Introduction

Sometime between spring 1509 and 1514 Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten printed a polemical pamphlet of six folios in Antwerp entitled: Venegien. Dit es de cause daeromme dattet gheschil rijst tusschen den Venetianen ende den Roomsch en keyser ende den Coninc van Vranrijk (sic) ende anderen diverschen pryncen, hertoghen ende meer anderen kersteliken coninghen hier na ghenarreert, van landen, steden ende casteelen die sij den selven Paus, Keyser, Coningen ende ander hertogen ende pryncen tourechte onthouden. Its title page adorned with an impressive woodcut displaying an enthroned emperor in discussion with a cleric or counselor (fig. 1), Venegien comprises 35 stanzas denouncing the Venetians for immoral and reprehensible behavior since the foundation of their city. Indicted for their love of money and their unauthorized occupation of territory belonging to the pope, the emperor, the French king and the duke of Austria, along with other Christian princes, the Venetians are threatened with imminent aggression, whose outcome will bring a loss of both honor and goods. This anonymous, strongly polemical work, moreover, glorifies Emperor-elect Maximilian and implicitly assigns leadership in the impending military expedition to him. This fact alone makes Venegien a singular publication, for at this time in the Low Countries the printing press was still infrequently used to promote political or military undertakings.

Furthermore, in addition to being unusual in its own right as a printed polemical pamphlet in Dutch, Venegien is even more exceptional because it is a highly interventionist translation of Pierre Gringore’s Entreprise de Venise, a 33-stanza political pamphlet endorsing Louis XII’s military campaign against the Republic of Venice and unequivocally lauding him as the leader of this military venture. Gringore’s work has recently been made available in a modern edition. The only known edition of the anonymous Venegien, however, remains unedited. The aim of the present contribution, then, is to rectify this situation by publishing a transcription of the text, preceded by an introduction that establishes the historical context of the printing of the two
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pamphlets as well as a comparative analysis of both works. In order to make Vénegien known to a readership that may not be familiar with Middle Dutch, this contribution ends with a translation in English of the anonymous pamphlet.

Historical context

There is no mistaking the historical events that sparked Gringore’s pamphlet which appeared for the first time in a Parisian edition sometime between mid-March and early April 1509. During the months of November and December 1508 Margaret of Austria, regent of the Low Countries, representing her father, Emperor-elect Maximilian, and her nephew Charles, prince of the Spains, archduke of Austria, and Cardinal Georges d’Amboise, bishop of Rouen, representing the French king Louis XII, negotiated a peace treaty between the two traditional rivals. In the resulting Treaty of Cambrai, concluded on 10 December 1508, the two sovereigns, Emperor-elect Maximilian and Louis XII, pledged, among other things, to undertake a crusade against the Turks and to enforce a six-week truce in the long-standing conflict between the duke of Guelders, Charles of Egmond, supported by Louis XII, and the Habsburg-Burgundian dynasty. This treaty of peace, union, concord and friendship, as its articles repeatedly stress, however, contained a secret codicil, a special treaty of alliance (una specialis Liga, Unio, Amicitia, atque Confoederatio) among Pope Julius II, Maximilian, Louis XII and the king of Aragon Ferdinand II. The aim of the League of Cambrai was to launch a military campaign against Venice in order to reclaim lands that the Venetians had seized from the treaty’s signatories. The first day of April 1509 was set as the date on which the attack against Venice was to begin.

Vénegien and the Entreprise de Venise: the editions

Gringore’s objective in publishing and disseminating his Entreprise de Venise was unmistakably to influence public opinion and generate support for Louis XII’s military venture against the Venetians. In contrast to the anonymous Vénegien which was to

4 We have supplemented the textual transcription with annotations that highlight where Vénegien and Entreprise diverge as well as with critical notes to explain unclear references in the text.
8 In this introduction we use ‘Treaty of Cambrai’ to refer to the treaty signed on 10 December 1508 and subsequently made public; we use the term ‘League of Cambrai’ to refer to the secret annex to that treaty, the secret alliance against Venice.
9 Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 114; Le Glay 1845, 238.
10 L’Entreprise de Venise is the third in a series of eight propagandistic pieces in support of Louis XII’s expansionist foreign policy that Gringore authored and had published between 1500 and 1513. See Brown 2003 for a definitive edition of these works. See Scheller 1985 and 1999 for studies of the visual components of the implementation of
know only one edition, that of Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten in Antwerp, his *Entreprise* was printed four times. Gringore oversaw the printing and distribution of the initial Parisian edition himself.11 The three other editions were all printed after 9 April 1509, that is, after the expiration of Gringore’s author privilege on Easter day 1509. One was printed in Paris;12 the two others in Lyons.13 For its part, the title of *Venegien* displays a certain resemblance to the title of the two Lyons editions. The inclusion of *hertogen* among the leaders abused by the rapacity of the Venetians, coupled with the rendering of *usurpent et detiennent* by *tonrechte onthouden*, likely indicates that the anonymous Dutch translator based his text on one of these two French editions.14 But while the aggrieved rulers remain anonymous in the titles of all four French editions, the title of *Venegien* strategically mentions first of all the *Roomsch keyser* followed by the *Coninck van Vranrijck* (sic) and second, among the princes whom the Venetians have offended, the *Paus* and the *Keyser*, participants absent from the titles of all the French editions. These additions, combined with the title’s bold condemnatory initial statement, which is absent from (albeit implicit in) the French titles, signal that the Dutch pamphlet is more than a slavish translation of its French exemplar. As we shall see below, *Venegien* is an ideologically driven rendering of Gringore’s *Entreprise* that transforms a work of propaganda on behalf of the French king into a polemical pamphlet extolling Emperor-elect Maximilian and emphatically endorsing his military aspirations.

### Versification

Before tracing the Dutch translator’s modifications through which he systematically demotes Louis XII in prominence and elevates Maximilian, an examination of the literary forms adopted in the French original and the Dutch translation is in order. From the standpoint of form, the Dutch translator appears to have followed Gringore’s text rather closely, despite the differences noted below. Gringore’s 238 decasyllabic verses are organized into 33 stanzas: 29 seven-verse stanzas with the rhyme scheme *ababbcc* (*i*-xxviii, xxxii), three nine-verse stanzas with the rhyme scheme *aabaabbcc* (xxix-xxxi) and one octave with the rhyme scheme *ababbcbc* (xxxiii). While that policy. For a more general discussion, see Hochner 2006, especially Chapter 2, 70–100.

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11 The privilege printed at the end of the first edition of *L’Entreprise de Venise* provides these details (f. 8v).
14 Brown & Sutch 2007, 199–200. While the Lyons editions include ‘Roys, ductz, princes et seigneurs cresteni’, the prior editions only list ‘roys, princes et seigneurs cresteni’. The doubling ‘usurpent’ / ‘detiennent’, only present in the title of the Lyons editions, reinforces the notion of wrongful seizure.
he always opted for either the eight- or ten-syllable verse line, the French poet often employed a variety of strophic forms within a single poem for dynamic purposes. Seven-verse stanzas appear rarely in his polemical pieces, although Gringore displayed a particular predilection for the classic octave as well as the less common nine-line stanza. In nearly all of his versified writings, the last stanza consisted of eight lines to accommodate his acrostic signature. The *Entreprise* is no exception; the last stanza contains the acrostic featuring his name.

