

Polemics in Print in the Low Countries

Venegien. Transcription with Introduction and English translation

CYNTHIA J. BROWN & SUSIE SPEAKMAN SUTCH with the collaboration of
SAMUEL MAREEL

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 Roomschen keyser ende den Coninck van Vranrijck (sic) ende anderen diverschen princen, 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 princen tonrechte onthouden*.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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

1 Nijhoff & Kronenberg 1923-1971 (NK) 2114: Venegien. Dit es de cause van dat gheschil tusschen den Venetianen ende den Roomschen keyser, enz. Antwerpen. Mich. Hillen van Hoochstraten, (c. 1514). Colophon: ¶Gheprint Tantwerpen bi die drie candela // ren bi mi michiel van hoochstraten. Two copies of this edition are known: Ghent, University Library, Res. 1042; Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 3. We would like to thank Robert W. Scheller for bringing this pamphlet to our attention.

2 The king of Hungary, the dukes of Ferrara and Savoy, and the marquis of Mantua are among the Christian princes allied against the Venetians.

3 Brown 2003, 139-147.

pamphlets as well as a comparative analysis of both works.⁴ In order to make *Venegien* 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 1509.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸ The first day of April 1509 was set as the date on which the attack against Venice was to begin.⁹

Venegien 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.¹⁰ In contrast to the anonymous *Venegien* which was to

⁴ We have supplemented the textual transcription with annotations that highlight where *Venegien* and *Entreprise* diverge as well as with critical notes to explain unclear references in the text.

⁵ Paris, BnF R.és. Ye 4108. [Paris: for Pierre Gringore, March–April 1509]. Title (f. 1r): L en // treprise de venise // Avecques les citez / chasteaux / fortresses // et places que usurpent les veniciens des // Roys / Princes et Seigneurs crestiens. All citations are from Brown's critical edition of *L'Entreprise de Venise* (Brown 2003, 139–147).

⁶ Du Mont 1726–1731, vol. IV, 111–113. French translation: Le Glay 1845, 225–236. Below the title, Le Glay indicates that this translation is a 'minute ou copie du temps' (225).

⁷ Du Mont 1726–1731, vol. IV, 113–116; Le Glay 1845, 237–246.

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 *Roomschen 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 *abaabbcc* (XXIX–XXXI) and one octave with the rhyme scheme *ababbcb* (XXXIII). While

that policy. For a more general discussion, see Hochner 2006, especially Chapter 2, 70–100.

11 The privilege printed at the end of the first edition of *L'Entreprise de Venise* provides these details (f. 8r).

12 Paris, BnF, Rothschild 2823. [Paris: Jean Trepperel, after 9 April 1509]. Title (f. 1r): L Entreprise de venise a= // uec les villes cytez chasteaulx forte // resses et places que usurpent lesditz veniciens // des roys princes et seigneurs crestiens.

13 Paris, BnF, Rés. Ye 1204. [Lyons: P. Maréchal & B. Chaussard, after 9 April 1509]. Title (f. 1r): L Entreprise // de venise // avec les vil= // les citez cha // steaulx : forteresses et // places que vsurpent // et detiennent lesditz // veniciens : des Roys // ductz princes & seigneurs // crestiens.;

Paris, BnF, Rothschild 496. [Lyons: P. Maréchal & B. Chaussard, after 9 April 1509]. Title (f. 1r): L Entreprise // de venise // avec les vil= // les citez. cha // steaulx : forteresses et // places que usurpent // et detiennent lesditz // veniciens : des Roys // ductz princes & seigneurs crestiens.

14 Brown & Sutch 2007, 199–200. While the Lyons editions include 'Roys, ductz, princes et seigneurs crestiens', the prior editions only list 'roys, princes et seigneurs crestiens'. 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷

Louis XII dethroned ...

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.¹⁸ 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,

¹⁵ Dutch verse at the time period under discussion was accentual in nature; hence the number of syllables per line varies. The important feature is the number of lines per stanza. For a discussion of the use of the octave in Dutch poetry during this period, see Mareel 2007, 187, where, citing Matthijs de Castelein's *Const van Rhetoriken*, he points out that the eight-line stanza is considered the most suitable for describing subject matter relating to popes, emperors, kings and counts.

