DAMIAO DE GOES' CONTACTS AMONG DIPLOMATS

Author(s): Elisabeth Feist Hirsch
Published by: Librairie Droz
Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20674290
Accessed: 17-01-2019 18:04 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at https://about.jstor.org/terms

*Librairie Droz* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*
DAMIAO DE GOES’
CONTACTS AMONG DIPLOMATS

Damiao de Goes’ diplomatic career started at an early age. Brought up at the court of Manuel the Fortunate, the king sent him to Flanders when he was no more than twenty years old in 1520 or 1521. Though proof of this is lacking it can be assumed that he was already then secretary of Indiahouse at Antwerp. This was a highly responsible post which he held for more than a decade. The lovely Scheldt city was an important political, economic, and cultural center especially frequented by the large number of ambassadors, orators, and secretaries employed by or assigned to the Habsburg rulers. Moreover, Charles V held court in Flanders until May 1522 which gave Goes not only an excellent chance to meet the emperor but also many fellow-diplomats. It is regrettable and quite astonishing that Goes never mentioned his personal relations with the emperor during the ten years he acted as diplomat for king John III, the successor of Manuel. Occasionally, he would voice an opinion regarding court affairs. When the marriage contract between King Manuel of Portugal and Lenore, Charles’ sister, was signed, Goes commented “... the principal author who brought the marriage to conclusion was the above-mentioned William of Croy, Sir de Chièvres who governed the king absolutely”. This view was not entirely his own since it represented the typical attitude of Spain towards the emperor’s powerful adviser. There can hardly exist any doubt that the Portuguese diplomat was well-known to Charles V. Otherwise he would not have written to the emperor

1 The exact date of Goes’ arrival in Flanders is not yet quite solved. Following Goes’ statement before the Inquisitors in 1572 it is generally assumed that he was appointed secretary of Indiahouse in Antwerp by John III in 1523. However, in a little noted preface to his first publication of the Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri, Louvain 1532 he said: “...ille Christianissimus Rex Emanuel, educator meus, novo mihi dato officio me negociorum suorum causa hue ad Beigas mittit...”. Manuel died December 1521; Goes, therefore must have been in Belgium before the king’s death. On the other hand, according to his own statement he was present at the time of the king’s fatal illness. (Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Manuel, ed. Coimbra 1953, vol. IV, ch. 83, p. 222.) Had he returned for a short visit or was he given only a certain assignment which was then finished? Already Marcel Bataillon in his essay Le Cosmopolitisme de Damiao de Goes in : Études sur le Portugal, Coimbra 1952, p. 140, note 1 had arrived at the 1521 date through certain conjectures.


3 Chronica... op. cit., vol. IV, p. 83.

4 See Karl Brandi, The Emperor Charles the Fifth, vol. II (only in the German ed. of 1937) Quellen und Erläuterungen, p. 48.
in connection with his imprisonment by the French during the siege of Louvain in 1542. In his letter Goes bitterly complained that the city-fathers had refused to pay the ransom for his freedom in spite of the fact that he had participated in the battle out of sheer enthusiasm for his alma mater. In a belated appreciation of his services the Emperor awarded Goes a coat of arms.

With Margaret, aunt of Charles the Fifth and energetic governess of Burgundy whose just rule he praised, Goes often conferred. Her court in Brussels was also a busy center of diplomatic activity which afforded Goes another opportunity to meet with many of his colleagues. It is interesting to note that his contacts among the orators assigned to the Habsburgs were mostly Erasmian humanists. This was an obvious consequence of his own scholarly inclinations.

In 1538, Goes made an unsuccessful attempt to visit Miklos Olah, the Hungarian diplomat, to whom Nannius, the famous professor of Latin at Busleiden, had given him an introduction. Olah met Erasmus during the latter's residence in Louvain. Enthralled with the personality of the Dutch humanist he engaged in a lively correspondence with him. Shortly before Erasmus' death Mary, governess of Brabant, invited him back to Burgundy. At the time Olah was one of her councillors and, in all likelihood, encouraged Mary's step who shared his great admiration for the Dutch scholar. Olah belonged to the large group of humanists who deeply saddened by Erasmus' passing away expressed their sorrow in a number of encomiums which they sent to each other. Olah's poems were finally published by Rutger Rescius, one of the most devoted followers of Erasmus in Louvain. It was the latter who gave Goes

---

1 See Damiani Goes... De Captivitate sua... ad Carolum Quintum Angustam vera Narratio, Lisbon 1546. Goes was freed from prison only after the intervention by King John III. See letter of Goes' brother-in-law Splinter ab Hurgen to Cardinal Madruzzo written from the Hague in 1543 in : Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, The Friendship of the 44 Reform " Cardinals in Italy with Damiao de Goes, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 97, April 1953, Appendix III.

2 See Aubrey E. Bell, Urn Humanista Portugués Damiao de Gois, trans. from the English by Antonio Alvaro Doria, Lisbon, 1912, p. 27. This was confirmed in 1567 by King Sebastião of Portugal.

3 Cronica... op. cit., vol. I, ch. 22, p. 45.


5 See Ladislaus Inhasz, De Carminibus Nicolai Olahi in mortem Erasmi Scriptis, In : Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam, Basel 1936, p. 316-325. Author published the epitaphs with critical comments on different readings and editions and a short biography of Olah. The notes are very helpful. The encomiums were composed after Craneveldt's urgent request. They were four Latin poems and one in Greek: Olah handed them to Nannius in Brussels who delivered them to Rescius in Louvain.

an introduction for the Dutch scholar in 1532 who then resided in Freiburg. As a soldier-diplomat-humanist, who participated in the fateful battle of Mohács, Olah had little time for humanist publications. He considered it on the other hand one of his most pleasurable duties to keep in contact with his Louvain friends. It was not uncommon among diplomats to consider connections with the academic world an integral part of their busy lives. The relationship was entirely satisfactory for both parties. The professors honored their patrons, who gave them much appreciated gifts, by lengthy dedications of their writings.