The Dutch translator arranged his poem into a more regular structure of 35 eight-line stanzas, with the rhyme scheme *abaabbcc*, totaling 280 lines. Numerically speaking, there is a difference of 42 verses between the Dutch translation and the French original. This discrepancy comes about partly because of the stanzaic form of the Dutch version, but also because it contains two additional stanzas. First, the contents of Stanza xxx in the *Entreprise* have been expanded to two stanzas in *Venegien* (Stanzas xxx and xxxi). Second, the translator has inserted an additional stanza following Stanza xxxiii of his translation, which has no counterpart in the French original. Stanza xxxiv offers a prayer for peace.

Finally, in nearly all cases, the Dutch translator approximates the French version stanza for stanza and adopts Gringore’s usage of a proverb in the last line of numerous stanzas; indeed he sometimes inserts a proverb where one is absent in Gringore’s original.

While the Dutch writer casts the accusations leveled at the Venetians in slightly different terms than does Gringore in his *Entreprise*, at times more strident, at times more moderate, it is his almost complete erasure of Louis xii and his glorification of Emperor-elect Maximilian that introduce an ideological shift into his text, a modification that entirely undermines the dynamics of the French original. Almost from the outset, the Dutch translation neutralizes the presence and importance of the French king. Already in rendering Stanzas ix and x, the translator introduces a nuance that leads the reader’s attention away from the current French ruler. In his indictment of the Venetians for laying claim to territory measuring 125 by 65 leagues in Italy, Gringore reminds both the Venetians and his readers that in fact,
Le roy Pepin, trespîrestien roy de France,
En a donné certaine quantité
Devotement à la papalité. (Stanza IX, ll. 61-3)19

At the beginning of the following stanza he specifies the moment of this donation:

Le dessusdit Pepin trespîrestiën
Volut donner à l’Eglise Rommaine,
Durant le temps du bon pape Adrian,
Les deux citez que maintenant ramaine
A ce propos, dont prenez le demaine ... (Stanza X, ll. 64-8)20

The way that Gringore has cast these lines by repeating *treschrestien* would quite naturally also evoke as well the current king of France, Louis xii, because the epithet was applied to all French kings.21 The Dutch translator, on the other hand, shifts these lines around in a very telling way, one that diminishes Louis xii’s presence in the text. First, he erases the first usage of the attribute in reference to king Pepin, *treschrestien roy de France*, to retain it only at the beginning of the following stanza. Second, he inserts lines, not present in the French poem, extolling the courageous deeds and virtuous life of this Frankish ruler and praying for his soul (our emphasis):

maer die coninc Puppijn dat openbaer,
gaeïs een certeyne quantreyt
uut devocien der papaliteyt. (Stanza IX, ll. 70-2)

De voerseide alder kersteliste coninc Puppijn
van Vranckrijck, vroem van ghewercken,
doechdelic van levene tot inden fijn,
wiens siele moet ewich met Gode sijn,
iondet met trouwen der Roomscher kercken
in paeus Adriaens tijt, mocht ment mercken. (Stanza X, ll. 73-8)22

The effect of this shift is to deflect attention from the current *treschrestien* king of France, and to refocus it onto an earlier, implicitly more illustrious and virtuous ruler. Furthermore, in the following stanza, the French text exhorts the Venetians, *Rendez, rendez a Catholique Eglise / Le don donné par le preux roy de France* (Stanza xi, ll. 73-4).23 The Dutch translation urges them instead to restore to the Church and the poor what is theirs: *gheeft der kercken ende den armen thuere* (Stanza xi, l. 87), completely eliminating this second reference to Pepin’s gift to the papacy.24

19 The most Christian king of France, Pepin, / devoutly bestowed a certain quantity of them [Italian territories] / on the papacy.
20 The aforementioned most Christian Pepin / wanted to grant to the Roman [Catholic] Church / at the time / of the good Pope Adrian / the two cities [Ravenna, Cervia] which you control / that now bring [us] back to this subject ...
22 See the English translation for these and all verses cited from *Veneugien*.
23 Return, return to the Catholic Church / the gift given by the valiant king of France.
24 The strategic importance of Pepin here is genealogical in nature; what would be crucial for Maximilian was Pepin as ancestor not as ‘preux roy de France’. See Silver 2008, Chapter 2, 41-76.
A second textual manipulation found in *Vénegien*, one that indeed occasions the erasure of the present king of France, occurs in the stanza devoted to the cities and towns that the Venetians hold as their property but that rightfully belong to the children of the archduke of Austria (Stanza xviii). Here the injured parties are the offspring of the recently deceased Philip the Fair, king of Castile, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, et cetera, who died in Burgos on 25 September 1506. The French text threatens that the Venetians will be severely punished if they do not restore these possessions to their rightful owners (our emphasis):

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Consider qu’estes trop triumphans
Et que Dieu veult que vous rendez de brief
Villes, citez aux tresnobles enfans
De l’Archeduc, ou ung tresgrant meschef
Vous adviendra, car le roy est le chef
Et gardien. Se ne rendés leurs villes,
Pugnis serez, destructeurs de pupilles. (Stanza XVIII, ll. 120-6)25
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The implication in this stanza is that the king, here the reader will assume the king of France, who not incidentally had been proclaimed *père du peuple* by the Estates General of France meeting in Tours on 14 May 1506, will be the agent who inflicts this punishment against the destroyers of orphans (*destructeurs de pupilles*), because he is the commander and guardian (*car le roy est le chef / Et gardien*).

The rendering of this stanza in Dutch is illuminating in light of certain events that transpired following the death of Philip the Fair. Upon hearing this news, Louis XII wrote a letter of condolence to Guillaume de Croy, lord of Chièvres, Philip’s lieutenant general for the government of the Low Countries, in which he offers in oblique terms to serve as guardian of Philip’s two sons, a proposition that Georges d’Amboise reiterates more explicitly in his condolence letter to Margaret of Austria several days later.26 In the meantime the Estates General of the Low Countries began meeting in Malines on 18 October 1506, and, after some weeks of deliberation, sent a delegation to Maximilian to request that he act as regent for young archduke Charles.27 He in turn appointed Margaret of Austria regent of the Burgundian Netherlands and entrusted her with the guardianship of his grandchildren.

The Dutch translator’s solution to translating Gringore’s stanza was simply to eliminate all mention of the French king, deliberately misunderstanding in all likelihood the reference to Philip the Fair’s children as orphans and selecting instead the second meaning for *pupille*, namely the iris or pupil of the eye (our emphasis):

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Queeste 20122_binnenwerk.indd   145
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Considereert, ghi sijt te triumphant
twelve God niet langhere wilt ghedoghen.
De steden en plaetsen houdi in de hant
vanden edelen kinderen, vaet wel tverstant,
vanden eertshertoghe, tspijt haren ooghen.
Ic segge u: wildi gheen ootmoet toogheth,
de rechtverdicheyt sal op u verhalen.
De hooghge ghesetene mach wel dalen. (Stanza XVIII, ll. 137-144)

Thus all suggestion that the French king is the protector and guardian of these children simply disappears in the Dutch text.

