In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Portuguese intellectual culture achieved a degree of penetration in the academies of Europe unmatched before or since. Latin was still the international language, and what Portuguese scholars wrote in that language was eagerly sought after, for its intellectual content and for its literary interest. And among the books that were printed and reprinted, in editions whose wide readership is attested by the number of copies surviving, was Damião de Góis’s brief treatise about the Lapps. The short text, so popular in the century after its composition, merits retranslation in the international language of our own time.

The Deploratio was first published by Rutgerus Rescius in Louvain, where Góis was living, in 1540, as an appendix to the longer Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum. It was not the first time that he had written about the Lapps, or the Ethiopians, and a version of both works can be found in his Legatio magni Indorum imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis (Antwerp: Joannes Graphaeus, 1532). But it was the Fides and the Deploratio that were the publishing success. The great bibliographer Leite de Faria counted 11 editions of the Latin text before 1640, some of them in compilations formed by Góis himself or by publicists like Joannes Boemus and

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1 My thanks to Richard Hitchman and Nigel Wilson for their help with the interpretation of the Latin text.
Andreas Schottus.² He lists many copies in the libraries of Europe and America – including 45 of the first edition. There are others, of which he was unaware, in Oxford college libraries. There is a copy of the first edition in Christ Church and altogether in Oxford there are 26 copies of the editions printed before 1640, of which 16 were acquired by the mid eighteenth century. The numbers do not include translations, which will be discussed later.

So popular a book has caught the attention of modern scholars. There is no space here to discuss all their work, and in any case much of it has been superseded by the monumental article of Jean Aubin.³ Aubin’s richly documented article, which makes use of material in Swedish and Polish as well as in more familiar languages, has settled most of the factual questions to which the Deploratio gives rise. But he was too austere a scholar to give much attention to literary merit, or even to the reasons why Góis might have been impelled to compose his text, and these are questions which will be discussed here.

First, though, some facts, mostly derived from Aubin.⁴ In 1531 Góis was in Dantzig, on the commercial business of the Portuguese crown. There he met, for the first time, the Swedish brothers Johannes and Olaus Magnus Gothus. They were Roman Catholics, priests, and effectively in exile, since the increasingly pro-Lutheran policies of King Gustav Vasa made it impossible for them to return home. Had they done so they would have played an important political and religious role, because Johannes was the archbishop elect of Uppsala and his younger brother Olaus succeeded him in the title. However, neither of them was ever able to take up the appointment.

² Francisco Leite de Faria, Estudos bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época (Lisbon: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1977), p.21-84.


⁴ English readers will find much useful information in the Introduction to Olaus Magnus, Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, tr. by Peter Fisher and Humphrey Higgens, 3 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996-8).
Góis had a good deal in common with the brothers, including languages, Latin and Italian. Their written work, much concerned with religion and with promoting a country seen as being on the borders of Europe, is not unlike his, as Aubin points out. In Dantzig they swapped information: Góis told them about the contacts the Portuguese had formed with the Christians of Ethiopia, while they explained to him the sad case of the Lapps. A year later, when Góis published his Legatio, which contains a section about Lapland, he dedicated it to Johannes. At his second meeting with the brothers, in Vicenza in 1538, Góis found them in a sorry state, as he explains in the Deploratio. The papal council to which the text refers, originally scheduled for Mantua in 1537, only met in Vicenza a year later, and was sparsely attended. Unsuccessful in obtaining support there, the brothers moved to Rome, where Johannes died in 1544. His brother survived until 1557 and was able to oversee the publication of his Historia in 1555.