Olah repaired to his native Hungary in 1542 at the latest where he became a prominent political figure. Goes may have kept informed about a sought-after but probably never-found friend through his correspondence with other Hungarian diplomats.

The Portuguese humanist sent his widely acclaimed book on the Faith, Religion, and Customs of the Abyssinians published in 1540 to his many friends all over Europe. Among them was Adamus Carolus, orator to King Ferdinand, who acknowledged receipt of the pamphlet together with a note from Goes in a long, informative and quite interesting letter. Complaining about his lack of time for reading and writing Carolus stood not alone among the diplomats of his generation. Moreover, the undue stress he put on Goes’ literary achievements as well as on his friend’s much more desirable circumstances betrayed his deep dissatisfaction with his own condition. Carolus confessed that he had not yet been able to read Goes’ book; when it had just arrived it was snatched away from him by his friend Claudius Cantiuncula. The latter was a well-known jurist whose interpretation of ancient law had helped create a new school of legal thinking. He taught for a while at Basle where he belonged to a distinguished group of

---

2 Olah published at least one volume of poetry during his life-time. See the modern edition by I. Fogel and L. Juhasz, Nicolai Olahus, Carmina, op. cit.
5 Goes published the letter in a collection of his correspondence under the title Epistolae Sadoleti, Bembi, et aliorum clarissorum virorum ad Damianum a Goes Equitem Lusitanum, Louvain, Rescius, 1544.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid. See Alphonse Rivier, Claude Chansonnette, jurisconsulte messin et ses lettres inédites, Brussels 1938.
Erasmians. No less a person than Bonifacius Amerbach was his successor when he accepted a similar chair in Vienna University. Cantuniucula gave Carolus a glowing report of Goes' pamphlet which he returned to his owner only after having passed it on to other interested humanists. His comment, quoted by Carolus, revealed an open mind; he did not shrink from the admission that the Abyssinians adhered to a purer Christianity than Western nations. In broadmindedness Carolus measured up to his friend. Like many Erasmians among whom Goes must be counted he corresponded with Melanchthon and was well-liked in circles close to the German reformer. The latter fact was in all likelihood the reason why Camerarius included in his biography of Luther's collaborator a poem addressed to Carolus. The Hungarian diplomat had also indirect connections with the spiritualist Schwenkfeld. These were provided by his colleague and friend John Lange who had a lively exchange of letters with the outspoken left-wing Protestant. Lange, a jurist, humanist, diplomat and crowned poet shared with Goes many famous acquaintance such as Erasmus, Sadoleto, and Bembo though as far as we know they never met. Carolus was also most enthusiastic about Cornelius Grapheus, an Erasmian humanist, and one of Goes' intimates in Antwerp of whom he said in the letter: "... whose memory I, as it were, keep sacred." Do these few names exhaust Goes' relations to Hungarians? This question cannot be fully answered since the Portuguese humanist was generally rather secretive about his diplomatic acquaintances. The biographer is therefore dependent on piecing together from scattered fragments an unfinished story. On the other hand, it can be definitely stated that his known Hungarian contacts belong to the same type of Erasmian diplomat-humanists. This fact throws some interesting light also on the intellectual climate prevailing at the court of King Ferdinand whose devout Catholicism cannot be doubted.

2 Epistolae Sadoleti, Bembi..., op. cit.
3 Ibid.
4 For Melanchthon's correspondence with Carolus see the letters published by Peucer in Wittenberg in 1570/72.
5 Camerarius, De Vita Philippi Melanchthonis Narratio... Halle 1777, Appendix.
6 See the excellent article in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie on John Lange.
Goes' correspondence published in 1544 contained a letter from William Snoeckart called Zenocarus relevant to our topic. The writer of this communication was a familiar figure at the emperor's court. He apparently served not only Charles V as librarian and councillor but was also at least for certain periods of time secretary of the influential Scepper. His literary skill was minor; he composed a poorly documented panegyric of the Habsburg ruler which was widely criticized for its careless writing. Zenocarus showed at least some knowledge of the Portuguese scholarly scene; besides Goes he made references in his book to the poet André de Rêsende, a friend of the former who resided many years in Louvain, and to Jeronimo Osorio, an outstanding conservative humanist. Zenocarus expressed his strong desire to meet the Portuguese humanist and to be accepted among his friends. Moreover, he offered as a friendly gesture to take a message along to England (he was planning to go there shortly) in case Goes wanted him to do so. In his wish to be counted among the Portuguese's acquaintances, Zenocarus added, he was supported by two other diplomats: "This my intention was constantly incited and inflamed by the most illustrious Sir of Prato, the Pericles of our times, and by Mr. John Stratius who have continuously praised your merits that I would consider it a crime not to have seen you."

Sir of Prato, called Louis de Flandres, occupied an outstanding position at the court of Charles the Fifth. After having distinguished himself as a soldier he became one of the major councillors of the emperor second in importance to the two Granvellas. Until 1525 he was ambassador in England; his experience on the British Isles was not very happy since after arousing the suspicion of the powerful Wolsey one of his messengers was even assaulted once. Louis de Flandres was finally transferred to France where he was still ambas-

---

1 Epistolae Sadoleti, Bembi..., op. cit. Here the name of the writer is given as Zenocarus, the first is obviously a printing error.

