



U N I V E R S I T Y O F O X F O R D
History Working Paper
Number II, October 2013

*Pastime With Good Company: The Visit of the Prince of
Salerno to England, July 1540*

Susan Brigden

PASTIME WITH GOOD COMPANY: THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF SALERNO TO ENGLAND, JULY 1540

In July 1540 Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno (1508-1569), a great noble from the kingdom of Naples, made a mysterious, unheralded visit to England.¹ In his company was Don Luis de Zúñiga y Ávila (1500-1564), gentleman of the Emperor Charles V's chamber, the man trusted by the Emperor for the most secret of missions.² On 2 July they arrived in Calais. The next day, these grandees, with their retinue of forty men, dressed in mourning black, sailed to Dover. The journey was shrouded in mystery. Salerno came 'from themperowr as some sayde, othar some sayde he came for his own pleasure for to se the kynge of England'.³ 'Of long tyme' the Prince had been 'very desyrous' to meet Henry VIII, so one of his gentlemen told Richard Pate, the resident ambassador with the Emperor, and he had obtained the Emperor's licence to travel to England. 'With great hylarite and gladnes', Salerno planned his trip, seeking to know how many days journey it was from Bruges to Calais, how long by sea to Dover, and how far to London, all places infinitely remote to this Italian prince. Secrecy was enjoined, allegedly because he wished to evade the crowd of gentlemen who would throng to join him.⁴ The given story was that the Prince and Luis de Ávila were visiting for pleasure and pastime, to hunt, and to 'see the island'. But surely they were travelling for a deeper purpose than 'solazzo [pastime]', so it was suspected.⁵

Ferrante Sanseverino was a figure of glamour and destiny, a prince of the highest rank, of great pride, power and wealth. The son of Doña Marina of Aragon of 'happy memory', daughter of the illegitimate brother of King Ferdinand, he was descended from a bastard

¹ This journey has hardly been noticed by historians, either of England or the Continent. A rare exception is Carlo Capasso, *Paolo III (1534-1549)*, 2 vols. (Messina, 1924), II, p. 32.

² For the life of Luis de Ávila, see A. Gonzalez Palencia, *Don Luis de Zuñiga y Avila: Gentilhomme de Carlos V* (Madrid, 1932). Luis de Ávila was the name by which he was generally known at the Spanish court, and as d'Ávila by Italians. His journey to England is not mentioned.

³ [The] *Chronicle of Calais [in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the year 1540]*, ed. J.G. Nichols (Camden Society, 1846), p. 48.

⁴ TNA, SP 1/160, fo. 165r-v (*State Papers, King Henry VIII*, 11 vols. (1830-52)), VIII, pp. 366-7).

⁵ A[rchivio] S[egreto] V[aticano], Fondo Pio, 56, fos. 241r, 244r; Cervini to the Nuncios of France and Venice, 3 & 10 July, 1540. Carte Farnesiane, 2, fo. 102r; Cervini to [Pope Paul III], 5 July, Bruges. A[rchivio di] S[tato], Mo[dena], C[amerale] D[ucato], Ambasciatori Germania, busta 4; Rossetto to the Duke of Ferrara, 5 July 1540. *Correspondance [Politique] de MM Castillon [et de] Marillac, [Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre (1537-1542)]*, ed. J. Kaulek (Paris, 1885), pp. 197, 199 (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, 21 vols. in 33 (1862-1932). Reference is to document numbers throughout), XV, 847-8).

line of the royal house, a cousin of Charles V.⁶ He even claimed kinship with the Great Turk.⁷ When his visit to England was first mooted in the spring, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Pate's predecessor as ambassador at the Imperial court, was dazzled by the Prince's condescension and the prospect of travelling with him: 'yesternyght the prince of Salerne sent to me to shew me that he had leve of themperour to come to see the kynges highnes, wich he had long desird'. The Prince intended to travel within a fortnight, and sought advice 'what ordre he myght best take'. 'He is a man of thirty or forty thowsand duketes rent, and bysides that gretly estimid in all Italy and on of the grettest men of Naples'. Wyatt supposed that 'he wold tary there [in England] to se huntyng and such pastyme for on month', and hoped to accompany him to court in time for the May Day festivities.⁸ The projected visit came as a surprise in England. The King prepared instantly to replace Wyatt as ambassador, proposing that Wyatt find 'som convenyent and honeste meanes ... to staye the prynce' until he was ready to 'conducte him hither'.⁹ Cromwell counselled otherwise: Wyatt should unofficially, 'of hymself', 'anymat' the Prince to 'to com hither' as though on a private visit. For 'the world knoweth' that an ambassador dare not accompany a man without his King's knowledge, and people would wonder about a visit without Henry's licence and the Emperor's recommendation. Warning must be sent to Calais and Dover to prepare for the Prince's entertainment.¹⁰

What pastime might England offer Sanseverino? Like any Renaissance prince, he delighted in hunting, and England offered all the pleasures of the chase. Summoned from the kingdom of Naples at the end of 1539 to add force and lustre to the Emperor's entourage, the Prince spent a few days at the French court, passing his time hunting in the company of Alessandro Farnese, the young Cardinal and Papal legate, and the Duke of Orléans. At Amiens on 13 February they hunted by day, and by night beguiled themselves telling tales from history and romance.¹¹ England lacked the splendours of

⁶ For the life of Ferrante Sanseverino, and his antecedents, see C. Gatta, *Memorie topografico-storiche della provincia di Lucania* (Naples, 1732; repr. Bologna, 1996), pp. 460-88; Tommaso Pedio, *Napoli e Spagna nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1971), pp. 294-8, 330-41, 361-94; Raffaele Colapietra, *I Sanseverino di Salerno: Mito e Realtà del Barone Ribelli* (Salerno, 1985) (where his visit to England is briefly mentioned at pp. 177-8).

⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1547-1553*, 610; Sir William Pickering to the Council, 19 January 1553.

⁸ *British Library*, Harleian MS 282, fo. 245r ([*The Complete Works of Sir Thomas Wyatt*], ed. Jason Powell (Oxford, forthcoming), I, letter 32); Wyatt to Cromwell, 5 April 1540, Ghent.

⁹ BL, Cotton MS Titus B I, fo. 380 (*SP*, I, p. 624).

¹⁰ BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, fos. 149r-150r (*SP*, I, p. 625). Pate's passport was issued on 9 April: *LP*, XV, 481.

¹¹ ASV, Fondo Pio, 56, fos. 111r, 137r, 142r; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 7 & 13 February 1540, Amiens. *Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga* 639; Giobatista da Gambara to the Duke of Mantua, 11 February 1540.

the French court, was seen as a place of irremediable barbarism by the most cultivated on the Continent, but it had a special allure for anyone interested in chivalry and knight-errantry. It was the land of the fabled King Arthur, the birthplace of Amadís de Gaula, the hero of romance and mirror of the perfect knight. Salerno was a prince of ancient lineage and legendary culture. A prince of his name – Tancred, Prince of Salerno – appeared in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. His grandfather, Antonello, was the patron of the poet Michele Marullo.¹² The Prince and his Princess, Isabella Villamarino de Cardona, were students of the classics, notable patrons of poetry, of theatre, and of music.¹³ On 2 February 1536, during the Emperor’s visit to Naples, all the nobility of the city were entertained by a comedy played at Palazzo Sanseverino.¹⁴ As Salerno travelled through Italy and France towards the Low Countries, and even to England, he brought poets and musicians in his retinue to lighten his journey.¹⁵ Among them was Bernardo Tasso, his secretary since 1532, who had dedicated *I tre libri degli Amori* ‘Al Prencipe di Salerno suo Signore’, ‘cortesissimo mio Signore’, and the second book to ‘Illustrissima Signora Donna Isabella Vigliamarino, Prencipessa di Salerno’.¹⁶

In long weeks following the Emperor’s court in the winter and spring of 1539-1540 noblemen diverted themselves by thoughts of poetry and romance. 1540 was the year that Nicolas de Herberay, Seigneur de Essars published *Le premier liure de Amadis de Gaule*, his French translation of the Spanish tale of knight errantry, made at the behest of the French King. It was in Ghent in the spring of 1540 that Don Luis de Ávila and Don Francisco de Toledo (1515-1582) proposed to Bernardo Tasso that he turn the adventures of Amadís de Gaula into an epic poem. So his son Torquato Tasso claimed in his ‘Apologia’ to *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Bernardo Tasso began composing *L’Amadigi di Gaula*, at the desire of these courtiers, not in *versi sciolti* (verse freed from rhyme) as he

¹² Carol Kidwell, *Marullus: Soldier Poet of the Renaissance* (1989), pp. 57, 107, 114, 198, 201, 232.

¹³ Donna G. Cardamone, ‘The Prince of Salerno and the dynamics of oral transmission in songs of political exile’; ‘Orlando di Lasso and pro-French factions in Rome’ in *The canzone villanesca alla napoletana: social, cultural and historical contexts* (Aldershot, 2008), ch. iv, v. Edward Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso* (Roma, 1951), pp. 8-9.

¹⁴ Pedio, *Napoli e Spagna*, p. 334. Guisepppe Coniglio, ‘Note sulla società napoletana ai tempi di Don Pietro di Toledo’ in *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples, 1969), pp. 345-65.

¹⁵ A[rchivio di] S[tato], Na[poli], [Regia Camera della] Sommara, Diversi, II, 233 (account book of Vincenzo Martelli). Cesare Corsi, ‘Le Carte Sanseverino. Nuovi documenti sul mecenatismo musicale a Napoli e in Italia meridionale nella prima metà del Cinquecento’ in *Fonti d’Archivio per la Storia della Musica e dello Spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione (Naples, 2001), pp. 9-10, 36-9.