In the Dutch translation we encounter a further diminishment of Louis XII in the stanza devoted to him in his capacity as duke of Milan. But it is in Stanza XXX that we see his presence entirely excised. This stanza in the French version, which begins by referring to the French king via his personal symbol, the porcupine, presents one by one all the rulers allied against the Venetians in the guise of their armorial charges and metaphorically describes the actions that each will perform when they launch their concerted attack against Venice. Le porc épique de brief vous picquera (l. 206) of course heads the list, followed by L’aigle de sable lors vous bequetera, / Et les liepars asprement vous mordront, / Le lyon noir ses dens vous monstrera... et cetera (ll. 207-209). The Dutch text, on the other hand, replaces the reference to the porcupine with two verses reminding the Venetians of what is in store for them. The stanza goes on to list the actions that the emblematic representations of the allies will enact against them, embellishing and intensifying the actions especially of the sable eagle, Emperor-elect Maximilian I, and the black lion, young prince Charles of Spain, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, et cetera, who will no longer simply snarl at them and bare his teeth, but will tear open the very walls of Venice (our emphasis):

Uwen scat sal varinck verandert wesen,
  u ghelt, u goet van quaden conqueste.
Den arent van sabele es op gheresen;
grijpti u, quadic suldijs ghenesen.
De limpaert cruypt oec uut synen neste,
den swarten leeu coemt schueren u veste ...
(Stanza XXX, ll. 233-238)

28 Quite naturally Gringore eulogizes the French king in this stanza in the following terms: 'Le tresillustre et trescrestien roy, / Loys douziesme, puissant bellicateur, / Vous monstrera vostre erreur et desroy, / Car de Millan est naturel seigneur’ [The most illustrious and most Christian king, Louis XII, powerful warrior, will show you your error and confusion, for he is the natural lord of Milan.] (Stanza XX, ll. 134-7 [our emphasis]). The Dutch approximates this accolade but eliminates one crucial element, namely the specification that he is the natural lord of Milan, and substitutes a reference to his mental capacities: ‘De duerluchtighe kerstelicxste coninck Lowijs / de xij, vroem in sijn vailiance, / here van Melaen, subtijl ende wijs, / sal wel wreken naer sijn avijs / van uwer ondoecht de continance’ (Stanza XX, ll. 153-7 [our emphasis]).

29 The porcupine will soon prick you; / the black eagle will then peck at you, / and the leopards will bite you sharply; / the black lion will bare his teeth at you.

30 The references to the other League of Cambrai allies made in Gringore’s poem at lines 210-14 are present in Venegien in lines 237, 239 of Stanza XXX and lines 241-4 of Stanza XXXI.
Finally, the *Entreprise* ends with the author addressing his audience, exhorting his French readers to pray for the valiant king of France and to give thanks to God for their king’s boldness of action, protection of his subjects and the future honor that will rebound upon them as a result of his foray into Venice:

Grans et petits, faictes a Dieu priere  
Reveramment pour le preux roy de France.  
Imaginez que d’amour singuliere  
Norrit en paix son peuple et sans soufrance.  
Gentilz Françoisys, vivez en assurance,  
Oncques n’eustez l’honneur que vous aurés;  
Rememorez, s’o en rompt l’aliance,  
En Venise fleurs de liz planterés. (Stanza XXXIII, ll. 231-8)\(^31\)

This stanza undergoes a complete reorientation in the Dutch translation. There is no question in the final stanza of the Dutch text of a prayer being offered for *le preux roy de France* or of *Gentilz Françoisys* planting lilies in Venice. Rather, all references to Louis XII are replaced with explicit allusions to Emperor-elect Maximilian and his grandson, Charles of Austria, as the author enjoins his readers to pray for his imperial majesty and for the prosperity of duke Charles (our emphasis): *bidt voer die keiserlike maiesteyt / en voer hertoghe Karels prosperiteyt* (Stanza xxxv, ll. 275-6).\(^32\)

... Maximilian ascends

Coterminous with the almost complete elimination of Louis XII from the text of *Venegien* is the systematic augmentation in importance and prominence of Emperor-elect Maximilian, and this from the very outset of the pamphlet. Indeed its title emphatically proclaims his pre-eminence and assigns to him the dominant role. As we have seen above, the different titles of the French editions of the *Entreprise* make no mention of the rulers who will engage in the campaign against Venice. Here the wording of the title unequivocally asserts the ascendancy of the Roman emperor-elect in this undertaking. He stands at the head of the list of the aggrieved parties who will engage Venice in conflict.

Allusions to the emperor are likewise embedded in the text. The translator consistently substitutes *den keyser* in the cases where the French text simply mentions *l’Empire*.\(^33\) This strategy situates the emperor-elect personally at the heart of the territorial dispute to which the text alludes. Furthermore, the translator converts a rath-

\(^{31}\) Great and small, pray to God reverently / For the valiant king of France. / Think [about the fact] that with a singular love / He nourishes his people in peace and without suffering. / Noble French, rest assured, / Never have you had the honor you will have; / Remember, if the alliance is broken, / You will plant lilies in Venice.

\(^{32}\) Simultaneously, of course, the reworking of this stanza completely eliminates all reference to Pierre Gringore whose acrostic signature proclaims his authorship of L’*Entreprise de Venise*.

\(^{33}\) *Entreprise*, Stanzas XII, l. 77b, and XIII, l. 88; *Venegien*, Stanzas XII, l. 88b, and XIII, l. 103. He substitutes the title of the ruler where the French provides the name of a territory in the case of a reference to the duke of Austria as well (our emphasis): ‘*den hertoghe van Oostrijcke*’ (l. 122) for ‘*de la duché d’Autriche*’ (l. 107).
er nondescript reference to the empire into a line that explicitly lauds the present Roman emperor-elect when he renders the lines: *Sur l’Empire vous tenez trois citez / Contre raison, on le voit clément* (Stanza XII, ll. 80–1) as follows (our emphasis):\(^{34}\) op den Roomschen keysere ghehonoreert / hebdi drie steden gheconquesteert (Stanza XII, ll. 91–2). There can be no mistaking that the Roman emperor referred to here is Emperor-elect Maximilian I.

The most dramatic reference to Maximilian in the text, however, occurs in Stanza xxx, discussed above. Here again the translator has expanded on Gringore’s reference by warning the Venetians of the wounds that the sable eagle will metaphorically inflict upon them, for he will not simply peck at them with his beak as the French text has it; rather, if he catches them in his claws, they will not be easily healed (Stanza xxx, ll. 235–6).

Finally, of course, as we saw above, the translator’s reworking of the last stanza firmly places both Maximilian and Charles at the center of the reader’s prayers. The Dutch *actoer* begins with the same idea as Gringore’s *acteur* of hailing his readers both great and small, but he couples this address with a traditional modesty formula, absent from Gringore’s work, begging for their forgiveness if he has mistakenly expressed himself: *Groot met den cleenen heb ic misseit. / Verghevet mi, tes rudelic te hoope gesleghen* (xxxv, ll. 273–4). Furthermore, after he has urged his readers to pray for both his imperial majesty and the prosperity of duke Charles, he concludes his text by appealing to them to pray as well

\[
\begin{align*}
dat paiiselieke aliance by hem vercreghen \\
tusschen den kerstenen princhen moet vermeeren \\
ter wrake vanden lachtere Ons Heeren. (Stanza XXXV, ll. 278–80)
\end{align*}
\]

Here the translator inserts an allusion, absent from Gringore’s *Entreprise*, to the crusade to the Holy Land that was the public goal asserted in the Treaty of Cambrai, the campaign against Venice constituting the second and secret pact among the European princes signed on the same day. Such a prayer would have had strong personal resonances with Maximilian who cherished the notion of leading a crusade to the Holy Land but never had the means to realize such an ambitious aspiration.\(^{35}\) The text of *Venezien* closes, thus, by evoking the Roman emperor-elect and by implying that it would be he, rather than the French king, who would be the leader most capable of bringing to fruition the loftiest of Christian intentions.

