

Belphegors Gifftermaal

A Neglected Early Modern Danish Translation of Machiavelli's *Belfagor*

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I nærværende artikel præsenteres en tekstkritisk udgave med kommentarer af *Belphegors Gifftermaal*, en anonym, ældre nydansk oversættelse af Niccolò Machiavellis novelle *Belfagor*, formentlig trykt i 1660'erne. Den danske tekst omtaler sig selv som "Udsæt aff Italiensk paa Danske", men er baseret på en mellemliggende fransk oversættelse fra starten af 1660'erne, Tanneguy Le Fèvres *Le mariage de Belfegor*. Den danske *Belphegors Gifftermaal* er derfor et godt eksempel på en tidlig moderne indirekte oversættelse og vidner som sådan om en kulturel tilegnelsesproces, der også kendes fra flere samtidige europæiske sprog og litteraturer. Ud over af den meget populære misogynie tematik betoner teksten et lystigt, populært satirisk element, som forbereder næste århundredes smag. Indledningen opridser de kulturhistoriske linjer og analyserer afslutningsvis tekstens gengivelse af egenavn og brug af låneord i et sproghistorisk perspektiv.

1. Machiavelli's *Belfagor* in an Early Modern Danish translation

It was in the frame of the cross-disciplinary project entitled *Transit and Translation in Early Modern Europe*, in which I participated a few years ago,² that I ran into an Early Modern Danish translation of Niccolò Machiavelli's (1469-1527) *Favola*, more commonly known as *Novella di Belfagor*, written around 1520 (Corsaro 2012: 295) or 1526 (Stoppelli 2007: 19-21), and posthumously published in 1549.³ It is the remarkable work of an anonymous translator, printed by a likewise anonymous

1 Anna Maria Segala is the author of §§ 2-7, and of § 1 with the collaboration of Mauro Camiz; Mauro Camiz is the author of §§ 8-9, of the Note on the original spelling and normalization, and of the Appendix; Conclusions and References are by both authors.

2 The project was launched at Sapienza University of Rome and its results have been published on line as an *inTRAlinea Special Issue*, edited by Donatella Montini, Iolanda Plescia, Anna Maria Segala and Francesca Terrenato (2019): <http://www.intraline.org/specials/article/2351>. I should like to thank my colleagues for their support and kind comments, and not least for the stimulating discussions within this study area.

3 I am very grateful to Anders Toftgaard, The Royal Danish Library, Denmark, who disclosed for me the existence of this text and helped me to obtain a copy.

printer in an unspecified year. This single copy of the booklet is therefore all we have so far. A scholarly edition of this early Danish *Belphegor* is consequently particularly welcome, and that is why I gladly accepted to write an introduction for Mauro Camiz's transcription and critical edition in *Danske Studier*.

The critical text of *Belphegors Gifftermaal* presented in the Appendix is a partially normalized transcription of the only known extant copy of this Danish translation, which was printed with the title *Den Florentinske Secretarii artige oc lystige Belphegors Gifftermaal* ('The Courteous and Hilarious Marriage of Belphegor, by the Florentine Secretary').⁴ The copy is located at the Norwegian Nationalbiblioteket, with the marking Lib. rar. D 48, formerly the property of the University Library in Oslo, as can be seen both from the Library stamps on its pages and its description in Anker 1938. It is a booklet of twelve folios (ff. A1r-B4v; plus two blank extra folios at the beginning and two at the end in its modern binding) of approx. 10 x 16 cm, printed on paper.⁵

On its title page (f. A1r, see Figure 1.), the author's name, Machiavelli, occupies the first line. Further down, immediately after the title, a subtitle reads «Udsæt aff Italiensk paa Danske, oc dedicerit til alle Onde Qvinder» ('Transposed from Italian into Danish and Dedicated to all Bad Women') and, separated by a line, an imprint, which lacks any precise indication of the tale's issuing context (place, publisher, year), declares that the book was printed «udi dette Aar» ('in this year').⁶

On the back of the title page (f. A1v), a 24-line preface, entitled «Braffve oc vitberømte Qvinder» ('Audacious and Famous Women'), precedes the text of the tale, whose drop-head title reads *Belphegors Gifftermaal* ('Belphegor's Marriage').