¹⁶ Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso*, pp. 8-10, 34. *Bernardo Tasso: Rime*, ed. D. Chiodo, 2 vols. (Torino, 1995), I, pp. 5-13, 123-4.

wished, but in *ottava rima* to please Luis de Ávila and his Prince.¹⁷ Luis de Ávila and the Prince of Salerno were poets themselves and friends of poets. The Prince was among the poets and nobles to whom Laura Terracina dedicated verse, and he wrote a lyric to his Princess – ‘*Vedran pur gli occhi miei quel chiaro giorno*’.¹⁸

Salerno and Luis de Ávila shared a delight in reading of heroic exploits in chivalric romance, but they were also engaged in their own real martial adventures as commanders in the Emperor’s wars. They had served together in the Tunis campaign in 1535, when Charles V had led the forces of Christendom to a great victory against the Infidel.¹⁹ Bernardo Tasso had also sailed with that Imperial fleet, too, in Salerno’s service. There Tasso had met his Maecenas, and to him – ‘A Don Luigi Davila’ -- he dedicated sonnet XVI of his *Libro terzo de gli amori* (1537).

....Già veggio Poesia lieta uscir fuori
Al ben seren, col favor vostro solo,
Et obliando ogni passato duolo,
Cantar con dotto stile arme et amori:

- . Now I see poetry emerging happily into good calm times
by your favour alone; forgetting all past pain she sings
of arms and love in learned style.²⁰

In the wars between French and Imperial forces in Provence, Salerno and Luis de Ávila had served with distinction. Commanding Imperial galleys, Salerno had taken Antibes, ‘*non senza pericolo della vita sua, e laude della sua virtù* [not without danger, or praise for his prowess]’.²¹ Writing later of Charles V’s wars in Germany, Luis de Ávila, related that the Emperor ‘hath broughte me up in his house’, recalled the Tunis campaign, the war in Provence, ‘there was nothing done but I haue bene nere unto hym’. ‘I am a wytnes’.²²

¹⁷ H. Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 183; W. Stirling-Maxwell, *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V* (1891), p. 129. *Le Lettere di M. Bernardo Tasso [... con la vita dell’Autore]*, ed. A-F. Seghezzi, 2 vols. (Padova, 1733), I, pp. xvii, 168, 198-201; Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso*, pp. 99-107.

¹⁸ Palencia, *Don Luis de Zuñiga y Avila*, ch. iv; Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso*, pp. 8-9. *Quarte Rime della Signora Laura Terracina* (Venice, 1550), pp. 8v-9r.

¹⁹ ‘Il Nifo overo del Piacere’, *Torquato Tasso: Dialoghi*, a cura di Giovanni Baffetti, 2 vols. (Milan, 1998), I, p. 252.

²⁰ *Bernardo Tasso: Rime*, ed. D. Chiodo, 2 vols. (Torino, 1995), I, p. 315. The translation is Nigel Wilson’s, for which I thank him. Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso*, pp. 35-6.

²¹ *Lettere di M. Bernardo Tasso*, I, p. 390.

²² I have read the English translation: *The Comentaries of Don Lewes de Auella, and Suniga ... which treateth of the great vvars in Germany made by Charles the fifth* (1555), sig. Nvi r.

In their noble pride, counting their honour more dearly than their lives, these military commanders turned also to private violence. At Aix, during the war in Provence, Luis de Ávila had challenged Anne de Peloux to a duel in the Emperor's presence, and both had been banished the court until the Empress interceded for their pardon.²³ In Naples, a dispute following a game of pilota at Sanseverino's palace led the Marchese di Polignano to challenge the Prince to a duel, and finally to Polignano's mysterious assassination. Since noble duelling was strictly forbidden, Salerno was commanded to Spain to seek the Emperor's pardon.²⁴ Men like Luis de Ávila and Salerno, cultured, intrepid, reckless, venturesome, might relish a journey to the distant island where Amadís was born, the love child of the star-crossed King Perión of Gaul and Elisena of England. In the days following Salerno's departure to England, Pate reported an anonymous throng of Italian gentlemen who would have joined him, 'verie sory that they knew nothing of his iourney, purposing otherwise to a wayted apon him, to se owr Sovereigne Lorde the king'.²⁵ Among them was Don Francesco d'Este, the brother of the Duke of Ferrara, who sought leave from the Emperor and Papal nuncio to 'see that island', and sailed from Calais on 18 July.²⁶

Visiting England, on the edge of the Continent, and now banished from Christendom, offered the prospect of adventure, escape, even of danger. When Henry VIII declared his supremacy in his own Church, and defied Rome, he became schismatic and heretic. The Pope and his nuncios fulminated against Henry as 'that rebel', 'that enemy of the Church', that 'lost [damned]', 'that perfidious', 'impious' King, 'a tyrant so cruel', and lamented the great and growing 'cruelty of a most wicked tyrant'.²⁷ 'The King of England by acts he has already committed to the prejudice of the Holy See is, in fact, at present schismatic and heretical'; consequently the Pope claimed the 'right to confiscate and dispose of the Kingdom of England as an ecclesiastical fief'.²⁸ By the end of 1538 Pope Paul III, convinced that England's schism posed the gravest threat to Christendom, had summoned Christian princes to a crusade. Through the early months of 1539 Henry

²³ TNA, SP 1/ 161, fo. 21r (*SP*, VIII, p. 375); Pate to the Duke of Norfolk, 4 July 1540, Bruges.

²⁴ Pedio, *Napoli e Spagna*, pp. 339-40.

²⁵ TNA, SP 1/161, fo. 21r (*SP*, VIII, p. 375); Pate to the Duke of Norfolk, 4 July 1540, Bruges.

²⁶ A[rchives] G[énérales du] R[oyaume], Papiers Gachard, 644, fo. 184v; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 13 July 1540. ASMo, CD, Ambasciatori Germania, 4; Rossetto to the Duke of Ferrara, 5 July 1540, Bruges; *LP*, XV, 877-8, 889; *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 48.

²⁷ For the comminations against Henry, see *inter alia*, AGR, Papiers Gachard, 643, fos. 47r, 158r, 213r; ASV, S[egreteria di] S[tato], Principi, 13, fos. 91r, 210v, 213r; 14A, fos. 115r, 215v; *LP*, XIV, i, 199.

²⁸ *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and] S[tate] P[apers relating to the negotiations between England and] Sp[ain]*, VIII, 1545-1546, 452, pp. 594-5; undated, Count Cifuentes to the Emperor, c. 1535.

VIII faced the prospect of the invasion of his realm, its partition among his enemies, and his deposition. There could hardly have been a greater danger.²⁹ The great Catholic powers did not answer that summons, but the Pope continued to seek ways to return the English King to obedience to the Holy See.

There had been a plan in the summer of 1539, and again early in 1540, for special envoys – ‘*protestant?*’ – to visit Henry to induce him to return to obedience to the Church and to God. If he refused, they must warn him that the Catholic monarchs would fulfil the commands of the Holy See ‘to execute by force the sentence of excommunication and deprivation against him’.³⁰ But even spiritual diplomacy had its dangers. Cardinal Pole, Henry’s traitor cousin, lived in terror of assassination. A memorandum written by Marcello Cervini, the future Pope Marcellus V, perhaps late in 1539, described his own prospective spiritual embassy to the King of England. It was ‘dark’ and doubtful and ‘most strictly secret’, for ‘it is quite possible’ that Henry ‘will make sport’ of him, ‘and of his Holiness as well’, or worse. ‘The King of England must be moved to promise’ that Cervini’s life ‘shall not be in peril during his stay in England’.³¹ Cervini never went. At the courts of Christendom there were fears that the English King – in whose name so many had been censored, proscribed, sequestered, persecuted and condemned – would deny the immunities demanded by *ius gentium*, the law of nations. In theory, ambassadors were protected in the sanctuary of the law of nations, even in the midst of war. But at the Reformation, these principles were being tested. Would envoys from Catholic powers be safe at the court of a heretic prince? The Prince of Salerno and Luis de Ávila, such worldly grandees, were unlikely ‘*protestanti?*’, but their mission was not without spiritual purpose, or peril. At the time of Salerno’s visit, Pate reported that, though he had persuaded them otherwise, ‘some purposing to go [to England], sayd they wolde carye there chaplens with them to say them masse in there chambres, thincking they could have no place in the churche so to do’.³² A dispensation from the Church was necessary to travel to England, for it was a sin for anyone of the true faith to consort

²⁹ For this crusade, within a wider history, see C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago and London, 1988), ch. 13. See also, Susan Brigden, ‘Henry VIII and the Crusade against England’ in *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb (Farnham, 2013), pp. 215-34.

³⁰ ASV, Misc. Arm. II, 49, fo. 210v; *LP*, XIV, i, 1081, 1110, 1142-3, 1149, 1168, 1203; *CSPSp*, VIII, 1545-1546, p. 605.

³¹ ASV, Fondo Pio, 56, fo. 91v; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 30 January 1540; *CSPSp*, VIII, 1545-1546, pp. 606-9; Marcello Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, undated. The memorandum was dated before Cervini was created cardinal in December 1539.

³² TNA, SP 1/161, fo. 87r (*SP*, VIII, p. 396); Pate to Norfolk, 12 July 1540, Bruges.

with heretics. Francesco d'Este asked Cervini whether it would displease the Pope if he 'went to see that island'.³³ Returning from England, the Prince of Salerno would seek absolution from Cervini who, doubting his own capacity to grant it -- even though he was by then a Cardinal -- referred him to the Papal nuncio.³⁴

* * *

Hunting and pastime, a chivalric quest, might be the pleasures of the Prince of Salerno and grandees of the Spanish court, but the suspicions were just that their journey had a deeper purpose, that the only reason for them to travel to Henry's benighted island was for some clandestine design of the Emperor's. This visit has its part in the kaleidoscopic affairs of Christendom, which were never more uncertain. On 11 May Thomas Cromwell judged that 'the whole world of Christendom hangeth yet in balance'.³⁵ The peace between the French King and the Emperor, made at Aigues-Mortes in August 1538, had halted their constant warfare and shifted all the balances in Christendom. Peace still held in the spring of 1540, but was fragile and faltering, trusted by no one, especially the great antagonists. Charles and Francis had not visited each other's kingdoms since Francis had been held in Spain as Charles's prisoner after his defeat at Pavia in 1526, an unhappy precedent which neither forgot. But in 1539 the Emperor decided to leave his Spanish kingdoms for his Flemish dominions. Travelling from one part of his territories to another, he must put himself in danger; any route posed risks. Finally, he accepted the invitation of his new 'friend of friends and foe of foes' to pass through France, which Francis called 'your kingdom and mine'.³⁶ Late in November Charles left Spain. Since he was under the protection of his fellow sovereign, and Francis's honour was at stake, Charles had to trust that he would travel in safety. Only a tiny retinue of grandees attended him, dressed in mourning black for the late Empress, and with them, very few servants.³⁷

Luis de Ávila was not among the company, for he had been sent to Italy -- first, to Prince Doria in Genoa, then to Milan, and on to Rome -- carrying both general and secret

³³ AGR, Papiers Gachard 644, fo. 175v; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 3 July 1540.

