At a difficult point in her life, in the mid-1560s, during the crisis in the Austrian marriage negotiations, Elizabeth decided to write in Italian to Maximilian II, brother to Archduke Charles, her possible future husband. She wrote these lines with extreme care, which is hardly surprising: the situation was delicate indeed, and the risk that her words might be quoted back at her was far from remote. It is evident from her corrections—some of which were done *currente calamo*—that she paused at various stages during the writing process, and subsequently revised her drafts carefully (and/or, at least in part, had these texts revised for her, possibly by Roger Ascham or William Cecil, who added the date in the final version of Letter 4).¹

The Queen was equally attentive to the choice of vocabulary and the *mise en page* of these texts. The final versions (now in the Vienna State Archive) are, in fact, three exceptional examples of her best hand.² Interestingly, these holograph copies present a number of substantial amendments from the draft versions. These alterations provide a unique window onto the Queen at work on her foreign correspondence. While some revisions are substantial,³ most concern matters of style, spelling, corrections of syntax and fine tuning of *consecutio temporum*. To quote but one example, Elizabeth’s draft phrase ‘ó ch’io non tengo per honorata offerta quella della parte dell fratello vostro Anzi mi reputo felice che habbia la bona opinione di me che desiderate della mano mia si stretto nodo’ becomes, in the letter that was sent, ‘Ó Ch’io non *tenessi* per honorata offerta quella della parte del fratello suo. Anzi mi *reputai* felice che
havennate cosi bona opinione di me per ricerchar della mano mia si stretto nodo.’ Revisions such as these are compatible with Elizabeth’s practice in her English letters. One of the few surviving examples of a holograph draft and copy of a letter in Elizabeth’s own hand shows that she would take the time to go over her choice of vocabulary and revise her wording in many places. Approximately six hundred words in Cecil Papers 133/80 (fols. 120–22, an English letter to James of Scotland, May 1594) were corrected in no less than thirteen places when transferred to the final two-page text, now British Library, Add MS 23240, fol. 132r–v. The final copy itself contains seven alterations, two of which appear to be afterthoughts and two currente calamo revisions.4

The corrections in the missives to Maximilian II show the great care that Elizabeth took in shaping the final text of her letters, possibly with the help of her secretariat.5 Scribal copies of these, in fact, bearing some of the corrections, and other alterations, are to be found among the State Papers at the National Archives and the Cotton manuscripts at the British Library. Rather than using ‘standard’ diplomatic Latin (or Spanish, the language employed by Maximilian in his correspondence with her), she resorted to Italian, probably as a means to establish a more intimate, almost affectionate rapport with the Emperor at a time when the negotiations seemed to be irremediably stalled.6 Just as in her letter to James quoted above—which was written in May 1594, at a time when she could have been suspected of having supported the Earl of Bothwell’s abortive coup7—she was clearly weighing up every word in order to be as effective as possible.

In January 1593 Elizabeth complained to James that he had never welcomed her warning that he was surrounded by ‘wicked Conspirators’ as a sincere gesture of friendship. On the contrary, she declared, it ‘was thought an Italian invention to make you hold me dearer.’8 In the same vein, in her letters to Maximilian almost thirty years earlier, she protests her sincerity. Indeed, if her missives did not contain elements of deceit and ‘inventions’ they were certainly full of rhetorical inventio and clever turns of phrase, and her elaborate courteous sentences often concealed a polite, but firm request. It appears, then, that by the 1560s Elizabeth could already transform Italian courtesy into a sharp political tool.
Notes

1. Cf. ‘Aprilis’ in this document and ‘Aprili’ / ‘April’ in Burghley’s journals, CP 229/2, fols. 5, 8 and CP 229/1, fol. 18 (see also below). Cecil could certainly read Italian, as witnessed by his numerous endorsements and notes to letters in this language. In the mid-1580s he received a series of letters in Italian connected with the peace negotiations in the Netherlands, which he annotated in his hand; cf. e.g. SP 77/1, fols., 179, 194, 194v (see below, Letters 16-17). Cf. also Wallace T. MacCaffrey, ‘Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598)’ in ODNB. On Elizabeth’s remark, some two years earlier than Letter 4, that she was ‘half Italian,’ see the first paragraph of the Introduction.

2. See the Introduction, 2.1.

3. Cf. e.g. Letter 4, draft 1, and the final version, below, where ‘ho fatto Electione di questo gentilhuomo chi mi è molto fedele et molto saulio chi al quale spero non dispiacera la Maestà Vostra dar audientia faureuole et sia colpa se sia fatto nell suo credito a me sia dato alla colpa e non il bi’simo all messangier nel quale possiat<e> confidar come a m’estessa becomes ‘ho fatto Electione di questo gentilhuomo chi mi è molto fedele et di molto compiuto ingenio[.] Alquale piacera La Maestà Vostra dar benigna audientia, Et se la pi’cera crederlo Come me stezza mi compiacera molto[.]’

4. This are, respectively, ‘letter 90, draft’ and ‘letter 90’ in ACFLO, 102–3; 100–2. On Elizabeth’s revisions see also the Introduction, 2.2.

5. While Castiglione, Elizabeth’s former Italian teacher, might in theory have contributed the corrections to the Maximilian letters, both the text and the handwriting of his holograph letter to William Brooke, Lord Cobham (who, significantly happened to be the brother of the bearer of Letter 6; cf. the introductory note below) seem to deny the plausibility of this hypothesis. Cf. also the Introduction, 1.1.

6. On other occasions (cf. e.g. SP 70/91, fol. 104), Elizabeth resorted to much more traditional Latin—the language in which she wrote her missives to Archduke Charles—and, at least once (BL, Cotton MS Nero B IX, fol. 115), to Spanish, the language chosen by Maximilian when writing in his own hand (cf. below). One wonders if the notoriously anti-Spanish Maximilian had chosen Spanish to
set a more relaxed tone—in this case, Elizabeth’s Italian may have been responding in kind (I am grateful to Simon Adams for this suggestion).


8. BL, Add. MS 23240, fol. 108v. The spelling has here been modernized. Cf. the text also in *ACFLO*, 97–98.
From as early as 1563, after Elizabeth’s promise in Parliament to consider matrimony seriously, William Cecil had been attempting to revive negotiations for a marriage between her and Charles, Archduke of Austria, brother to Emperor Maximilian II, thereby reviving a plan which was first conceived in 1559. By the end of November 1564, the Spanish ambassador, Diego Guzman de Silva, wrote to Philip II to announce that ‘they have set a person at me to get me to broach the subject of the Queen’s marriage with the archduke Charles, and she herself has given me to understand several times that she wishes to get married, and shows a desire to have this question revived.’ In the spring of the following year the negotiations were doing well; by 15 March Guzman had no doubts: ‘all eyes are fixed on the Archduke Charles, and well informed people tell me that negotiations about him are actually going on through Robert [Dudley]’—the latter apparently having renounced, as the Queen informed the Spanish gentleman, his long-standing suit. The Austrian match could finally become a reality.

Adam Zwetkovich, the Emperor’s envoy, arrived in England on 6 May 1565, officially with the purpose of bringing back the insignia of the Garter once worn by Ferdinand I, the Emperor’s father. Even if the marriage negotiations did not move ahead with great speed, by early June there seemed to be reasonably good hopes that some agreement could be reached. However, some serious disagreement between the two sides,
especially on matters of religion, especially on matters of religion, could not be ignored. In mid-July the Emperor instructed his envoy to make his conditions very clear: his brother and household must be allowed ‘the free exercise of their religion.’ Cecil, in turn, replied that ‘no-one in this realm’ could be allowed to ‘publicly or privately practise or confess religious rites that are contrary to the laws of this land.’ By August, all seemed doomed to end in stalemate.

On his departure earlier that month, however, Elizabeth decided to entrust Zvetkovich with a new message (together with a Latin letter asking Maximilian to reward him for his zeal). A response to this message, which is referred to in the letter printed below, was very slow in coming: it was only on about 20 or 24 December 1565 that Roger Lestrange returned with a missive in Spanish from the Emperor (dated 27 November). Maximilian had penned the text personally; he stated that he had received the Queen’s letter through Zvetkovich, and he would deal plainly with her: in such an ‘uncertain matter’ he desired her ‘to consider that it cannot but seem very difficult’ for his brother ‘to undertake this journey.’ However, ‘having some certainty there would be no such inconvenience,’ he asked for some assurance that Charles and his train ‘be not troubled in their religion, and also that he be not driven to live wholly upon his own.’

The Italian text in SP 70/77 is clearly a reply to this. It is likely Elizabeth took some time to respond. Her reply, in fact, seems to echo a conversation she had with Guzman on 27 January 1565/6. On that occasion she mentioned that it was true that

the Emperor had written to her with his own hand and in Spanish and she was rather sorry that after delaying his answer so long—and she had sent word that she would not entertain any other proposals until his reply came—he should write now doubtfully and undecidedly raising the three issues ... namely, about the Archduke’s expenditure in this country, the question of religion and the Archduke’s coming. Respecting the first point she said the Emperor wrote that no reasonable person would consider it just that whilst the Archduke was so far away from his own country he should be maintained by it. On the subject of religion he said the Archduke and his household could only continue in his own, and, as regarded his coming, it was neither reasonable nor convenient that a person like his brother should come without some assurance. How could she marry, she said, with a man whom she had to feed, and let the world say she had taken a husband who could not afford to keep himself [?].