2 Since Zenocarus was also councillor and librarian of Charles V, it is not quite clear whether he was simultaneously Scepper's secretary. Viglius, another imperial councillor (see below p. 241) asked his colleague Scepper in a letter written in 1545 from Nürnberg in case he lacked time for an answer: "Zenocarum impelle eique ad me scribenda" (Ms. letter Brussels Ms. 16089, p. 65).

3 This is the De Republica, Vita, et Gestis Caroli V. Excuus Gandavi apud Manilum 1560. See articles in Foppen, Paquot, and Zedler. Also Biographie nationale de Belgique, and Brandl, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 20/21.

4 De Republica..., op. cit., vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 38.

5 Epistolae Sadoleti, Bembi... op. cit. "Quam meam voluntatem illustrissimus dominus a Prato nostrorum temporum Pericles, ac D. Joannes Stratius perpetua laudem tuarum praedicatone ita impulerunt et inflammarunt, ut in criminis loco ponerem te non sahitasse." (n.p.)

6 See article in Biographie nationale de Belgique, an extensive report on his life and influence.

sador in 1530. Though this was a complicated assignment, he often fulfilled also special missions such as to Margaret, governess of Brabant, whom he advised in her troubles with the rebellious Dutch cities. On such occasions, Goes may have met and befriended Louis de Flandres who was not only a clever diplomat but a well-educated man. Zenocarus comparing him to the great Athenian statesman may have thought of his solid knowledge of Latin together with his known generosity towards scholars.

Less known but nevertheless far from uninteresting was John van den Straten, called Stratius, the second diplomat mentioned in the letter. At the time Damiao de Goes was secretary of India-house Stratius held the position of canon at the Cathedral “Our Lady” in Antwerp. In 1530, the latter wrote a congratulatory speech on the occasion of the marriage between Lenore, sister of Charles V and widow of Manuel I of Portugal, to Frances I of France. Cornelius Grapheus who rendered the same service to Goes a year later recommended Stratius’ little volume for publication to his brother John, a well-known printer in Antwerp. The former secretary of the Scheldt city, a noted humanist, poet, and musician, was held in high regard by the Erasmians in spite of the trouble he had had with the Inquisition. He had kindly taken it upon himself to correct some grammatical errors in the manuscripts of the two Latin beginners. Stratius and Goes must have known each other well during the years they both resided in Antwerp. Soon after 1530 the canon of Our Lady decided on a radical change in the course of his life. It is not without considerable surprise that Stratius’ traces led to Poznan where he served as orator to Andreas Gorka, the renowned commander of the Polish fortress.

1 Ibid., p. 207. See also William Bradford, Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V and his ambassdors at the courts of England and France, London 1850.
2 In 1527 Prato was in Spain waiting to proceed to the court of Margaret. See Carlos de D. Martin de Salinas, El Emperador Carlos V y su corte (1522-1539) ed. A. Rodrigues Villa in: Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, vol. 44, 1904, p. 6, nr. 147.
3 See Foppens, Bibliotheca Belgica art. Stratius, and Cornelius Grapheus’ preface to Stratius’ Ad divam Leonorem... (see next note).
4 Ad Divam Leonorem Galliae Reginae Caroli Caesaris germanae sororem, de ejus felicitate et matrimonio cum Christianissimo Francisco Rege, Gratulatio. Antwerp, 1530.
5 See Preface to Stratius’ speech written by Grapheus. The little volume has some additional historical interest since Stratius mentioned the “new college” in Paris (fol. b 3 v.) which refers to the beginning of the famous Collège de France. See Abel Lefranc, Histoire du Collège de France, Paris 1895, p. 113/14: “Avant même que le projet eût été réalisé, et sur la seule annonce de la résolution prise par le roi, un jeune érudit flamand, Jean Stratius, qui devint par la suite chanoine de l’église Notre-Dame d’Anvers, s’empressa d’y faire allusion dans une adresse de félicitations envoyée à la reine Éléonore, sœur de Charles-Quint, à l’occasion de son mariage avec François Ier...”
6 See Prefaces to Stratius’ speech and Goes’ first publication the Legatio Magni Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis... 1513, Antwerp 1532. Preface written by Grapheus.
canon's new environment differed considerably from the intellectual atmosphere that he left behind in Flanders. Gorka, a member of an old noble and influential family, showed much sympathy with the Reformation. During the tolerant government of Sigismund August who followed the strictly Catholic Sigismund I, he was instrumental in the resettlement of the persecuted Bohemian Brethren in Poland. Under the influence of an open religious horizon characteristic of Poznan at the time Stratius felt free to ask Melanchthon to send him a teacher of Greek. After an exchange of several letters in 1533 the German reformer recommended Stefan Reich called Riccius who had studied with him since 1529. The latter soon arrived in Poland where he established a close relationship with his pupil. In Poznan Reich must have felt quite at home since Polish students were notorious for receiving much stimulation from Wittenberg. King Sigismund I felt compelled to issue a strongly worded decree prohibiting any exchange between Polish universities and the academic center of the Reformation.

Whether Stratius made much progress in Greek is doubtful. Already in 1534 Gorka assigned him to a mission to the Emperor perhaps in connection with Charles V opposition to the Protestant Duke Albrecht of Prussia. During his absence Riccius took Stratius' place but already a year later both men had left Poland for good. Though their paths separated from now on their friendship continued unbroken; Riccius manifested his loyalty in publishing much of Stratius' correspondence and speeches.