³⁴ Ibid., fo. 198r; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 23 July 1540, Dordrecht.

³⁵ [*Life and*] *Letters of [Thomas] Cromwell*, ed. R.B. Merriman, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1902), II, p. 262.

³⁶ *CSPSp*, VI, i, 1538-1542, pp. 194-6. R.J. Knecht, 'Charles V's Journey through France, 1539-40' in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. J.R. Mulryne and E. Goldring (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 153-70; C. Paillard, 'Le voyage de Charles-Quint en France en 1539-1540', *Revue des questions historiques*, 25 (1879), pp. 506-50; Capasso, *Paolo III*, II, pp. 1-7.

³⁷ BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 148r (*CWTTW*, I, letter 16); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 12 December 1539, Amboise.

instructions. In Rome, he was to inform the Pope of the Emperor's intention to travel through France on his way to Flanders, and to rehearse the dangers that assailed the Empire and Christendom. He must persuade Charles's daughter, Margaret of Austria, to resign herself to her ill-fated marriage with Ottavio Farnese and 'to try and give satisfaction in all matters to His Holiness' and his unlovely family. The Pope trusted him to be a 'good interpreter of his sentiments', and the Emperor trusted him to reconcile the reluctant couple.³⁸ In Rome, Luis de Ávila enjoyed *la dolce vita*. On 6 December he attended a dinner at the palace of the scandalous Marchesana di Massa at which the Marqués de Aguilar and Cardinal Farnese vied for her attention, and courtesans sang for their entertainment.³⁹ He took part in the Christmas festivities, and on 7 January Cardinal Ippolito d'Este gave him a splendid dinner, with music and dancing. The Cardinal was at that time paying court to the Princess of Salerno, who may have been in Rome with her husband for the seasonal celebrations. Francesco d'Este, the Cardinal's brother, was in Rome at Christmas too, on his way from Naples to join the Emperor in the Low Countries.⁴⁰ By the end of January Luis de Ávila had passed through the French court on his way to join the Emperor.⁴¹

In a long winter journey Charles and his tiny retinue travelled from Castile through France, attended by the French King's sons and the Constable of France, celebrated by magnificent entries in the cities they passed.⁴² To aid the peace between this 'duumvirate' who would share the world between them and make the enemies of Christendom tremble, the Pope sent Alessandro Farnese as Legate, with Marcello Cervini as his minder. With them, they brought the Pope's instructions for the Catholic princes to consider ways and means for an 'enterprise against England'.⁴³ In Paris at Christmas, Thomas Wyatt who, like his King, was excluded from the festivities, reported cynically: 'But we se not for all thes entrys, for all this joyning of armes, knyttyng of crowns, and

³⁸ *CSPSp*, VI, i, 1538-1542, pp. 191-7, 203, 204-10, 217-20, 224-6.

³⁹ Palencia, *Don Luis de Zuñiga y Avila*, pp. 54-63. Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary of the Emperor Charles V* (Pittsburgh, 1958), pp. 133, 139-40.

⁴⁰ Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court* (2004), pp. 236, 243-6.

⁴¹ *Correspondance de Nonces on France: Carpi et Ferrerio, 1535-1540*, ed. J. Lestoquoy (Rome and Paris, 1961), p. 526; Ferrerio to Paul III, 27 January 1540, Chauny.

⁴² Knecht, 'Charles V's Journey through France', p. 159.

⁴³ For the legation, see Capasso, *Paolo III*, II, pp. 8-16. ASV, Carte Farnesiane, 12, fo. 15r; Ferrerio to Pope Paul III, 3 January 1540, Paris; ASV, Fondo Pio, 56, fos. 34r, 42r-48r; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 1 and 4 January 1540, Paris. *Legationen Farneses und Cervinis. Gesandtschaft Campeggios. Nuntiatoren Morones und Poggios, 1539-1541*, ed. L. Cardauns (Berlin, 1909), p. 82.

such ceremonys, that thei shold determin to part the world bytwene them'.⁴⁴ The English needed to believe this, because Henry, without allies in the winter and spring of 1539-1540, faced a dangerous alliance between the great Catholic powers. While Charles and Francis had been at war, Henry had postured as peacemaker, promising to act as arbiter, while wishing for their continued rivalry, in which lay his own security and his chance to command events. Early in 1540, that possibility seemed past. Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves had inflamed his relations with the Emperor. The cessation of his Rhineland duchy of Guelders, which had transferred its sovereignty in 1538 from Charles to Duke William IV of Cleves, was an unbearable outrage and dishonour. 'Surely he myndith more Geldre in his hert then he doth Millan or all Italy', so Wyatt judged, believing that the Emperor's fearful winter journey was precipitated by the news of Henry's new marriage, 'to prevent thinges that myght succede'.⁴⁵ In his humiliation at his exclusion from the festivals of peace, in his impotence, Henry charged the Emperor with 'ingratitude', and attempted to unsettle the truce by using his envoys to foment suspicion between the pretended friends.⁴⁶ At the nadir of his relations with Charles, Henry accused him (at several diplomatic removes) of aspiring 'to bring Christendom to a monarchie', and warned that he might find that 'the world ys but slipper, and woll sumtyme have his turnes'.⁴⁷

The Emperor's journey had a darker intent than feasting with the French King. The city of Ghent had been in revolt since 1537. Now Charles rode slowly, menacingly towards Flanders to impose exemplary justice upon the citizens of Ghent, and to show them – and his subjects throughout his wide empire, and his enemies – the consequences of rebellion and his terrible power.⁴⁸ Among Luis de Ávila's secret instructions was to tell the Pope of Charles's determination to crush 'the revolutionary movements ... in our Flemish dominions ... which, if unsuppressed, might offer a pretence for the Separatists and the neighbouring powers hostile to the Empire to forward their own wicked ends'.⁴⁹ 'Thei must know them sellffes subiectes, ye, and other to', so Granvelle, the Emperor's

⁴⁴ BL, Harleian MS, 282, fo. 157v (*CWTW*, I, letter 18); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 25 December 1539, Paris.

⁴⁵ BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 147v (*CWTW*, I, letter 16); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 12 December 1539, Amboise.

⁴⁶ Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 506-7.

⁴⁷ *SP*, VIII, pp. 245-52, 276-9; Henry VIII to the Duke of Norfolk; Cromwell to Sir John Wallop, 2 March 1540 [the quotations are at pp. 249, 277].

⁴⁸ L-P. Gachard, *Relations des troubles de Gand sous Charles Quint par un anonyme* (Bruxelles, 1846).

⁴⁹ *CSPSp*, VI, i, 1538-1542, p. 194.

chief minister, grimly told Wyatt early in December 1539.⁵⁰ Taking leave of Francis on 19 January 1540, Charles rode into Flanders. The great princes of the Low Countries arrived to escort him, with a hundred archers and two thousand cavalry.⁵¹ Troops were marshalled. On 14 February – fittingly, the first Sunday in Lent -- the Emperor made his entry into Ghent on foot, attended by great princes and nobles, the principal prelates of his dominions. Four thousand lanceknights, three thousand Flemish troops, and seven hundred cavalry had preceded him, to shock and awe.⁵² Justice followed, but not quite yet. A month later, the town surrendered its privileges. Many fled as the rebel leaders were rounded up ‘to the number of three or four score’ and the ghastly public executions began. Nine rebels were beheaded in the market place on the 18th and fourteen more were expected to die that week. Hundreds of the citizenry paraded barefoot, and knelt before the Emperor, crying “Mercy”.⁵³

Into this Lenten scene rode the Prince of Salerno and his retinue. Summoned by the Emperor, the Prince had left Naples late in 1539. Riding with him were nobles from the kingdom: Roberto, Gianfranco, and Amerigo Sanseverino of his own family, Giantommaso Carafa, Lorenzo Guicciardini, Aniballe Villano, Fabbio di Ruggieri, Gianfranco Torre, Luigi Dentice. Bernardo Tasso, his secretary, and Vicenzio Martelli, his major domo, were constantly with him, unless entrusted with special missions during the journey.⁵⁴ Sometimes, the Prince travelled ahead with only Tasso, Martelli, and a guide; sometimes their little band was afforced by others. Perhaps in Rome for Christmas, Salerno spent the New Year at Siena. From Siena, he rode to Florence, to Bologna, to Modena, and by 8 January he was at Piacenza, where musicians played for him. By 11th the party had reached Milan, and there the ‘piffari’ [pipers] and trumpeters

⁵⁰ BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 143v (*CWTW*, I, letter 16); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 12 December 1539, Amboise.

⁵¹ *The Itinerary of the Emperor Charles V*, ed. William Bradford (1850), p. 515.

⁵² *Relation des Troubles de Gand*, pp. 62-5. ASMò, CD, Amb. Francia 15; Galeazzo Estense to the Duke of Ferrara, 20 February 1540. BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 234r (*CWTW*, I, letter 24); Wyatt to Cromwell, 10 February, Brussels.

⁵³ BL, Harleian MS 282, fos. 119r, 123v, 127r, 236v (*CWTW*, I, letters 26, 27, 28, 30); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 25 February 1540, Brussels, 9 & 12 March 1540; Wyatt to Cromwell, [21 March], Ghent. A[rchivio di] S[tato], F[irenze], M[edicco del] P[rincipato], 4297, fos. 28, 34. *Relation des Troubles de Gand*, pp. 87-8, 155. J.D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 167-8.