The significance of *Venezien*

At the time that the *Entreprise de Venise* was published, Louis XII was able to rely on an arsenal of publicists to promote his foreign ventures and a stream of printed news
bulletins to keep the French population up-to-date on how they were unfolding. A prominent author, playwright, actor, theater director of royal entries, translator, and editor, Pierre Gringore was but one of several unofficial publicists to lend enthusiastic support for the French king's military agenda in Italy and caustically attack his Italian enemies.

At the time *Vénegien* appeared in print, however, the print medium was still infrequently used in the Low Countries for the publication of topical material where a political or military undertaking was at stake. While the printing press did roll out a limited number of encomiastic pieces in Latin celebrating Maximilian and Philip the Fair, and a scattering of works in the vernacular that qualify as propaganda on behalf of the Habsburg dynasty, it was very rarely used as a polemical instrument. Two works, one in French and one in Latin, were printed after the death of Charles the Bold and the marriage of Mary, duchess of Burgundy, and archduke Maximilian of Austria, enjoining their subjects to take up arms in defense of their lands against the invading forces of Louis XI. Likewise, only two printed polemical pieces survive from the time of the Flemish uprising against Maximilian following the death of Mary of Burgundy. Both in Latin, one in two different editions, these works emphatically endorse Maximilian's position and strongly castigate the Flemish. Furthermore, during the hostilities between Charles of Egmond and the Habsburg dynasty in the Low Countries, only Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Chansons de Namur* can be cited as an example of a polemical imprint. Mainly devoted to celebrating the victory of a largely peasant army against superior French forces and lauding Margaret of Austria as well as Maximilian, its criticism of the French is neither excessive nor vituperative.

*Vénegien* is the only work, the only pamphlet, printed in the Low Countries so far as we have been able to determine, to promote and advocate for Maximilian's military undertaking in Italy. Nijhoff and Kronenberg assign the date circa 1514 to Hillen
van Hoochstraten’s edition based on the printer’s address *bi die drie candelaren* which appears in the colophons of works he printed between 1509 and 1516.\(^44\) The death of Louis XII on 1 January 1515 also likely prompted their dating as well as that of Louis Petit in the catalogue of the library of Joannes Thysius.\(^45\) However, we do not consider this date to be plausible. In this time of political and military volatility, alliances shifted very rapidly. Printing such a time-sensitive pamphlet as *Vengeien* any time after the League of Cambrai had effectively dissolved — which was certainly the case by early 1510, when the Pope struck an alliance with Venice — seems very unlikely. An alternative date seems to us equally probable, namely late spring or early summer 1509, as this period corresponds more closely to contemporary events.\(^46\) Constrained by a three-year truce that he had signed with Venice in the spring of 1508, Maximilian was explicitly exempted, according to the terms of the secret treaty of alliance, from participating in the initial phase of the incursion against Venice and accorded a period of 40 days, after 1 April, within which to break off that treaty and join the hostilities against Venice.\(^47\) By 12 June 1509 Maximilian was in Trent, and he crossed into Italian territory on 5–6 July. Later in the summer he and his army launched a military attack in the Veneto and besieged Padua in September.\(^48\) Hence it seems quite likely that Hillen van Hoochstraten printed *Vengeien* during the months preceding Maximilian’s arrival in Italy, earning *Vengeien* the distinction of being the first polemical pamphlet in the Dutch language to be printed in the Low Countries.\(^49\)

**TRANSCRIPTION**\(^50\)

One of the most prolific printers of the first half of the sixteenth century, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten established his printing shop in Antwerp, the printing capital of the Low Countries, in 1506, thus launching a career that would span 40 years. Hillen van Hoochstraten’s edition of *Vengeien* survives in two copies: one is housed at Ghent, University Library (Res. 1042), the other at Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana

\(^{44}\) A note to the entry for *Vengeien* states: ‘Zie over het adres van Hillen “bi die drie candelaren” de aant. bij 1829; this entry in turn provides the following clarification: ’Het adres van Hillen “bij die drie candelaraars” (prope cemiterium b. Mariae virg. circa tria candelabra) komt voor zoover ons bekend, van 1509-1516 voor; daarop berust de dateering’ (c.f. NK 1829, NK vol. I 1–2, 653).

\(^{45}\) Petit 1882, vol. 1, i. Although he acknowledges in the entry that *Vengeien* is undated, he assigns it to the year 1514 justifying his decision in the following terms: ‘Stradicht op Venetie in 35 achregelhe coupletten vóór des dood Lodewijk XII uitgegeven, waarschijnlijk in dit jaar’.

\(^{46}\) A comparative analysis of the types Hillen van Hoochstraten used in his early years as a printer would likely help fix the date more precisely.

\(^{47}\) Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 115; Le Glay 1845, 239.

\(^{48}\) Kraus 1899, 51–52.

\(^{49}\) This same year saw another first in the history of printing in the Low Countries, namely the first description in Dutch of a ceremonial entry. Unfortunately no copy survives of this description of the entry on 23 February 1509 of Emperor-elect Maximilian, his grandson Charles, and Margaret of Austria into Ghent, whose aldermen paid for a print run of 300 copies of this text. See Mareel 2005, 87–88; 2007, 106.

\(^{50}\) By Susie Speakman Sutch – Samuel Mareel and Dirk Coigneau have very generously given of their time and knowledge to help make this textual transcription as accurate as possible. To each of them I would like to express my deep appreciation.
The type is textura with occasional uncial capitals: a two-line capital D in the title, a two-line capital R in the opening line of the text, and a one-line capital D in nine of the eleven subheadings. From internal evidence as noted below it is possible to determine that the Ghent copy was printed earlier in the print run than the Leiden copy, and that the printer took care to make stop-press corrections during the printing process.

For the sake of readability, I have made the following emendations in the transcription of Venegien. All abbreviations have been resolved; u/v, w/uu and i/j have been adapted to modern usage; all proper names have been capitalized; and punctuation has been introduced.

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Fig. 1 Venegien, Title page (Ghent, University Library, Res. 1042, f. 1r).
Venegien. Dit is de oorzaak daarom dat het conflict optreedt tussen de Venetianen en de Roomsche keizer en de koning van Frankrijk (sic) en andere heersenden, hertogen en meer andere koningen hier naar genarrerd, van landen, steden en castelen die zij den selven paus, Keizer, Koningen en ander hertogen ende princen onrecht onthouden.

Venegien

I. Rijckelijcke stede verre befaemt,
die Adriatijcke waert gheseyt
ende nu Venegien sijt ghenaemt,
daer meneghe subtiliteit es ghpraemt;
opt zee leght u prosperiteit,
die ghi u selven hebt toe gheleyt
anders erve sonder justicie.
Vreest vry de godlijcke punicie.

II. Venecianen, bedroeft, peyst of ic messe
tverstant, grijpt oft ghi abuseert
hoe in jaer vier honderd ende sesse
Italien quam in sware oppresse,
nalincx vanden Hongheren ghedestrueert.
Daer op die tijt was gherasteert
de vermaerde stede van Aquileya.
Donnosele verwerven de meeste scha.

III. Horen coninck verjaecht in teghen spoede,
uut steden, casteelen tvolck dore den ducht,
in eylanden, maraschen in groote armoede
met wive, met kinderen ende met goede
Een stede si stichten inde vlucht,
daer ghi Venegien af sijt den temple.
In uus selfs spiegele neempt exemele.

IV. Vol weelden ghi resideerter alle.
Wie heeft u ghestelt dan ghi u selven?
Als volc versaemt bi vreemden ghevalle,
die alle rapinen brenct tuwen stalle

51 The French text reads ‘l’an quatre cens cinquante et six’ (l. 10).
Translation

Venice

This is the reason that the conflict is arising between the Venetians and the Roman emperor and the king of France and several other princes, dukes and many other Christian kings, hereafter narrated, dealing with the lands, cities and castles they unlawfully withhold from the same pope, emperor, kings and other dukes and princes.

