzmán de Silva's mission.

Drawing on Lemée's suggestion that it is possible to address the concept of emotional diplomacy in early modern times "due to the confusion between the state and the person of the monarch" (2021, 21), I suggest that it is essential to examine the ambassadors' role in this context. A diplomat echoed his sovereign's emotions as a kind of mimesis in artistic creation (Oliveira 2021, 51) and was chosen according to how his skills, experience, and emotional profile suited the state's political agenda.

Several instances from the diplomatic correspondence substantiate this assertion. In his comment on Guerau de Espés's expulsion from England, Hume observes that

a fiery Catalan knight called Guerau de Spes, as haughty and intolerant as Feria himself, a man [...] entirely wanting in discretion [...] embittered the relations of the two governments to the last degree. (Hume 1894, xiii-xv)

Vera y Figueroa would later theorize on the importance of caution and prudence, speaking and keeping silent in diplomatic practice,

particularly in the second speech of his work (fols. 85–151). Still, Guerau de Espés’s emotional behavior was in line with his sovereign’s, as the representative of his king, in body and personality: “it was not in Philip’s nature to refrain from retaliation when he had it in his power” (Hume 1894, l).

Guzmán de Silva, however, was appointed to England to advance his sovereign’s interests in the context of the interruption of Anglo-Spanish commerce: “an ambassador of rank should again reside in London and endeavour by diplomacy and soft words to compass what threats and retaliation had failed to bring about” (Hume 1894, l-li). Such an ambassador was needed in light of the mission, which was essentially to ask for money: “to ask for a redress of grievances, not to impose a policy” (Hume 1894, li). Philip’s diplomatic strategy regarding the choice of Guzmán de Silva proved successful, as Víctor Fernández’s recent article demonstrates, emphasizing the significance of the ambassador’s distinctive skills, morals, and personality in establishing Silva’s positive example in the context of diplomatic emotionology as opposed to his successors and the different outcomes of their diplomatic missions (2022, 83). Hume’s comment on Guzmán de Silva’s replacement, Guerau de Espés, is another example of how each ambassador’s emotional profile suited Philip’s diplomatic strategy.

Philip [...] may have thought that a rougher tongued representative than Guzman would be more likely to serve his purpose [...]and] appointed as his successor a man diametrically opposite to him. (Hume 1894, xiii)⁸

It is also worth noting how the language of emotions is included in the political rhetoric of the early modern diplomatic correspondence, in which Guzmán de Silva mentions feelings of sorrow, grief, or pleasantness, or as he refers to the blushing queen in his report to Philip II.

She showed more sorrow than I expected, and, changing colour, told me that she was grieved from the bottom of her heart that your

⁸ Philip wrote to Guzmán de Silva, on May 13, 1568, telling him that Guerau de Espés, a Catalan knight of the Order of Calatrava had been appointed to England to replace him (Hume 1896, 30–31).

Majesty should make any change, as she was so greatly pleased with my mode of procedure in affairs. (August 9, 1568; Hume 1894, 64)

These non-verbal cues in Elizabeth's emotional reaction to Guzmán de Silva's departure from England by the end of his mission in 1568 confirm the success of the Spanish diplomat's mission and, as such, of Philip's diplomatic tactic.

Diplomatic emotional discourse and display can also be found in Glajon's report of his mission to the Elizabethan court in 1560. Although Philip II kept a resident ambassador, Álvaro de la Quadra, in England, he sent one of his councillors, the Flemish Philip de Stavèles, Seigneur de Glajon, to ask the queen not to aid the Scottish rebels to maintain peace with France. However, when Glajon arrived in England, Elizabeth's forces had already entered Scotland to join the rebels, and as Glajon's instructions did not include provisions for that eventuality, he did not know how to proceed with his commission. In his letter to the Spanish king, Glajon remarks he knew that wasting time would be prejudicial and contrary to his sovereign's intention, so he was forced to improvise. That agency relied heavily on the envoy's experience, skills, personality, and emotional traits, i.e., the features that I argue also determine the political agent's recruitment as part of the sovereign's diplomatic strategy or official emotion. Glajon devised a plan to carry out his orders and push for reconciliation with the English queen. However, he presented his case too firmly in his first audience, angering Elizabeth. Glajon does not euphemize or soften the queen's enraged reaction to his exposition and explicitly tells his sovereign that "the Queen answered with some anger that it was too late to withdraw her troops or to talk about reconciliation except sword in hand" (April 7, 1560; Hume 1894, 143).

Álvaro de la Quadra's letter to Philip II, prior to Glajon's audience with the queen, elucidates the ambassadors' use of emotions in their diplomatic assignments while it also helps explain Elizabeth's reaction to Glajon.