⁵⁴ ASNa, Sommaria, Diversi, II, 233. The account book of the Prince for 1540, kept by Vicenzio Martelli, has been studied by Cesare Corsi in order to discover the musicians in the Prince’s retinue: ‘Le Carte Sanseverino’, pp. 9-10, 36-9. The expenditure is briefly analysed in Colapietra, *I Sanseverino di Salerno*, p. 177 n. 136.

of the Marchese del Vasto played, and a motet was dedicated to the Prince.⁵⁵ Riding through icy Alpine passes, crossing rivers, they travelled through Voghera, Bellotta, and Susa, to Briançon. At Lyon, on 22nd the Prince went alone to a shrine, perhaps to give thanks for divine protection.⁵⁶ In Paris, Madama Isabella, ‘*padrona della picciola casa* [mistress of the little house]’, entertained them.⁵⁷ Arriving at Amiens with twenty men in post on 13 February, Salerno joined Cardinal Farnese and the Duke of Orléans, and there they hunted and discussed the contested matter of Milan.⁵⁸ The following day -- the day of the Emperor’s entry to Ghent -- the prince departed for Flanders.⁵⁹ By 22 February they had reached Antwerp.

The Prince’s accounts record the necessary magnificence of a great noble: the purchase of pastries and perfumed gloves, of doublets in velvet and silk and satin, of swords and scabbards, payments to goldsmiths, the lavish entertainments, the gambling and tennis playing, the music and banquets, the horses. The pastime and conspicuous consumption distracted from the arduous waiting and from the grim scenes of the Emperor’s due justice, and the Lenten days were lightened by the antics of fools, and dancing dogs.⁶⁰ Wherever the Prince was, he desired music. On 22 March viol players entertained him in Antwerp, in Bruges on 14 April musicians played and danced, and there was a payment to a landsknecht who played the flute.⁶¹ The Neapolitan nobleman and musician, Luigi Dentice, the Prince’s loyal adherent, was given a lute.⁶² Banquets were held for grand guests: on Palm Sunday, 21 March, for the French ambassador, the Seigneur de Brissac, and on 29 May for the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Arschot. The dancing dog performed for the Prince of Orange in Antwerp on 23 February.⁶³ With his fellow nobles, Gianfrancesco Sanseverino and Giantommaso Carafa, the Prince played tennis in Bruges, Antwerp and Ghent.⁶⁴ They gambled, too, to while away the time. In Ghent, on 12 May the Prince played for exorbitant stakes with the Queen of Hungary.⁶⁵ He sat for

⁵⁵ ASNa, Sommaria, Diversi, II, 233, fo. 165v.

⁵⁶ Ibid., fo. 4r.

⁵⁷ Ibid., fo. 5v.

⁵⁸ ASV, Fondo Pio, 56, fos. 111r, 137v, 142r; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 7 & 13 February 1540, Amiens. ASMn, AG 639; Giobattista da Gambarà to the Duke of Mantua, 11 February 1540.

⁵⁹ ASMo, CD, Amb. Francia, 15; Galeazzo Tassoni Estense to Duke of Ferrara, 20 February 1540. *Relation des Troubles de Gand*, p. 65 includes the Prince among the Emperor’s retinue, in error.

⁶⁰ ASNa, Sommaria, Diversi, II, 233, fos. 177r, 166v.

⁶¹ Ibid., fos. 125v, 173r, 175r. Corti, ‘Le Carte Sanseverino’, pp. 37-9.

⁶² ASNa, Sommaria, Diversi, II, 233, fo. 173v. For Dentice, see Cardamone, ‘Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome’ in *The canzone villanesca alla napoletana*, v, pp. 36-41.

⁶³ ASNa, Sommaria, Diversi, II, 233, fos. 16v, 30v, 167r.

⁶⁴ Ibid., fos. 168v, 173r-v, 174v, 175r.

⁶⁵ Ibid., fo. 176r.

his portrait (now lost), and purchased works of art: an image of Our Lady, pictures of the Flight into Egypt, of the Destruction of Troy, of a storm at sea.⁶⁶ And all the while that the Prince disported himself with his friends, he was giving generously in alms, with the charity and munificence expected of a great noble. In the streets of Bruges and Antwerp, his agents gave doles to the poor.⁶⁷ Gifts to friars and priests, and payments for masses attested to at least a conventional devotion.⁶⁸ Of his political engagement there is little evidence. Payments to the Emperor's trumpeters on 3 and 4 April suggest that he was then in the Emperor's presence, and there is other proof that he was then high in his secret counsels.⁶⁹ On 4 April, the day of the collapse of the peace talks between Francis I and the Emperor, Bernardo Tasso, the Prince's secretary, rode from Antwerp to Ghent, ostensibly to buy a ring. This was the night that the Prince sent his unnamed messenger to Wyatt, proposing his visit to England.⁷⁰ On 10 April the Prince left Ghent for Bruges, but his return was expected within days.⁷¹

* * *

In these Lenten days and weeks, the Emperor had been 'in gret melencholy, in so much that he confest he could not slepe on nyghtes'.⁷² Immured in Ghent, to awe it by his presence, Charles was 'imparked' -- the verb used for beasts enclosed in a chase. Henry VIII reminded the French King of the Emperor's plight: 'his povertie, howe fewe frendes He hath to ayde Hym ... howe He is nowe *imparked* in Flaunders' between the territories of Francis, of Henry VIII, the Duke of Cleves, the Princes of Germany.⁷³ Charles was assailed by a thousand conflicting problems. 'Of trowght the thinges were marvelous intricate', so he himself acknowledged.⁷⁴ So deep, so inveterate was the enmity between him and the French King that their peace always seemed doubtful,

⁶⁶ Ibid., fos. 178r, 179r.

⁶⁷ Ibid., fos. 166v, 167r, 167v, 168r, 168v, 169r, 170r, 170v, 172r, 173v, 174r, 175r, 176r, 176v, 179r.

⁶⁸ Ibid., fos. 10v, 165v, 168r, 169v, 171v, 173r-v, 174v.

⁶⁹ Ibid., fo. 172r. Corti, 'Le Carte Sanseverino', pp. 38.

⁷⁰ ASNa, Sommaria, Diversi, II, 233, fo. 125v. BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 245r (*CWTTW*, I, letter 32); Wyatt to Cromwell, 5 April 1540, Ghent. The likelihood is that Tasso was the messenger. The Venetian ambassadors' report of 26 April of Bernardo Tasso's story that he had recently returned from Poland rests on their misunderstanding or Tasso's misdirection. Tasso had been with the Prince throughout his journey to the Low Countries. *Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe (Dispacci di Germania)*, ed. G. Turba, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1889-1901), I, p. 427.

⁷¹ ASNa, Sommaria, Diversi, II, 233, fo. 126r. BL, Harleian MS 282, fos. 251v, 131v (*CWTTW*, I, letters 33 & 34); Wyatt to Cromwell, 12 April 1540; Wyatt to Henry VIII, 15 April 1540, Ghent.

BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 128r (*CWTTW*, I, letter 29); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 14 March 1540, Ghent.

⁷² BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 128r (*CWTTW*, I, letter 29); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 14 March 1540, Ghent.

⁷³ *SP*, VIII, p. 263; Henry VIII to the Duke of Norfolk, 21 February 1540. *O[xford] E[n]glish D[ictionary]*; *impark*, v. 1

⁷⁴ BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 122r (*CWTTW*, I, letter 27); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 9 March 1540, Ghent. Cromwell repeated this *verbatim* in his letter to Wallop of 12 March: *SP*, VIII, p. 282.

despite all their promises. Sometimes there were flickers of hope of agreement, but they soon faded. Milan always stood in the way of peace, for it was the prize which Francis would always claim, and Charles would never cede. By mid-March Wyatt observed that the peace ‘waxeth colder and colder euery day’, prevented as usual by the ‘non donation of Milan’. “Ar we wont to gyve owur own away so lightly?” asked Granvelle.⁷⁵

Ambassadors plied back and forth between the pretended friends. The other envoys, kept entirely in the dark, looked on, in suspicion. On Good Friday, 28 March, when the Emperor’s ambassador to the French King ‘browght with hym many fayre wordes and promysse, with more delayes, and nothing of effect’, and no assurance of Milan, Francis was ‘so chaffed and fretted inwardly, that he cowld not here ne saye his service that day patiently’.⁷⁶ Without Milan there could be no agreement, so Francis instructed the ambassador he returned to the Emperor on 4 April.⁷⁷ ‘The donation of Millan shall not conclud *neque in hoc seculo neque in futuro* [neither in this world nor the next]’, judged Wyatt.⁷⁸ Cardinal Farnese, his legation failing, no longer believed that they would ‘make a duumvirate and divide England and Italy between them’. ‘The silence on every side’ made him believe the worst.⁷⁹ ‘Seing thes matters so coldid’, he sought his revocation, so Wyatt gleefully reported to Cromwell, ‘loth as it semith to stonde here for an image in so litill reputation, where at home he is honourd lik a yong god’.⁸⁰ By the end of April the word at the English court was ‘that affairs between France and the Emperor have cooled, and that now war is more likely than a continuance of this fervent amity’.⁸¹ As the peace faltered, and worse portended, the Emperor and the French King looked elsewhere for allies. ‘These men ar not drawn by curtesi, frendshipp or equite, but by interest’.⁸² Francis now turned towards Germany and the Levant, in search of alliance with the Schmalkaldic League and the Great Turk, the Emperor’s enemies.⁸³

⁷⁵ BL, Harleian MS 282, fos. 126r, 128r (*CWTW*, I, letters 28 & 29); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 12 & 14 March 1540, Ghent.

⁷⁶ *SP*, VIII, pp. 290-1; Sir John Wallop to Cromwell, 29 March 1540, Abbeville.

⁷⁷ *LP*, XV, 457.

⁷⁸ BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 244r (*CWTW*, I, letters 28 & 29); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 12 & 14 March 1540, Ghent.

⁷⁹ AGR, Papiers Gachard 644, fo. 77v; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 8 April 1540, Ghent.

⁸⁰ BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 250v (*CWTW*, I, letter 33); Wyatt to Cromwell, 12 April 1540, Ghent.

⁸¹ *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, p. 179 (*LP*, XV, 567).