A letter written by Melanchthon on March 31, 1535 to "Strantium Polonum" contained the information that the Flemish diplomat was

---

2 For Melanchthon's correspondence with Stratius see Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 2, nos. 1139, 1140, 1146-48, 1266.
3 See Wotschke, op. cit., p. 69.
4 Ibid., p. 27. Also E. Zivieh, op. cit., p. 464.
6 Wotschke, op. cit., p. 69 f. In 1535 Reich returned to Wittenberg. From now on he led a restless life. He taught in Saalfeld for a while but ultimately decided for the ministry in Kahla (now Polish territory). His personal life was tainted with tragedy after his wife had been accused of adultery. On Reich see Ernst Koch, über Magister Reich (Riccius) sein Leben und seine Schriften, in: Einladungsschrift des Gymnasiums Bernhardinum in Meinigen, 1886, nr. 642. Also Georg Buchwald, Ergänzungen der Biographie des M. Stephen Reich, in: Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, V, 1907/08, p. 69-76.
7 See St. Reich, In selectionem M. T. Ciceronis Orationes Philippi Melanchthonis, Joannes Veletzianus, Altorum doctissimium virorum qui in Academia Wittenbergeri olim florentur enarrationes summa diligentia ac singulari erpa eloquentiae studiose fide collectae ac partim eliam ante partim nunc primum in luce edidit, vol. 1, 1568. On p. 600 Reich mentioned that he had included "two speeches held and written thirty years ago by the Belgian John Stratius". I have used a very rare copy from the university of Halle which, unfortunately, was incomplete. The pages containing Stratius' speeches were missing.
planning to further his humanist education in Italy. The collaborator of Luther suggested to Stratius that he look up "his friend" Damiao de Goes who resided in Padua at the time. Melanchthon mistook Stratius for a Pole not realizing that he knew the Portuguese humanist from Antwerp. He expressed the belief that Goes would enjoy meeting Stratius "more than anybody else." Did the German reformer think of their similar religious tendencies? In any event, Goes and Stratius probably met before Melanchthon's letter reached the latter. They both studied with Lazzaro Bonamico, the devoted Aristotelian philosopher in Padua whose pagan views aroused the displeasure of Cardinal Pole. Moreover, Bonamico was far from being hostile towards Wittenberg; on the contrary, he enjoyed his contacts with such Protestants as Symon Gryneus of Basle. His attitude was not unusual even among high-ranking Catholics who liked to look at Luther as a Catholic reformer. This may seen utterly unrealistic for the middle thirties but nevertheless explained the many attempts made by Catholics to bring Melanchthon back to the Catholic fold. One need only think of Sadoletto's much quoted letter to Luther's collaborator which, in fact, Damiao de Goes transmitted to Wittenberg in 1537. When the Portuguese humanist studied in Italy the religious climate was favorable to an interchange of ideas with the reformers. Stratius, it seems, corresponded with Wittenberg during the same period as Goes. In May 1539 Melanchthon wrote a letter to Henry VIII of England quoting with satisfaction some of Stratius' observations in regard to the Catholic scene as he had reported it to him: "In Italy and elsewhere powerful bishops gave him (Stratius) ample means (for his education) but he detested so much the tyrannical pontiff that he did not want to be connected with them." It is more than likely that Goes candidly discussed the religious situation with the like-minded Stratius. In Bonamico both men had a devoted friend. After his departure from Italy Goes exchanged many letters with the philosopher asserting, moreover, his devotion to him by sending him much appreciated gifts. Of Stratius'
abilities the philosopher held a high opinion. Recommending him to Caecilius Calcagninus, an Erasmian, who taught law in Padua, Bonamico highly praised both his learning and outstanding oratory gifts. Goes returned to Flanders in 1538. It is not known when Stratius took up his diplomatic career again. In 1548, he served Philipp II in some ambassadorial capacity which presupposed a revision in his religious opinions. Our knowledge of his activities ended with the publication of some poetry honoring the Spanish monarch in 1557.

Some of Goes' diplomat-friends faced the difficult problem of adjusting in their later years to a closed society which was very different from the open intellectual climate they had been accustomed to during their youth and early manhood. None felt this conflict sharper perhaps than Viglius Aytta de Zwichem, of Frisian origin, a former Erasmian humanist turned imperial diplomat. Not altogether willingly he played a prominent part in politics when the religious wars broke out in the Netherlands. Reluctantly and not without voicing his opposition he had to take the side of the much hated Alba whom he often warned that his harsh measures would at the end prove disastrous.

Viglirius' life took the opposite course from the one chosen by Goes. The Portuguese humanist gave up a lucrative diplomatic career for a life devoted to scholarship. His Frisian colleague, to the contrary, had started as a professor of law. Together with such outstanding jurists as Alciat, Zasius, Bonifacius Amerbach, Claudius Cantiuncula and Budé he aimed at revolutionizing legal thought. Erasmus took favorable notice of Viglius' first contribution to humanist learning. In 1534, the year his Commentarii appeared, the Frisian humanist resigned his lectureship in law at the university of Padua and, visiting the Dutch scholar in Freiburg, received a...
most cordial invitation to be his guest for as long as he pleased. A few months later Damiao de Goes accepted a similar offer. Viglius on the other hand preferred to become advisor to the bishop of Munster where he arrived just in time to witness the famous Anabaptist uprising. He met there Claudius Cantiuncula, the avid reader of Goes’ book, who was sent by King Ferdinand not only as an observer of the turbulent events but to exert strong influence in the suppression of the radical religious movement. Each time either Goes or Viglius changed their respective location they widened the distance between them making a personal encounter rather unlikely. They took nevertheless, a sincere interest in their mutual well-being. As was mentioned before Goes was captured by the French in 1542. This fact was reported by Viglius to his friend George Herrmann, at one time head of the Fugger enterprise, who had sent him one of Goes’ publications.