¹⁶ The correlations between the Dutch translation and the French original are as follows: *Venegien*, Stanzas I - XXIX correspond to *Entreprise* Stanzas I - XXIX; *Venegien* XXX and XXXI correspond to *Entreprise* XXX; *Venegien* XXXII and XXXIII to *Entreprise* XXXI and XXXII, and finally *Venegien* XXXV to *Entreprise* XXXIII.

¹⁷ Stanzas ending with a proverb number 14 in *Entreprise*, 22 in *Venegien*.

¹⁸ For an analysis of other slight shifts, see Brown & Sutch 2007, 201-203. Particularly important from the point of view of an ideological divergence between the two texts is the accusation, absent from the French original, that the Venetians' behavior goes against the natural order: Stanzas, IV, l. 32, XII, l. 96, and XVI, l. 127.

Le roy Pepin, treschrestien roy de France,
 En a donné certaine quantité
 Devotement a 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 trescrestien
 Volut donner a l'Eglise Rommaine,
 Durant le temps du bon pape Adriaen,
 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 *dats openbaer*,
 gaefs een certeyne quantiteyt
 uut devocien der papaliteyt. (Stanza IX, ll. 70-2)

De voerseide alder kerstelicste coninc Puppijn
 van Vranckrijck, *vroem van ghewercken*,
doehdelic 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 ...

21 Beaune 1985, 207-229.

22 See the English translation for these and all verses cited from *Venegien*.

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 *Venegien*, 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):

Considerez qu'estes trop triumpfans
 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,
 Pugniz serez, *destructeurs de pupilles*. (Stanza XVIII, ll. 120-6)²⁵

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):

25 Consider the fact that you are too triumphant / and that God wants you to return forthwith / cities [and] towns to the most noble children / of the archduke, or a very great misfortune / will happen to you, for the king is the commander / and guardian. If you do not return their cities, / you, destroyers of orphans, will be punished.

26 For Louis XII's letter of 3 October 1506, see Le Glay 1845, 192-193; for the bishop of Rouen's letter of 13 October 1506, see Godefroy 1712, 93-94.

27 Wellens 1972, 273-279.

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 rechtverdicheynt sal op u verhalen.
 De hooghe 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.²⁸ 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 epic 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).²⁹ 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):³⁰

Uwen scat sal varinck verandert wesen,
 u ghelt, u goet van quaden conqueste.
 Den arent van sabele es op gheresen;
grijpti u, qualic suldijs ghenesen.
 De limpaert cruypt oec uut synen neste,
 den swarten leeu *coemt schueren u veste ...* (Stanza XXX, ll. 233-8)

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, *subtyl 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 François, vivez en assurance,
 Oncques n'eustez l'honneur que vous aurés ;
 Rememorez, s'on 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 François* 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 maiesteit / en voer hertoghe Karels prosperiteit* (Stanza xxxv, ll. 275–6).³²

... Maximilian ascends

Coterminous with the almost complete elimination of Louis XII from the text of *Vénegien* 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; *Vénegien*, 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 troys citez / Contre raison, on le voit clerement* (Stanza XII, ll. 80-1) as follows (our emphasis):³⁴ *op den Roomschen keyser 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

dat paiselicke aliance by hem vercreghen
tusschen den kerstenen princhen moet vermeerren
ter wrake vanden lachtere Ons Heeren. (Stanza XXXV, ll. 278-80)

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 *Venegien* 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 *Venegien*

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

³⁴ You hold three of the Empire's cities / without reason, this is clearly observed.

³⁵ Upon his father's death in 1493, Maximilian expanded the chivalric Order of Saint George, founded by Emperor Frederick III in 1467, into a lay confraternity that sought support for mounting a new crusade against the Ottoman Turks. See Silver 2008, 109-120.

bulletins to keep the French population up-to-date on how they were unfolding.³⁶ 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.³⁷

At the time *Venegien* 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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ Likewise, only two printed polemical pieces survive from the time of the Flemish uprising against Maximilian following the death of Mary of Burgundy.⁴⁰ Both in Latin, one in two different editions, these works emphatically endorse Maximilian's position and strongly castigate the Flemish.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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.