⁸² BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 244r (*CWTW*, I, letter 32); Wyatt to Cromwell, 5 April 1540, Ghent.

⁸³ *CSPSp*, VI, i, 1538-1542, p. 234. Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 300-302

And where should Charles turn? The Emperor's designs, as so often, were hidden. At times he revolved courses of action so secretly that he revealed them to no one. But he entrusted a plan to the Prince of Salerno. The message which Salerno sent to Wyatt on 4 April was a sign of the world turning. On the night that his peace proposals with Francis failed, the balances shifted, and Charles turned to his 'bel oncle', Henry VIII. The Papal ambassadors had never known the Imperial counsels so impenetrable, and feared new practices with England. Early in April Granvelle and Wyatt were conferring frequently and familiarly for hours at a time.⁸⁴ In Ghent on 11 April Wyatt had an audience with the Emperor -- the first for months -- and it 'passed swetly with smilinges and good countenances'. Charles even laughed knowingly, grossly, as he spoke of the Cleves marriage, 'glad to here so good lust' in Henry 'that he wold put hym sellff sometyme on horse bake', all unaware how repelled was Henry by his new wife.⁸⁵ At Wyatt's parting audience with the Emperor on 20 April, Charles declined to honour Henry by wearing the Order of the Garter on the coming St George's Day, but on Wyatt he bestowed 'carezze', and showed 'the greatest cheer', 'extraordinary favours'. And he may have entrusted him with a secret commission.⁸⁶ It seemed 'marvellously strange', so the diplomatic community mused, that the Emperor would unite with the King of England, against the faith, yet if he did not make this 'unholy alliance' the French King would. An Imperial alliance with Henry would block any alliance between Henry and the Protestant princes of the League.⁸⁷

Returning to England, Wyatt believed that Salerno had changed his mind, that he would not come.⁸⁸ There were reasons for Salerno to quail, for Charles to draw back. For the Holy Roman Emperor to send an envoy to Henry VIII, however covertly, would be to countenance a schismatic and excommunicate King against whom the Pope had declared holy war. Henry had dishonoured the blood of Castile when he cast off Katherine of Aragon and disinherited their daughter Princess Mary, now Lady Mary. Although the peace between Charles and Francis was now so 'cold as tho the thingis passid had bene

⁸⁴ AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fos. 77v-78r; ASV, Fondo Pio, 56, fos. 218r-v, 224r; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 8 & 10 April 1540, Ghent.

⁸⁵ BL, Harleian MS 282, fos. 247v-248r (*CWTTW*, I, letter 32); Wyatt to Cromwell, 5 April 1540, Ghent.

⁸⁶ *Legationen Farneses und Cervinis*, ed. Cardauns, pp. 183-4; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 20 April 1540, Ghent; ASF, MP, 4297, fos. 48r, 79v; Niccolini & Bandino to the Duke of Florence, 27 April & 8 July 1540.

⁸⁷ *Lettres et mémoires d'Etat, des roys, princes, ambassadeurs, et autres ministres, sous les règnes de François premier, Henry II & François II*, ed. G. Ribier, 2 vols. (Paris, 1666), I, p. 519 (LP, XV, 548); French ambassador in Venice to Montmorency, 19 April 1540. Capasso, *Paolo III*, II, p. 32.

⁸⁸ *Correspondance de Castillon et de Marillac*, p. 181 (LP, XV, 651).

but dremis', they were still mutually bound not to enter any agreement with Henry without the other's permission. For Charles to communicate with Henry would cause an irrecoverable breach with the French King.⁸⁹ There was also the matter of Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves, whose brother had defied the Emperor. Although Charles saw the ending of England's schism and Henry's return to the Roman obedience as part of his Imperial duty to defend Christendom, he had not answered the Papal summons to crusade against Henry in the winter of 1538-9. Now, needing Henry's friendship, he claimed that dereliction as proof of brotherly amity. In mid-June Granvelle assured Pate that the Emperor 'euermore esteemed' Henry as a prince of great honour and wisdom, as he proved by the 'stay and stop made of the bishop of Romes excommunication' through Spain and all his Imperial dominions.⁹⁰ Before sending the Prince of Salerno as envoy, Charles might need some reciprocal pledge of Henry's good will, some show of his orthodoxy and desire for reconciliation with Rome.

In England, these were times of great uncertainty. Religious divisions grew more bitter, and there was extraordinary political volatility. By 1 June the French ambassador at the English court foresaw that 'things are brought to such a pass that either Cromwell's party or that of the Bishop of Winchester must succumb'. Cromwell's enemies plotted his removal in order to save the Church from further reform.⁹¹ At foreign courts, rumours swirled of court *coups* in England. On 10 June news came to Brussels that the King of England had been assassinated and the Duke of Norfolk led a conspiracy; 'every man had it in his mowthe abowte this Cowrte', wrote Pate.⁹² There was a conspiracy, and a *coup* on that day, but the victim was Cromwell. Arrested in Westminster, he was taken to the Tower. The Council instantly advertised to ambassadors an official version of the Supreme Head's religious policy and of Cromwell's treason. Henry 'most godly travaileth, to establishe such an ordre in matiers of religion, as, neither declynyng on the right hande ne on the left hande, Goddes glory might be advanced'. Cromwell had 'secretly and indirectly' been 'advancing thone of thextremes, and so fervently, that he had vowed to 'fight in the feld in his oune personne, with is sworde in his hande' against

⁸⁹ BL, Harleian MS 282, fos. 249v, 123r (*CWTTW*, I, letters 33, 27); Wyatt to Cromwell, 12 April 1540, Ghent; Wyatt to Henry VIII, 9 March 1540, Ghent. AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fos. 138r-139r; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 9 June 1540, Brussels.

⁹⁰ TNA, SP 1/160, fo. 154r (*LP*, XV, 793); Pate to Henry VIII, 16 June 1540, Brussels.

⁹¹ *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, pp. 187-8. For the vital role of Henry's foreign policy in Cromwell's fall, see G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 556-69.

⁹² AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fo. 146r-v; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 11 June 1540. *SP*, VIII, p. 356.

Henry ‘and all other; adding, that if he lyved a yere or two, he trusted to bring thinges to that frame, that it shuld not lye in the Kynges power to resist or let it, if He wold’.⁹³

Receiving the news on 13th, Pate rushed to tell the Emperor, who was ‘nothing moved therewith utwardlie, other in cowntenaunce or worde, onlie demaundyng, after his maner, “What, is he in the Towre of London? And by the Kinges commaundement?”’⁹⁴

The fall of Cromwell was, in part, the price of Henry’s alliance with the Emperor, the pledge that his master was a true Christian prince. Here was the sign of Henry’s will to return to the Roman obedience, or so it was taken. Cervini counted Henry’s moves towards reconciliation – the arrest of Cromwell, the Act of Six Articles – and believed the only obstacle was the ‘peccadiglio’ of his Supremacy in the English Church. Now was the time to persuade him.⁹⁵ In Brussels, Pate lamented Cromwell’s treachery, ‘far passing Lucifers’, and happily ‘satisfyed al kynd of people, seking’ to hear of his fate. On 26 June the Prince of Salerno sent word to Pate of his urgent desire to visit the English King, praising Henry’s ‘noble stomacke, greate humanite’.⁹⁶ Cromwell’s incarceration made possible the visit of the Prince and the Imperial envoys. Once he was in the Tower, with ‘not one friend in the whole island’, only the manner of his death was uncertain. Would he would burn alive as a heretic or suffer the terrible death of a traitor?⁹⁷

Salerno’s mission was secret, its purpose unknown. The news from Antwerp on 4 July was that the Prince travelled to England at the Emperor’s command, but ‘it kan not b[e known] what commysion he hathe gyven hym ... And ffor all that they hathe [given] owtt voyce to come asportyng the tryuth [is] that they be sende of him [the Emperor]’.⁹⁸ No one believed the story that the Prince was visiting for pleasure, to hunt and ‘see the island’. Why would a great prince of the south wish to do so? It made no sense. ‘*Solazzeo* [pastime]’ could not be the reason for the visit. Matters were ‘heating up’.⁹⁹ Henry himself knew nothing, he claimed, of the reasons for the visit, but was suspicious of fine

⁹³ *SP*, VIII, pp. 349-50.

⁹⁴ *SP*, VIII, pp. 355-6; Pate to Norfolk, 16 June 1540, Brussels.

⁹⁵ AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fos. 156v-157r, 182r; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 24 June & 11 July 1540, Brussels.

⁹⁶ *SP*, VIII, pp. 364-7; Pate to Henry VIII, 27 June 1540, Brussels.

⁹⁷ ASV, Carte Farnesiane, 11, fo. 150v; AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fos. 157r, 175v.

⁹⁸ BL, Cotton MS Galba B X, fo. 132r (*LP*, XV, 838).

⁹⁹ ASV, Fondo Pio, 56, fos. 241r, 244r; Cervini to the Nuncios of France and Venice, 3 & 10 July, 1540. Carte Farnesiane, 2, fo. 102r; Cervini to [Pope Paul III], 5 July, Bruges. ASMo, CD, Ambasciatori Germania, busta 4; Rossetto to the Duke of Ferrara, 5 July 1540.

words and supposed that ‘they wished to get something from him’.¹⁰⁰ At the Imperial court there were rumours that Charles and Henry would soon meet, ‘whether by land or sea’, with no ambassadors in attendance. Insisting, as ever, that there could be no friendship with the English King until his return to the faith, Charles now held out hope, but everything must be kept secret.¹⁰¹ ‘This Court is the closest in the world I think for newes’, wrote Pate.¹⁰² Secrecy was vital because Charles was violating his agreement with Francis that neither of them would treat with Henry;¹⁰³ it was also secret because of the delicacy of the proposal at the mission’s heart.