I venture to say that the way to ensure our business [...] was to keep her in doubt as to your friendship, and even in a state of fear and alarm. (February 3, 1560; Hume 1892, 123)

Except for Guzmán de Silva's mission, these instances indicate that Spain's political, economic, and religious agenda necessitated a

more aggressive diplomatic policy, notwithstanding the numerous exceptional qualities of the ambassadors mentioned here. Hume notes, for instance, that Bernardino de Mendoza was a “brilliant soldier, diplomatist, and historian” (Hume 1896, xliii). Therefore, ambassadors played a role in emotional diplomacy in the sense that their emotional traits were used to project and advance their sovereign’s emotions towards a kingdom seen as a threat to Spain’s economic and political interest on the continent and abroad, along with preserving the Catholic faith.

Another factor that should be noted is the unique challenges Elizabeth was facing as a female monarch in a predominantly patriarchal society. From the time of her ascension to the throne, Elizabeth knew what it was like not to be supported by many due to her gender. However, throughout her reign, she skillfully navigated the political landscape to establish her authority and assert her legitimacy. When Portugal faced the succession crisis that preceded the Iberian Union in 1580, one of the claimants to the Portuguese throne, António Prior do Crato, sent an envoy to England to ask for the queen’s favor.

What Don Antonio asks of her Majesty is, first, to take him under her protection, and that she will be pleased to favour his cause and right, because [...] he is a man and descended from a man, and never since Portugal was a kingdom have women or the descendants of women succeeded. (Butler 1907, 192)

The envoy’s approach to the English queen may seem counterproductive precisely because Elizabeth was a woman. Whenever the preestablished order was questioned regarding succession, the tenet provided by the Salic Law was considered, namely the agnatic principle, which excluded women from inheriting the throne. However, Elizabeth’s protection was imperative for the Portuguese claimant and his envoy, regardless of her gender. After 22 years, Elizabeth had already established herself as a strong and capable ruler, emphasizing her connection to her father, Henry VIII, and promoting an image of imperial power.

Additionally, marriage was perceived as a way to secure alliances and succession as well as gender hierarchy and social order (Bell 2010, 3; Daybell and Norrhem 2017, 16). This made Elizabeth’s unmarried status a central issue during her reign. From the very beginning of

Elizabeth's reign, finding her a suitable husband was a geopolitical matter juxtaposed with patriarchal and religious considerations. However, Elizabeth promptly excluded the possibility of marrying her sister's widower, probably stirring up feelings of rejection in the powerful Spanish king.

Elizabeth was sensible that not only had she wounded his pride by rejecting his hand, but further that she had offended his dignity by intimating her resolution of adopting an independent line of action, while she shocked his orthodoxy by adhering to the Protestant form of worship. (Stevenson 1865, lxxvii)

The Spanish ambassador in England at the time, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, 1st Duke of Feria, wrote to his king on November 21, 1558: "The more I think over this business, the more certain I am that everything depends upon the husband this woman may take" (Hume 1892, 3). In the Spanish ambassador's words, England was a country governed by "a young lass, who, although sharp, [was] without prudence," a "kingdom [...] entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics and traitors" (Hume 1892, 7). Later, Álvaro de la Quadra reported that negotiating with Elizabeth was challenging, as she was a woman and therefore "naturally changeable," "passionate [and] ill-advised" (Hume 1892, 63, 101). Bernardino de Mendoza informed Philip of his "bold front to the Queen on many occasions" and how his "smart answers" had "been of advantage in making her more modest" (Hume 1896, 113).

The Spanish ambassadors' observations illustrate the echoes of scholasticism and medieval tradition that prevailed in early modern minds. Women were perceived as "the weaker vessel" (1 Peter 3:7), confined to the archetypes of *mala mulier* or *bona mulier*, expected to adopt a submissive role in society, taking their place in the *oikos* sphere, and required to conform to the biblical virtue of modesty. Elizabeth's queenship and determination to reign without a husband confronted the established order of things. The concept of "The King's Two Bodies," with which sixteenth-century English society was familiar, offered a renewed legal and political perspective on the matter of a woman monarch. The "Body politic" is not subject to the fragilities and limitations of the "Body natural" (Kantorowicz 1957, 7-23). The notion of Elizabeth's two bodies (the woman's and

the queen's) becomes apparent in her famous 1588 speech to the troops assembled to defend England against the Spanish Armada.