Sixteenth-century Europe had an enormous appetite for news of geographical discovery, and one of the reasons why Góis wrote must have been to satisfy those who were curious to know what Lapland was like. But that can hardly be the only reason. Aubin shows that it was most unlikely that he went to Lapland, and the page about the Lapps and their way of life that he added at the end of the Deploratio is clearly an afterthought. It is also derivative, from Jacob Ziegler’s Schondia of 1532 and from conversations with the brothers.\(^5\)

The Deploratio is not, therefore, in any way a geographical scoop. But in the way that it mixes discussion of a contemporary religious and political problem with a story of human interest one might see in it the germ of what would later become journalism. Góis makes no explicit statement of purpose: extracting meaning from the text is something which is left to the reader, the practised humanistic reader who has learnt to read between the lines.\(^7\) That reader would certainly be helped if he

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5 Aubin, p. 295.
6 For Góis’s non-visit to Lapland, see Aubin, p.256-9. For further information about Ziegler, see the notes to the translation on p.11.
7 In the «Arguento do livro» which precedes his translation of Ecclesiastes Góis tells his reader that he is expected to use his own judgement when studying an ambiguous text. See T. F. Earle, «Ecclesiastes de Salamam: An Unknown Biblical Translation by Damião de Góis», Portuguese Studies, 17 (2001), p.42-63 (54).
had read the *Fides* as well as the *Deploratio*, because in the opening sentence of the *Deploratio* Góis says that it forms the end of the book of which the *Fides* is the first part. The two texts are meant to be read sequentially, just as Góis’s translation of Cicero’s *De Senectute*, published only two years earlier, in 1538, is meant to be read as the continuation of his translation of the book of Ecclesiastes. Each of the texts reflects meaning on the other. In the case of the translation of Cicero and of the Bible that meaning was highly controversial, the congruity between pagan philosophy and holy scripture. There is a controversial element linking the *Fides* and the *Deploratio* too, and other, perhaps more subtle similarities.

The most obvious link between the two texts is a geographical one, the extremes of the Christian world, eastern in the case of the *Fides*, northern in the case of the *Deploratio*. In Ethiopia and in Lapland Christianity is threatened or non-existent and requires support from the centre, Rome. Ethiopian Christians are threatened by powerful and hostile Moslem states, while the Lapps are prevented from becoming Christians by the malice of their neighbours. The pope, Paul III, the dedicatee of both texts, has a duty to protect and encourage Christianity wherever it is to be found: «There is nothing for which we should more fruitfully strive than to bring the whole world... to the Christian faith».

It is with these words that the *Fides* opens, and they may serve as a motto for both books.

The duty entrusted to the pope overrides any flaws that might be found in the faith of those who live so far from the wellspring. Zagazabo (whose real name was Saga za-Ab), the Ethiopian ambassador whose long statement about the religion of his country forms the heart of the *Fides*, does not disguise the existence of religious practises which were foreign to orthodox Catholicism: marriage of priests, male and female

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8 «Nulla est res, in qua utuberius niti debeamus, quam ut totus terrae orbis... ad Christi fidei alliciatur». The most recent edition (with a Portuguese translation) of the *Fides* is by Miguel Pinto de Meneses, included in Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, *Obras de Damião de Góis*, vol. II (1539-1540), (Lisbon: Távola Redonda, 2006), p.253-393. Cadafaz de Matos also includes a facsimile of the first edition, from which I have taken the passage quoted (p.163). Subsequent quotations are taken from the facsimile, which is a better witness to Góis’s text than the modern edition.
circumcision, the treatment of Saturday as a holy day, annual renewal of baptismal vows, dietary restrictions. But these details are of no account, so long as there is «on the face of the earth, one law, one flock, and one shepherd», and Zagazabo declares his readiness, and that of all his people to accept papal authority.9 The conversion of the Lapps is only conceivable if errors in their faith, too, can be accepted, for their evangelization can only be carried out by non-Catholics, the Lutherans of Sweden, though some, vague, role is envisaged for emissaries sent from Rome. But the Lutherans, says Góis, «although they are opposed to the Roman church, confess that [Christ] is the son of God and our saviour».10 It is Góis’s ecumenism that forms the most controversial element of both texts.