Venegien 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.⁴³ Nijhoff and Kronenberg assign the date circa 1514 to Hillen

³⁶ Brown 1985, especially Chapter II, 37-89; Sherman 1977; Seguin 1961; Scheller 1985 & 1999 (in which the author also comments on Maximilian's use of the print medium for propagandistic purposes, 198, n. 15; 229-230); and Hochner 2006.

³⁷ Britnell 2006, stresses the unofficial status of these writers and qualifies as publicity, rather than propaganda or polemics, the short works they produced on behalf of the king's cause.

³⁸ Sutch 2010, 231-233; Mareel 2007.

³⁹ ILC 700: *Defense de Mr. le Duc et Mme. la Duchesse d'Autriche et de Bourgogne*, [Bruges: Johannes Brito, between Aug. 1477-Apr. 1478] (see *Vijfhonderste verjaring*, 249-250); ILC 1113: *Gratia Dei, Antonius, Abbas Admontensis. Exhortatio ad Maximiliano Mariaeque principibus subjectos*. [Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, Summer 1478].

⁴⁰ During this conflict the dissemination of topical polemics occurred in manuscript rather than in print publication.

⁴¹ ILC 644: *Correptorium Flamingorum*. [Antwerp: Gheraert Leeu, after 14 March 1489]; ILC 1012: Galvao, Duarte. *Epistola ultima ad status Brabantiae et Flandriae; Epistola ad Petrum Damas*. [Antwerp: Mathias van der Goes, between 15 Dec. 1488 and 1491]; and ILC 1013: Galvao, Duarte. *Epistola ultima ad status Brabantiae et Flandriae; Epistola ad Petrum Damas*. [Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, after 14 Mar. 1489]. See Sutch 2010, 231-235.

⁴² NK 1339: Jehan Lemaire de Belges, *Les Chansons de Namur*, Antwerp: Henrick Eckert van Homberch, Oct. 1507.

⁴³ Already in January 1509 Thomas van der Noot printed a tract by Jean Lemaire de Belges celebrating the Treaty of Cambrai and eulogizing Margaret of Austria. [NK 3375: Jehan Lemaire de Belges, *La concorde du gendre humain*. Brussel: Thom. van der Noot, Jan. 1508 (old style)]. Lemaire was most probably unaware of the secret League of Cambrai; his *Concorde* is '[d]ominated by the rhetoric of praise and celebration rather than vituperation and exhortation' (Brown 1985, 52).

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 *Venegien* 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 *Venegien* during the months preceding Maximilian's arrival in Italy, earning *Venegien* the distinction of being the first polemical pamphlet in the Dutch language to be printed in the Low Countries.⁴⁹

TRANSCRIPTION⁵⁰

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 *Venegien* 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 *Venegien* 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 candelars" (prope cimiterium 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, 1. Although he acknowledges in the entry that *Venegien* is undated, he assigns it to the year 1514 justifying his decision in the following terms: 'Strafdiek op Venetië in 35 achtregelige 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.

(THYSPF 3). 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.