I. Wealthy city widely renowned that was built on the Adriatic and now is named Venice where great cunning is contained; on the seas lies your prosperity; you yourself appropriated in an unlawful manner the lands of others. You may certainly fear divine punishment.

II. Venetians, be sad; think whether I may be wrong; grasp my meaning or you will be misled; how in the year 406 Italy came under heavy oppression [and was] almost destroyed by the Hungarians. There at that time the famous city Aquileia was seized. The innocent suffer the greatest injury.

III. Their king driven out in misfortune, the people [fleeing] in great peril, from cities and castles, in marshy islands, in great poverty, with wife, with children and with belongings, finding nothing other than water and air, they founded a city in [their] flight of which you, Venice, are the temple. Take a lesson from your own history.

IV. You all reside there in great wealth; who put you there but you yourself: a people brought together by a strange twist of fate who hoard all the spoils of war in your own stable,

52 By Susie Speakman Sutch & Samuel Mareel – We would like to express our gratitude to Dirk Coigneau for his unstinting help and Arjan van Dixhoorn for making sense of several difficult passages. Our approach to making this translation was to remain as faithful to the original as possible. We have occasionally inserted a word here or there, set in square brackets, to facilitate readability or to clarify meaning.
ende ander lieden erve doet bedelven.
Gods wrake sal noch op u welven
want niemande wildi zijn onderdaen.
Tlichaem sonder hoof en mach niet staen.

V. ¶ Ghi hebt volc in u stede beneven
van diverschen contreyen, tsijn vreemde saken;
niet achtinge wies sy hebben bedreven,
hebben si ghelt, si werden ghescriven
als poorters bekent, met corter spraken,
al waren vianden, refuys van draken.
Ghy en acht heere, druc noch verdriet.
Al siet men de lieden men kentse niet.

VI. ¶ Ontsiet u der plaghen, imagineert
nae dat ghi oorloghe beghert soe seere,
in u eylant werdi gheinserreert,
qu goet, u stat gheabandoneert,
u hoocheit verloren in corten keere,
want elc coninck, prince ende heere
beghert sijn erve, soot redene bewijst.
Maect u int droogh eert wedere rijst.

VII. ¶ Bedinct u wel, opent u verstant,
keert omme, ghi blijftere doeldi verdere.
Al hebdi scat ende goet inde hant,
werdi bespronghen aen elcken cant,
ghi blijfter als scaepkens sonder herdere.
Obegiert oft veel discordien werder
de ruuyeren53 mocht wel u eestre.
De scholieren strouwiers gaen sonder meestre.

VIII. ¶ Voerwaer men weet wel al de staten
vander rente die ghi in Ytalien houdet
op quaden tijtle: acht hondert duysent ducaten.
Al moechdi u daer op seere verlaten,
wacht wel dat ghi u niet en beschout,
hoe ghi u stede verchiert, vergout.
Denct acoort ouder54 die edele is de ganghe.
Bi foortsen regneert nyemant langhe.

53 Both copies have ‘ruyuere’ for ‘ruyneren’.
54 Both copies have ‘ouder’ for ‘onder’.
and you divert the lands of other men from their rightful owners; God’s vengeance will yet come down on you.

for you want to be subordinate to no one. Without its head, the body cannot stand.

V. You have people present with you in your city from diverse countries, it is a strange thing;
not bothering about what they have done,
if they have money, they are registered
and acknowledged as citizens, without discussion,
even if they were enemies or the scum of the devil;
you don’t consider lord, fear nor sorrow.
It is not because one sees someone that one knows him.

VI. Dread catastrophes. Imagine after you have longed for wars so badly [that] you will be encircled in your island,
your goods, your city will be confiscated,
you haughtiness lost in no time;
for every king, prince and lord
longs for his lands, so reason demonstrates.
Make sure that you are on dry land before it rises again.

VII. Think carefully, use your understanding, turn back; you will perish if you wander any further.
Even if you have treasure and goods in your possession, when you are attacked from every side
you will remain there as lambs without a shepherd;
Obey or much discord will arise and your orchard will wither.
When they have no master, schoolboys go astray.

VIII. Indeed, it is commonly known that in an unlawful manner you are holding on to 800,000 ducats worth of annuities in Italy.
Even if you are quite confident in the situation, watch out that you don’t burn yourself.
How you decorate [and] gild your city!
Remember that concord among nobles is the common way of conducting affairs.
Coercion never kept anyone in power for long.

55 I.e., the water.
IX. ¶ Hondert werf xx. ende vijf milen int ronde, lxxv. breet,\(^{56}\) sonder vreese oft vaer, houdijt uut Ytalien; ontsiet u der sonde. Ghi segt dat uwe is uuten gronde, nochtans elck weet ten is niet waer, maer die coninc Puppijn, dats openbaer, gaefs een certeyne quantiteit uut devocien der papaliteyt.

¶ De erve den paeus toebehorende die sy Venecianen hem onthouden

X. ¶ De voerseide\(^{57}\) alder kersteliche coninc Puppijn van Vranckrijck, vroem van ghewercken, doechdelic van levene tot inden fijn, wiens siele moet eewich met Gode sijn, iondet met trouwen der Roomscher kercken in paeus Adriaens tijt, mocht ment mercken. Doet restoer; tes langhe ghenoch gheborcht. Die spijse is quaat daermen aen verworcht.


De stede ende plaetsen die sy onthouden den keyser\(^{58}\)


\(^{56}\) The French text reads ‘soixante et cinq de large’ (l. 58).
\(^{57}\) The abbreviation here can be resolved as either ‘voerschreven’ or ‘voerseide’; since the French original has ‘le dessusdit’, we have chosen for ‘voerseide’.
\(^{58}\) ‘l’Empire’ in the French (l. 77b).
\(^{59}\) Simply ‘sur l’Empire’ in the French (l. 80).
IX. A hundred times twenty and five leagues around, sixty
75 broad, without apprehension or fear,
you are holding on to this land [in] Italy; fear the sin.
You say that it belongs entirely to you,
nevertheless everyone knows it is not true;
but the king Pepin, it is common knowledge,
gave a certain quantity [of it]
out of devotion for the papacy.

The lands belonging to the pope
which they, the Venetians, withhold from him.

X. The afore-mentioned most Christian king Pepin
of France, worthy in his deeds,
virtuous in his life until its end,
whose soul must for eternity be with God,
granted it out of loyalty to the Roman Church
in Pope Adrian’s time; one could acknowledge this.
Give it back; you have kept it for too long.
It is bad food that one chokes on.

XI. Consider your crime, Venetians,
and fear the calamities that now threaten you.
Will you take from the Church the things that belong to her?
It would rather cost a sea of tears,
for each nobleman yearns for the voyage;
open your eyes, keep yourselves wakeful.
Give [back] to the Church and the poor what is theirs.
After something sweet, one often tastes something sour.

The cities and places that they
withhold from the Emperor

XII. Reason demands that you renounce without delay
the things that you have obtained in an inept manner.
From the honored Roman emperor
you conquered three cities
against justice and reason and contrary to all rules;
[for] 80 years, what’s the use of keeping silent about it,
you have held Padua, Verona and Vicenza.
To rise up against the head is a great offence.