In the consolidation of the faith of the Ethiopians and the evangelization of the Lapps Góis, always the patriot, saw a role for his own countrymen. In the opening pages of the Fides there is an account of the voyages of the Portuguese, which had allowed them to make contact with African Christians. The Portuguese had not reached the Baltic in force, but Góis himself had at least been as far as Dantzig, as an agent of the Portuguese crown, had heard about the troubles of the Lapps at first hand from the brothers Magnus Gothus, and had transmitted the news to Rome.

All this lies in the area of public policy, the proper management of the church of Rome. But there is a more intimate and human dimension to the two texts. In both Góis gives much space to the views of individual foreigners who he had got to know. In the Fides Zagazabo, the black African, speaks at length with only one or two brief marginal comments, presumably by Góis, while in the Deploratio, rather like an advocate, Góis presents the Swedish brothers’ case for support, both for themselves and for their projected mission to Lapland.11

9 «Ut sit…super faciem terrae una lex, et unum ouile, et unus pastor», Fides, p. 243. The last words are a quotation from John, 10.16. For the Ethiopians as loyal subjects of the pope, see p.242.
10 See p.9 below.
11 See the facsimile of the 1540 edition in Obras de Damião de Góis, vol. II, p.210-12, for the marginal comments to the Fides. Their existence has not been noticed before, because the Latin text followed by the Portuguese translators omits them. There are further marginal notes on p.172-73.
Zagazabo and the brothers have much in common, despite the difference in skin colour. Much is made of their learning and godliness. They are bishops, united in their Christian faith and loyalty to the pope, which they maintain despite the hostility that surrounds them. Zagazabo was refused communion during the seven years that he lived in Lisbon and no one, apart from Góis, took any interest in him.\textsuperscript{12} The Swedes lived in modest circumstances in Dantzig and had no more luck even in Italy, except for the charity of the patriarch of Venice and of Góis himself. The aim of the travellers, Ethiopian and Swedish, is to present a petition to the pope, the central figure of the Christian world, but in the text none of them manages to do so. Zagazabo was never allowed to travel to Italy, and his embassy was entrusted to the Portuguese Francisco Álvares. Johannes made several visits to Rome in the course of his life, in 1517, 1533, 1538 and finally in 1541, after the publication of Góis’s book.\textsuperscript{13} However, in his letter of July 1541 to Cardinal Marcello Cervino he indicates that he regarded Góis’s text as an essential intermediary: «And because at the end of it [the \textit{Fides}] there is an appendix containing a good deal about my honest and pious labours, may it please Your Reverend Lordship to inform the Holy Pontiff, using that means or some other more efficacious one, so that he may the more rapidly and effectively give his mind to my serious problems».\textsuperscript{14}

Words can go where men cannot. There is, then, in both of Góis’s texts what Hugo Tucker has called «an interplay...between the space of the world and the space of the text».\textsuperscript{15} It is a paradoxical interplay. Góis had not been to Lapland (or, for that matter, to Ethiopia), but that makes his written intervention on behalf of the inhabitants the more powerful, since they have to speak for themselves. Góis cannot include comments of his own (except in the minor instance of the marginal notes referred to...
above), because he has very little personal experience of the distant lands he writes about. Yet Zagazabo and the Swedish brothers are shown to need Góis, despite his modesty, amounting almost to anonymity, for he has the literary skill and access to the media that they do not have. Even Erasmus could not protect the Lapps, for he was cut off by death before he could write fully about them. Góis, though, shows how, by the mediation of a Portuguese writer, places as distant as Ethiopia, or Lapland, can be united with the rest of the Christian and Catholic world, and how suffering individuals from those countries can receive the justice they deserve. The blonde Swedes and the black African are shown, implicitly, to be equals, in their misfortunes but also in their devotion to religion. In the end the Deploratio leaves us with mixed feelings. Góis regrets the disarray of the Christian world, but he has not lost hope. Discreetly but effectively, Góis promotes the power of the written word, and the importance of a human sympathy which transcends racial differences, as keys to the restoration of the unity of the faith. It is a civilized message for a book that was destined to become a best-seller.