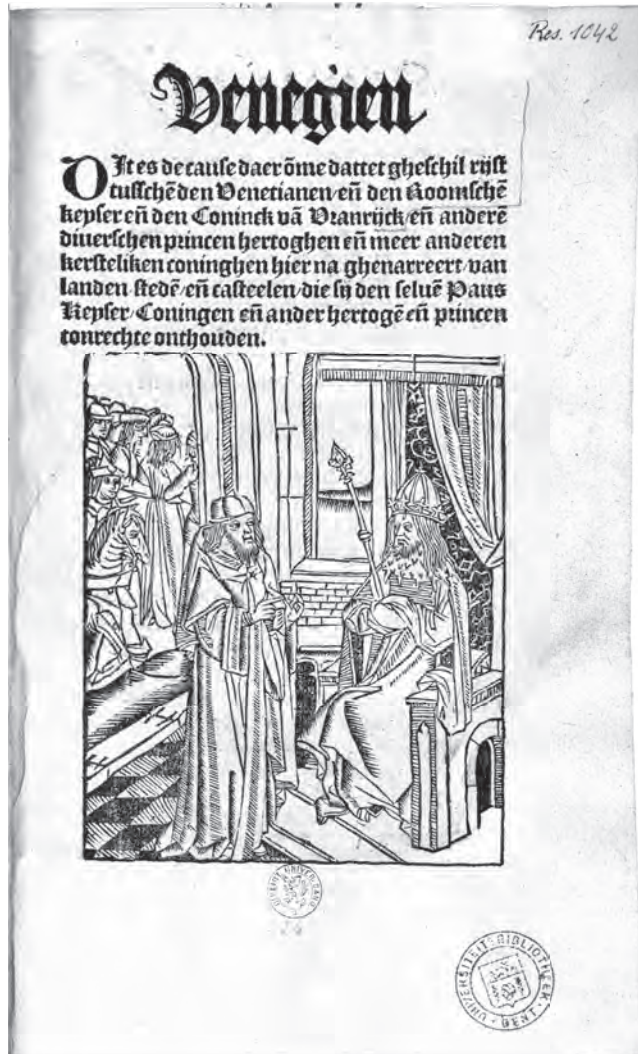


Fig. 1 *Venegien*, Title page
 (Ghent, University Library, Res.
 1042, f. 1r).

Venegien. DIt es de cause daeromme dattet gheschil rijst tusschen den Venetianen ende den Roomschen keyser ende den Coninck van Vranrijck (sic) ende anderen diverschen princen, 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 princen tonrechte onthouden. (f. 1^r)

Venegien (f. 1^v)

I. Rijckelicke stede verre befaemt,
die Adriatijcke waert gheseyt
ende nu Venegien sijt ghenaemt,
daer meneghe subtijlheit es ghepraemt; 4
opt zee leght u prosperiteyt,
die ghi u selven hebt toe gheleyt
anders erve sonder justicie.
Vreest vry de godlijcke punicie. 8

II. ¶ Venecianen, bedroeft, peyst of ic messe
tverstant, grijpt oft ghi abuseert
hoe in jaer vier hondert ende sesse⁵¹
Italien quam in sware oppresse, 12
nalincx vanden Hongheren ghedestruert.
Daer op die tijt was gherasteert
de vermaerde stede van Aquileya.
Donnosele verwerven de meeste scha. 16

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 20
niet anders vindende dan watre en lucht.
Een stede si stichten inde vlucht,
daer ghi Venegien af sijt den temple.
In uus selfs spiegele neemt exempele. 24

IV. ¶ Vol weelden ghi resideerter alle.
Wie heeft u ghestelt dan ghi u selven?
Als volc versaemt bi vreemden ghevalle, (f. 2^r)
die alle rapinen brenct tuwen stalle 28

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

TRANSLATION⁵²

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; 4
 on the seas lies your prosperity;
 you yourself appropriated
 in an unlawful manner the lands of others.
 You may certainly fear divine punishment. 8

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 12
 [and was] almost destroyed by the Hungarians.
 There at that time
 the famous city Aquileia was seized.
 The innocent suffer the greatest injury. 16

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, 20
 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. 24

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, 28

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 sijn onderdaen.
 Tlichaem sonder hoeft en mach niet staen. 32

V. ¶ Ghi hebt volc in u stede beneven
 van diverschen contreyen, tsijn vreemde saken;
 niet achtende wies sy hebben bedreven,
 hebben si ghelt, si werden ghescreven 36
 als poorters bekent, met corter spraken,
 al warent vianden, refuys van draken.
 Ghy en acht heere, druc noch verdriet.
 Al siet men de lieden men kentse niet. 40

VI. ¶ Ontsiet u der plaghen, imagineert
 nae dat ghi oorloghe beghert soe seere,
 in u eylant werdi gheincerreert,
 u goet, u stat gheabandoneert, 44
 u hoocheit verloren in corten keere,
 want elc coninck, prince ende heere
 beghert sijn erve, soot redene bewijst.
 Maect u int drooghe eert wedere rijst. 48

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, 52
 ghi blijfter als scaepkens sonder herdere.
 Obegiert oft veel discoorden werdere
 ende ruyueren⁵³ mocht wel u eestre.
 De scholieren strouwiers gaen sonder meestre. 56