As Guzman relates, just a few days later, on 2 February, he was shown the very letter received from the Emperor, and had the opportunity to
discuss its contents with the Queen. With the excuse of explaining the Emperor’s Spanish, the ambassador offered to reply to Elizabeth’s questions—literally, voicing Maximilian’s thoughts:

Since she had told me in substance what the letter contained, I said, if she would allow the letter to be shown to me I could, in case the matter were discussed in my presence, reply in accordance with the Emperor’s own words. She did this, and ordering a desk in which she kept the letter to be brought to her, read the letter to me.

In a quasi-theatrical dialogue, the Queen went through the text of the missive, commenting on it and pausing for Guzman’s reply at the end of each of its three main points:

On the first point, namely, the coming of the Archduke, [the letter] says the matter was so important that it could not fail to present some difficulties as she would understand. The Queen said it was impossible that this could refer to the coming of his Highness, although I endeavoured to show her that the Emperor did not refuse this but only said it could not be without difficulty. She seemed somewhat tranquillised on this point. As regards the religious question and the clause which says that the Archduke and his household shall enjoy their own religion, and will offer no impediment to others enjoying theirs, the Queen said, ‘The Emperor does not declare himself in this either.’ I asked her if she understood what religion the Archduke professed, to which she replied that she did not but would like to know. I then asked her jokingly whether she knew what her own religion was and would tell me, since her understanding could not fail to see which was the true one. She laughed at this and passed the matter off. On the third point, where the Emperor says that as his brother, being so far away from his dominions, it would not be reasonable that he should defray all his expenses himself; she wished to make out that the Emperor’s meaning was that the Archduke would not bring any money for his own expenditure. I assured her that such was not the meaning, but that it was not reasonable to expect him to bear the whole of the expense caused by his living in this country away from his dominions.

I told her that I did not think the Emperor had written to her so dubiously as she had given me to understand the previous day, and begged her to make up her mind on the business and send a fitting answer to the Emperor ....

The Queen resolved that she would write decidedly to the Emperor and send one of her gentlemen with the letter, by which it would seem that she had changed her mind about writing through Christopher Mundt the German, as she told me she would, and I wrote to your Majesty.
A set of instructions for Thomas Sackville was drafted about mid-February. On 30 April 1566, however, the Queen appointed Thomas Dannett as her special ambassador. The latter, accompanied by Christopher Mont, the experienced German-born diplomat who had served under Henry VIII, had an audience with the Emperor on 25 May.

Elizabeth’s draft may have been written at any time between early February (after her conversation with Guzman) and 2 April 1566, the date found on the holograph and the copy in the Augsburg archives. This final version must have been given to the Ambassador together with his written set of instructions, which he must have received either at the end of the month or on 1 May 1566, as evidenced by the note found on a duplicate, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius C XI, fol. 243r–v and on a note by William Cecil in SP 70/84, fol. 2 (‘primo Maij 1566 / Copy of the Queen Maiesties lettre to / the emperor Maximilian / sentt by Thomas Dannett,’ to which no letter follows).

Texts

Letter 4 is extant in three holograph versions: two drafts, SP 70/77, fol. 173v (hereafter 70/77/A) and fols. 173, 174r–v (70/77/B), and the final sent version, now in Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und- Staatsarchiv, Hausarchiv-Familienakten, Karton 21 (formerly Karton 15), Konvolut 4, Faszikel 5, fol. 7r–v (hereafter VI). Later copies in Thomas Windebank’s hand are found in SP 70/77, fol. 175r–v (70/77/C), and BL, Cotton MS Vitellius C XI, fol. 243r–v (CV11C), a manuscript damaged by fire in 1731. Another version of the letter is in Haus-, Hof- und- Staatsarchiv, Hausarchiv-Familienakten, Karton 21, Konvolut 4, Faszikel 5, fols. 6r–v, 9 (V1C). Textual evidence suggests that drafts 1 and 2, 70/77/A and 70/77/B, were conflated into a corrected transcript (α), and two independent textual traditions stem from this lost copy. This was the document which Elizabeth used for her holograph missive to the Emperor, VI. This letter was later duplicated (and corrected) by the Imperial scribe who penned V1C. In England, α was copied in 70/77C, from which the rather mechanical transcription in CV11C (which, however, mentions the name of the envoy, Dannett) was probably taken.

The existing differences between the holograph witnesses have prompted the need to print three separate transcriptions of the two earlier drafts present in 70/77 and the final copy now in Vienna, VI (collated against the transcriptions found in 70/77C, CV11C and V1C). The latter is the text translated at the end of the present section.
Che la risposta mia a la lett’ra scritta da Vostra Maestá e stato tanto in lunga tirata non e stato ó per non hauer pigliata in bona parte quello che gli ha piaciuto scriuermi ó ch’io non tengo per honorata offerta quella della parte dell fratello vostro Anzi mi reputo felice che habbiate quella bona opinione di me che desiderate della mano mia si stretto nodo / Solamente ho risparmiata questo tempo di molestarvi con questo negotio intendendo delle grande facende vostre et cose d’importanza si per le provicione contra il commun inimico della Christianitá si anchora per le conventioni de i stati della Germania hora rispondero vn poco a la li–litera con questo prologo ch’io faro profession Mi pareua cosa strana che dopoi vn il ritardar d’urnm cinque mezi al manco

7 stretto nodo: an expression related to ‘stretto nodo del matrimonio’ (‘the tight knot of marriage’), a commonplace phrase in sixteenth-century Italian: it was used, among others, by Ariosto, Orlando Furioso 46.20 (a text Elizabeth knew; see the Introduction, 1) and Matteo Bandello (Novelle, 2.41).

11–12 le provicione... Christianitá: the Ottoman Empire was, in 1566, launching yet another attack against the Habsburg dominions. Its final phase, the siege of Szigetvár (5 August–8 September 1566), would in fact result in a pyrrhic victory for the Turks—and in the death (from natural causes) of the by then ageing Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. Elizabeth could have received direct intelligence of these preparations via Pietro Bizzarri (who wrote to Cecil on 19 January 1565/6, SP 70/82, fol. 28) and Christopher Mont in April 1566, cf. SP 70/83, fol. 157, but a number of earlier reports and advices are extant; cf. e.g. SP 70/82, fol. 24 (9 January 1565/6); SP 70/83, fol. 21 (March 1565/6).

12–13 le conventioni... Germania: quite probably the Diet held at Augsburg in March 1566, during which, significantly enough, the Catholic princes of Germany acknowledged the decrees of the Council of Trent (1559–63); cf. Cirillus Sabinus’s letter to Mont in SP 70/81, fol. 49 and Mont’s letter to Cecil in SP 70/84, fol. 160. News of the preparations for the Diet had already reached England (again, via Mont, who evidently wanted Burghley to get his message as soon as possible, and wrote ‘cito, cito, cito’ [quick, quick, quick] on the back of it) by mid-November 1565, cf. SP 70/81, fol. 21.
Maiestà alhora pensai che mi fussi dato
la baia et che piu ferri ch’uno si mettessi
in foco talche mai non en<si> al sprezzata
ó almanco tenuta in bilancio in aspett<io>nne
di miglior peso. dopoi hauer ricevuta la
lettera vostra

4b—Draft 2 (70/77/B)

Con speranza che queste linee otteneranno
perdono se troppo chiaramente le saranno
scritte ho determinata q di slassia slacchiar la

17–18 che... la baia: the phrase ‘dare la baia’ is found in Florio 1598 (sig. H6v) and 1611 (sig. M2v) as ‘to give a mocke or flout.’

18–19 piu ferri... fuoco: proverbial; cf. also ‘battere due ferri, o chiodi a un caldo,’ Vocabolario della Crusca, s.v. ‘battere.’ Of course, this could simply derive from a phrase in use at least since the mid-1560s; cf. OED, ‘iron,’ n.1, P5a. During the audience of 20 May 1565, Elizabeth told Zwetkovich that she had received two letters from the King of Spain, the first complimenting her on her marriage to the Archduke, the second lamenting that he could not come. This had been done, Elizabeth thought, ‘in mockery of her’: in fact she knew, she said, that Charles had proposed to Mary Queen of Scots, and she had heard rumours that ‘the Archduke Charles had promised to give the Queen of Scotland an answer in two years’ time; and this she took to mean that if the Queen of Scotland did not wish to have the Archduke, she, the Queen of England, was to be the jester to the Queen of Scotland.’ (Klarwill, 214). In fact, since 1565 and probably at this very time, Elizabeth was lending an attentive ear to the marriage proposals coming from France; cf. CSPSp, I, 407. See also McCaffrey, Elizabeth I, 91; Doran, Monarchy and Matrimony, 77.