Text and Translation

The text followed here is that of the first edition. The British Library’s copy (G.6219) has been used, not the one in Oxford. Spelling, punctuation and paragraphing have been modernised, and abbreviations have been silently resolved. The text presents no serious difficulties of interpretation. On p.342 I have preferred the more usual spelling, socors, to the first edition’s secors. On the same page exciccatis is an error for exsiccatis. The edition of 1540 was probably printed under Góis’s direction, since he was living in Louvain at the time. It is surprising, therefore, that the modern translators of the Deploratio into Portuguese have not used it. Instead, Pinto de Meneses followed the 1791 Coimbra edition, which is also likely to have been the source of Dias de Carvalho’s version of 1945.16 Accordingly, the present translation is the first in modern times to be based on what are known to be Góis’s own words.

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16 See Obras de Damião de Góis, vol. II, p.455. Readers are, therefore, warned that although a facsimile of the first edition is included in the volume, p.447-53,
In 1544 Góis republished a number of his Latin works under the title of *Aliquot Opuscula* (Louvain: Rutgerus Rescius). The licence, issued in 1541 by the dean of the Faculty of Theology at Louvain, indicates that Góis sought permission for the book to be printed. It is, therefore, quite likely that he was responsible for the minor changes that were made to the description of Lapland. The title became «Lappiae Descriptio», the line «quae a uicinis nullo pacto intelligitur» was omitted, and a new final sentence added: «Lege Saxonem Grammaticum, et mira de sagis et incantamentis aquilonaribus videbis» (Read [the Danish author] Saxo Grammaticus, and you will see wonderful things about the wise women and spells of the North).

There are two early translations of the *Deploratio* into English. Góis’ original version was translated by John More in 1533, and the definitive version by Edward Aston in 1611.\(^{17}\) The translation printed here aims to present Góis’s Latin in a clear modern idiom. The notes are keyed to the translation.

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it is not used either for the establishment of the modernized text or for the translation. Dias de Carvalho’s translation is printed in Damião de Góis, *Opúsculos Históricos* (Oporto: Civilização, 1945), p.203-10. The Coimbra edition is closer to the reprint of 1544 than to the first edition of 1540, but contains errors not found in either. See, for example, the first page of the *Fides*, where it reads «obedient» for «obediat».

\(^{17}\) For John More’s translation of the first version of 1532 see the notes to the translation, p.6. The translations of the definitive version of the *Fides* and *Deploratio*, by Edward Aston, were published in London by George Eld. They form part of a volume, *The Manners, Lawes, and Customes of All Nations*, compiled by Ioannes Boemus. Both these translations can be read in *Early English Books Online* <http://www.odi.ox.ac.uk/eebo/>.

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DEPLORATIO LAPPIANAE GENTIS

Damiano a Goes auctore

THE LAMENTATION OF THE PEOPLE OF LAPLAND

Damião de Góis
Non indignum puto, Pontifex Maxime, in calce huius nostri opusculi, quoniam ad fidem et unionem Ecclesiae haec quoque spectant, Ioannis Magni Gothi, Archiepiscopi Upsaliae in regno Sueciae (ut ab eo ad miserandum Lappianam gentem ueniamus) aliquam mentionem facere.