I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too. (Harley 6798, fol. 87)

As a woman monarch, Elizabeth personified the changes being undergone in the early modern period: on the one hand, the legacy that she chose to maintain and on the other the innovative interpretation of the role of women on the political stage. Despite the restrictions and struggles particular to their gender, early modern women also “found many ways to exercise authority, enact resistance, express themselves [...] or effect change” (Dolan 2003, 8). Elizabeth's patronage of female intellectuals, such as poets and writers, helped women to flourish in a male-dominated society and challenge traditional gender roles. James Daybell and Svante Norrhem point out that unlike other European courts filled with aristocratic women from the ruling dynasty, like the Medici in Florence, the Elizabethan court had one royal woman, the queen herself (2017, 16). However, throughout her reign, Elizabeth confronted patriarchal observations and gender prejudice with determination, providing opportunities for women and their work to gain recognition, as in the case of Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke.

Elizabeth's determination was also directed at intimidating ambassadors, as Joseph Stevenson observes in his comment on the Glajon's episode mentioned earlier.

He [Glajon] pushed her [Elizabeth] too closely, and she turned upon him with a firmness which he had not expected. [...] This unexpected firmness upon the part of Elizabeth surprised and disconcerted the Spanish envoy; he had come to intimidate, and he was intimidated. (Stevenson 1865, xvi, xvii)

Elizabeth's ruling and diplomatic relations style display her discernment in navigating the political challenges posed by her gender. She carefully cultivated relationships with ambassadors and foreign leaders, using her charm, wit, and intelligence to win their respect and secure alliances, but she also asserted her authority with bravery and determination whenever needed.

The patriarchal discourse that emerges from the Spanish diplomatic correspondence may be because the Spanish ambassadors

were encouraged to write detailed reports. In 1559, Philip wrote to his resident ambassador in England, Álvaro de la Quadra: “I thank you for informing me so minutely of all that occurs, and desire you to continue to do so” (Hume 1892, 82). In the context of this analysis, Philip’s demand for his ambassadors’ feelings concerning Elizabeth and her government, as expressed in a letter to Guzmán de Silva in 1568, is noteworthy: “tell me what you feel about it in full detail” (Hume 1894, 3). Álvaro de la Quadra’s words may perhaps encapsulate how the Spanish ambassadors construed their king’s request.

I thought that we who are on the spot are bound to say all we feel, even though we may be called imprudent, and thereafter strictly to obey and fulfil the orders we receive. (February 3, 1560; Hume 1892, 123)

Portugal saw England from a different standpoint due to its geopolitical and economic position. Despite the trade conflicts between England and Portugal, the sustained diplomacy of appeasement pursued by the Portuguese sovereigns and ambassadors points to the use of soft power resources to achieve a goal—that of the delicate balance of the established alliances with the rivals Spain and England—embodied by the Portuguese diplomats’ composure and conciliatory rhetoric. That could be the reason for the Portuguese ambassadors’ lack of angry emotional outbursts or harshness towards the queen, even when facing home invasions due to the Catholic Mass celebrations.⁹

Non-verbal cues and symbols may also illustrate the Portuguese ambassadors’ cordial relationship with the English queen. João Pereira Dantas sent her a gift from Paris, in 1563.

Je ne diray autre chose qui de supplier tres humblement votre Amitié, m’excuser si des dix paires de gantez que je vous presente ne sont si bons [...]. Sil y a MADAME autre chose en laquelle je puisse faire très humble service à votre Maté, je le feray de si bon coeur, que pour le Roy Monseigneur. [I won’t say anything other than to very humbly implore your friendship and apologize if the ten pairs of gloves that I present you with are not so fine [...]. If there is any other way, Madame, in which I can do very humble service to your

⁹ In 1568, with Manoel d’Alvares (Nicholson 1843, 300); in 1576, with Francisco Giraldes (London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 23.58 fols. 121, 122). For further information on the Portuguese diplomats’ home invasions, see Oliveira 2016, 159–74.

Majesty, I will do so with as good a heart as only for the King My lord.] (London, The National Archives, SP 70/58, fol. 52)

Another instance is the episode of the ship that Elizabeth lent Francisco Giraldes so that his wife could join him in London.

Pero Vaz espero cada dia de Flandres, onde o mandei, por se achar presente quando recebi minha mulher por procuração [...]. E por a Rainha levar gosto que esta Dama venha aqui e me oferecer uma das suas naus, para poder passar o mar debaixo de sua protecção. [I await Pero Vaz's return from Flandres each day, where I sent him to be present when I received my wife by proxy [...]. The Queen [Elizabeth] insists that this Lady come here [to London] and offered me one of her ships so she can cross the sea under the Queen's protection.] (December 9, 1575; Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, MS 49-X-4, Vol IV, fol. 124)

Francisco Giraldes was then serving as Portugal's plenipotentiary on the resolution of the Anglo-Portuguese commercial interregnum but successfully maintained a friendly relationship with Elizabeth, regardless of the challenges of his diplomatic mission.