19 talche... sprezzata: Zwetkovich had been instructed to ‘learn, not from conjectures but from sure judgements and from the general opinion that the integrity of the morals and life of Her Highness is not such as becomes a Princess.’ He could later report that Elizabeth ‘would fain vindicate herself... against all the slander that had been cast at her.’ She hoped, in fact, that Maximilian ‘would find that she all the time acted in all matters with due decorum and attention.’ The ambassador was later to witness that he had ‘through several persons made diligent enquiries’ and had ‘found that she has truly and verily been praised and extolled for her virginal and royal honour, and that nothing can be said against her’ (Klarwill, 207, 217, 231). As Luis Montrose notes, at about this time Guzman ‘was reporting to King Philip that the French ambassador had sworn to him that the Queen had slept with Dudley on the prior New Year’s night’; cf. CSPSp, I, 520; Louis Adrian Montrose, The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006, 277, note 18). See also Levin, The Heart and Stomach of a King, 66–90.
la briglia della voglia mia et dar il freno
in bocca della mia penna / Mi parse
strana cosa Sacra Maiestá che cinque mezi
fussino spesi senza ch’io ricevessi ó messagij
ó linea della Maestá Vostra. Io pensai da douero
ó che mi fussi dato la baia ó che più
ferri ch’uno si mettessi in fuoco talche
mi pensai sprezzata ó almanco tenuta
in bilancio con espettatione di miglior peso
Ma dopo il ritornar di Strange Io mi sbigottai
come quella che recevea honorata certo ma
invero incerta risposta  Non posso negar
che in quella non sieno parole corteze et
humile per le quale come debbo così
la rendo gratie infinite ma pensando della
mia resoluzione data al Signor Swetkowitz
non aspettai piu dubbie senon o il si ó il
no / Ora per toccar i tre punti chiusi ã nella
lettra sua il primo e dell viaggio dell
fratello con sicurtá  Vostra Maesta ha da
saper che non mi tengo per sì di poco tal che potri<a>

4 dar il freno: meaning, again, the bridle as in the expressions ‘a freno sciolto,’ ‘a freno abbandonato’: cf. ‘a freno abbandonato cavalcando’ (Boccaccio, Decameron X,9); ‘Fuggono i Franchi allora a freno sciolto’ (Tasso, Gerusalemme liberata, Canto IX). This, in fact, is the meaning provided in Thomas, Principal Rules (sig. ²N4 in both the 1550 and in the 1562 edition).

13 Strange: Roger Lestrange, who had brought the Emperor’s letter (see above).

19 Signor Swetkowitz: Adam Zwetkovich (or Swetkowitz), Baron von Mitterburg, Chamberlain and Vice-President of the Austrian Exchequer (?-1573), the Emperor’s envoy (cf. Klarwill, 236 and BL, Cotton Nero IX, fol. 105).

22–23 il primo... sicurtá: in his letter Maximilian had stated that ‘en cosa incierta no es posible sino que nos haga dificultoso a mi hermano de hazer este camino’ (‘in such an uncertain situation, it is probable that it will be difficult for my brother to make this journey’; SP 70/81, fol. 51), thus clearly indicating that Charles would only come to England if some assurance of the marriage was provided. Elizabeth cleverly takes such uncertainty also to a different level, that of personal liking—which allows her, in the next paragraphs, to address the topic of religion less bluntly.
ELIZABETH I’S ITALIAN LETTERS

25 far dishonor all Archeduca di venir a ricercarmi non per dignità che in me sia ma per l’honor del luogo vuo quale mi tengo. Mi par che sarebbe megli<o> per tutti di vedersi Chi sa aluy pia cera la elezione fatta per l’orecchie occhi di

30 altrui /. tot capita tot sensu[.] quel che a vn piace a vn altro non consuiene A me toce e la vergogna ugualmente con esso luy se la venuta sua sarebbe indarno per esser le opinioni <de>lle gente incerta se limpedimento si trovasse in me che gli donassi causa di’ hab abandonar tal pensiero
cosi bene che il rifutar fussi per non m’hauer compiaciuto tal patto talche se vi piacier bilanciar con mano dretta questa causa mi par che tal obiectione di

35 gia ha ha la sua risposta. Quanto ala Religion Confidomi tanto nell’iudicio suo che non havro

32 tocher / toccarebbe] toccere first altered to toccera and then cancelled; the final e, however, was clearly meant to be retained

32 vergogna] the second g deleted and later reinstated by means of a stet mark


40 la sua] le sue altered to –

29–30 electione... altrui: the issue of personal liking had been raised in the 1559 negotiations as well (I owe this information to Simon Adams). Cf. also Carolly Erickson, The First Elizabeth (London: Robson, 2001), 189–90.

30 tot capita tot sensus: ‘Many heads, many views.’ A common medieval Latin proverb, probably derived from classical sources such as Cicero’s De finibus, I.5.15 and Terence, Phormio, 454: ‘Quot homines, tot sententiae’ (quoted also by Erasmus in his Adagia, 30). Cf. also Porphyry, ‘quot homines, tot esse sententias’; Horace: ‘quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum milia’ (Satirae, II.1.27–8). Common variants of this adage are ‘Ad numerum capitum sententia multiplicatur,’ ‘Quot vivunt capita, tu tot sensus fere narra,’ ‘Tot homines, quot sententie’ and ‘Quot capita, tot sensus;’ see Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, ed. Hans Walther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), II/1, no. 416, II/4, nos. 26211b, 26227C, II/5, nos. 31477a, 31481.

38 bilanciar con mano dretta: in a French letter to Anjou of 1581, Elizabeth used the expression ‘poiser en droicites balances,’ which may be behind the Italian phrase as well; see CP 135/19 (I owe this information to Guillaume Coatalen). For a detailed discussion of the ‘metaphor of the scales’ see Iannaccaro and Petrina, ‘To and from the Queen: Modalities of Epistolography in the Correspondence of Elizabeth I,’ 69–89; 71–77.
bisogna di riplicar le mille inconvenienti che son accidentalì alla variete delle conscientie dell marito et moglie, et molti piu mali che possono avenir in vn regno diviso in doue parte l’vna banda per lui et l’altra per lei. Rassomigliarebbe all giogo di doui animali variando i passi in doui canti chi mai tirarebbono in dretto sentiero et farebbe che la voglia che debitamente sarebbe vna si convertisse con Meta\textsuperscript{morph}hose in odio di tutti doui. Vltimamente per parlar del viuer qui solamente dell souo Vostr\[a\] Maestìa i<n>tenda che il stato nel quale adesso viue Come mi fanno credere non e molto inferiore all Caricho che questo luogo lo darebbe talche penso che non habbia si poco di spender che non possa honoratamente guardar la parte sua della famiglia. Ma di questa cosa non spendero piu parolle come di cosa di niente quando

45 in vn] in deleted and later reinstated by means of a ‘stet’ mark
46 doue] diue altered to –
47 Rassomigliarebbe] Rassomigliarebbe altered to –
50 Vosta] Vosta altered to –.
53 Vostr\[a\] altered to –.
62 di] e altered to –

47–49 giogo... sentiero: reminiscent of Deuteronomy 22:10, in the Vulgate version: ‘non arabis in bove simul et asino’ (‘Thou shalt not plowe with an oxe and an asse together’ in the Bishops’ Bible version). Significantly enough, this—as many early Bible commentaries clearly stated—is echoed in 2 Cor 6:14: ‘nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus’ (‘And beare not ye a strange yoke with the vnbelevers,’ sig. 5O4); cf. Robert M. Grant, \textit{Paul in the Roman World} (Louisville, KY.: John Knox Press, 2001), 68. Elizabeth may be just stating here that the marriage of two people who serve different religions is like the yoking of a donkey and an ox to pull a cart, who are bound to be pulling in different directions. However, the implicit Pauline reference, if deliberate, would be highly significant, and indeed indicative of the Queen’s real feelings concerning this marriage.
le altri dubbi saranno risoluti
Et accioche vostra Maestà sia meglio
in tutta questa facenda ho fatto
Electione di questo gentilhuomo
chi mi e molto fidele et molto
sauio chi al quale spero non dispiacerà la Maestà Vostra

dar audience favoreuole et sia colpa nell suo
credito a me sia dato alla colpa et non il
bi'simo all messanger nel quale possiate confidar come a m'tessa * Secondo l'ordin<aria>

75 ordine del Gartiere hanno fatto
Electione della Maestà Vostra
alla quale ho molto volontieri concessa la mia voce come quella che
che aspetto tanto onore et amista
della parte vostra quanto amore
et affectione o ill zio il padre
vostro dovea giamaj al mio
predecessor. pero rchiedo della
mano sua che mi dia la risposta

85 sua se gli piacerà pigliarla
in bona parte accioche in temp<o>
commodo lo possi mandarlo
a la Maestà Vostra

* non lasciero per questo messangiere di significarla

il buon animo che dimora ne i compagni
dell mio ordine del Gartier verso la
Maestà Vostra i quali questo anno l'hanno eletto
Uno dell ordine suo

63 risoluti: Dannett’s instructions (on which see above) contained the hint that Elizabeth might be prepared to meet Charles’s further expenses.
Che la risposta mia a la lettera scritta da Vostra Maiestà e stata tanto in lungo tirata non è stato ò per non haver pigliata in buona parte quello che gli ha piaciuto scrivermi, Ò Ch’io non tenessi per honorata offerta quella della parte del fratello suo. Anzi mi reputai felice che haveuate cosi bona opinione di me per ricerchar della mano mia si stretto nodo. Solamente ho risparmiata questo tempo di non molestavi di questo negotio intendendo delle grande facende Vostre et cose d’importanze si per le provitione contra il commune inimico della Christianità. Si anchora per le convenzione de i stati della Germania. Hora con speranza che queste linee otteneranno perdono se troppo chiaramente saranno scritte ho determinata di slachiar la briglia della Voglia mia, et dar il freno in bocca della mia penna[.]