The actual tale occupies 22 pages (ff. A2r-B4v), each containing 26-29 lines, except for the last page, where the text is much smaller in size and extends over 35 lines. Only black ink is used throughout the booklet, which has faded or is damaged in some places. On many pages, the font size varies, larger in the upper half and smaller towards the end. The text

4 English translations of all excerpts are always the authors' unless differently specified.

5 A digital high-resolution color reproduction of the booklet is freely accessible on the website of Nasjonalbiblioteket (https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2015120228001; last retrieved March 2019).

6 This vague indication was a common practice for books, especially chapbooks, published in Denmark in the second half of the seventeenth century.

body is fully justified throughout the tale; only the last two lines on f. B4v are centered and followed by a small decoration. Both the preface and the tale begin with a large decorated capital initial letter, which does not exceed the margins and extends downwards for the equivalent of three lines, occupying the space of around six characters. In both cases, the following letter is also a capital, of normal size. Catchwords are located in the lower right corner, immediately below the last word of the last text line.

The print might have been part of a miscellany, one of those popular books that began to enter the Danish book market in the second half of the seventeenth century. This seems to have happened around 1660, and certainly after 1661, if we take into account the probable source text of this translation (§ 8). It is impossible to know whether the book had circulated in Copenhagen and Christiania, the two cultural capitals of the Dano-Norwegian Kingdom, before ending on a shelf at the University Library in Oslo, where it was found in 1938 by the Norwegian librarian Øyvind Anker. He reports on his surprising discovery as follows:

I Universitetsbiblioteket, Oslo, støtte jeg i afdeling for dansk (!) skjønnlitteratur for en tid siden på en lite 12 blads trykk (...).⁷ (Anker 1938: 28)

Anker was particularly surprised because Machiavelli's tale was very little known, as it had not been published with the other main works in 1550, and even these were poorly represented in translated Scandinavian literature.

2. Italian at the Danish Renaissance court

In order to outline the history of Machiavelli's reception in the Danish culture, we have to turn to the fortunes of Italian language and literature in Renaissance Denmark. Court culture under Christian IV had been characterized by a strong influence of the Italian Renaissance in many respects: language, culture, music, art and festivals. The court was multilingual, and French and Italian were part of the noblemen's education (Toftgaard 2016). Because of family ties between the Dano-Norwegian Kingdom and the Scottish Stuart court, where Anne of Denmark had become James VI's

⁷ 'Some time ago, in Oslo University Library, in the Danish (!) Literature section, I ran into a little 12 folio print'.

wife, cultural exchanges were made easier by the itinerant presence, in both Scotland/England and Denmark, of protestant voluntary exiles who disseminated Italian culture abroad (Toftgaard 2011). Giacomo Castelvetro, himself an Italian protestant exile, a man of letters and publisher, had been, in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, a great mediator of Italian political writings, which young Danish aristocrats with political ambitions took a special interest in, especially after their educational journeys to Italy (Zuliani 2011). As a consequence, in the seventeenth century, Danish private libraries frequently included copies of Machiavelli's works. Nevertheless, the approach of the learned elite and the State counsellors to these works remained somehow dissimulated and ambiguous, because their ideology was caught in the dilemma between ethic principles and political praxis. According to Anders Sørensen Vedel, the Florentine Secretary had a pernicious effect («denne florentinske fordærver»), and Tyge Brahe thought in the same lines. The only exception is Arild Huitfeldt, who had Machiavelli as a secret model. In his *Danmarks Riges Krønike* (History of the Kingdom of Denmark, 1595-1604), he compares Christian II to Cesare Borgia (*Prince*, ch. 7) and, later on, introducing the fourth volume, he takes over examples from *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, even though he doesn't reveal his source (Ilsøe 1969: 13-17).

That clarifies why the *Prince*'s official appearance in Denmark dates from 1876, when Johannes C. Barth published the first translation of the treatise, with an introduction by Thomas Babington Macaulay. A few decades before, the historian Caspar Paludan-Müller had translated the *Prince* from the original (1833-1838) without having it printed and, in 1839, he had published the essay *Undersøgelse om Machiavelli som Skribent, især med Hensyn til Bogen om Fyrsten*.⁸ Prior to that, the deeply realistic analysis of power enacted by Machiavelli had been such a thorn in the side of the Lutheran state organization that for quite a long time the book had been accessible only through translations into Latin or French, therefore not for the common reader (Segala 2014).⁹

8 'Research on Machiavelli as a writer, especially as concerns his book on the Prince'.