Is autem Ioannes Magnus Gothus uir est optimis parentibus ac diuitiis natus, sacrarum litterarum non vulgariae peritus, probitate utae spectatissimus. Ecclesiae Romanae ita addictus, ut eius causa amplissimum Upsaliae archiepiscopatum cum prouentibus plus minus quadraginta millium aureorum in singulos annos una cum fundo paterno amiserit. Cuius dignitatis ac bonorum iactura, ab fluctibus fortunae agitatus, in Prussia, Gedani diu tenuiter uictus delituit. Ubi (interim quod mihi regis mei negotia in illis Germaniae partibus tractanda erant) cum eo, ac cum Olaio Magno Gotho eius fratre, indissolubilem contraxit amicitiam. Hos inopinaye postea Uincentiae reperi multo tenuius quam antea degentes, quem locum ex illis ultimis terrarum oris propter promulgatum concilium, ex quo nonnihil spei sibi ac suis calamitibus conceperant, adeundum esse proposuerant. Concilio tandem intermisso, ii boni uiri iam a suis facultatibus plane destituti, quibus dum ampliores essent, saepius in aquilonaribus illis partibus, pro Romana Ecclesia pugnauerant, et adhuc (si res successisset) pugnaturi essent, Uenetias emigrant, uel aliena liberalitate, uel sui laboribus, praesertim docendo ac instituendo, uictum quaesituri, nullis enim aliis subsidii niti poterant, nisi quod in numinis auxilio totam spem reposuerant. Quo cum peruenissent, solum ab Hieronymo Quirino Patriarcha Uenetio, in ipso patriarchatu, humanissime accepti, hospitantur, ubi ad hunc usque diem dilatum concilium expectantes haerent.

1 For information about him and his brother Olaus Magnus Gothus see the Introduction.
2 The brothers were lodged by him, 1538-40.
Sub huius Upsaliensi archiepiscopatu pars illius uastae Lappianae provinciae habetur. Cuius indigenae Christi servatoris nostri leges minime norunt, id quidem ut a multis tum bonis, tum fide dignis uiris, dum in illis prouinciis uersarer, ob turpissimum praetorius et nobilium quaestum ac auaritiam accidere intellexi. Nam si Christiani essent, liberi essent ab illis uectigalibus et tributis, quibus ipsi ut ethnici multantur, nobilitas contra cum episcopis ditescit. Uetant igitur eos Christianos fieri, ne subditi suauui iugo Christi, aliquid lucelli eorum tyrannidi et rapacitati subducant, et aliquid ex uectigalibus decrescat, quibus gens illa miseranda, ab ipsis monarchis turpiter et insatiablerem premiur et torquetur, qui impatientissime ferunt, si illi, Christiani facti, non longe plus uectigalium ipsis penderent, quam caeteri Christiani suis principibus pendunt. Ac proinde deformem istum et sacrilegum quaestum fidei ac religioni Christianae, contemtta tot animarum salute, anteponunt, uere habentes claues, quibus nec ipsi intrant, nec alios intrare sinunt.

Aauritiam sane inexplebilem et impietatem intolerabilem, ac a piis pectoribus, armis, et scriptis, denique totis uiribus expugnandam, quam proculdubio sopitam hoc tempore habuissemus, si hic bonus uir in pristinum suum honorem restitutus esset.

Nihil enim magis cupit, nihil acrius meditatur, quam quo pacto haec gens ad Christi fidem reduci possit, nihil flebilius depolorat, quam quod, se auctore (id quod saepe animo uoluerat) hae miserandae pecudes adhuc, propter impiam religionem, per Christianam fidem Christi oues factae non sint. Nec tam queritur se ab archiepiscopatu, uel bonis auitis depulsum, quam quod careat neruis, auxilio, et facultatibus, quibus hanc Lappianam plagam et medicari, et sub Christi iugum mittere, et Romanae ecclesiae coniungere possit.