Mi parsi strana cosa Sacra Maestá che cinq mezi fussino spesi senza ch’io riceuessi ó messagio ó scritto di Vostre Maestá Io pensai da dovero che mi fussi dato la baia ó almancho che piu ferri ch’vno si mettessi in fuoco talche mi pensai sprezzata ó tenuta in bilancio in aspettazione di miglior peso. Et dopo il ritornar di Strange piu mi sbigottai come quella che ri=

1 Addressed on fol. 8v, in a scribal hand, Alla Maestà dell’Imperadore, VI
2 tirata] ~, 70/77C, CV1IC ó] o 70/77C, CV1IC
3 piaciuto] piaciato CV1IC ò] o 70/77C, CV1IC
4 suo. Anzi] Suo, anzi VIC reputai] riputai 70/77C bona] buona 70/77C, CV1IC
4-5 opinione] openione 70/77C, CV1IC opinione VIC ricerchar] ricetchar 70/77C, ricehchar CV1IC nodo. Solamente] nodo, Solamente VIC 6 negotio] negocio VIC
7 Vostre] ~, 70/77C, CV1IC d’importanze] ~, VIC provitione] prouisione 70/77C, VIC provisione CV1IC
8 Christianità] Christianita. 70/77C, CV1IC; Christianita, VIC de i stati] d’istati VIC
10 troppo] stroppo CV1IC 12 mezi] mesi VIC
13 ó] o 70/77C, CV1IC Maestá] Maesta 70/77C Io] ~: CV1IC
14 baia] ~, VIC ó] o 70/77C, CV1IC fuoco] ~, VIC
15 aspettazione] aspettatione 70/77C, CV1IC, VIC
16 ritornar] ritornare 70/77C, CV1IC Strange] Straunge CV1IC
ceuva honorata certo ma invero incerta risposta. Non posso negar che in quella non sieno parolle corteze et humile per le quale come debbo così la rendo gratie infinite[.] Ma pensando della mia risoluzione data al Signor Switkowitz non aspettai piu dubbij seno il Si ó il No[.] Adesso tocceró i tre punti principali della lettra[.] Il primo é del Viaggio del fratello con sicurtá[.] Vostra Maestá ha da saper che non mi tengo si di puoco che potria far dishonor al Archeduce di venir a ricercharmi non per digna cosa che in me sia ma si ben per l’honor del Luogo chi m’appartiene Pare a me che per tutti duoi sarebbe il meglio il vedersi[.] Chi sa se a luy piacera la elettione fatta per gli occhi d’altrui. Tot Capita tot sensus Quel chi a vn piace a vn altro non conviene. A me toccrebbe la vergonia vgualmente con esso luy se la venuta sua fussi indarno per esser le opinione delle gente varie et incerte se l’impe= dimento si trovassi in me chi gli donassi causa d’habandonar tal partito cosi bene che di pensar ch’il rifiutar procedesse per non m’haver compiaciuto tal patto talche se vi piùcerà bilanciar con mano dretta questa causa mi pare che tal obiectione di gia
ha la sua risposta[.] Quanto della religione[.] Confidomi tanto nel iudicio suo che non havró bisogna di replicar i mille inconvenienti chi sono accidentalı ale variete delle Conscientie del marito et moglie et molti piu mali chi possono advenir a vn regno diviso in duoe parte l’una banda essendo per luy et l’altra per lei[. ] Rassomigliarebbe al iugo di duoi animali variando i passi in duoi canti chi mai tirarebbeno in dretto sentiero et farebbe che la voglia chi debitamente sarebbe vna si convertissi con metamorphose in odio di tutti duoi[. ]

Vltimamente per parlar del viuer qui solamente del suo Vostra Maesta intenda ch’il stato nel quale adesso viue (come mi fanno credere) non é molto inferiore a quei spezi che questo luoco lo darebbe talche penso che non habbia si poco da spendere che non possa honoratamente guardar la parte sua della famiglia[. ] Ma in questa parte non spenderò piu parole come di cosa di niente quando gli altri dubbij saranno risoluti[. ] Et Accioche Vostra Maesta sia meglio instrutta dell’animò mio pianamente in tutta questa facenda ho fatto Electione di questo gentilhuomo chi mi é molto fedele et di molto compiuto ingenio[. ] Alquale piacerà La Maesta Vostra dar benigna audientia, et se la piacera crederlo Come me stessa mi compiacera molto[. ] Non lasciero per questo messangiero di signifíc a lei il buono animo chi dimora ne i Comp=
pagni del mio Ordine del Gartiere verso la Maesta sua iquali questo anno l’han
no eletta vno di Questa Compagnia a i quali ho molto volu
tiere concessa la mia voce Come quella chi aspetto tanto honore et amista della
Maesta

Vostra quanto Amore Ó Affectione il Zio O padre di buone memorie
dovean a i predecessori mei. Pero Rechiedo della mano
sua che gli degna mandarmene il suo piacere accioche in tal modo possi
accommodar le circonstantie di quella Ceremonia[.]

2. Aprilis. 1566

Affectionatissima Sorella della

Maesta Vostra /

Elizabeth R

Letter 4—Translation

If my response to the letter written by Your Majesty has been so long
delayed, this has not arisen from any unwillingness to take in good part
what it has pleased Your Majesty to write, or that I did not regard as
honourable that offer made to me by Your brother. On the contrary, I
consider myself happy that you had such a good opinion of me that you
desired my hand for such a close bond. I forbore until now to trouble you

6 close bond: literally, ‘a tight knot’; but the meaning of ‘bond’ is clearly attested in con-
temporary Italian; see Vocabolario Treccani, s.v., ‘nodo,’ 4a; see also above, Letter 4 draft 1,
ll. 7–8.
with this business only because I was aware of your important affairs and matters of great consequence concerning, on the one hand, the preparations against the common foe of Christianity, and, on the other, the convention of the Estates of Germany.

Now, in the hope that these lines will obtain pardon if too plainly written, I have resolved to loosen the bridle of my will and give free rein to my pen. It seemed strange to me, Sacred Majesty, that five months should have elapsed without receiving either a line or a message from Your Majesty. I seriously thought that I had been jested with, or that more irons than one were in the fire, so that I considered myself slighted, or at least kept in the balance, in expectation of some better weight. And, after the return of Strange I was even more perplexed, as one who received an honourable, indeed, but exceedingly uncertain answer. I cannot deny that this contains courteous and respectful words, for which, as I am duty bound, I humbly thank Your Majesty. Yet, thinking of my resolution conveyed through Master Zwetkovich, I was expecting no more doubts, but only a Yes or No.

Now I'll touch upon the three main points contained in the letter. The first concerns your brother’s journey, and the purposefulness of it. Your Majesty must know that I do not hold myself of such small account that the Archduke would be dishonoured in coming to ask for my person; not for what I am in myself, but for the honour of the position which I hold. It seems to me that it would be better for both to see each other. Who knows whether he will approve the choice made through the eyes of another? *Tot capita tot sensus*. What pleases one may not be acceptable to another. Should his coming bear no fruit, the shame would be no less mine than his; because in popular opinion it would not be clear whether the impediments were to be attributed to me—having given him cause to

19 *this*: the answer, the message received from Vienna.
24 *purposefulness*: the text of Elizabeth’s missive and of Maximilian’s letter makes clear that ‘sicurta’ here is not meant in the sense of ‘safety’; see above, Letter 4 draft 2, line 23.
26 *coming... person*: cf. Vocabolario Treccani ‘ricercare,’ 2, 2d.
27 *for what... myself*: literally, ‘for any worthy thing in me.’
32 *it... clear*: the Italian (in the final version, ‘per esser le opinione delle gente varie et incerte’) stresses the idea that people will also differ as well as be uncertain as to the correct interpretation of the events.
abandon the idea—or if one should think that the refusal were on account of his unwillingness to comply with the agreement. Therefore, if you will weigh this matter with an even hand, it appears to me that such a concern has been already addressed.