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60 The measurement given in Enterprise is ‘Cent vingt et cinq lieues de long’ (l. 57). The Dutch rendering, Hondert werf xx. ende vijf [100 x (20 + 5)], yields a much larger total land area.
61 We have chosen the verb ‘threaten’ to translate the verb naecken, in the sense of ‘approach, draw near or nigh’.
62 I.e., the military campaign.
XIII. ¶ In wat dangiere sydi in desen daghe!
Wie sal u secoers oft bistant ionnen?
Al moechdi u vromelic hebben en vlaghe,
u es noch nakende groote plaghe –
noyt meerdere onder tscijn der sonnen –
ende al om u overdaet beghonnen;
paus, keyser hebbent op u ghelaen.
Een cranck fondament en mach niet staen.

De eren vanden coninck van Hongerien

XIV. ¶ Nu hebdi van uwen mede ghebueren haer lant ghenomen bi pillerien.
Al toochdi fortselic nu u kueren,
peyst vry ten mach niet langhe dueren om te behoudene u signoryen.
Dinct dat de coninck van Hongherien met sinen ghealieerden u benijt.
Niemant en es van verliese verblijt.

XV. ¶ Sijn plaetsen van Dalmacien stelt int ghere ende Jarca. Wacht u wel van mesdoene;
sijn maiesteyt lijtter omme wee want diversche havenen vander zee onthoudy hem, steden ende velden groene oec teghen recht, tes te ghevroene.
Syet dat ghi u wiselick regiert want noyt quet bleef onghepuniert.

De eren ende plaetsen toebeho- rende den hertoghe van Oostrijcke

XVI. ¶ Ghi onthoudt oeck, soe men mach verstaen, vanden hertoghe van Oostrijcke in u handen een stede heet Mestre om zijn versmaen, metgaders Tianis tes mesdaen want ghi sulter noch afsceeden met scanden.
Men sal u pilgeren, ten gronde verbranden.
Ghi hebt te vele scats naer uwen staet.

Sonder God ten eynde alle dinck vergaet.

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63 Both copies have ‘en’ for ‘een’.
64 ‘saincte Eglise et Emprie’ in the French text (l. 88).
65 The Ghent copy has ‘ghebueren’; the Leiden copy ‘gheboren’.
66 The Ghent copy has ‘duereu’; the Leiden copy ‘dueren’.
67 Signature ‘aiij’ in Leiden copy only.
68 The French text reads ‘la duché d’Autriche’ (l. 107).
69 ‘Trains’ or ‘Travis’ in the French editions (l. 109).
XIII. In what danger you are in these days!
Who will grant you rescue or help?
Although you may behave courageously for some time,
a great catastrophe still threatens you –
bigger than any ever seen under the sun –
and all as a result of your recklessness;
Pope [and] Emperor make you their target.
A weak foundation can not hold up.

The lands of the king of Hungary
XIV. Now, you have taken
your neighbors’ land by plunder;
even if you now manifest your wilfulness coercively,
you better remember that you will not keep your seignories
for a long time;
don’t forget that the king of Hungary
and his allies hate you.
No one is cheered by loss.

XV. Put at the disposal [of the King of Hungary] his places of Dalmatia
and Zadar. Guard against doing any evil;
it causes a lot of suffering to his majesty,
for you are withholding from him several seaports,
cities and green fields,
also unjustly, it is palpable.
See to it that you behave wisely,
for evil never remained unpunished.

The lands and places belonging
to the duke of Austria
XVI. You withhold also, as one can see,
from the duke of Austria in your possession
a city called Mestre to his ignominy,
-together with Treviso. That was a bad thing to do,
for you will have to part with it in a shameful manner;
you will be plundered, burned to the ground;
you have too much treasure for your condition.
Without God everything perishes in the end.
XVII. ¶ Ooc houdy inde Marcke Triansenne
van hem vele vruchtbarighge steden,
te wetene Saltrain ende Hutdenne
met meer anderen die ic niet en kenne
sint den bestande in Castillen leden;
daer vry sijn hoocheyt in es tonvreden.
Al dinct u dat ghi vol couraigen steect,
de cruycke gaet te watern to datse breect.  

XVIII. ¶ Considereert, ghi sijt te triumphant
twelc God niet langhere wilt ghedoghen.
De steden en plaetsen houdi in de hant
vanden edelen kinderen, vaet wel tverstant,
vanden eertshertoghe; tspijt haren ooghen.
Ic segghe u: wildi gheen ootmoet tooghen,
de rechtverdicheyt sal op u verhalen.
De hooghe ghesetene mach wel dalen.

De plaetsen toebehoorende den
biscop van Treift

XIX. ¶ Vanden biscop van Treift ghi usurpeert,
hem onthoudende sijn stede van Ronmiere.
Meer plaetsen van hem ghy occupeert,
daer ghi bi hoogghelic triumpeert.
Om wederkeeren soect vry manieren
of den coop wert u vele te diere
want u ende u hoocheyt salmen verdriven.
Elck en mach in synen staet niet bliven.

De erve toebehoorende den coninck ter
causen vanden hertoochdommen van Melanen

XX. De duerluchtighe kerstelica xste coninck Lowijs
de xij, vroem in zijn valiance,
here van Melaen, subtijl ende wijs,
sal wel wreken naer sijn avis
van uwer ondoecht de continance,
oft maect met hem goede aliance.
Ghi onthout hem steden, borghen, casteelen.
Den quaden sal God geen gracie deelen.
XVII. Also in the Marches of Treviso you [with]hold from him many prosperous cities to wit Feltre and Udine with many others that I do not know since the past truce in Castile; His Highness has been rather dissatisfied therein. Although you may think you are full of courage, the pitcher is brought to the well until it is broken. 132

XVIII. Consider, you are too triumphant, which God is no longer willing to tolerate; you are holding cities and places in your possession from the noble children, try to understand it well, of the archduke. It hurts them to see it. I say to you: if you don’t show any humility, justice will catch up with you. The highly placed may easily fall. 140

The places belonging to the bishop of Triest

XIX. You usurp from the bishop of Triest withholding from him his city of Romiere; you occupy many other places that belong to him, over which you are very exultant. 148

Do seek ways to withdraw or this deal will become too expensive for you, for you and your haughtiness will be driven out. Not everyone can stay in the condition in which he is. 152

The lands belonging to the king in the cause of the dukedom of Milan 156

XX. The illustrious most Christian king Louis the Twelfth, worthy in his valor, Lord of Milan, discerning and wise, shall surely avenge as he sees fit the expression of your unworthiness unless you make a good alliance with him; you withhold from him cities, citadels and castles; God will give no mercy to the evil [ones]. 160

72 The thrust of this proverb is that the Venetians can go on doing wrong just so long until suddenly everything will come to an end for them.

73 I.e., in his capacity as duke of Milan.
XXI. ¶ Ghi houdt vranc van Cremonen sijn stede, 
Beygamo, Bresse van ghelijcken. 74
Noyt personage sulc wercken dede.  
Al heeft hi gherust in synen vrede,  
ghi moecht wel vreesen, ten baet practijcken,  
sijn macht sal noch soe op u blijcken.  
Peyst de Genevoysen wat hulpen haer kueren  
ende wilt u spieghelen aan u ghebueren.  

De plaetsen toebehoorende den  
marquis van Manto  

XXII. ¶ Restitueert den marcgrave van Manto beeide  
sijn steden d’Asoule ende Pistera vranc.  
Hy heeft hem vermeten by dueren eede.  
Het sal u eerlanc vergaen te leede  
want hi sal u met machte besoecken eerlanc.  
Ghi hout meer plaetsen teghen synen danc.  
Peyst vrielic het es hem een verdriet.  
De sulke en ghelooft niet voer hijt siet.  