9 The opportunity to look into this subject was given to me in 2013, on the occasion of the five-hundredth anniversary of the composition of the *Prince*, in the frame of the publication of a three-volume work entitled *Machiavelli. Enciclopedia Machiavelliana*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Treccani, Roma 2014. In this context, the first step for the understanding of the *Prince*'s reception in Scandinavia was to ascertain when, and in which conditions, the famous treatise had been translated into the three national languages: Swedish, Danish and Norwegian.

3. The dissemination of classics from abroad

Nevertheless, whereas a political treatise like the *Prince* was a book for the learned, other kinds of publications, the chapbooks printed in small format on cheap paper, meant for entertainment or for edifying purposes, had a wide circulation in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century. Boccaccio's *Griselda* (or, rather, its Latin version by Petrarca, *De patientia Griseldis*), was one of the tales that enjoyed an enormous popularity all around Europe since the Middle Ages and in different versions, each of them starting a separate tradition.¹⁰ Because Denmark was part of the Germanic world, *Griselda* found its way to the Nordic countries through a Low German translation. In general, Germany acted as the transmission belt between Southern European and Danish vernacular literature at least up to the second half of the seventeenth century. Already in the sixteenth century, we can count four Danish editions of Boccaccio's tale, the oldest most complete of which, printed in Lübeck in 1592, is the chapbook that derives from Petrarca's Latin version (Olsen 1992: 13).¹¹

Going back to the print of *Belphegors Gifftermaal*, Anker found out that the booklet had not been included in *Bibliotheca Danica*, nor was it present in other libraries. His research led him to the conclusion that the story of *Belfagor* must have been known to a West European seventeenth-century public through the translations into English and French printed in the course of the same century. In particular, he mentions a free-standing French translation from 1661 kept at *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris and other free-standing English translations, which he does not identify, kept at *The British Library*. He tends to believe that the language of the source text is French since the place-names in the Danish translation are closer to French: Napoli is rendered with Naples, Firenze with Florence, Aleppo with Alep and the protagonist's name Roderigo becomes Dom Roderic (Anker 1938: 29). And this, notwithstanding the statement in the title page «Udsæt aff Italiensk paa Danske» ('Translated from Italian into Danish').

10 The influence of Petrarca's adaptation in Latin was great, if we consider that Chaucer produced a versified version of it in his «Clerk's tale» (*The Canterbury Tales*, 1476) (Paulli 1920: liii–liv).

11 The standard version of *Griseldis* as a chapbook is published, together with two other medieval stories, *Helena* and *En Doctors Datter*, in the eight volume (1920) of *Danske Folkebøger fra 16. og 17. Århundrede*, 14 bd., by Jacob Peter Jacobsen and Richard Jacob Paulli (eds.), København 1915–36.

The origin of this translation seems therefore to be placed on the borderline between the role still played by the Italian culture in seventeenth century Denmark and the beginning of the prestige gained by French, both as a language and as a model for culture, literature and manners, from the last part of the seventeenth through the eighteenth century, at the same time as High German became, under Frederik III, the court's favourite language. «Paa en maade var Gallomanien imidlertid ogsaa en Følge af Fortyskningen» ('In a way, Gallomania was the consequence of a strong German influence'), states Paludan (1887: 393). Germany, in fact, was very receptive towards both French and Italian culture.

Danish linguists attest in fact the introduction of French in Denmark as the international language of diplomacy since the 1670s. Ambassadors and civil servants had to communicate in French, but also civil servants, teachers and actors used this foreign language in their profession. The autobiography of State counsellor Johan Monrad, written in the late seventeenth century, shows a very frequent use of French (Lorenzen 2018).¹² A very interesting literary document from 1673, Leonora Christina Ulfeldt's *Franske selvbiografi* ('French autobiography'), has proved to be written by a person who had an almost perfect command of that language.¹³ She belonged, of course, to a privileged elite for whom speaking and being able to read many foreign languages was a matter of distinction (Lindschouw and Schøsler 2016).¹⁴ And this elite included quite a few women, like Birgitte Thott, the first translator of Seneca's works (1660). In fact, while Renaissance male humanists dedicated themselves to the translation of poetry, especially Latin poetry, towards the end of the seventeenth century in both France and Denmark the translation of prose into the respective vernaculars was mostly carried out by learned women (Paludan 1887: 388 segg.). Therefore, it is mainly through translations from foreign languages, apart from the devotional and historical writings, that the vernacular develops a literary style in prose. Not a small contribution on the part of women! A work hypothesis could be that the translator of the *Novella di Belfagor* was, if not a woman, a learned diplomat, or a member