Leaving Bruges, the Prince, Luis de Ávila, and their retinue of forty men made for Calais, arriving on 2 July. If they had ever doubted the barbarism of the English, now they had reason to believe it. There was no Deputy to welcome or entertain them – for Lord Lisle was in the Tower – but only two monoglot commissioners, the Earl of Sussex and Sir John Gage.¹⁰⁴ Years later, Dr William Turner remembered how the Prince addressed the commissioners first in Italian, then in Latin, and finally in French, but they found not a word in any of these languages to answer him. ‘Was not thys a great shame vnto all Englande?’¹⁰⁵ Francis Hall, a spear of Calais, claimed to have shown the Prince and his party ‘pleasure at Calais’.¹⁰⁶ On the 3rd they sailed for Dover. From there they rode to court on splendid horses sent by the King, for the Prince ‘caried no horse into England with hym’. The clerk of the Stable spent a king’s ransom to provide horses worthy to honour these princely guests.¹⁰⁷

Chamber and Wardrobe officials – John Norris and John Harman, gentleman ushers, yeomen, grooms and a groom porter, William Tildesley of the Wardrobe of the King’s beds -- hurriedly prepared lodgings; ‘making ready at Windsor and waiting upon the strangers there, and from thence to Hampton Court and so to Greenwich’.¹⁰⁸ The French ambassador sent his King a fleeting report of a fleeting visit. ‘The prince of Salerno, who came hither only to see the country’, was feasted ‘in this Court and in some

¹⁰⁰ *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, p. 199 (*LP*, XV, 848); Marillac to Montmorency, 6 July 1540.

¹⁰¹ ASV, Carte Farnesiane, 2, fos. 100v-101r; AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fo. 181v; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 5 & 11 July, Bruges.

¹⁰² *SP*, VIII, p. 367.

¹⁰³ AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fo. 185v; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 13 July 1540, Bruges.

¹⁰⁴ TNA, SP 1/160, fo. 165r-v (*SP*, VIII, pp. 366-7); *LP*, XV, 697, 833.

¹⁰⁵ William Turner, *A new booke of spirituall physik for dyuerse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande* (Rome, i.e. Emden, 1555), fos. 45-46.

¹⁰⁶ *LP*, XVI, 298.

¹⁰⁷ *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 48. *LP*, XVI, p. 189.

¹⁰⁸ *LP*, XVI, pp. 189, 190.

of the most beautiful places this King has, Windsor and Hampton Court'.¹⁰⁹ To Constable Montmorency the ambassador dared to be more open, telling him that Luis de Ávila broadcast matters which were better suppressed. 'Laughing and mocking', he expressed amazement that the French King had so easily granted the Emperor a passage through France, 'considering the difficulty, expense and danger of going by sea, or by Italy or Germany'. The Emperor would never cede Milan; 'he had as much mind to surrender it as a superior in title would make himself inferior in power'. Francis was no nearer to achieving his aim, 'but rather further off'. Marillac tried to downplay de Ávila's words, as 'spoken rather in passion than in knowledge of his master's intention', but the English believed that they had 'gained a great advantage'. Courtiers gave Marillac assurances that if the visit 'was for any other occasion than to see the country they ... would let him know'.¹¹⁰

Amity between Henry and the Emperor was impeded by Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves, the sister of Charles's disobedient vassal. The annulment of his marriage was personally necessary to the King, who quailed before his marital duty. It was also a dynastic and diplomatic necessity. The depositions concerning the fated marriage were taking place at the end of June and early July, and on 9 July the process of nullity took place. In full Convocation it was declared that 'the King and Anne of Cleves were nowise bound by the marriage solemnised between them'.¹¹¹ Henry was no longer tied to the family of Cleves, and the Emperor was duly informed.¹¹² The way was clear for the King to take a new bride. There was one in prospect – Katherine Howard – but this may not yet have been known at the Imperial court. 'These are things which are kept secret', even at court.¹¹³

Feasting at Greenwich, Windsor, and Hampton Court with the King and nobility of the kingdom, the 'strangers' had 'great cheer' and generous entertainment. Which courtiers entertained them, and how, is uncertain, but clues remain. Few at the English court were *italianizzati*. The most Italianate of all was Thomas Cromwell, but he was in the Tower. Salerno remembered, without pleasure, his encounter with Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, who was, by his princely education and aspiration, fittest to honour the grandees.

¹⁰⁹ *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, p. 202 (LP, XV, 901).

¹¹⁰ *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, pp. 203-4 (LP, XV, 902).

¹¹¹ LP, XV, 860, 861.

¹¹² SP, VIII, p. 386; TNA, SP 1/161, fos. 73ff (LP, XV, 865).

¹¹³ *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, p. 203 (LP, XV, 901).

Thomas Wyatt was famously *italianizzato*, had prepared the way for the visit and known Luis de Ávila at the Emperor's court. Thomas Chaloner remembered being entertained as well as entertaining. Music attended the Prince of Salerno wherever he went, and he was often performer as well as audience. Luigi Dentice, Salerno's trusted familiar, had travelled with him from Naples to Flanders, and thence to England.¹¹⁴ In Barcelona in 1564, when Chaloner heard the sublime lute playing and falsetto singing of Fabrizio Dentice, he recalled the performance of his father, Don Luigi Dentice, at the English court nearly a quarter of a century before. 'The fathers play was but meane, but his voyce the swetest that any in owr tyme hath been praysed for'. Henry VIII had offered Luigi Dentice a pension of 1,000 marks a year to serve him, but he refused to leave his prince.¹¹⁵ At the French court in 1544 the Queen and her ladies persuaded the Prince of Salerno to sing Neapolitan songs for them every evening, while they accompanied him on the guitar.¹¹⁶ Perhaps Salerno even sang at the English court. His imagining of a Spanish noblewoman lamenting her lord, cruelly held captive by the King of England, found musical expression later, as we shall see.

Grimmer spectacles were laid on for the Prince and his party: a theatre of blood to display the King's undying orthodoxy. In July 1540 a major inquisition for heresy began in the City of London, coterminous with the visit of 'the strangers' -- the first quest under the Act of Six Articles. 'In fourteen days' space', five hundred Londoners were arrested, and many imprisoned.¹¹⁷ On 7 July the most ardent and disruptive of London's evangelicals suffered. William 'frantic' Collins was burnt at the stake at Southwark. Collins, who was not in his perfect mind, had been in prison intermittently since 1526 for his reforming beliefs, and had preached social equality along with the Gospel. He was likely to become a martyr eventually, but the timing of his death was expedient.¹¹⁸ The Prince of Salerno saw so much exemplary justice that spring and summer, in Ghent and in London, and he did not forget it.

¹¹⁴ Cardamone, 'Orlando di Lasso and pro-French factions in Rome' in *The canzone villanesca alla napoletana*, ch. v, pp. 36-7.

¹¹⁵ HMC, *Report on the Pepys Manuscripts* (1911), p. 30, cited in J. Ward, 'A Dowland Miscellany', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 10 (1977), p. 97.

¹¹⁶ R.J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court, 1483-1589* (New Haven and London, 2008), p. 71.

¹¹⁷ *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation*, ed. H. Robinson, 2 vols. (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846-7), I, pp. 208, 232-3. Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 320-3 (where the significance of Salerno's visit is entirely missed).

¹¹⁸ Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, 1485-1559*, ed. W.D. Hamilton, 2 vols. (Camden Society, new series, XI and XX, 1875-7), I, p. 119.

The Calais chronicler reported that on 15 July ‘the prince of Salerne landed at Calleys, cominge owte of England, and the same day he toke his jurney homewarde’. He departed England unheralded, as he had arrived, with muted honour, attended by no one of rank.¹¹⁹ The departing Prince and his retinue may have encountered Don Francesco d’Este on their journey. On 11 July d’Este had sent a messenger by night to Richard Pate, announcing that he, too, longed to visit England and its King. The Emperor had so often praised the ‘excellent benefites of nature and like gyftes of mynd’ that made Henry the image of his Creator that it ‘dyd engendre in his stomache such a love ... as could not be ferdre defferred without his greate greafe and discomfite’.¹²⁰ D’Este was shown greater honour than had been shown to Salerno, for Pate sent ahead the names of his party, so that they might be properly received at court, and a guide to accompany them on their journey.¹²¹ But the purpose of this visit was no less shadowy. On 18 July, with leave from the Emperor and Papal nuncio to ‘see that island’, d’Este, with the Marquis de Terranova and others from the Emperor’s court, sailed from Calais.¹²² They came by royal barge from Gravesend to London, and then to Westminster, and they, too, were shown Hampton Court and Greenwich. On Mary Magdalen’s day, 22 July, at Westminster, they were ‘highlie feasted, and noblie interteined’. According to the French ambassador, the King’s parting gift of two hackneys was the sign that d’Este came only to visit the country, not to negotiate.¹²³

While Salerno and Luis de Ávila were in England, and at the moment that d’Este proposed his visit, Charles himself set sail into the North Sea. On 13 July he sailed from Bruges to Flushing, ‘purposing if the wind served not to reach Holland with oars’. The following day he travelled to Middleburg, then to Veere on 16th, Zierikzee on 18th, to Dordrecht in Holland by 23rd and to Rotterdam.¹²⁴ A sea voyage in the Channel was particularly hazardous. Even the Emperor was not lord of the whole world; anywhere that he travelled outside his own dominions put him in danger. No one ever forgot the shipwreck and dishonour of Charles’s father, Philip the Fair of Burgundy. Sailing from

¹¹⁹ *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 48. LP, XVI, p. 189.

¹²⁰ TNA, SP 1/161, fo. 89r (LP, XV, 877).

¹²¹ TNA, SP 1/161, fo. 90r (LP, XV, 878).

¹²² AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fo. 184v; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 13 July 1540. ASMo, CD, Ambasciatori Germania, 4; Rossetto to the Duke of Ferrara, 5 July 1540, Bruges. LP, XV, 877-8, 889; *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 48.

¹²³ LP, XVI, p. 191. Raphael Holinshed, *The chronicles of England* (1585), p. 952; *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, p. 207 (LP, XV, 926).

¹²⁴ LP, XV, 889; *Estancias y Viajes del Emperador Carlos V*, ed. Don Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera (Madrid, 1914), p. 486.