As regards religion, I have such trust in your judgment that I do not need to repeat the thousand inconveniences which are incident upon there being differences of conscience between husband and wife, and the many more evils which may arise where a kingdom is divided into two parts, one for him and the other for her. This would be akin to two beasts yoked together, but who, varying in their paces and pulling in different directions, would never pull straight. Thus it would be that what should be one united will, would, on both sides, be transformed by metamorphosis into hatred.

Lastly, to speak of the abode of Your [brother] here, Your Majesty should understand that his present position (as I am led to believe) is not much inferior to that which this position would ask of him. Therefore I believe that he does not have so little to spend that he cannot honourably look to his own family. On this subject, however, I will waste no more words: it is, after all, something easily agreed once other doubts have been resolved.

And so that Your Majesty may fully and plainly understand my mind in this matter, I have chosen this gentleman, who is very faithful to me and possesses a very accomplished mind, to whom your Majesty will vouchsafe to grant a favourable audience; and if you vouchsafe to trust him as you would trust me, you will please me exceedingly.

I will not leave it to this messenger to make known to you the goodwill which the Companions of my Order of the Garter bear you. This year, they have elected you to their Order; to theirs, I added my vote, as that of

34 or: interpreting Elizabeth’s ‘così bene’ as an imperfect form of ‘sibbene’ or ‘si bene.’
39 incident: possibly, this was the English word which Elizabeth had in mind when writing ‘accidentali’; cf. OED, ‘incident,’ adj.1, I.3 3. Interestingly, on the other hand, the Italian form has a specific juridical connotation, cf. Vocabolario Treccani, ‘accidentale,’ agg. 2a.
42–44 like two beasts... straight: see above, Letter 4, draft 2, ll. 47–49.
61 vote: cf. Vocabolario Treccani, ‘voce,’ 3c; the choice of vocabulary, however, may reflect also the English ‘voice’ as in the OED, I.3a, ‘expression of choice or preference given by a person.’
one who expects from Your Majesty no less honour and friendship than that which your Uncle or Father of good memory showed to my predecessors. However, I beg a reply from your hand, as to whether you be pleased to accept, so that I may arrange the details of the ceremony. 2 April 1566

Your Majesty’s most affectionate sister
Elizabeth R.
Notes


11. CSPSp, I, 407. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was far from sincere in his talk with Guzman. As Susan Doran has noted, his ‘public stance on the marriage varied according to the circumstances and the person to whom he was talking at the time, but the pro-Habsburg group felt sure that he was secretly working to scuttle the project’ (Doran, ‘Religion and Politics,’ 908). See also Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 77–78.


13. Cf. Zwetkovich’s letter to Maximilian, CP 147/41, and the enclosed articles agreed with Cecil, CP 155/112. It should be noted that the 1559 negotiations had not got as far as serious discussions on religion, though the Austrian envoy (at this time, Baron Bruner) had hinted—in fact, of his own initiative—that Charles might not be inflexible; cf. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 73.

14. These were, in fact, to prove fatal to the negotiations; cf. Doran, ‘Religion and Politics,’ 915–16; 921–26, and below.


17. A copy of this is now SP 70/81, fol. 51. William Cecil indicated the date of receipt as 24 December on the back of the letter (fol. 51v); see also CSPF, VII: 1564–1565, 427 (no. 1373) and 526-27 (nos. 1696–99). In his journal for 1543–96, however, Cecil (probably writing at a later date) inserted a note just above an entry dated 20 December: ‘Roger le strang brought lettres from Emperor Maximilian to the Queen’s Majesty, dated 27.
November for answer to that his Ambassador Swecovytz returned, concerning the mariadg with the Archduke Charles’ (CP 229/1, fol. 32).

18. Cf. CSPSp, I, 512 and below.

19. SP 70/81, fol. 51. The translation is the one found in CSPF, VIII, 526-27 (except for one correction: the Emperor only refers to his brother’s journey to England and not to his; see the notes to Letter 4 draft 2, line 23 below).

20. Elizabeth did, however, briefly acknowledge the receipt of the Emperor’s letter in a Latin missive dated 14 January 1565/6 (BL, Royal MS 13 B I, fol. 173v; a copy is in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Clarendon MS 35, item 235).


22. Elizabeth spoke to Guzman sometimes in Latin, sometimes in Italian, as had happened, in fact, also on the day of their first meeting: cf. Guzman to Philip II, 27 June 1564, CSPSp, I, 364. Clearly, far from merely resolving a language problem (Elizabeth could certainly read Spanish), this stratagem had the additional advantage of allowing Elizabeth to hear, even if indirectly, the opinion of Spain on this matter.

23. Interestingly, Maximilian had actually sent a copy of his letter to Philip II. I owe this information to Simon Adams.


25. BL, Cotton MS Vitellius C XI, fols. 228–32, which analyses in detail the three points dealt with in Elizabeth’s letter, and is dated 15 February 1565/6.

26. Cf. Bell, Diplomatic Representatives, 57, no. E70. On Mont see Luke MacMahon, ‘Mont, Christopher (1496/7–1572),’ in ODNB. He had been in Augsburg, since at least 17 April 1566, when he wrote to Cecil, cf. CSPF, VIII, 41–58.

27. Dannett’s instructions, dated 30 April 1566 (SP 70/83, fols. 252–55), mirror the main points of Elizabeth’s letter. He was ‘to go to the Emperor and deliver to him a letter from the Queen, written in her proper hand, briefly answering his and signifying his nomination to his father’s place in the Order of the Garter’ and ‘to direct his answers and speeches according to the following forms, being the inconveniences mentioned in the Emperor’s letter, with the answers to the same: 1. It seems difficult for the Archduke Charles to undertake the journey, the matter being so
uncertain. Answer. The matter is not so uncertain if the three principal points contained in the writing given to the Emperor’s ambassador may be performed. 2. That the Archduke nor his shall be troubled in their religion. Answer. No cult in religion should be by him professed openly or privately in England contrary to the laws. 3. That the Archduke be not driven to live wholly upon his own. Answer. It is reason that with his patrimony he should maintain the family that he should bring with him.’ A more detailed set of ‘Replies for the three above-mentioned difficulties’ followed (SP 70/83, fols. 256–58). Cf. also BL, Cotton MS Vitellius C XI, fols. 228–39; 245–46; CSPF, VIII: 1566–1568, 57–58 (no. 333). Dannett probably left on about 12 May, cf. Cecil’s diary, CP 229/1, fol. 33v.

28. Interestingly, all of these manuscripts present a watermark apparently of German origin, similar, though not identical, to Briquet No. 143. Cf. also Gravell, Eagle 224.1.

29. One noticeable mistake proves that, notwithstanding the many corrections of Elizabeth’s Italian and its occasional concordance with the London copies, V1C is nothing more than an ‘improved’ copy taken from V1. The word ‘dimora’ in Elizabeth’s sent version, in fact, becomes ‘dimpra’ in the copy as a result of careless reading (the otiose flourish of the capital N in the preceding line, in fact, touches the o in the line below making it resemble a ‘p’).
Writing on 8 June 1566, Guzman could boast he had been informed that Dannett, the Queen’s envoy, had sent ‘a courier with a letter to the Queen from the Emperor, in his own hand’. He was correct; Maximilian had replied in a letter dated 29 May. However, with the excuse of his hasty move from Augsburg to Vienna, the Emperor’s letter made reference only to his acceptance of the order of the Garter and postponed all further details to a later time. His second holograph letter of 19 June 1566 added little other than a wordy, if very kind, confirmation of the interest in the plan, and a note on the religious problem.

In September 1566, Parliament urged Elizabeth to give an answer to the vexed question of succession and of her marriage. While she decidedly refused to settle the first, on the latter point she was more cautious, and managed to be sufficiently vague as to arouse some hope (though no explicit assurance) that the Austrian match was still being considered. In fact, Elizabeth’s words were ‘I will marry as soon as I can conveniently.’ Unsurprisingly, things moved slowly.

It was only in late June 1567 that Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, was sent as special ambassador to Vienna, taking the Garter with him. Elizabeth’s letter was clearly intended to accompany the honorific title and insignia, to justify the delay and announce that the Earl would discuss in detail the various issues relating to the marriage. Sussex’s instructions and the official warrant, on parchment, for Maximilian’s admittance to the
order were issued on 20 May 1567. The draft letter should reasonably
date from about this period to the date found on the sent holograph copy,
which was signed at Richmond on 22 June (‘Ginno’ in the letter, clearly
not ‘January’ as marked at the top of the manuscript in the Vienna State
Archive). As in the case of the preceding letter, this date should perhaps
not be taken for granted. Once again, as she had done with her previous
message—which had come in tandem with her request for a reward for
Zvetkovich—Elizabeth accompanied her missive with a petition in Latin,
which was dated 24 June. Any last minute amendments to the text, how-
ever, must have preceded Sussex’s departure, which occurred on 26 June.