Viglius belonged to the “modern” group of jurists who opposed the mere logical approach to Roman law. In his significant preface to his above mentioned Commentarii... he clearly expressed the opinion that a better understanding of ancient law depended first of all on a thorough knowledge of ancient language. However, it appeared to him even more important that the legal expert interpreting Roman law was familiar with the cultural and historical background as the basis for its conception. The Frisian jurist gave full credit for his views to his teacher and friend Alciat. The emphasis on history was in sharp contrast to the still active school of law-interpretation which followed Francisco Accursio, the famous Italian jurist of the thirteenth century. Viglius’ career as was

---

1 See Vita Viglii... ed. Hoynck, op. cit., p. 13, XXVII: “Friburgum invitatus ab Erasmo qui illi spem hereditatis faciebat secum, jam senio confecto permanere non gravaretur. Verum honeste se excusavit ac institutum in patriam iter prosequi prosequi maluit.”


3 Viglius’ experiences in Münster were recently studied by H. Schulze in Westfälische Zeitschrift, 101, 102, 1953, p. 183-230; this writer has not been able to secure a copy of the article.


5 See above p. 1 and Vita Viglii... ed. Hoynck van Papenrecht, op. cit., vol. 1, note to section 43, 2 p. 152 “Damianus tamen a Goes Portugallensis cujus mihi olim de Dio historiam donasti, ibi (Louvain) captus est.”

6 Commentarii... op. cit., Preface.


8 See H. H. D. Hermedsork, Wigle van Ayta van Zwischen, Hooideguar en Rechtsgeleerd Schrijver, Leiden 1949, especially the chapter on Het Barbarisme der Accursians. In 1536, Rutger Rescius brought out another book of Viglius the Institutiones juris civilis in Graecam linguam per Theophilum Anticcorcem traductae ac fusissime pluristicque explicantae cura et studio Viglii Zwichem primum in lacem editae hunc denuo a Rutgero Rescio recognitae adjectis etiam aliquot Petrii Nanni annotatunululis, Louvain. Bembo had secured the manuscript for Viglius from the famous library of Cardinal Bessarion in Venice. Erasmus had introduced Viglius to Bembo a few
said before involved him deeply in the Netherland's religious struggle with Spain. As President of the secret council of Brabant he more or less had to side with the policy of the government, a policy in sharp contrast to convictions he had held in his younger years. Very few Erasmians who grew old with the century were able to avoid such conflicts. Goes "corrected" his former religious attitude in 1538. Though this step was the result of a turn in his personal fortune it was also connected with Holland.

In Padua, Goes had shared an apartment with Splinter van Hargen, a Dutchman, whom he may have known from Louvain. Splinter, who came from a strictly Catholic family, was a friend and pupil of Christopher Madruzzo, ultimately Cardinal of Trent, whom Goes also knew in Italy. It was Splinter's sister Johanna who became Goes' wife in 1538. Was Goes given the hand of the Dutch lady only on the condition that he severed his relations with Wittenberg? Nothing certain is known about it except for the fact that his break with the reformers and his recantation of his "religious errors" coincided with his marriage. However this may be Goes had close contacts with politically prominent men in Holland who were active on the Catholic side. One of them was Cornelius Suys, to whom the van Hargens were related and who, as president of the senate of Holland had also a lively correspondence with Viglius. Goes' acquaintance with Suys may have dated from Louvain where the latter had studied or they may have met in the hospitable house of Cornelius Musius of Delft, Holland, where both were frequent guests. Musius who was in charge of a Nunnery had won a considerable reputation for himself as a poet. During the wars of religion he found a tragic death while Cornelius Suys who had opposed Alba's strict measures was able to flee unharmed.

years before he did the same for Goes. The work was dedicated to Charles the Fifth because, as Viglius said, of the emperor's love of scholarship but probably also in the hope that its author be rewarded with a position at the Habsburg's court.

1 See above p. 241.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 On Cornelius Suys see Ardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Niderlanden ed. A. J. van der AA, Gorinchem 1847, vol X, Article Suys. In 1543 Suys became a member of the Senate and in 1559 President. For his correspondence with Viglius see Vita Vigilli, op. cit., vol 2, p. 268/69. Also Chanoine de Ram, Lettres intiédies adressées à Vigilius par des docteurs de l'université de Louvain et par d'autres personages (d'après les autographes) in: Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, 2nd series, Brussels 1871, p. 211-216.
At the time of Goes' marriage the tide was noticeably turning against the conciliatory spirit of the Erasmians at least in the countries under Habsburg rule, or under strong Habsburg influence. Had the ever sharpening conflict between the religions any connection with the death of Erasmus, the undisputed leader in the struggle for religious understanding and spiritual unity? Not all of Goes' political acquaintances, on the other hand, belonged to the sphere of interest of the Habsburg dynasty. Negotiating for the Portuguese king in many foreign countries the Portuguese diplomat carrying an aura of importance about him was well received everywhere he went and established lasting contacts actually all over Europe.

Perhaps the first longer diplomatic trip led Goes to the British Isles where the religious issue was as unsettled as on the continent. Unfortunately, the nature of his mission is unknown though he may well have brought a warning from John III regarding Henry's marital affairs. The date of his channel-crossing is likewise entirely conjectural; a certain clue being given only by Goes' reference to the helpfulness of John Wallop. The latter had been in Lisbon in 1517 offering King Manuel his services in Africa on his own expense. After he had distinguished himself on the African battlefield for two years the Portuguese king knighted him before he returned to England. In negotiations for his king Wallop traveled on several occasions to the Continent. Passing through Antwerp where Goes was then stationed he had an opportunity to renew and deepen an old friendship. Wallop certainly represented another type of diplomat than most of those Goes had known in Flanders. As far as one can gather from available sources he had no outstanding humanist interests for which his busy soldier-diplomat life left him little time. But he shared the fate of the generation born around the turn of the sixteenth century to be thrown into a world of religious upheaval. There is a long way from Wallop's participation in the wars against the Moors at the side of a most Catholic king to his defense of the execution of both Fisher and More in his capacity as ambassador to France. He belonged then to the circle of the influential Thomas Cromwell who promoted the king's policy against

1 See Chronicle of King Manuel, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 56-57 "... ho qual eu conheci, et fomos amigos et sua amizade me aproueito pera negocios que trattel em Inglaterra de servico del Rei dom Joam terceiro." According to the Dictionary of National Biography Wallop was from 1522 on most of the time outside England. In 1524, in the Fall of 1527 and in January 1528 he was home each time for short visits. These are all possible dates for Goes' stay in England.