Flanders to Castile in 1506, he was driven by Channel storms onto the English coast and became the guest – the hostage – of Henry VII. While Charles was contemplating the journey to Ghent, Wyatt doubted that he would risk being stranded on the English coast. ‘The way thither by see ... must be to hym suspected by landyng pervanture where he wold not’.¹²⁵ At the English court, Luis de Ávila had wondered that Francis granted the Emperor a passage through France, sparing him the danger of going by sea.¹²⁶ The Emperor’s journey to Zealand and Holland was mysterious, especially because the court was commanded not to follow, nor any ambassadors, for he sailed only with his intimate household. Some suspected that the Emperor and the King of England would meet, whether on land or at sea.¹²⁷ Perhaps such a meeting was in prospect, if all went well with Salerno’s mission, but his presence in England also provided a distraction which allowed the Emperor to take ship. The sending of emissaries to Henry’s court might offer the Emperor some protection as he embarked into the North Sea. In Antwerp, there were rumours that the cause of the Emperor’s sending of Salerno was that since the ‘pratyka betwene hym and the ffrenche kyng is broken’ he must go to Germany and Italy, and ‘he trowsteth not moche to the people of this country [Antwerp] nor to the fflemynges’.¹²⁸

The Prince of Salerno returned to the Emperor’s court at Dordrecht on 23 July. In public, he ‘spredde an honorable report and fame’ of the English King and of his ‘abunteful enterteynement’, but gave no reason for his mission.¹²⁹ More privately, his first act was to seek absolution for the sin of communing with heretics. Salerno’s disquiet was evident. His report of his time in England was also his confession. Luis de Ávila appeared to Cervini – ‘*se non lo fa ad arte* [if he did not speak to deceive him]’ – to have returned from England ‘extremely dissatisfied’ with the King, with nothing good to say of him. Doubtless, both men tempered their accounts to mollify Cervini and to dissemble the political purpose of the mission. When the King sought to discover whether they came with a commission, so they reported, they denied it. Henry treated Salerno with great honour, but not Luis de Ávila and the others. When the King called the Pope ‘Bishop of Rome’, they defiantly called him ‘Papa’, which angered Henry and

¹²⁵ ASMo, CD, Ambasciatori Spagna, busta 3; Alfonso Rossetto to the Duke of Ferrara, 7 December 1538. BL, Harleian MS 282, fo. 157r (*CWTV*, I, letter 18); Wyatt to Henry VIII, 25 December 1539.

¹²⁶ *Correspondance de Castillon et Marillac*, p. 203 (*LP*, XV, 902).

¹²⁷ AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fo. 178v; Nuncio Poggio to Cardinal Farnese, 7 July 1540, Bruges.

¹²⁸ BL, Cotton MS Galba X, fo. 132 (*LP*, XV, 838).

¹²⁹ TNA, SP 1/161, fo. 209 (*LP*, XV, 931); Pate to Henry VIII, 31 July 1540.

his nobles, who had divided the wealth of the Church among themselves. Because of their sacrilege and spoliation, the nobles were so opposed to the Holy See that unless God intervened it would be impossible to return the realm to obedience. The Howards were triumphant and the Earl of Surrey seemed, even to such grandees, 'very proud'. The King was 'like a pig, and showed little emotion'. The Mass was still celebrated, according to the ancient use, but priests were now ordained by the King and marrying. 'Everything is descending into chaos and it seems like Hell'. Salerno spoke darkly of the Cleves divorce and of the King's impending marriage to Katherine Howard, who was already recognised as Queen. The word was that she was already pregnant. Cromwell was not yet dead, but sentence was passed: 'they [the English] would tear out his heart and stuff it in his mouth'.¹³⁰ 28 July, the day of d'Este's departure, was the day of Cromwell's execution.

What was the true purpose of Salerno and de Ávila's visit? Giovanni Bandino, the Florentine envoy, claimed to know: Salerno went to inspect 'the daughter of that King' as a prospective Empress for her cousin the Emperor. This was not, he insisted, 'capriccio mio [my fancy]'.¹³¹ Cervini, too, believed that Charles would take as his new wife 'la figliuola de Inghilterra'.¹³² This proposal had been made before. Supposedly, Cardinal Wolsey had wept when Charles had married the 'daughter of Portingall' rather than Mary.¹³³ But then she was Princess, not Lady Mary, and Henry had not yet become Supreme Head of the English church and professed enemy to the Bishop of Rome. On New Year's Day 1540 Alessandro Farnese had reported the secret proposal of the marriage of Mary, 'daughter of England', to the Emperor. This proposal was too secret to appear in any open instruction, and almost too delicate to make, lest the King and 'the daughter of England' be dishonoured by its refusal. It was refused: Charles's response then had been 'between sweet and sour' -- unless Henry returned to Papal obedience there was no hope of alliance.¹³⁴ Rumours of the starry match recurred in the spring and summer of 1540. On 9 July, at the moment of Salerno's visit, and with deliberate promise, the Emperor allowed his retinue to change the mourning attire which they had worn since the death of the Empress, Charles 'not a lytle praysing the realme of Inglande

¹³⁰ AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fos. 198-9r; Cervini to Cardinal Farnese, 23 July 1540, Dordrecht.

¹³¹ ASF, MP, 4297, fo. 79v; Bandino to the Duke of Florence, 8 July 1540. *LP*, XVI, 214, 606. For continuing rumours, *CSPSp*, VI, i, 1538-1542, pp. 282, 285.

¹³² AGR, Papiers Gachard, 644, fo. 181v; to Cardinal Farnese, 11 July 1540.

¹³³ TNA, SP 1/164, fo. 19r (*LP*, XVI, 298).

¹³⁴ ASV, Fondo Pio, 56, fo. 39r; Cardinal Farnese to Pope Paul III, 1 January 1540, Paris.

for the pleasantnes and benefites thereof.¹³⁵ By the autumn the proposed marriage was discussed in retrospect, and acknowledged as the reason for Salerno's visit. Dining with Pate on 14 October, John Vandique told him that leading figures at the Imperial court wished that Mary were Empress, and of the disappointment of '2 noble personages and Princeis being in Inglonde to visite his hieghnes', and their dishonour. They could not, 'nor had the credite' to see the Lady Mary, 'but apou a fainte promise of the same made, were from day so differred to day, that they returned without hur sight. Wherefore, notwithstanding ther great cheare and liberal entreteynment, they cownted them selves taken as half spies'.¹³⁶ An affront for the Prince, '*ch'oltre tutte le cose esteriori stima l'onore e la gloria* [above all outward things esteems honour and glory].¹³⁷

The mission of Ferrante Sanseverino was, and remains, mysterious. We might dismiss the journey as the chivalric venture of a Renaissance prince to the land of Amadís and Arthur. We have his own report of his diplomacy, and his dark view of the English King and his court, yet since it was his confession to a Cardinal it lacked the pragmatism of a *relazione* to the Emperor and his counsellors. In the English sources there is silence concerning his visit, perhaps to save embarrassment about a diplomatic débâcle. Yet, as the 'whole world of Christendom hangeth yet in balance', and the unlikely peace between Francis and Charles tottered, the Holy Roman Emperor might have contemplated marrying his cousin Mary, who was not illegitimate in Spanish eyes, even if dishonoured in English law. Salerno's embassy was an obscure episode in the saga of dynastic diplomacy which continued through the lives of Henry VIII and Charles V and Francis I. Henry's refusal to countenance reconciliation with Rome always blocked alliance with the Emperor. Since any treaty rested on the vow to be 'friends of friends and foe of foes', and a pledge of mutual defence, Charles would have to bind himself to defend England against invasion instigated by the Pope, the Bishop of Rome. An impossible promise.¹³⁸ Charles, though Holy Roman Emperor, master of Italy, was vulnerable, because he could not travel without danger, and because he was forced to contemplate intolerable compromises. In the previous year he had confessed that he could not do 'what God

¹³⁵ TNA, SP 1/161, fo. 72r (LP, XV, 864); Pate to Duke of Norfolk, 9 July 1540.

¹³⁶ TNA, SP 1/163, fo. 120r (SP, VIII, pp. 453-5).

¹³⁷ 'Il Nifo overo del Piacere', *Torquato Tasso: Dialoghi*, I, p. 257.

¹³⁸ *Henry VIII to his Ambassadors at the Diet of Ratisbon, 17 June 1541*, deciphered and ed. Christine J. Black & C. E. Challis (York, 1968), pp. 7-12.

wanted': "Even though I am Emperor, I can only do what is humanly possible, because I am only a man".¹³⁹

* * *

The Emperor had trusted the Prince of Salerno with an embassy of the greatest import. It was always likely to fail, and the failure was not the Prince's. He would serve as ambassador again -- not for the Emperor, but to him, and finally against him. Experience taught Sanseverino that an ambassador was never secure. At the New Year of 1542, after the assassination of the French King's ambassadors to the Ottoman Sultan -- allegedly by the Emperor's command -- and the violation of ambassadorial immunity had led to war, he sought safe-conduct through France.¹⁴⁰ Though Francis claimed "I may not kill Ambassadors" as Charles did, Salerno's safe-conduct was in doubt.¹⁴¹ The Prince did return to the kingdom of Naples -- to his baronial castles in the Principato di Citra and to the grand Palazzo Sanseverino in the city -- but not to a settled life. The Emperor summoned him to serve in his campaigns in Lombardy and Piedmont. With the forces of the Marquis del Vasto, Salerno commanded the Italian infantry.¹⁴² But the Prince of Salerno was called upon not only by his sovereign but also by the citizens of Naples.

The Princes of Salerno, preeminent barons of the kingdom of Naples, had inescapably played a part in the long contest between the Aragonese and the French for its control, and thus in the wider history of Italy and of Christendom. Ferrante's grandfather, Antonello Sanseverino, Grand Admiral of Naples, had led the rebel barons against Ferrante I in 1485 and, from exile at the French court in 1494, had invited Charles VIII to invade the realm of Naples. Returning to his estates, Antonello had been hailed by his people as a Messiah.¹⁴³ Ferrante Sanseverino had been notably loyal to Charles V, to whom he was bound by ties of blood through his mother, Doña Marina of Aragon. But the increasingly arbitrary rule of the Spanish Viceroys affronted and alienated him,

¹³⁹ *Venetianische Depeschen*, I, pp. 293-8; Mocenigo to the Doge, 12 March 1539, Toledo. ASF, MP, 4296, fos. 394r, 408r-409r; Giovanni Bandino to the Duke of Florence, 10, 18 March 1539. The Emperor's words were reported by Alfonso Rossetto to the Duke of Ferrara on 14 March: ASMo, CD, Ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 4. TNA, PRO 31/9/65, fos. 246r-252r (*LP*, XIV, i, 561).