VIII. ¶ Voerwaer men weet wel al de staten (f. 2^v)
 vander rente die ghi in Ytalien houdet
 op quaden tijtle: acht hondert duysent ducaten.
 Al moechdi u daer op seere verlaten, 60
 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. 64

53 Both copies have 'ruyueren' 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. 32

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 36
 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. 40

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, 44
 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 it⁵⁵ rises again. 48

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 52
 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. 56

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, 60
 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. 64

55 I.e., the water.

IX. ¶ Hondert werf xx. ende vijf milen int ronde,
 lxxv. breed,⁵⁶ sonder vreesse oft vaer,
 houdt uyt Ytalien; ontsiet u der sonde.
 Ghi segt dat uwe is uutten gronde, 68
 nochtans elck weet ten is niet waer,
 maer die coninc Puppijn, dats openbaer,
 gaefs een certeyne quantiteyt
 uut devocien der papaliteyt. 72

¶ De erve den paeus toebehorende die
 sy Venecianen hem onthouden

X. ¶ De voerseide⁵⁷ alder kerstelicste coninc Puppijn
 van Vrankrijck, vroem van ghewercken,
 doechdelic van levne tot inden fijn,
 wiens siele moet ewich met Gode sijn, 76
 iondet met trouwen der Roomscher kercken
 in paeus Adriaens tijt, mocht ment mercken.
 Doet restoer; tes langhe ghenoch gheborcht.
 Die spijs is quaet daermen aen verworcht. 80

XI. ¶ Oversiet u misdaet, Venecianen,
 en vrees die plagen die u sijn nakende.
 Wildi de kercke vanden horen spanen?
 Het soude eer costen een zee vol tranen 84 (f. 3^r)
 want elck edele es naer de reyse hakende.
 Ontdoet u ooghen ende houdt u wakende,
 gheeft der kercken ende den armen thuere.
 Naer suete smaectmen dicwils suere. 88

De stede ende plaetsen die sy ont-
 houden den keyser⁵⁸

XII. ¶ Tes redene dat ghi corts desisteert
 van dat ghi onconstelic hebt vercreghen.
 Op den Roomschen keysere ghehonoreert⁵⁹
 hebdi drie steden gheconquesteert 92
 teghen recht en redene met grooter ondegghen;
 iij. werf xx. jaer, wat batet verswegen,
 hebdi ghehad Pado, Veronen ende Vincence.
 Teghen thoof opstaen es groote offense. 96

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,⁶⁰
 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, 68
 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. 72

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, 76
 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. 80

XI. Consider your crime, Venetians,
 and fear the calamities that now threaten you.⁶¹
 Will you take from the Church the things that belong to her?
 It would rather cost a sea of tears, 84
 for each nobleman yearns for the voyage;⁶²
 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. 88

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 92
 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. 96

60 The measurement given in *Entreprise* 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 en⁶³ vlaghe,
 u es noch nakende groote plaghe – 100
 noyt meerdere onder tscijn der sonnen –
 ende al om u overdaet beghonnen;
 paus, keyser⁶⁴ hebbent op u ghelaen.
 Een cranck fundament en mach niet staen. 104

De erven vanden coninck van Hongerien
 XIV ¶ Nu hebdi van uwen mede ghebueren⁶⁵
 haer lant ghenomen bi pillerien.
 Al toochdi fortselic nu u kueren,
 peyst vry ten mach niet langhe dueren⁶⁶ 108
 om te behoudene u signoryen.⁶⁷
 Dinct dat de coninck van Hongherien (f. 3^v)
 met sinen ghealieerden u benijt.
 Niemant en es van verliese verblijt. 112

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 116
 onthoudy hem, steden ende velden groene
 oec teghen recht, tes te ghevroene.
 Syet dat ghi u wiselick regiert
 want noyt quaet bleef onghepuniert. 120

De erven ende plaetsen toebeho-
 rende den hertoghe van Oostrijcke
 XVI. ¶ Ghi onthoudt oeck, soe men mach verstaen,
 vanden hertoghe van Oostrijcke⁶⁸ in u handen
 een stede heet Mestre om sijn versmaen,
 metgaders Tians;⁶⁹ tes mesdaen 124
 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. 128

63 Both copies have 'en' for 'een'.

64 'sainte Eglise et Emprie' in the French text (l. 88).