De erve toebehoorende den hertoge van Ferare  
XXIII. ¶ Weest sekere dat de hertoghe van Ferare  
hebben wilt Roygo, d’Abbadye.  
Ghi sullet noch weten int openbare  
als hy u besoect met sjinder schare  
want hy es onsteken op u met nye.  
Ghi hout van sjinder seygnourie  
Polisine ende andere by subtilen wronghen.  
U bitende wreethyet wert wel ghedwonghen.  

De plaetsen vanden hertoghe  
vander Savoyen  
XXIV. ¶ Tconinckijke van Cypers ghi aen u staet  
toebehorende van Savoyen, den goeden here.  
Ghevet hem wedere sonder verlaet  
oft anders en sie ic u gheenen raet.  
Hi werdt op reyse in corten keere.  
Peyst niet ten doet sjinder heren seere,  
al houdi dese erven al in u bende.  
Quaet goet seytmen dat smelt ten eynde.  

74 In the copy at the Ghent University Library this line is likewise written in by hand, as before in a hand that  
imitates the type font. The ruling at the end of the line has been erased, but its vestige is still visible beneath the  
lettering.
XXI. From the same you are holding boldly on to his city of Cremona, as well as Brescia and Bergamo; no one ever did such a thing; even if he was contented with his peace treaty, you have reason to fear – it is no use to try to find a clever way out – [because] his power will yet reveal itself to you. Remember the Genovese [and] what their willfulness yielded them and take a lesson from the example of your neighbors.

The places belonging to the marquis of Mantua

XXII. Restore to the margrave of Mantua both of his noble cities of Asola and Peschiera. He has made the solemn oath that ere long you will fare badly, for he will come and visit you with a great force before long; you are holding many other places against his will; you can be sure it is grievous to him. Many a person doesn’t believe before seeing.\(^75\)

The lands belonging to the duke of Ferrara

XXIII. You can be sure that the duke of Ferrara wants to have Rovigo [and] Badia; this will be made clear to you when he visits you with his army, for he is inflamed against you with anger; of his seignories you are holding Polesine and others through crafty insults; your biting cruelty will surely be suppressed.

The places of the duke of Savoy

XXIV. The kingdom of Cyprus you have in your possession, belonging to the good lord of Savoy; give it back to him without delay or else I see no remedy for you; soon he will leave on the trip;\(^76\) don’t think that it troubles him even if you hold these lands completely as your property. Ill-gotten goods, it is said, perish in the end.

\(^75\) I.e., You may not take this threat seriously, but you will see; but then it will be too late.
\(^76\) I.e., will undertake a military expedition.

XXVI. ¶ Jaques van Lusignan ghi maectet daer naer den bastaert, tot uwen wille, coninc van Cypers, men vindet waer, houdende meer dan een half jaer die van Cypers in groten gheschille. Daer na nam hi te wijve al stille een dochter van Venegien ten tribute. Tonghesponnen gaerne coemt nu al uute.

XXVII. ¶ Twee knapelike kinderen hadden si tsamen die ghi te Pado hielt prisoniers met quaden gronde; ghi moghes u scamen dat ghi u selven doet sulcke blamen. Van overdade toochdi u costumiers dies is u doch nakende veel dangiers. Ghi en vindt den middele om u solveren. De hoverdighe sietmen meest declineren.

De erve toebehorende den coninck van Polen


XXIX. ¶ Beeft, beeft, ghi poorters te Venegien binnen. Ghi hebt te vele ouder tresooren qualic ghecreghen met subtilen sinnen.

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77 Here the translator has misunderstood the French original which reads ‘royaume de Pouille’ (l. 189a-b) and ‘en Pouille’ (l. 190).
XXV. Cyprus surely belongs to the noble lord of Savoy as given to him by his brother Janus with the queen of Cyprus, try to understand what I am saying, and other gifts as well, firmly established by a seal in his lifetime. Venetians, you have reason to tremble; give it all back; it is best for you. The bird can certainly be stolen from its nest.

XXVI. There, at your will, you have made the bastard Jacques de Lusignan king of Cyprus, it is true, keeping those in Cyprus for more than half a year in great disagreement. Thereafter he secretly married a daughter of Venice as tribute. The unspun wool now shows itself.  

XXVII. Together they had two sons, whom you held prisoners in Padua with malicious intention; you ought to be ashamed about this that you so disgrace yourself; you show your customary disposition for shameful deeds. Because of this so many dangers threaten you. You won’t find the means to rescue yourself. It is the lofty that fall the farthest

The lands belonging to the king of Apulia

XXVIII. You withhold from the king of Apulia worthy Otranto, Mola, Trani, many seaports and the cities: Monopoli, Brindisi, Poligano. You take all this into your possession and unjustly you still keep on following your old customs. You imagine indeed that you will have peace with kings [and] princes, but truly you are mistaken. Old debts are always paid off in the end.

XXIX. Tremble, tremble you citizens of Venice. You have too many old treasures unlawfully obtained in a deceitful manner;

78 I.e., Your misdeeds are now visible.
Ic wane ghi en sulter niet an winnen.
Si moeten verweert sijn, tes goet om hooren.
Ter haest, sluyt vast u contoooren
want coninghen, princhen jonc ende ault
sullen u cort leveren stranghe assault.

XXX. ¶ Uwen scat sal varinck verandert wesen,
u ghelt, u goet van quaden conqueste.
Den aren van sabele es op gheresen;
grijpti u, qualic suldijs ghenesen.
De limpaert cryupt oec uut synen neste,
den swarten leeu coemt schueren u veste,
den nieuwen anre wertter an ghesmeten.
Met loone wert arbeyt meest vergheten.

XXXI. ¶ De spaengiaert sal u ten bossche jaghen,
on u sullen de Romeinen haer eycken planten,
de hase sal loopen nu sonder vragher,
de coeyen sullen u voeten plaghen.
U naect verdriet aen allen canten.
Over vallen sullen u de truwanten
al soudi versmooren vander fumee.
Verloren wert gheheel u renommee.

XXXII. ¶ Experte capiteinen, ridders van werden,
scilt knapen, gens darmes, archiers,
allebaerdiers, de vroemste op der eerden,
uut steden, provincen met blancken sweerden
stellen hem oppe metten pijckeniers
ende de subtijlste bombaerdiers
sijn ghealiert om u tonder bringhen.
Met foortsen salmen de quade dwinghen.

XXXIII. ¶ Corts comen sy met so grooter courage,
haer macht en ware niet om sommeren,
ende indien hem yemant belet passage
oft teghen hem oorbuert eenighe antragie
ter zee oft te lande int armeren,
Bulcan sijn forneys doet inflammeren
ende Minerve heeft dartelrye ghelaen.
Peyst, eic sal loon naer werck ontfaan.
I think that they will not yield you anything; they must be defended, it is clear what I am saying; hurry; you better close your chests, for kings [and] princes young and old will launch a mighty attack against you before long.

XXX. Your treasure will speedily be altered, your money, your goods [acquired] from evil conquest; the black eagle has risen up. When he catches you [in his claws], you will not be easily healed from it.

The leopard is also creeping out of its nest; the black lion is coming to tear open your city walls; the new anchor will be dropped there. The best way to forget labor is through wages.

XXXI. The Spaniard will chase you into the woods, The Romans will plant their oaks on you, the hare will now run without hesitation, the cows will trample on your feet. Sorrow threatens you on all sides. Vagabonds will overrun you even though you would suffocate from the smoke. Your reputation will be completely lost.