Texts

The letter is extant in two holograph versions, a draft presenting a series of
currente calamo corrections and insertions (SP 70/141, fol. 252, hence-
forth 70/141) and the final sent copy, in Elizabeth’s best hand (Vienna,
Haus-, Hof- und- Staatsarchiv, Hausarchiv-Familienakten, Karton 21
[formerly Karton 15], Konvolut 4, Faszikel 5, fol. 40r–v; hereafter V2).
The latter clearly descends from an amended intermediate copy, which
is now lost. As in the case of Letter 4 above, the holographs have been
transcribed separately.

5a—Draft (70/141)

Hauendo intesa Sacra Maiestá delle facende varie di grande
importanza che intervenuano dopo la Ritornata
Vostra sua dall’commune inimico dell’Christianità per
la cui ritornata felice humilmente ne rendo gracie
infinite all’signor Iddio molte volte son stata
impedita et ritardata di non mandar questa
mia imbasciata non volendo impedir le cose più grande
con mescolarle più con le più piccole et pero la Maestà
Vostra havra per scusata la tardanza sua mia /
Adesso sperando ch’il tempo s’accommodera
alla mia Voglia ricordandomi come g di buo<n>
animo l’election vostra all ordine mio

2 intervenuano | intervenn altered to –
5 stata | stati (?) altered to –
8 mescolarle | meschiarle altered to –
di San Giorgio fu gratamente ricevuto hora
per questo Conte mio Cugino a Vostra Maestà
con tutto il cuore lo mando come quella che
se piu honorata cosa hauessi cosi volontier<br>
la mandarebbe / Et per non hauer vdito che
mai questo ordine inanzi questo tempo manchess<e> quello
l’honor d’hauer vn imperator del ordine
spero et prig lo desidero che ne i giorni
mei non ne sia altro che voi al quale
ogni felicita non mi parera troppo / Quanto
alla lettere honorate et amichevole che
Vostra Maestà mi scrisi dalla sua mano propri<a>
non hauriebbeno manchete risposte lungo
tempo fa s’io non hauessi piu havuta
rispetto di Vostra Maestà che irresolutione del
mio negotio et quantunque Io pensai che
quel ch’io mandai per Danet mandai fusse<br>
ben chiaro bastassi per far dichiaration del
l’animo mio nondimeno per esser da
Vostra Maestà richiesta di far le cose piu
chiaro indubitate ho dato il carico a questo
Conte di far dichiaration de risolver tutti
i punti de ch’habbiamo fin qui
trattati
prieghando la Maestà Vostra di darlo amoreuole audienza

13 gratamente ] gr written over two unreadable cancelled letters (perhaps, ‘ce’?)
17 vdito ] vdita altered to — 24 dalla ] della altered to — 26s” ] se altered to s’
28 mio ] written in left margin 30 dichiaration ] The MS reads dichidiclaration. In a rather
confused series of corrections, Eli zabeth amended this word many times as if she could not decide between
diclaration and dichiaration.

14 questo... Cugino: Thomas Radcliffè, third Earl of Sussex (1526/7–1583), was the son
of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. This made him a relative
of Elizabeth’s via the Howards’ connection with the Boleyns.

23–24 lettere... propria: the missives sent by Maximilian on 29 May (CP 147/41) and 19
June (BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F III, fol. 127); see above.
con credito tale quale a me stezza
s’io fussi presente darebbe sperando per lui
di riceuer dichiarazione vltima risposta
piena di quel che vostra Maestà risolvera di far
tal che non si fa sempre il nodoso
filo che mai ha fine et cosi et
l’un et l’altro si contentera d
Questo bastara per questa volta hor non
molestar troppo la Maestà Vostra
riférendomi alla sufficienza
del presente Supplicando il
Signor Iddio ch’e vi in ogni felicità
li prospera’ con lunga vita et
buona sanita /

5b—Final Version (V2)

Havendo intesa, Sacra Maiestá, delle facende varie di grande importanza
ch’intervenirno dopoi la ritornata sua dall commune inimico della
Christianita, per
La cui ritornata felice humilmente ne rendo gratie infinite al Signor Iddio

Molte volte son stato impedita et ritardata di non mandar questa mia
imbasciata prima non volendo impedir le cose piu grande con mescolarle con
le piu piccole et pero La Maiestá vostra havra per scusata la tardanza mia.
Hora sperando ch’il tempo s’accommoderà meglio a la mia voglia, ricordandomi

come di buon animo L’elettion vostra al ordine mio di San Giorgio da se fu
gratamente ricevuto pero per questo Conte mio Cugino a Vostra Maiestà
con tutto il cuore lo mando come quella ch’ se piu honorata cosa hauessi così
voluntiere la vi manderebbe[.] Et per non hauer vedito che mai
questo ordine per inanzi manchessi l’honor d’haver un Innperator di quello
Spero et lo desidero che ne i giorni mei non vi sia altro che voi alquale ogni
felicita non mi parerà troppo: Quanto ale lettere honorate et amichevole
chi Vostra Maestà mi scrissi della mano sua non haurebbono manchate risposte

43 filo] fino altered to – (Elizabeth, perhaps with the word ‘fine’ in the same line in mind, probably began writing fino, which she amended currente calamo)

45 volta] perhaps vulta altered to –  51 sanita ]] followed by Priegan | Quemadmodum | Qu written in Elizabeth’s best italic hand, the last two in left margin.
lungo tempo fa s’io non hauessi havuto piu rispetto alla Maestà Vostra che irresolutione del negotio mio: Et quantunque pensai che quel chi per Danet mandai bastassi per ampià dichiaratione del animo mio nondimeno per esser da la Maestà Vostra richiesta di far le cose più indubitate della parte mia, Ho dato questo caricho al Conte di risponder a tutti i punti fin qui trattati et Priesando La Maestà Vostra di concederlo amorevole audienza con credito tale quale a me stessa s’io gli fussi presente darebbe[.] Sperando per lui di ricevere ultima risposta di quel chi Vostra Maestà si risolvera di far accioche non si traga sempre il nodoso file senza venirne mai al fine[.] Et così et l’un et l’altro tanto meglio si contentera[.] Questa basterà per hora non volendo troppo molestar La Maestà Vostra[.] Supplicando il Signor Iddio ch’in ogni felicità e prosperi con lunga et buona sanità[.] Di Richamonte il 22 di Giugno

Di Vostra Maiesta affectionatissima
Sorella et Cugina
Elizabetta R

Letter 5—Translation

Having heard, Sacred Majesty, of the various matters of great consequence which occurred following your return from the common foe of Christianity (for whose return I happily and humbly give infinite thanks to the Lord God), I have been prevented many times and delayed from sending this message of mine initially, not wishing to hinder greater things by mixing them with lesser ones—and, for this reason, Your Majesty will excuse this delay of mine. Now, hoping that this period will better favour my wishes, and remembering how you have accepted gladly and in good part your election to my order of Saint George, I am therefore sending it to Your Majesty through this Earl my Cousin, with all my heart, as one who, had I anything more honourable, would gladly send it to you. And since I have

5 message: this is the second meaning for ‘ambasciata’ in Thomas’s Principal Rules, sig. 2Bv.
6 for this reason: the Latinate ‘però,’ deriving from ‘per hoc’; cf. the notes to the translation of Letter 1 above.
never known this order to lack the honour of having an Emperor as one of its members, thus do I hope and desire that in my days there will be no other than you, for whom all happiness will never seem too much to me.

As concerns the honourable and affable letters which Your Majesty wrote to me in his own hand, the replies would have come a long time ago had I not had more respect for Your Majesty than irresolution in my dealings. And even if I believed what I had sent you by Dannett should suffice as an ample declaration of my mind in this matter, nevertheless, having been asked by Your Majesty to act, on my part, more clearly, I have entrusted the Earl to answer all of the points which have been discussed thus far. I would ask that Your Majesty grant him a benevolent audience and afford him as much credit as you would give me should I myself be present. Through him I hope to receive a definitive answer concerning what Your Majesty will resolve to do, so that the tangled thread will not be spun indefinitely. This will suffice for now, not wishing to trouble Your Majesty exceedingly. Begging the Lord God to favour you with every happiness and with prolonged good health. From Richmond, the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of June.

Your Majesty’s most affectionate
Sister and Cousin
Elizabeth R

18\textit{dealings}: this is the second meaning given for ‘negotio’ in Florio’s 1598 \textit{World of Words}, sig. V5v.

27\textit{will not be spun}: literally, ‘will not be drawn.’ It may well be that Elizabeth was thinking of some kind of drawn-work, which would fit her embroidering skills; cf. Lisa M. Klein, ‘Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework,’ \textit{Renaissance Quarterly} 50,2 (1997): 459–93, in particular 476–82. The first occurrence of this meaning in the \textit{OED}, however, is dated 1595. One may also wonder if Elizabeth was aware of the expression ‘trarre il filo della camicia a qualcuno,’ ‘to make one do what one pleases with him’; cf. \textit{Vocabolario Treccani}, s.v. ‘camicia’; Boccaccio \textit{Decameron} IX.5: ‘tu m’hai con la piacevolezza tua tratto il filo della camiscia.’