12 I am extremely grateful to Henrik Lorenzen for having made accessible for me his chapter «Romanske sprog», in *Dansk sproghistorie 1-6*, vol. 2, s. 413-427.

13 Ulfeldt, Leonora Christina: *Den franske selvbiografi* (no title) 1673, København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny Kongelig Samling 4261, 4o /NKS 4261 kvart, 70 s. (18 læg; 20x15,7 cm).

14 I thank Lene Schøsler for enabling me to obtain information on this subject through her own and Jan Lindschouw's article.

of the upper class who spent years in educational journeys to Germany, Italy, France and the Netherlands because of the cultural prestige of these countries. In the mid-1660s aristocratic families greatly invested in their children's prospects of prominent state careers. Once abroad, they were expected to study law and political science, learn to speak suitably about other countries' history, government and social conditions and become fluent in at least German, French and Latin (Jespersen 1994).

4. *Belfagor* in translation

Whoever he/she was, the Danish translator must have been a curious, well-informed person who developed an interest in a typical Italian *novella* and must have come across a French translation made by a distinguished classicist like Tanneguy Le Fèvre. Tanneguy Le Fèvre (1615-1672), a professor at the protestant Academy of Saumur, was one of the most famous French Hellenists of the seventeenth century and a promoter of the activity of translation to the purpose of enriching the vernacular language. In his focus, works and biographies of the Greek poets and the Latin poets Terence, Horace and Lucretius, so one can imagine that Italian must have been familiar to him. One could also presume that he shared the common opinion among intellectuals in France that the *Prince*, already translated in 1553, was a masterpiece of political wisdom (Fournel *et al.* 2014). Whatever the case may be, his translation of the *Belfagor* tale, *Le Mariage de Belfegor. Nouvelle italienne* appeared for the first time in 1661 as an autonomous publication *in octavo*, a very rare edition. Le Fèvre's version reappeared in several editions, often in disguise, until 1680 (see § 8). In the meantime, the *novella* was continuing to be a source of inspiration for later adaptations not only in French but also in other literatures. In England, for example, the political turbulence of the mid-seventeenth century, due to the confrontation of two political systems, monarchy and republic, enhanced the potential of political satire inherent in *Belfagor* (Hoenselaar 1998).¹⁵ In the Dutch Republic, instead, the first translation from 1668, published as the last component of a printed miscellany entitled *The Mirror of Evil Women*, corresponded to the fashionable misogynist literature that despised women as moral

15 The title of the first English translation, once again anonymous, is *The Devil a married Man, or the Devil has met his Match*, 1647.

traps for their husbands (Terrenato 2019). As a matter of fact, in the Western tradition, the narrative theme of the devil who takes a wife goes back to the Middle Ages and was originally an *exemplum*. As Pasquale Stoppelli refers, the first version in the French vernacular, *Les Lamentations de Matheolus*, is due to Jehan Le Fèvre and dated 1371-72. In Italy, the story of the devil terrified by a woman and threatened by an exorcist to see her coming back became popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