65 The Ghent copy has 'ghebneren'; the Leiden copy 'ghebueren'.

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 – 100
 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. 104

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 108
 for a long time;
 don't forget that the king of Hungary
 and his allies hate you.
 No one is cheered by loss. 112

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, 116
 cities and green fields,
 also unjustly, it is palpable.
 See to it that you behave wisely,
 for evil never remained unpunished. 120

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, 124
 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. 128

XVII. ¶ Ooc houdy inde Marcke Triansenne
 van hem vele vruchtbarighe steden,
 te wetene Saltrain ende Hutdenne
 met meer anderen die ic niet en kenne 132
 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 watere tot datse breect.⁷⁰ 136

XVIII. ¶ Considereert, ghi sijt te triumphant (f. 4^r)
 twelc God niet langhere wilt ghedoghen.
 De steden en plaetsen houdi in de hant
 vanden edelen kinderen, vaet wel tverstant, 140
 vanden eertshertoghe; spijt haren ooghen.
 Ic segghe u: wildi gheen ootmoet tooghen,
 de rechtverdicheyt sal op u verhalen.
 De hooghe ghesetene mach wel dalen. 144

De plaetsen toebehoorende den
 bisscop van Treift⁷¹

XIX. ¶ Vanden bisscop van Treift ghi usurpeert,
 hem onthoudende sijn stede van Ronmiere.
 Meer plaetsen van hem ghy occupeert,
 daer ghi bi hooghelic triumpheert. 148
 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. 152

De erve toebehoorende den coninck ter
 causen vanden hertoochdommen van Melanen

XX. De duerluchtighe kerstelicxste coninck Lowijs
 de xij, vroem in sijn vaiiance,
 here van Melaen, subtijl ende wijs,
 sal wel wreken naer sijn avijs 156
 van uwer ondoecht de continance,
 oft maect met hem goede aliance.
 Ghi onthout hem steden, borghen, casteelen.
 Den quaden sal God geen gracie deelen. 160

⁷⁰ In the copy at the Ghent University Library this line must have been missing as it has been added by hand, carefully ruled, in a hand that imitates the type font.

⁷¹ Both copies have 'treift', instead of 'treist' as in the French original (ll. 126b and 127).

- 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 132
 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.⁷² 136
- 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, 140
 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. 144
- 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 Milan⁷³
- 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 156
 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. (f. 4^v)
 Al heeft hi gherust in synen vrede, 164
 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 aen u ghebueren. 168
- De plaetsen toebehoorende den
 marquis van Manto
- XXII. ¶ Restitueert den marcgrave van Manto beede
 sijn steden d'Asoule ende Pistera vranc.
 Hy heeft hem vermeten by dueren eede.
 Het sal u eerlanc vergaen te leede 172
 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. 176
- De erve toebehorende 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 sijnder schare 180
 want hy es onsteken op u met nye.
 Ghi hout van sijnder seynourie
 Polisine ende andere by subtilen wronghen.
 U bitende wreetheyt wert wel ghedwonghen. 184
- De plaetsen vanden hertoghe
 van Savoyen
- XXIV. ¶ Tconinckrijcke van Cypers ghi aen u staet
 toebehoorende van Savoyen, den goeden here.
 Ghevet hem wedere sonder verlaet (f. 5^r)
 oft anders en sie ic u gheenen raet. 188
 Hi werdt op reyse in corten keere.
 Peyst niet ten doet sijnder herten seere,
 al houdi dese erven al in u bende.
 Quaet goet seytmen dat smelt ten eynde. 192

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, 164
 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. 168

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, 172
 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.⁷⁵ 176

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, 180
 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. 184

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; 188
 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. 192

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.