NOTES

30. CSPSp, I, 556. As Guzman clearly stated, the letter’s main point was Maximilian’s acceptance of the Order of the Garter.

31. CP 147/41, which should be dated 29 May 1566 and not, as tentatively indicated in the catalogue, 1565.

32. The Queen (via Thomas Dannett) probably sent at least a reply to this in July 1566, as stated in Sussex’s instructions for his 1567 mission; cf. SP 70/91, fol. 79 which mentions ‘a writing delivrd in July last to our servant Thomas Danet’ (on this set of instructions see also below, Letter 6); cf. also Dannett’s letter to Elizabeth, SP 70/85, fol. 2.

33. This letter, in Spanish, is now in BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F III, fol. 127. No year date is provided in the Cotton MSS catalogue.


35. CW, 95. Elizabeth’s earlier commitment to consider the question of marriage in 1563 evidently placed her in a very difficult position at this stage; cf. Doran, Monarchy and Matrimony, 85–87.

36. McCaffrey, Elizabeth I, 99; Doran, ‘Religion and Politics,’ 918. On the earlier appointment of Thomas Sackville (who was spared this mission because of his father’s ill health), and the reasons for the delayed departure of the Earl of Sussex, see Doran, Monarchy and Matrimony, 83–84; 88. Sussex was still in Antwerp on 5 July 1567; cf. SP 70/91, fol. 123 and 70/92, fol. 18. The always well-informed Florentine agent in Venice, Cosimo Bartoli, wrote to Francesco I de’ Medici that, through some letters from Antwerp, he had known of the arrival of Sussex in Vienna, bringing the Order of the Garter (‘Per lettere di Anversa li 6 di luglio: […] Giunse il Conte di Susex mandato dalla Regina di Inghilterra a Sua Maestà Cesarea il quale porta l’ordine della Garattiera’; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato 3080, fol. 108). Via Ulm (22 July) and Augsburg (24 July) he arrived in Vienna on 5 August, cf. the diary of Sussex’s journey, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 50, fols. 190-200 and Sussex’s letter to Leicester, in which he acknowledges the receipt of a letter on this date, SP 70/93, fol. 41. Cf. also SP 70/92, fols. 90, 78, 81.

37. Respectively, SP 70/91, fols. 77–88 and Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und-Staatsarchiv, Hhsta Ur Fuk 1370.
38. Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und- Staatsarchiv, Hausarchiv-Familienakten, Konv. 4, Fas. 5, fols. 44–45. This time she asked the Emperor to pardon a German nobleman, the Earl of Rockendorf, who had been ‘declared by all the States of the Empire guilty of lese-majesty, a perjurer and traitor to his country’ (SP 70/39, fol. 3; CSPF, V, 142).

39. Sir Gilbert Dethick, who in his quality as Garter King of Arms accompanied Sussex to invest the Emperor with the Order of the Garter (see Haus-, Hof- und- Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Hhsta Ur Fuk 1370), compiled a detailed diary of their journey. On 26 June the party arrived at Gravesend ‘and laye at the Angelle that nighte’; thence they moved to Canterbury and Dover, where they ‘toke shipe’ on the following Monday, 29 June; cf. Henry Ellis, Papers Relating to the Proposed Marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Brother of the Emperor (London: John Nichols and Sons, 1853; originally published in Archaeologia 35 (1853): 202–12 from an unidentified item from the BL Cotton Fragments collection), 4; cf. also Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 50, fols. 190-200; CSPSp, I, 652; CP 229/1, fol. 36v.

40. See, for example, the last sentence before the final salutation in 70/141 and in VI, which adds a series of words (‘tanto meglio si contentera[.] Questo bastera per hora non volendo troppo molestare La Maestà Vostra’) and leaves out a whole phrase ‘riferendomi alla sufficienza del presente.’
Sussex’s first audience with Maximilian took place on 8 August 1567. By late October the Emperor’s final conditions to the marriage were clearly laid down: Charles was to be allowed to profess his religion in private—which would entail separate worship. Henry Cobham (later Sir Henry) was sent back to England for further instructions; he arrived in London on 7 November.

Elizabeth’s draft reply might date to any time between this and 10 December 1567, the date found on the Vienna holograph (Figure 3, below), on a copy now in London, on a letter in Spanish to the Emperor’s consort, as well as on a further set of instructions for Sussex. That the final version was written on or about 10 December thus appears more than plausible. Furthermore, this date is compatible with those found on the back of the copy now in the Vienna archives, which was delivered by Cobham ‘on Newe-yeares-day’ and was endorsed by one of the Imperial secretaries: ‘Regina Anglie ad Cesarem | 1 Januarii 1568’ (fol. 115v) and ‘3 Januarij 1568’ (ibid.).

As confirmed by a draft letter in Latin, addressed to Archduke Charles (again, dated 10 December 1567), and attached to the instructions for her ambassador, Elizabeth clearly intended to maintain a very polite, but firm, attitude. The Queen’s Italian missive barely attempts to mitigate what Sussex was meant to tell the Emperor: Elizabeth, quite simply, refused to act against her conscience. The wellbeing of her reign might very well depend on her choice of religion, and thus the proposal to grant the Archduke permission
to profess his Catholic faith (and permit Mass to be celebrated in her own palace) would certainly have been highly dangerous for her position, and for the peace of her country. It is not surprising, then, that the December letter was the last of the elaborately wrought Italian missives to Maximilian.

**Texts**

Letter 6 is extant in Elizabeth’s draft, SP 70/141, fol. 254 (70/141/254), the sent holograph version, Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und- Staatsarchiv, Hausarchiv-Familienakten, Karton 21, formerly Karton 15, Konvolut 4, Faszikel 5, fols. 115–16 (V3), and a later copy dating from the mid-late 1590s, BL, Cotton MS Nero B IX, fol. 115 (Cnb9, probably an independent transcript from a lost corrected copy of 70/141/254, from which V3 appears to descend). Both 70/141/254 and V3 have been provided the source for the translation.

6a—Draft (SP 70/141/254)

Intendendo che ha piaciuto La Maestà Vostra di riceuer et intertener L’imbasciator et Cugino mio così hone<re>uolmente con infinite carezz<e> et amoreuolissimi modi non posso piu dir senon che le parolle sue scritte et i fatti suoi visti si rassomigliano tanto ch’una pittura bene all viuo conterfatta non rassomiglia tanto l’esempio suo essendo l’uno morto et l’altro in og nell tutto il medesimo / pero tanto me ne tengo obligata alla Maestà Vostra ch’mai me ne mostrero dismentiche vol<e> anzi lo tenero scritto non in tauole che mai si fra casseranno / Nella lettera sua mi scriue ch[e] l’importanza della causa ha fatto il prolungar della risposta le cose toccando cose si alte che la sacra religione lauale ragione che spero mi tenera anchor per

6 tanto] written in left margin

8 mai] Elizabeth appears to have started writing no (for ‘non’; cf., six lines below, ‘non posso’) and having later changed no into m. 12 risposta] risposa altered to — toccando] toccanto altered to —

2 L’imbasciator et Cugino mio: cf. Letter 5a line 14 above.

5–7 ch’una pittura... il medesimo: this rather convoluted hyperbole is evidently intended to exalt Maximilian’s constancy in words and deeds. One may note, incidentally, that the relationship between the object and its artistic representation—a typical Renaissance topic—was dealt with by Elizabeth’s tutor Roger Ascham in the second book of his *Schoolmaster* (published posthumously in 1570); see Vickers, *English Renaissance Criticism*, 141–61.
scusata se in tutto non posso all presente sodisfar
la richiesta fattomi della parte dell Archeduca
tenendo piu il rispetto della conscientia et il per=
petuar questo mio pacifico regnar incomminciatet continuato che tutti ifauri de Principi dell
mondo ó tutti i reami chi mi potrebbono dar
Spero pero che la Maestà Vostra non pigliara in mala parte
la risposta che si dira per il Conte di Sussex come
quella che non riusce dell petto della una persona
che non l’estima come fratello et che non l’honora
come stretizz strettissimo amici anzi da tale que ha
in reverenza la Casa Austriaca et in estima
ingravita la reale sua persona facendogli voto
di fidelissima affectione come a chi gli merita
il piu / Et se qualche zezania si mischiera
nelle parolle d’alcuni maligni che questi mei rispetti
son che per hauer bel’ modo di schifar questa
causa del tutto mi confido tanto nella Maestà Vostra
che vi farete il buon padrone di casa che le lasciua
crescere fin alla consumazione della vendemia
et alhoro fece la sep[ar]atione di quelle del buon frumento conoscendo conoscerete per la fine la
verita del tutto
et fin a tanto raccomando la sua sanita all
eterno Iddio che molti anni la vita
sua continu
Fig. 3 Letter 6b—Elizabeth’s last Italian missive to Emperor Maximilian II (1567). Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und- Staatsarchiv, Hausarchiv-Familienakten, Karton 21, Konvolut 4, Faszikel 5, fol. 115. Reproduced with the permission of the Austrian State Archives.
Intendendo che ha piaciuto a La Maiestà Vostra di ricevere et intenterin L’imbasciador et Cugino mio con infinite Carezze et amorevolissimi modi non posso più dir senon che le parolle suoe scritte et i fatti suoi visti si rassomigliano tanto ch’vnà pittura al viuo fatta non imita così l’essempio suo, Essendo l’uno morto et l’altro il medesimo.