3 The reference is to Matthew 16.19: «And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven».
4 Aubin points ou the untranslatable pun on «plaga», which can mean «wound» or «region».
Id quidem postea mihi saepius per litteras confirmauit, quibus nondum ipse placatur, acrem huius negotii in fine illius primae Preciosi Ioannis legationis (quam ipsi Ioanni Magno Gotho consecravi) mentionem feci, ne tum quidem mihi ipsi in hoc negotio satisfeci, sed cum Erasmo Roterodamo meis litteris egi, ut causam istius rei scriptis commendaret. Postmodum in illius contubernio agens, quod mihi cum eo Friburgi Brisgoiae ad quinque menses fuit, praeens cum praesente uerba super eodem negotio feci. Quibus rebus impulsus, constituerat de hac re iustum uolumen emittere; mortis tamen interuentu, operis materia, quam iam conessserat, dissoluta est. Nihilominus, in suo Ecclesiaste tam nefandam impietatem non obticuit, quae sane talis est, ut omnes Christianos quibus potentia et doctrina a Deo concessae sunt, posset quodam modo reos facere, et ab eis in ultimo judicio, coram iusto Christo iudice, uindictam petere. Uideant iam Christianorum monarchae quam rationem, quem calculus tantarum perditarum animarum, in nouissimo die ad Christi tribunal, ubi nec gratiae, nec indulgentiae locus est, nec blandimenta, nec assentationes recipiuntur, reddituri sint.

Tu tamen, Pontifex Maxime, is iam solus es qui huic morbo mederi potes. Tu iam is es qui huic genti uias Domini demonstrare potes, et ut recte in iis ambulent dirigere. Tu solus eas de inferno inferiore redimere ualebis; per te paruulis Christum accedere licebit, et in uirtute dexterae tuae a daemonum catenis ac insidiis liberari, et copiosa Christi in hoc et in alio saeculo redemptione frui. Uide quam palmam obtinebis, si messis illa multa, te operario, in horreum Christi comportetur. Nec dubium est quin comportabis, modo incipias.

5 Góis is referring to his first publication, *Legatio magni Indorum imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis* (Antwerp: Ioan. Graphheus, 1532), which, like the better-known *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum*, concludes with some remarks about Lapland. The following year it was translated into English as *The Legacie or embassate of the great emperour of Inde* by John More, Thomas More’s son, and published in London by W. Rastell. This very rare book can now be easily read on the internet in *Early English Books Online*. On fols 25-6 can be found the account of the troubles of the Lapps, which Góis expanded in the work translated here. The only known letters from Johannes to Góis post-date the publication of the *Deploratio* and are not the ones referred to here. See *Obras de Damião de Góis*, II, p.437-44.
Sunt hodierno die cum Gostauuo Suetiae et Gothiae rege aliquot magnates ab ecclesia Romana recisi. Sunt in ipsis quoque regnis qui omnino ex diametro dissentiant. Possis ad utroque litteras pro tua dignitate et pastorali officio dare, eosque per Christi plagas (hunc enim omnes, quamquam ab ipsa Romana ecclesia dissentient, filium Dei et seruature nostrum fatentur) obtestari ut hanc orientalem et occidentalem Lappiam, cum Fimmarchia, Scricfinia, et Biarmia amplissimis prouincis, quorum maior pars Christum non nouit, ad eius suauissimum iugum uenire permittant, ab eisque tantum aucupentur et extorqueant, quantum alii Christiani principes a suis subditis uel iure postulare, uel precariis exactionibus oblinere consueuerunt. Ad id non tantum litterae, sed uiri quoque docti et sanctitate uitae probati mittendi uidentur, ut haec prouinciae Romanae ecclesiae per Christi fidem coniungantur. Quibus per te, una cum Aethiopica gente, ad ueram Christi legem adductis, etsi populi irascantur, Dominus sedens super Cherubim regnet, et terra moueatur, ipsaque exultet et insulae multae laetentur. Uale Pontifex Maxime in Christo Iesu, Amen.