XXXII. Experienced captains, brave knights, shield-bearers, men at arms, archers, halberdiers, the most courageous on the earth [that come] from cities [and] provinces, with naked swords are lined up with the pikemen, and the most skilled cannoneers are allied to vanquish you. With force evil will be controlled.

XXXIII. Soon they will come with such great courage, their might impossible to estimate, and in case someone bars them passage or shows against them any resistance on the sea or on land by using weapons, Vulcan will ignite his forge and Minerva has loaded the artillery. Remember that everyone will receive the pay that is due to him.
XXXIV. De godlike voersienicheit in drien voerdachtich,
daer alle wijsheit in es beloken,
voersie ons met minnen te bliven eendrachtich
dat alle discoorden werden sachtich
die in tmenschen herte zijn ghedoken;
ende de Venecianen daer af es ghesproken
dat sijt bekeerende soe moghen maken
als dat sy teenen goeden peyse gheraken.

¶ De actoer
XXXV. Groot met den cleenen heb ic misseit.
Verghevet mi, tes rudelic te hoope gesleghen.
Bidt voer die keiserlike majesteyt
en voer hertoghe Karels prosperiteyt,
die met doechden tonswaerts sjn ghenegehen,
dat paiselickie aliance by hem vercreghen
tusschen den kerstenen princhen moet vermeeren
ter wrake vanden lachtere Ons Heeren

¶ Gheprint Tantwerpen bi die drie candela-
ren bi mi Michiel van Hoochstraten.

Textual notes to the transcription

ll. 11-15: Attila the Hun and his army attacked Aquileia in 452.
ll. 17-23: These lines describe the flight of the people to the marshy islands and the establishment of Venice.
ll. 46-7: These lines allude to the secret alliance against Venice, the League of Cambrai, 10 December 1508.
ll. 65-78: These lines refer to Pepin le Bref’s donation of Ravenna and Cervia to the papacy in the eighth century.
l. 88b: Maximilian assumed the title of Roman emperor elect on 4 February 1508 at Trent.
l. 91: Den Roomsen keysere ghehonoreert is the Roman emperor-elect Maximilian I.
l. 91-5: The League of Cambrai explicitly recognized among Maximilian’s rightful possessions: Rovereto, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and Treviso (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 114; Le Glay 1845, 238).
l. 104b and 110: The king of Hungary referred to here is Ladislaus II of Bohemia and Hungary, also known as Ladislaus Jagiellon. The League of Cambrai specifies that the king of Hungary will be invited to participate in the campaign against Venice. The treaty document does not stipulate, however, the territories to which he has a legitimate claim (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 115; Le Glay 1845, 243).
ll. 113-4: The Venetians controlled parts of Dalmatia, including the port city of Zadar (or Zara in Italian) called here Jarca following the French original.

79 ‘Auctoer’ is the more usual spelling.
80 The Ghent copy has ‘nan’; that of Leiden ‘van’.
XXXIV. May divine providence, being a trinity, wherein all wisdom is contained, ensure that we may remain united in love, that all discords may be softened which are concealed within the human heart; and as to the Venetians about whom we have spoken, that they may change things in such a manner so that they [may] attain a good peace.

The Author
XXXV. You all, great and small. If I have mistakenly expressed myself, forgive me: it has been thrown together imprudently. Pray for his imperial majesty and for the prosperity of duke Charles who are well disposed to us in virtue, that the peaceful alliance attained by them among the Christian princes may expand in vengeance for the shame that was inflicted on Our Lord.

Printed in Antwerp at the [sign of the] three candlesticks by me Michiel van Hoochstraten
ll. 167-8: Allusion to Louis XII's suppression of an uprising of the Genoese (1507).
ll. 168b-169: Mantua is Mantua; the marquis of Mantua was Francesco II Gonzaga.
1. 170: The reference here is to Asola and Peschiera, now called Peschiera del Garda. Although we are not absolutely certain about the identification of Pistera with Peschiera, it does seem more likely than Pescara (Brown 2003, 150), given the strategic location of this fortified town north of Mantua.
ll. 176a-177: Alfonso I d'Este was the duke of Ferrara. The League of Cambrai explicitly solicited both the marquis of Mantua and the duke of Ferrara to join the confederation in order to regain territories from the Venetians, but without specifying them by name (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 115; Le Glay 1845, 240).
ll. 179 and 183: Reference is to Rovigo, Badia and Polesine.
ll. 184a-186: The duke of Savoy referred to here is Charles II. The League of Cambrai includes the duke of Savoy among the princes who will be invited to join the League, along with the duke of Ferrara and the marquis of Mantua (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 115; Le Glay 1845, 240), specifying the reconquest of the kingdom of Cyprus. According to Le Glay, the duke of Savoy expressly requested of Emperor-elect Maximilian and king Louis XII that he be included in the League in order to reclaim the kingdom of Cyprus (Le Glay 1845, 240, n. 1, citing Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 116-117).
ll. 216b-217: Polen is a mistranslation of the French royaume de Poulie; the Dutch translator simply followed the French original for the spelling of the cities. The League of Cambrai specifies Trani, Brindisi, Otranto, and Gallipoli as cities in Apulia to which the Kingdom of Naples had a right (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 114; Le Glay 1845, 239). Ferdinand II of Aragon, who succeeded in gaining control over the Kingdom of Naples in 1504, is referred to simply as 'Rex Aragonum' (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 114), 'roy d’Aragon' (Le Glay 1845, 239). The French original names other cities as well: Mola, Monopoli, and Poligano (ll. 191-2).
ll. 235-9: Den arent van sabele refers to Emperor-elect Maximilian. De limpaert: refers to the king of England, either Henry VII or Henry VIII. The League of Cambrai explicitly states that it would be desirable for the king of England to join the confederation against the Venetians (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 115; Le Glay 1845, 241), but by the time of the execution of the articles of the secret treaty, Henry VII had died (21 April 1509) and his son Henry VIII had come to the throne (crowned 24 June). This change in leadership might explain the difference between the French original which states: Et les lieparz asprement vous mordront (l. 208) and the Dutch translation: de limpaert creypt oec uut synen neste (l. 237). Den swarten leeu refers to Charles, prince of the Spains, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders; the coat of arms of Flanders is ‘or, a lion rampant sable armed and langued gules.’ Unfortunately den nieuwen ancre remains unidentified. However, as one of the reviewers of this article suggests, this might not refer to a heraldic charge, but rather to the impending challenge to Venice’s maritime power.
ll. 241-4: Rather than a heraldic charge, De spaengiaert renders the play on words in the French original Les espaingols (l. 211): the spaniels and the Spanish. The reference is to Ferdinand II of Aragon. The oak tree was the heraldic charge of pope Julius II. De coeyen may possibly be a reference to the Swiss, as at least one canton has a black bull’s head in its coat of arms, or to Louis XII’s ally Gaston de Foix, as cows feature four times in the arms of the counts of Foix/Béarn/Narbonne; however, he was not implicated in the League of Cambrai or in Vénoge (Brown 2003, 151). Unfortunately de hase has not been identified. De truwanten look to be an addition by the Dutch translator and likewise remain unidentified, but may well be a brief image of the Republic’s imminent downfall, as one of our reviewers suggests.
1. 255: This line likely refers to the objective of the secret League of Cambrai, which was the invasion of Venice by the princes allied against her.
ll. 278-280: These lines seem to refer to the goal of the Treaty of Cambrai, which was an alliance of Christian princes to undertake a crusade against the Turks.
Samenvatting


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