- XXV. ¶ Cypers behoort den heere van Savoyen vry
als bi Janus sinen broeder hem ghegeven
metter coninginne, verstaet wel mi,
van Cypers, met anderen ghiften daer bi, 196
wel vaste besegelt in sijn leven.
Venecianen, ghi moecht wel beven.
Keeret al wedere; het is u best.
Men rooft wel den voghele op sinen nest. 200
- XXVI. ¶ Jaques van Lusignan ghi maectet daer naer
den bastaert, tot uwen wille,
coninc van Cypers, men vindt waer,
houdende meer dan een half jaer 204
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. 208
- 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. 212
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. 216 (f. 5^v)
- De erve toebehorende den
coninck van Polen⁷⁷
- XXVIII. ¶ Den coninc van Polen onthoudi Octrento werdich,
Mola, Tranne, veel havenen der zee ende steden,
Menepoli, Brandis, Poligano; anverdich
sidi al dit ende onrechtverdich. 220
Ghi blijft noch volghende u oude seden.
Ghi meent wel vry te blivene in vreden
teghen coninghen, princhen, voerwaer ghi faelt.
Oude scult wert wel ten eynde betaelt. 224
- XXIX. ¶ Beeft, beeft, ghi poorters te Venegien binnen.
Ghi hebt te vele ouder tresooen
qualic ghecreghen met subtilen sinnen.

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, 196
 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. 200
- 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 204
 in great disagreement.
 Thereafter he secretly married
 a daughter of Venice as tribute.
 The unspun wool now shows itself.⁷⁸ 208
- 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; 212
 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 216
- 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, Polignano. You take all this
 into your possession and unjustly 220
 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. 224
- 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. 228
 Si moeten verweert sijn, tes goet om hooren.
 Ter haest, sluyt vast u contooren
 want coninghen, princhen jonc ende ault
 sullen u corts leveren stranghe assault. 232

XXX. ¶ Uwen scat sal varinck verandert wesen,
 u ghelt, u goet van quaden conqueste.
 Den arent van sabele es op gheresen;
 grijpti u, qualic suldijs ghenesen. 236
 De limpaert cruypt oec uut synen neste,
 den swarten leeu coemt schueren u veste,
 den nieuwen ancre wertter an ghesmeten.
 Met loone wert arbeyt meest vergheten. 240

XXXI. ¶ De spaengiaert sal u ten bossche jaghen,
 op u sullen de Romeinen haer eycken planten, (f. 6^r)
 de hase sal loopen nu sonder vraghen,
 de coeyen sullen u voeten plaghen. 244
 U naect verdriet aen allen canten.
 Over vallen sullen u de truwanten
 al soudi versmooren vander fumee.
 Verloren wert gheheel u renomnee. 248

XXXII. ¶ Experte capiteinen, ridders van werden,
 scilt knapen, gens darmes, archiers,
 allebaerdiers, de vroemste op der eerden,
 uut steden, provincen met blancken sweerden 252
 stellen hem oppe metten pijckeniers
 ende de subtijlste bombaerdiers
 sijn ghealiert om u tonder bringhen.
 Met foortsen salmen de quade dwinghen. 256

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 260
 ter zee oft te lande int armeren,
 Bulcan sijn forneys doet inflammeren
 ende Minerve heeft dartelrye ghelaen.
 Peyst, elc sal loon naer werck ontfaen. 264

- I think that they will not yield you anything; 228
 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. 232
- 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. 236
 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. 240
- 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. 244
 Sorrow threatens you on all sides.
 Vagabonds will overrun you
 even though you would suffocate from the smoke.
 Your reputation will be completely lost. 248
- 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 252
 are lined up with the pikemen,
 and the most skilled cannoneers
 are allied to vanquish you.
 With force evil will be controlled. 256
- 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 260
 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. 264

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 268
 die in tmenschen herte sijn ghedoken;
 ende de Venecianen daer af es ghesproken
 dat sijt bekeerende soe moghen maken (f. 6^v)
 als dat sy teenen goeden peyse gheraken. 272

¶ De actoyer⁷⁹

XXXV. ¶ Groot met den cleenen heb ic misseit.
 Verghevet mi, tes rudelic te hoope geslegghen.
 Bidt voer die keiserlike majesteit
 en voer hertoghe Karels prosperiteyt, 276
 die met doechden tonswaerts sijn ghenegghen,
 dat paiselicke aliance by hem vercreghen
 tusschen den kerstenen princhen moet vermeerren
 ter wrake vanden lachtere Ons Heeren 280

¶ Gheprint Tantwerpen bi die drie candela-
 ren bi mi Michiel van⁸⁰ Hoochstraten.