Ex Louanio Cal. Septemb. Anno MDXL

9 The Latin text has given rise to very different translations. Dias de Carvalho’s implies that there were still Catholics remaining in Sweden, Aubin’s (p. 282) that there were two Protestant groups, Lutheran and Reformed. In reality, Góis does not specify any group. The phrase «ex diametro», literally «diametrically», is the only non-classical usage in the text. It is attested in ecclesiastical Latin.
Quoniam nonnihil chartae supererat, haec de Lappis breuiter adiicere uolui

Lappia, mari Botnico interiecto, in orientalem et occidentalem diuiditur, cuius aequoris extremum Tornia est. Ab oriente Lacum Album tangit; ad septentrionem uarias prouincias amplectens ad incognitum se extendit; ad occidentem Islandiam respiens, parti Noruegiae est contigua; ad meridiem ab altera Noruegiae parte, Suecia, Finlandia ac ab utraque Botnia cingitur. Lappia enim orientalis ecclesiam Diui Andreae in gradu elevationis Poli octogesimo quarto habet, quae magnifico et sumptuoso templo, ac doctis et sacrarum litterarum eruditis uiris ornatur. Ecclesia haec archiepiscopo Upsaliensi obedit et obtemperat, sub cuius diocesi sita est. Nihilominus eius circumuicini, siue incuria, siue auaritia praelatorum et magnatum (ut dictum est) Christum non agnoscent. Lappia Latino sermone interpretatur inepta, siue s[o]cors prouincia; nomen puto inditum inde, quod ex nimo et intenso frigore solum tamquam stupidum minime aptum sit, nec ad recipiendum nec ad procreandum fruges.

Indigenae istius prouinciae neruosi et mediocris staturae sunt, mire dexteri et agiles in arcubus et sagittis utendis, quam artem iaculandi ab incunabulis sic exercent, ut puero a scopo erranti cibus non detur tantisper, donec in eum recte sagittam dirigat. Pelibus non ineleganter contextis loco uestium praecipue utuntur, quibus se a frigoris inuria tutantur, quod ia etiam pati assueuerunt ut, dum opus sit, id sine aliquo pellium munimine expugnare ualeant. In tabernaculis habitant, nec domus eis alicui usui sunt, quippe saepius hinc inde migrant. Aliam uiuendi rationem quam venationis, aucupii, et piscationis non habent, in quibus plurimum praestant. Est enim prouincia illa istarum rerum feracissima. Agrum non colunt, nauculis utuntur sine aliquo fere clavo compactis, quibus, piscibus aere ex[s]iccatis ac pellibus onustis, ad

13 In later editions of the book a more dignified form of words, «Lappiae Descriptio» (Description of Lapland) was used to describe the geographical and ethnographical appendix. Aubin has shown how it is not based on personal observation, but is an abridged version of Jacob Ziegler’s Schondia (Strasbourg, 1532). Góis refers to Ziegler, who was a Lutheran, in a letter to Erasmus of 1533. (Aubin, p.284 and 288-92, where he finds many parallels between the two texts).
uicinos nauigant, ut permutatone tantum annonam et pecuniam, nullo
sermone adhibito, sed solis nutibus agentes, acquirant. Id solum accidit
ob linguae barbariem et asperitatem, quae a uicinis nullo pacto
intelligitur; alioquin in suis permutatibionibus sagaces et expertissimi sunt.

Gens bellicosa et animosa est. Loco equorum utuntur animalibus,
quae raingi suo sermone uocant, magnitudinem et colorem asini, ungulas
bifidas, formam atque cornua ceruorum habentibus; sed cornua lanugine
quadam cooperiuntur, et humiliora et ramis rariora cerui (ut ipsi
uidimus) sunt. Haec tantae sunt velocitatis ut spatio xii hourum
uehiculum ad xxx miliaria Germanica proripiant. In quorum progressu,
lento uel celeri, ex tibiarum articulorum agitatione, ad instar nucum
collisionis crepitus auditor.