2 Chronicle of King Manuel, op. cit., p. 56.


a vigorous Catholic reaction. When Goes was in England he may have also met the successor of Cardinal Wolsey in Henry VIIIth favor. Had he also some contact with Thomas More? After the execution of the famous humanist Goes sent a letter to Erasmus urging him to publish a memorial worthy of his great friend. Though the Portuguese humanist did not feel compelled to make a public statement in regard to the shocking execution his sympathy with More's fate was genuine. Moreover, some English friends realizing his strong interest in the fate of the great churchman sent him a long report of the events leading to his death. A final indication of his possible relation with the More family is given by the fact that John, Thomas More's son, translated Goes first pamphlet dealing with the Abyssinians into English.

More certain is Goes' acquaintance with Richard Morison, an old friend of Cardinal Pole who, however, later turned against the man who had continuously opposed Henry's separation from the Catholic Church. When the Portuguese diplomat visited England Morison still adhered to Thomas Starkey's position who in a friendly correspondence with Pole whom he had known in Italy tried to win him over to the king's side. Morison was a shifty character used by Henry VIII and later Edward VI for certain diplomatic missions. He often was in financial difficulties depending on support from friends among whom were Goes as well as Pole. Morison seemed to have been a great admirer of Plato whom he quoted much in his aggressively written pamphlets. This may have caused his early friendship with Pole who likewise greatly admired the ancient philosopher. A shared enthusiasm for antiquity formed a seemingly secure bond between Goes, Pole, and Morison. It is the more surprising that the latter finally identified himself with the king's cause to such a degree that he spoke of the exiled Cardinal as "thou false Pole, thou shameless traytour". Goes who always tried to be a loyal friend was deeply shocked by such defamation.

---

1 See Peter Wilding, Thomas Cromwell, London 1935, esp. ch. VI.
2 Erasmus' letters ed. Allen-Garrod, nr. 3078.
3 Ibid.
4 See E. M. G. Routh, Sir Thomas More and his friends 1477-1535, London 1934, p. 137.
6 Ibid., p. 173 ff. on Pole and Starkey.
7 See Joh. Sleidanus, De Statu Religionis et Republicae Carolo Quinto Caesare Commentariorum Pars altera, 1555, p. 673 where the author reported that Morison was ambassador under Edward V.
8 Goes mentioned this fact in his correspondence with Pole published by Marcel Bataillon, Études sur le Portugal, op. cit., p. 144 f. and introductory remarks.
9 The quotation is from An Invective against the great and detestable vice, treason... London 1539, p. B III a. In his A Lamentation... and A Remedy for Sedition his references to Plato are extensive.
10 See note 8.
If Goes found the political situation in England confusing, this was not less the case in another area of his diplomatic activity. In 1529 and again in 1531 King John III sent him to Poland to propose the marriage between the Portuguese prince Dom Luis and the Polish princess Hedwig. In two pending political issues the Portuguese king and Sigismund I of Poland did not exactly look eye to eye. The one concerned Prussia, the secularized territory of the Teutonic order still subservient to the Polish crown, where the emperor tried to gain influence. The other was the thorny question of the Hungarian succession; Charles V supporting the claims of Ferdinand and Sigismund undecided between the latter's and John Zapolya's title to the crown. In both instances the Portuguese king tried to remain neutral though his sympathies, for dynastic reasons were with the emperor.

In the interest of his mission it was fortunate that Goes had a good friend of long standing in high government circles in Poland who proved as helpful as John Wallop in England. John Tarnowski, a famous soldier-diplomat had been in Portugal for the same reasons as the Englishman before him; King Manuel knighted him in an impressive ceremony. At the time Goes visited Poland his old acquaintance was commander of Cracow having won a great reputation for his prowess in war. The Portuguese diplomat was received by Christopher Szydlowiecki, the powerful chancellor and viceroy with whom he negotiated in the absence of the king. Also princess Hedwig asked him to her splendid castle in Cracow. Goes was very favorable impressed with what he saw. He spoke of Cracow and Poznan as attractive and animated cities; the capital of greater Poland was in his words "a great city, well fortified, and well provided with sustenance."