¹⁴⁰ *CSPSp*, VI, i, 1538-1542, pp. 336-8, 345, 359, 361, 369-370, 380, 386-9, 392, 397, 404-5, 421-4, 426; J. Zeller, *La Diplomatie Française vers le milieu du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1881), ch. viii, x.

¹⁴¹ *SP*, VIII, pp. 656, 651.

¹⁴² Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴³ *The historie of Philip de Commines Knight, Lord of Argenton* (1596), pp. 268-73, 276-7. Kidwell, *Marullus*: pp. 79, 123-4, 129-30, 201-03, 210-12, 223.

together with other great barons of the realm and the citizens of Naples. Only the *Seggi* – districts of Naples, and the councils of patricians which resided in them – could send an envoy to the King to plead in the name of the city.¹⁴⁴ In 1531 Salerno was mandated to act as ambassador from the Parliament of Naples to their sovereign. This embassy concerned the *donativo*, but also called for the removal of the Viceroy, Cardinal Pompeo Colonna.¹⁴⁵ The rule of the new Viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, was harsher and more despotic still, and Ferrante Sanseverino became a leader of the opposition to him.¹⁴⁶

In 1547 the attempt by the Viceroy to introduce a tribunal of the Roman Inquisition to Naples provoked popular insurrection. The bells of San Lorenzo summoned the people to arms and to council. In May the Parliament resolved to send ambassadors to the Emperor, and elected Salerno, as the first nobleman of the kingdom, and Placido di Sangro.¹⁴⁷ Forty years later, Torquato Tasso composed a dialogue, *Il Nifo overo del Piacere*, a supposed conversation between the philosopher Agostino Nifo and a Neapolitan nobleman, Cesare Gonzaga, in the garden of a villa in the hills above Naples, at around the time of the rebellion.¹⁴⁸ Within their wider discourse concerning the nature of pleasure the dialogue turned on a debate of considerable political and personal moment. Asked what he is hiding under his cloak, Gonzaga reveals the speeches made by Vicenzio Martelli and Bernardo Tasso to the Prince of Salerno, their master, arguing whether the Prince should act as the envoy of the people of Naples to the Emperor, and whether it was better to serve one's sovereign or one's country. Martelli insisted that 'the pleasure and honour' of the embassy would be outweighed by the greater likelihood of failure, by the Emperor's disfavour and the ingratitude of the people. The Prince was being asked to represent a people who were in armed revolt. The prudent course would be to decline the charge. For Bernardo Tasso, honour demanded that the Prince accept. He should be moved by a duty to the Emperor to preserve the fidelity of the people of Naples, and by an obligation to the city itself. In *Il Nifo* the debate between Martelli and Bernardo

¹⁴⁴ Tommaso Astarita, *The Continuity of Feudal Power: the Caracciolo di Brienza in Spanish Naples* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 24-5.

¹⁴⁵ Guido D'Agostino, *Parlamento e Società nel Regno di Napoli, secoli XV-XVII* (Napoli, 1979), pp. 222-30.

¹⁴⁶ Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles en el siglo XVI: el virrey Pedro de Toledo: linaje, estado y cultura (1532-1553)* (Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), pp. 269-83, 359-65.

¹⁴⁷ The best account of the embassy and the events leading to Salerno's exile is *Dell'Istoria di notar Antonino Castaldo libri quattro ne' quali descrivano gli avvenimenti piu memorabili succeduti nel Regno di Napoli sotto il Governo del Vicerè Don Pietro di Toledo* (Napoli, 1769). Extracts are reprinted in Pedio, *Napoli e Spagna*, pp. 361-94. H.C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1908), pp. 70-8; .

¹⁴⁸ 'Il Nifo overo del Piacere', *Torquato Tasso: Dialoghi*, I, pp. 231-303. Carnes Lord, 'The Argument of Tasso's *Nifo*', *Italica*, 56/1 (1979), pp. 22-45.

Tasso is in part imaginary, but may also derive from the real account of Bernardo, Torquato's father, who did advocate that the Prince accept the embassy. Writing to Martelli, Bernardo Tasso claimed that '*voi camminaste per la strada dell'utile, e io per quella dell'onesto* [you walk the path of pragmatism, and I the way of honour]'.¹⁴⁹ Later, he looked back, remembering the rebellion of Ghent, which he judged to be far graver than the uprising in Naples, for it directly challenged the Emperor.¹⁵⁰ Not only the Prince, but his most loyal courtiers, suffered the consequences of his choice to accept the embassy. In the May uprising Luigi Dentice denounced the rule of the Viceroy from the pulpit of San Lorenzo and was banished the city.¹⁵¹

Upon his return to Naples, bringing the Emperor's pardon, Salerno was greeted as 'universal redeemer'. The great popular following he cultivated, his riding with a retinue of hundreds, his magnificence made him dangerous.¹⁵² His relations with the Viceroy grew poisonous. Surviving an assassination attempt – an arquebus shot, which he blamed on Toledo – Salerno petitioned the Emperor for redress, but none came. Dishonoured, he left Naples for Padua. In Rome in April 1551 the news was that the Emperor sought the Prince's arrest, 'into whose hands he seemeth nothing willing to come'. Salerno 'is a man of great credit and reputation in the realm of Naples, highly beloved there and elsewhere'.¹⁵³ Like Princes of Salerno before him, he defected to the French King. In April 1552 he was found guilty of high treason and his title and lands were sequestered. Once the most loyal vassal of the Emperor, Salerno now conspired from his exile to form a league against Spain, and sought to liberate the kingdom of Naples from Spanish rule.¹⁵⁴ And he acted as ambassador again. In the winter of 1552, envoy for Henry II, he travelled to Constantinople to persuade the Great Turk to arm galleys to join the French fleet in a spring offensive against Naples. He was 'cherished' by the Sultan and liberally entertained.¹⁵⁵ By happy chance, the Prince 'discovered that he and the Turk are nigh kinsmen, by means of a marriage made between one of the Turk's

¹⁴⁹ *Le Lettere di M. Bernardo Tasso*, I, 308, p. 576 (cited in Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso*, p. 15). Although first published in 1577, this letter was written and circulated around the time of the rebellion.

¹⁵⁰ *Le Lettere di M. Bernardo Tasso*, I, p. 394.

¹⁵¹ Cardamone, 'Orlando Lasso and the pro-French factions in Rome' in *The canzone villanesca alla napoletana*, ch. v, p. 39.

¹⁵² Pedio, *Napoli e Spagna*, p. 393; Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles*, p. 282.

¹⁵³ *CSPFor, 1547-1553*, p. 85. Advertisements from Rome, 6 April [1551?].

¹⁵⁴ Giuseppe Coniglio, *Il Regno di Napoli al Tempo di Carlo V* (Napoli, 1951), pp. 256-61; Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles*, pp. 329-34.

¹⁵⁵ TNA, SP 68/10, fo. 147r (*CSPFor, 1547-1553*, 593); memorial of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, 9 December 1552; TNA, SP 68/11, fo. 30v (*CSPFor, 1547-1553*, 612); Peter Vannes to the Council, 28 January 1553.

predecessors and a woman of Naples that long since was taken thence, being of the Prince's house'.¹⁵⁶ In December he was at the Turkish port of Prevesa, in command of the French galleys, waiting 'to attempt the enterprize of Naples'.¹⁵⁷

Banished and dispossessed, the Prince had nothing material left to lose. He spent the rest of his life in exile, forsaking hope of returning to Naples. This once faithful Catholic converted to Calvinism. In his exile, there is an intriguing sign that the Prince, or his still faithful courtiers, did not forget the pains of a prince travelling to England and risking the wrath of a king of England. A pair of answering songs lamented the tragic parting of a lord and his lady, estranged by exile. Contemporary witnesses believed that the Prince of Salerno wrote and sang these songs of *lontananza*, in longing for his beloved Princess and his lost homeland. Here the lady responds to her husband's lament, vowing to rescue him from the captivity of the English king.

Stava la gentil dama (Por qué no cantáis la bella?)

The gentle lady was standing
In the shade of a poplar grove,
A golden needle in her hand,
Oh how well she worked the silk!

La corondron o la corondrera
La corondron o la corondrera

She was working a shirt
For the queen's son,
The shirt she was working
Was of silk brocade.

La corondron, etc.

There passes by a knight
Riding from Seville to Utrera;
As soon as he looked at her,
The word he spoke:

La corondron, etc.

"Why do you not sing, lady?
Why do you not sing, fair one?"
"How shall I sing, wretched me,
My husband is at the war."

La corondron, etc.

¹⁵⁶ *CSPFor*, 1547-1553, 610; Sir William Pickering to the Council, 19 January 1553.

¹⁵⁷ TNA, SP 68/10, fo. 147 (*CSPFor*, 1547-1553, 598); Peter Vannes to the Council, 24 December 1552.

“A prisoner he holds him
 Yon King of England.
 I will write him a letter
 By my hand and in my writing.”

La corondron, etc.

That he should send me my husband,
 Safe and sound and in good faith.
 And if he will not send him to me,
 I will make cruel war upon him.”

La corondron, etc.

“A hundred galleons on the sea,
 Men at arms upon the land,
 And if they lack a captain
 I will make one from my country.”

La corondon, etc.

“As far as the gate of London
 I will go and plant my banner.
 There I will say to the gunners:
 ‘Run out the guns!’ ”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Cardamone, ‘The Prince of Salerno and the dynamics of oral transmission in songs of political exile’; ‘Orlando di Lasso and pro-French factions in Rome’ in *The canzone villanesca alla napoletana*, ch. iv and v. It is possible that the songs were ghost written by Luigi Dentici; *ibid*, v, p. 41. The translation is at iv, p. 103.