Religio istius gentis est et ignem et statuas lapideas pro diis habere.
Ex quauis re animata eis mane occurrente, totius diei eventum iudicant et
augurantrur. Matrimonium observant, et mire sunt zelotypi. Incanta-
mentis sic pollent, ut inter multa alia dictu mira, quae praetermitto, naues
in medio cursu retineat, sic ut nulla uiuentorum amoueri possint. Quod
malum solo virginum excremento foris nuium ac transtri illitis curatur,
a quo spiritus illi, ut ab incolis accepì, natura abhorrent.

FINIS
face to face. Góis stayed with Erasmus in 1534.
NOTES

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Johannes Magnus Gothus. For information about him and his brother Olaus Magnus Gothus see the Introduction.

Gerolamo Querini. The brothers were lodged by him, 1538-40.

the keys. The reference is to Matthew 16.19: ‘And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven’.

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the wounds. Aubin points out the untranslatable pun on ‘plaga’, which can mean ‘wound’ or ‘region’.

Johannes Magnus Gothus. Góis is referring to his first publication, Legatio magui Indorum imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis (Antwerp: Ioan. Grapheus, 1532), which, like the better-known Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum, concludes with some remarks about Lapland. The following year it was translated into English as The Legacye or embassate of the great emperour of Inde by John More, Thomas More’s son, and published in London by W. Rastell. This very rare book can now be easily read on the internet in Early English Books Online. On fols 25-6 can be found the account of the troubles of the Lapps, which Góis expanded in the work translated here. The only known letters from Johannes to Góis post-date the publication of the Deploratio and are not the ones referred to here. See Obras de Damião de Góis, II, pp. 437-44.

face to face. Góis stayed with Erasmus in 1534.


Christ’s barn. The whole paragraph is constructed from Biblical references, mostly to the New Testament, as follows: Matthew 3.3; Mark 10.13; Ephesians 6.11; Revelations 7.9; Matthew 13.30. The phrase ‘de inferno inferiore’ may be a reminiscence of Psalm 86.13 ‘de inferno extremo’.

different view. The Latin text has given rise to very different translations. Dias de Carvalho’s implies that there were still Catholics remaining in Sweden, Aubin’s (p. 282) that there were two Protestant
groups, Lutheran and Reformed. In reality, Góis does not specify any group. The phrase ‘ex diametro’, literally ‘diametrically’, is the only non-classical usage in the text. It is attested in ecclesiastical Latin.

**Finnmark...Biarmia.** Finnmark is still the name of an administrative area in northern Norway. In Olaus Magnus Gothus’s *Carta Marina*, first published in 1539, Finmarchia, Scricfinia and Biarmia, running from W to E, appear as the three northernmost districts of the Scandinavian peninsula. Lappia lies further south, on either side of the Gulf of Bothnia.

There is a reproduction of part of the map in *Obras de Damião de Góis*, vol. II, p. 424.

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**be glad.** This sentence is constructed from Old Testament references: Psalm 2.1; Isaiah 37.16; Psalm 96.1.

**Louvain.** Góis lived in Louvain, where he married a Dutch Catholic, Johanna van Hargen, between 1538 and 1545.

**brief notes.** In later editions of the book a more dignified form of words, ‘Lappiae Descriptio’ (Description of Lapland) was used to describe the geographical and ethnographical appendix. Aubin has shown how it is not based on personal observation, but is an abridged version of Jacob Ziegler’s *Schondia* (Strasbourg, 1532). Góis refers to Ziegler, who was a Lutheran, in a letter to Erasmus of 1533. (Aubin, pp. 284 and 288-92, where he finds many parallels between the two texts).

**Tornia.** A river and town at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia. Góis calls the gulf ‘mari’ (sea) and the White Sea ‘lacum’ (lake).

**St Andrew.** The 84th parallel would place the church in the Arctic Ocean. There was, however, a church dedicated to the saint in northern Sweden, though much more modest than the one Góis describes, probably on the basis of his memories of a conversation with Johannes Magnus (Aubin, p. 287).