There is no record of the humanists Goes most likely met in Cracow, a center of intellectual activity. He had the best possible introduction to academic circles in Poland through his colleague Johann Flachsbinder called Dantiscus, ambassador of King Sigismund to the court of Charles V, with whom he was

---

2 Ibid., passim.
3 See O. HALECKU, A History of Poland, New York 1956, ch. 11.
4 Chronicle of King Manuel, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 9, where Goes related the ceremony in some detail. With Tarnowski three other polish noblemen were knighted.
5 Ibid., vol. I, p. 252.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 104: "...cidade grande, bem cerquada, e muito abastada de mantimentos."
acquainted 1. Of all his many diplomatic acquaintances the Portuguese diplomat could most easily be compared with Dantiscus in regard to general interests, character and varied activities. They were so similar in spirit and tastes that Goes appeared almost like the Polish ambassador's twin brother though they originated from quite opposite corners of Europe. Both men had a streak of the adventurous in them 2. They were equally devoted to the arts; Goes was a well-known composer, Dantiscus a poet laureate and both owned valuable art collections 3. They shared a deep admiration for Erasmus 4. Moreover, Dantiscus who had payed a visit to Wittenberg in 1523 reacted to the reformers very much like Goes. He criticized Luther for his loud voice and the abusive language he used against his enemies. His intense religious expression somehow frightened the Polish gentleman who described the reformer’s manner in rather drastic terms: "... he had keen eyes and so to speak dreadfully sparkling that he appeared occasionally like obsessed; very similar in that respect was the king of Denmark which I cannot explain otherwise but that the two men were born under the same constellations 5." In their social contacts Luther impressed Dantiscus as more civilized. He called him "ein gutt Gesell" referring to occasions when they gathered at his house for a glass of beer or wine 6. Dantiscus did not differ from many other...

1 In his preface to the Legatio Magni Indorum... ed. 1532 Goes mentioned the fact that Dantiscus had recommended him to John Magnus in Danzig. On Dantiscus no full-length biography exists as yet. A PhD thesis on the subject will be published shortly by Jürgen Müller-Blessing, Johannes Dantiscus, ein Westjüreusse zwischen Humanismus und Reformation, Hamburg.

2 Goes made two very unusual journeys to Lapland and to the Don river. For the former see his Lappiae descripção where he inferred twice that he had personal experience in that country, ed. 1781, p. 295 and 296. For the second voyage see two poems published at the end of his Epistolaris Sadoleti, Bembi... op. cit. The one was written by Grapheus and is entitled Cornelius Grapheus Carolissimo Damniano Gali Lusitano nomine Regio ex Scythis redeunti, the other by André de Resende has the title L. Adreas Rendusi nobili Damniano Gali. Dantiscus, in his youth had taken in Venice on the spur of the moment a boat to Syria. For a brief outline of Dantiscus' life see Allgemeine Deutsche Biographic.

3 See Franz Hipler, Literaturgeschichte des Bistums Ermlands, Leipzig-Braunschweig, 1872, p. 108. Goes' house in Lisbon was frequented by the royal family because of its art treasures.

4 See Elisabeth F. Hirsch, the Friendship of Erasmus and Damiao de Goes, op. cit. In 1531 Dantiscus came to Louvain with the court of the Emperor. He associated mainly with the Erasmians at the university. Goclenius who knew his admiration for Erasmus offered him a portrait of him made by Holbein. Dantiscus first hesitated to accept it but after Goclenius assured him that he can have it replaced he was delighted to have it. See Henry de Vocht, Nicolas Clemenarius and his training in Monumenta Humanistica Louaniensia, Louvain 1934, p. 411-423. This fact is also mentioned by John Camperis who wrote to Dantiscus from Louvain about the matter of the portrait. See Franz Hipler, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und des Humanismus, aus dem Briefwechsel des Johannes Dantiscus, in: Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands, Braunsberg 1891, vol. 9, number 27-29, 1887-1890, p. 480. Hipler has also published Goclenius' letter referring to the portrait, written in 1531 on p. 483/84.

5 See Franz Hipler, Nikolaus Kopernikus und Martin Luther, Braunnsberg 1888, p. 73. "...oculus aureus et quiddam terrellum micantes ut in obses interdum videtur; simillimos habet Rex Dacie neque allud credo quum utrumque sub una atque eadem constellatione natum." 6 Ibid.
humanists including Damiao de Goes who felt akin to Melanchthon. Like his Portuguese counterpart the Polish ambassador continued his contacts with Wittenberg even after he had taken vows and had become bishop of Culm and ultimately of Ermland. Most interesting was Dantiscus’ friendly personal contact with his neighbor Duke Albrecht of Prussia who had converted to Protestantism. Albrecht even sent him some speeches delivered after the death of Luther which did not fail to touch the bishop. In a latter addressed to the duke at the time he said: “... by whom (Luther) and Justus Jonas, Philippus and Brinceus and others I was friendly and sincerely received when I came from Spain to Wittenberg. I must now feel with the other people who mourn Luther.” In 1546 when these words were written Goes had returned to his native country. In his heart he might have agreed with Dantiscus. But the atmosphere in Portugal was quite different from the freer religious climate in Poland. The expression of personal sympathy at the death of the great “heretic” was quite impossible in Goes’ native country.

Goes and Dantiscus had many friends in common. In Louvain, they frequented the same group of loyal Erasmians. In Italy, the Portuguese humanist made the acquaintance of John Campensis, the dedicated Hebrew scholar in Busleiden College who was a protégé of the bishop. The latter’s comments on conditions in Rome sent to Dantiscus in Poland were similar to the observations reported by Stratius to Melanchthon. Thanks to Dantiscus Goes made the acquaintance of another churchman and diplomat who became a close friend and a much valued advisor. This was John Magnus, exiled bishop of Upsala, who had an exciting diplomatic career behind him when Goes met him in Danzig on his way back from Poland. John Magnus, a rare example of a refugee from Protestant persecution, had served the Swedish kings on political missions in many countries; Poland, from where the Portuguese just came was one of them. They had much to talk about but their fruitful dialogues were mainly concentrated on two topics.

---

1 See Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.


3 Ibid.

4 See Henry de Vocht, History of the Rise and Foundation... op. cit., vol. 3, p. 60. Campensis who stayed for some time with Dantiscus in Poland dedicated to him his Psalmorum omnium juxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrasica interpretation... Louvain 1536. Campensis had difficulty in getting printing permission, a fact which upset Dantiscus very much.