Però tanto mi tengo obligata alla Maiestà Sua che mai mene mostrerò dismentichevole anzi lo guardero scritto in tavole chi mai si fracassaran

Nella lettera sua mi scrive che l’importanza della causa ha fatto il prolungar della risposta, le cose della religione essendo di tanto importanzà, Laquale ragione spero mi tenerà anchora per scusata se in tutto non posso all’presente sodisfar la richiesta dell Archeduca tenendo in piu stima la sodisfattione della conscientia et il perpetuar questo mio paciﬁco regnar incominciato et continuato che tutti i fauori di principi mondani ò tutti i Reami chi mi potrebbono dar.

Spero pero che la Maestà Vostra non pigliera in mala parte quel ch’il Conte gli dira della parte mia come la cosa che non riusce dall petto della persona chi non l’estima come fratello et non l’honora come stretto amico, anzi da tale chi ha in Reuerenza la Casa Austricha et in estimatione intrinsicha la reale sua persona facendogli voto di fidelissima affectione Come a quella chi ben la merita.

Et se qualche Zizania si meschiera nelle parolle d’alculi maligni dicendo che questi mei rispetti sono che per hauer bell modo di schifar questo negotio mi Conﬁdo tanto nella Maestà Vostra che vi farete il buon padrone di casa che le lasciava crescere ﬁnalmente la Consumatione della vindemia et allhora far la seperatione dal buon fromento provando per la fine
Letter 6—Translation

Having heard that it has pleased Your Majesty to receive and entertain the ambassador my Cousin with infinite tenderness and most affectionate manners, I cannot now but say that the words written and the deeds done by you are so alike that a portrait of a living object does not so resemble its subject, the former being dead, and the latter like itself. For this I feel such indebtedness to Your Majesty that I shall never prove myself forgetful thereof; better, I will keep this written on tables that will never be destroyed.

2 tenderness: Thomas’s Principal Rules, sig. 2F3 translates ‘carezzare’ with ‘to cherish.’ Elizabeth probably meant ‘con infinita carezza’; the noun form ‘cherishing’ was in use in English as early as 1400; cf. OED, s.v.

3-5 now I... itself: Elizabeth’s first version amplified her hyperbolic sentence, emphasizing the ‘good quality’ of the portrait and the fact that the model is ‘its very self’; see also the note to lines 5-7 in the draft, above.

5 For this: again, as in Letters 1 and 5 above, this must be interpreted as a Latinate form deriving from ‘per hoc.’

7 better: cf. Vocabolario Treccani, ‘anzi,’ prep. e avv. 2.c. Thomas’s Principal Rules (sig. 2B4v) gives also ‘rather,’ ‘so’ and ‘truly’ as possible translations.

7 tables: this use of ‘tavola’ quite probably derives from the Latin Tabulae publicae, tablets (of wood, marble or bronze) on which official writings and proclamations were recorded (cf. Vocabolario Treccani, ‘tavola,’ s.f., 3a). Given the reference to portraiture that immediately precedes the reference to this, one may wonder if the word might also possess overtones of ‘table’ in the Elizabethan sense of ‘painting’ or ‘picture’ (I owe this suggestion to Elizabeth Goldring).
In your letter, you write that the importance of the matter has been the cause of the delay in giving an answer, the questions of religion being of such importance. However, for this very same reason, I hope, I will be excused if I cannot at present satisfy in full the request made by the Archduke, as I prize a quiet conscience and the continuation of peace in my realm—which I have begun and maintained so far—over any favours which may be granted me or all the kingdoms which may be conferred upon me by the Princes of this world.

I hope, therefore, that Your Majesty will not be offended by the answer which the Earl of Sussex will utter on my behalf, as though it were one which came from the heart of someone who does not esteem you as a brother and who does not honour you as a very close friend. On the contrary [it comes], from one who holds in reverence the House of Austria and in intimate esteem your Royal self—to whom she proffers a vow of most loyal affection as to one who well deserves it.

And although some malignant tongues may attempt to sow discord by claiming that these compliments of mine are just a polite means to avoid this business, I am confident that Your Majesty will act as did the good husbandman, who let the tares grow until the end of the harvest, when he then separated them from the good wheat, and will establish in the end the sincere truth of it all. And until then I will com-

11 However: ‘ancora’ is quite probably used here as a concessive conjunction (as in Vocabolario Treccani, ‘ancóra,’ 3). Thomas translates ‘anchora che’ as ‘albeit’ (Principal Rules, sig. 7B3v).

13 a quiet conscience: literally, ‘the satisfaction of [my] conscience.’ The meaning of this is made even clearer by the draft, which has ‘il rispetto della conscientia,’ ‘the respect of [my] conscience’ (line 16).

19 someone: i.e., Elizabeth; see draft, 1, line 22 above. The double negation has here been ignored for reasons of clarity. Even if common in Renaissance Italian, the rather clumsy repetition of ‘non’ may be, nevertheless, significant—perhaps only as a sign of the Queen’s feelings at this stage of the negotiation.

22 intimate: this use of ‘intrinseco’ reflects its Latin origin: intrinseus, ‘situated within; interior, inner’; see also the OED, ‘intrinsic,’ A., adj. 1.a.

26 to avoid: this is the first contemporary meaning—‘schivare,’ in modern Italian—given by the Vocabolario Treccani (‘schifare,’ 1a), which quotes well-known examples from Tasso, Boccaccio, Guicciardini and Petrarch. It is not recorded in Thomas’s Principal Rules, but appears in Florio 1598, sig. 2Gv.
mend your good health and honour to the Eternal Creator who may grant you many years of life.

From Hampton Court, the 10th of December 1567

Your Majesty’s most affectionate
Sister and Cousin

Elizabeth R
NOTES

41. Ellis, *Papers Relating to the Proposed Marriage of Queen Elizabeth*, 5. For a (conjectural) date in mid-August, see Bell, *Diplomatic Representatives*, 57.

42. BL, Cotton MS Julius F VI contains a memorandum (dated 24 October 1567) of the five conditions which Charles ‘would have to accept as limitations on his freedom of worship’ (cf. Doran, ‘Religion and Politics,’ 917–18). Sussex’s letter to Elizabeth describing the compromise he had reached with the Emperor (again, dated 24 October, SP 70/94, fol. 161) is summarized in CSPF, VIII, 360 (no. 1788). On this document see also Doran, ‘Religion and Politics,’ 918-19. For the other conditions (e.g., Charles would have to pay for his train of servants and courtiers and enjoy the same limited powers and title as Philip II when married to her sister Mary), see Klarwill, 279–82 and BL, Cotton MS Vitellius C XI, fols. 240–42v. Sussex’s letter to Elizabeth was followed by yet another to Cecil on 27 October, SP 70/94, fol. 172, in which he reported what the Emperor had told him, that is, that since the Queen proceeded *bona fide*, he could see ‘no cause why she should not yield somewhat to satisfy his brother’s conscience, when he [had] yielded in all other things wholly to her will’; CSPF, VIII, 362.

43. CSPSp, I, 683, no. 450. Cobham had also brought back a polite—if evasive—Latin letter from Archduke Charles (dated 25 October 1567) which reached William Cecil on 10 November, as witnessed by his endorsement on the back of his copy of it, SP 70/94, fol. 168. Cobham was back again in Vienna by 1 or 2 January 1568; cf. Rome, Vatican Library, MS Urb. Lat. 1040, fol. 475. Given the circumstances, it seems that the anecdote concerning Cobham having told his ‘postilion to sound the horn all the way … crying, ‘[Long] live Austria and England!’’ is either an exaggeration or was simply related to his being in a hurry to get to London (cf. CSP Rome, I, 267).

44. Respectively BL, Cotton MS Nero B IX, fol. 115r–v (see below for details); ibid., fol. 116 (a mid-1590s copy of the letter, in Spanish, to Maria, wife of Maximilian), SP 70/95, fol. 129 (CSPF, VIII, 377, no. 1857); a draft addition by Cecil is on fol. 133 (CSPF, VIII, 378–79, no. 1858).
46. SP 70/95, fol. 125. Burghley’s draft version is on fol. 126. Charles’s reply to this is now CP 155/92. In the latter, the Archduke acknowledged receipt of the Queen’s letter of 10 December (‘Attulit mihi literas Serenitatis vestræ, familiaris ejus Henricus Cobhamus, decima die Decembris ad me datas’).
48. The hand (probably Windebank’s) which transcribed this letter, in fact, is identical to that found on BL, Cotton MS Titus F XII, fols. 103–4, dated 1594; the same watermark visible here is also found on BL, Cotton MS Julius E II, fol. 82, a missive to Ferdinando, Duke of Tuscany, dated 11 November 1596.