The letter Elizabeth wrote to the Iberian king, in 1581, concerning António de Castilho, the last Portuguese ambassador to the Elizabethan court, also illustrates the cordial relationship between the Portuguese ambassadors and the English queen.

He has left with us an approved character for prudence in the handling of the business entrusted to him, with a disposition inclined by all means to preserve peace and amity between princes, and in no way to foster discords, which seems to us by far the best natural disposition, and we have liked him accordingly. (Butler 1907, 721)

Considering that the Portuguese ambassadors' missions to England were mainly to present their sovereign's grievances in the context of competition for the dominion of the seas and the Anglo-Portuguese commercial interregnum, it is of note that the Portuguese diplomatic discourse relied on notions of legitimacy, control, and attraction to bring about the cooperation or acquiescence of governments (Graham 2014, 523).

That exercise of contention must have been difficult to sustain at times, especially considering the English plunder of Portuguese ships and commerce in the Portuguese Northern African territories. It points

to Hall's concept of "official emotion" in the sense that the Portuguese ambassadors displayed an identical emotional response to adversity, suggesting a concerted, institutional diplomatic strategy (2015, 16). Portuguese diplomats could express their feelings more freely when communicating with one another, as in the case of Francisco Pereira's letter to Ruy Gomes da Silva, stating that the Portuguese would be better served if they were more threatening to the French and English.

Por amor de Deus que não peçamos sempre esmola, porque [...] nunca outra cousa fiz senão pedir cartas de favor para ofensas recebidas [...]. Se lhes mostrássemos os dentes, um dia a franceses e a ingleses, por ventura que seríamos melhor louvados. [For the love of God, let us not always beg, because [...] I have never done anything else but to ask for letters of favour for offenses received [...]. If one day we bared our teeth to the French and the English, perhaps we would be better praised.] (April 4, 1559; Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, PT/TT/CC/1/103/61)

The Portuguese ambassador advocated for a harsher foreign policy approach, much in line with the Iberian counterparts, although Portugal never implemented this course of action.

Taking into account the complexities of the early modern Anglo-Iberian historical-cultural context and the insights gained from diplomatic sources, a line of enquiry may be pursued which analyzes emotions in foreign affairs policies. This analysis is significant, since ambassadors' emotions and emotional behavior underlie their political and intellectual appraisals, rhetorical styles, and soft power resources. The Iberian diplomatic correspondence reveals a collective dimension, conveying an official, rather than personal, emotional policy in foreign affairs, in which the diplomats' emotional profiles were to serve the sovereign's interests.

The Iberian diplomatic missions in the Elizabethan court had distinctive configurations and outcomes, which can be explained if we consider the geopolitical differences between the Iberian kingdoms. Spain's dominant geopolitical and economic circumstances favored a more aggressive diplomatic strategy. Spanish ambassadors were encouraged to be outspoken, like their king, and to write about how they felt in regard to the information they reported. The Portuguese diplomatic correspondence, uninformative with regards to their authors' emotions, conforms to the Portuguese ambassadors' absence

of angry emotional outbursts or hostility. Portuguese ambassadors enacted and furthered their kingdom's diplomacy of appeasement even when circumstances made it hard to maintain decorum, working collectively to preserve amicable alliances with Spain and England, which is relevant when considering Portugal's more delicate strategic position.

Examining the Iberian emotional diplomatic strategy towards England and the outcomes that resulted from their negotiations may also help explain the short- and long-term effects of diplomatic efforts, namely the decline of Anglo-Spanish relations that culminated in the Spanish Armada, the end of the Anglo-Portuguese commercial interregnum, and the endurance of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.

Analyzing diplomatic language and rhetoric used in Anglo-Iberian diplomatic sources sheds light on the hidden meanings, diplomatic protocols, and maneuvers employed by the actors and reveals their underlying motivations, strategies, and power dynamics. Simultaneously, the non-verbal cues and symbols in the Anglo-Iberian diplomatic interactions exemplify early modern cultural values, hierarchical relationships, and diplomatic etiquette.

In light of the evidence presented, it might be assumed that the sovereigns selected their envoys not only based on their diplomatic skills but also by envisioning how their diplomats' emotional behavior would suit the kingdom's agenda. This diplomatic strategy meant collaborative and synchronized emotional behavior amongst state actors could emerge. Rather than emphasizing the individual's display of emotions, or lack thereof, early modern Anglo-Iberian diplomacy points to the ambassadors' significant role in emotional diplomacy.

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