6 See above p. 247, note 1.
Goes gave John Magnus a detailed report on the Abyssinian question which had occupied him ever since he had met Matthew, the emissary from Prester John in Lisbon in 1514. As a Christian in the heart of Africa the Ethiopian ruler offered an alliance to the Portuguese king in his continued costly struggle against the Moors. However, great doubts had arisen about the orthodoxy of the creed of the people of Prester John; the pope refused to accept them as equal partners in the community of Christian nations. Goes took another view in the matter arguing for the recognition of the Abyssinians as true Christians. John Magnus approved his attitude and encouraged his new friend to publish the letters brought by Matthew to the Portuguese king in a Latin translation. Goes followed the bishop’s advice not without supporting at the same time one of the latter’s own “causes”. At the time when John Magnus was in charge of the diocese of Utrecht he was supposed to have Lapland under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. However, the Laplanders exploited by their Christian masters steadfastly refused to practice the Christian faith. Goes much stirred by the bishop’s story added to the Legatio... an appeal for a better treatment of the Lapps. He remained interested in the fate of the Laplanders for many years. One of the first matters he discussed with Erasmus was the sad condition of the Lapps. Erasmus was himself deeply moved by what he heard and promised to translate Goes’ little essay into German. Though this plan never materialized the Dutch humanist mentioned in his Ecclesiastes both the problems of the Abyssinians and Laplanders.

During the four years Goes studied in Italy he had occasion to meet again with John Magnus. The latter had been invited by the pope to participate in the proposed council of Mantua in 1537. The bishop had moved to Italy but since the council was postponed time and again he found himself financially stranded depending on support from friends. In his deplorable situation Goes proved a loyal friend and tried to help as much as he could.

---

1 In his Chronicle of King Manuel, *op. cit.*, Goes reported Matthew’s mission on several occasions. See vol. III and IV.


4 This is the *Legatio Magni Indonii... 1532*.

5 This was called *Deploratio Lappianae Gentis*.


7 See Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *The Friendship of the “Reform” Cardinals and Damiao de Goes*, *op. cit.*, p. 181, and App. IV. The letters John Magnus wrote to Goes are published in his *Epistolae Sadoleti... op. cit.*
One could enlarge the number of Goes diplomat-friends considerably if one were to include among them acquaintances who by virtue of their official duties were involved also in political issues. To this category belonged e.g. Tiedemann Giese and Paulus Speratus whom he met on his Eastern trip 1. The former was canon of Frauenburg and ultimately bishop of Culm, the successor of Dantiscus with whom he stood in continuous contact 2. The location of his diocese made it inevitable that he should be drawn into the Prussian-Polish conflict.

The problem raised by the secularization of the Teutonic order had, moreover, repercussions in many European countries 3. Bishops both Catholic and Protestant, who were active in this area or adjoining territories held positions with strong political implications. Besides Dantiscus and Giese this was true of Paulus Speratus who was bishop of Pomesanien when Goes made his acquaintance 4. As an early convert to Protestantism his life had been rather turbulent. When he finally settled in Prussia his financial situation was precarious. It is more than likely that Goes helped him out in some unknown ways. This was indicated by the fact that Speratus warmly noticed the Portuguese diplomat’s “humanity” in the one extant letter he wrote to him 5. Diamiao de Goes apparently cherished this friendship since he sent the bishop one of his books published in 1539 6. Speratus, who was prominent among Protestants for his hymns, tried to check in his later years the influence of Schwenkfeld’s ideas on Duke Albrecht 7. He seemed important enough to warrant an invitation from Pope Paul III to participate in the planned council of Mantua in 1537. In his answer, Speratus made it quite clear that he would only attend a completely free congress 8.

1 See the correspondence publ. in 1544 where letters from Giese and one letter from Speratus are included.
3 See W. Huratsch, op. cit. passim.
5 The letter, the first in the collection of 1544 is dated September 12, 1534. Therein Speratus said about Goes: "Hoc tamen me beat quod in hac barbarae terra semel hominem vidi quip hominis nomen prae barbaris istic meretur."
6 This was the Commentarur rerum Gestarum in India citra Ganges a Lusitanis in 1538, Louvain 1539. The copy is preserved in the archives of Göttingen, formerly Königsberg, which possess the literary legacy of Speratus. The copy was inscribed by Goes " Reverendissimo Paulo Sperato Episcopo Pomesanienst."
7 See Tschackert, Paul Speratus, op. cit., p. 50 f.
8 Ibid., p. 105-107.
In Italy, Goes was on the best personal terms with Sadoleto, Bembo, Pole, and Madruzzo. As Cardinals they were involved in high diplomacy. For this very reason they would belong in the context of this study had the present writer not dealt with them in a previous article. Goes had one other acquaintance in Venice, however, deserving of short mentioning. This was one Alexander Pisaro who at a much earlier date had been in Portugal where the Portuguese humanist had met him. At that time Pisaro returning from a naval expedition to the British Isles had stopped over in Lisbon in order to negotiate with the Portuguese king about matters relating to the spice trade. After this venture Pisaro apparently lived rather peacefully in Venice where Goes saw him during his residence in Padua.

The great variety of personalities that made up Goes' diplomatic acquaintances combined to a colorful picture. The majority perhaps were Erasmians whom the Portuguese humanist may have considered his intimates. It must be recognized, on the other hand, that the wide circle of his varied friends in diplomacy reflected a broadness characteristic of Damiao de Goes also in many other respects.

Elisabeth Feist Hirsch.

---

1 See Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *The Friendship of the "Reform" Cardinals in Italy with Damiao de Goes*, op. cit.

2 See Chronicle of King Manuel, op. cit., vol. IV, ch. 81. Nothing more could be established about the person of Pisaro.