Textual notes to the transcription

- ll. 11-15: Atila 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 Roomschen keyser ghehonoreert* is the Roman emperor-elect Maximilian I.
 ll. 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).
 ll. 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 268
 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. 272

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 276
 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. 280

Printed in Antwerp at the [sign of the] three candlesticks
 by me Michiel van Hoochstraten

- ll. 120b and 122: The duke of Austria referred to here is Maximilian's grandson Charles, prince of the Spains, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, etc.
- ll. 123-4: The French text reads: *Une ville que nous appellons Mestre, / Mesme la ville ou la cité de Trains* (ll. 108-109). 'Tianis' (l. 124) in the Dutch text seems to be a misreading of 'Trains' which in turn is possibly a misreading of 'Travis' for Treviso.
- ll. 129-131: The French original reads here: *Or tenez vous en Marquitra[v]isanne / D'icelluy duc plusieurs pay's fertiles, / Et deux citez nommeez Saltran, Hutdanne* (ll. 113-5). The Dutch translator seems to have simply taken over these names. Mestre, Treviso, Feltre and Udine, as well as cities in the region of Triest and Trent, had previously belonged to the House of Austria (Brown 2003, 149).
- ll. 139-141: The archduke alluded to here is Philip the Fair, archduke of Austria, who died unexpectedly in Burgos on 25 September 1506.
- ll. 144b-145: Pietro Bonomo was the bishop of Triest at this time. Shortly after Maximilian's marriage to his second wife Bianca Maria Sforza, his epithalamion celebrating this event was printed in Louvain. [ILC 454: Louvain: [Johannes de Westfalia], Petrus Bonomus, In Maximiliani Romanorum regis et Blancae Mariae reginae nuptiis epithalamion, [shortly after 16 Mar. 1494]. Bonomo became bishop of Triest on 5 April 1502.
- ll. 152a-155: The reference here is to Louis XII and his recent conquest of the duchy of Milan (1499, 1500).
- ll. 161-2: Cremona, Brescia and Bergamo are among the cities the League of Cambrai named as belonging to Louis XII in his capacity as duke of Milan (Du Mont 1726-1731, vol. IV, 114; Le Glay 1845, 238-239).

- ll. 167–8: Allusion to Louis XII's suppression of an uprising of the Genoese (1507).
- ll. 168b–169: Manto is Mantua; the marquis of Mantua was Francesco II Gonzaga.
- l. 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 Pouille*; 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 Polignano (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 liepars asprement vous mordront* (l. 208) and the Dutch translation: *de limpaert cruypt oec uut synen neste* (l. 237). *Den swarten leu* 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 espagnolz* (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 *Venegien* (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.
- l. 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

Venegien, een vroeg-zestiende-eeuws polemisch pamflet gedrukt in Antwerpen, verdedigt de militaire campagne tegen de Republiek Venetië door een coalitie die het resultaat was van het geheime verdrag van Kamerijk. Dit werd gesloten op 10 december 1508 tussen Maximiliaan, gekozen Rooms keizer, en diens kleinzoon Karel [van Oostenrijk] enerzijds en de Franse koning Lodewijk XII anderzijds. Het pamflet veroordeelt de Venetianen op scherpe toon en spreekt onverholen steun uit voor Maximiliaans rol. Opmerkelijk genoeg is de tekst een vertaling van de *Entreprise de Venise* (1509) van Pierre Gringore waarin juist Lodewijk XII centraal staat. De vertaling reduceert de rol van de Franse koning echter systematisch ten voordele van die van Maximiliaan. In 2003 verscheen een moderne editie van de *Entreprise*. Deze bijdrage bevat een editie en een Engelse vertaling van *Venegien*. De inleiding plaatst de Franse tekst en zijn Middelnederlandse vertaling in hun historische context en vergelijkt beide teksten.

Addresses of the Authors:

Cynthia J. Brown
Department of French and Italian
University of California, Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, California 93106, U.S.A.

Susie Speakman Sutch
Department of History
Ghent University
Sint-Pietersnieuwstraat 35, B-9000 Ghent, Belgium

Samuel Mareel
Department of Literature (Dutch)
Ghent University
Blandijnberg 2, B-9000 Ghent, Belgium

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