5. *Novella di Belfagor*

Written around 1526 and published in 1549, *Belfagor* is the story of an Archdevil sent from hell to the earth. His mission is to find out how reliable the married men's complaints about their wives' responsibility in their damnation are. In order to investigate, the Council in hell decides that Belfagor has to get married and live on earth for ten years. Disguised as a rich and courteous man, under the name of Roderigo di Castiglia, he settles in Florence. He soon marries a noblewoman called Honesta, but she is so vain and pretentious, that in a short time Belfagor gets heavily indebted and is therefore obliged to run away from Florence. During his escape he meets a peasant, Gianmatteo, who will rescue him on the promise that Roderigo/Belfagor, now obliged to reveal his devilish nature, will make him rich. The devil offers to take possession of some young women, who will then be released by the mock exorcism enacted by Gianmatteo upon a lush reward from their families. After the second exorcism Roderigo thinks he has now payed off his debt to Gianmatteo and decides that from now on their ways must part. But the peasant, now famous, is summoned by the King of France to deliver his daughter from the devil. Roderigo refuses now to help Gianmatteo, whose life is in danger if he fails. But the cunning peasant knows how to scare Roderigo out of the princess: he makes him believe that his wife is coming to fetch him. In fear of having to get back to his married life, Roderigo leaves the earth abruptly and goes back to hell, while Gianmatteo, now a rich man, returns to Florence.

Machiavelli's version would become the most widespread, because the author combines the typically misogynous theme with a realistic picture of a cunning peasant against the background of the rich and greedy con-

temporary Florentine society (Stoppelli 2007).¹⁶ According to the Italian scholar, the original elements introduced by Machiavelli in the *novella* are to be identified in two central features: the dramatization of the opening scene of the Council in hell, which is a conspicuous part of the story, and the representation of hell as an orderly social structure. As a consequence, the vision of the real world is turned upside down: while the damned in hell are wisely governed by Pluto, human beings on earth have a hell of a life. This is the ideological center of the story, since the author never gives up his role as a critical observer of the social behaviour and the political inadequacies of Florence in his time (Stoppelli 2014: 527).¹⁷

6. *Belphegors Gifftermaal* at the mirror

It might well be that the Danish translation was inspired by a similar critical attitude towards Danish society and its political organization. The year 1660 was marked by the disastrous end of the Swedish wars and a revolutionary political change: under King Frederik III the power of the nobility (*adelsvælden*) was redefined and absolutism (*enevælden*) introduced. In the literary domain, the change encouraged court poets to emphasize all public ceremonies, solemn occasions, in a word all representative social life based on status (Olden-Jørgensen 1996: 18-19). Given this background, both the theme and the language of the Danish *Belphegor* go against this main stream. Here we have a devil, who is only temporarily living in Florence (Copenhagen?) as a rich upper-class man, and a peasant, who catches the opportunity to become rich by deceiving both the devil and the King of France: two individuals, not a multitude praising the king. The limits of this article make it impossible to extensively compare Machiavelli's original, Le Fèvre's translation and the Danish version of it. Nevertheless, a few instances will hopefully demonstrate the asymmetrical relation between the original and the two translations. For example, what is Belfagor's behavior after he has settled in Florence? Machiavelli's implication is that good government is not to be found on earth (Sumberg

16 In his essay, Stoppelli points out the typical Machiavellian elements in the story that contribute, on the basis of a comparative analysis, to identify his authorship.

17 In Stoppelli 2014 an essential, selected bibliography of the major studies on *Belfagor* is included.

1992: 244). In fact, even Belfagor/Roderigo, once in contact with a corrupt society, behaves like everyone else. How is this expressed?

Machiavelli: «[S]ubito cominciò a pigliar piacere degli onori e delle pompe del mondo e avere caro di essere laudato intra gli huomini, il che gli arrecava spesa non piccola.»¹⁸ (*Favola*, ed. Corsaro and Grazzini 2012: 208)

French translation: «Incontinent donc il commença à prendre plaisir aux honneurs & aux pompes du monde; & tout diable qu'il estoit, il prenoit pourtant gout aux louanges & aux flatteries des hommes, & trouuoit que c'estoit une chose fort agreable; mais ce que luy paroissoit si agreable luy coustoit beaucoup aussi.»¹⁹ (*Le mariage de Belfegor*, ed. Le Fèvre 1661: 10)

Danish version: «Hvorfore hand oc begynte at faa Lyst til Ære oc Verdslig Pract, oc endog hand var en Dieffvel, holt hand dog aff at mand roste oc berømte ham, oc befant at det var en ting, som stoed hannem vel an: Men dette, som hannem tyctis saa angenem, koste ham ocsaa vackre Penge;»²⁰ (*Belphegors Gifftermaal*: A5r)

What is easy to observe is that the Italian original has been considerably expanded in the French adaptation, and that the Danish translator conforms to the French text. This does not seem to happen out of semantic necessity, but rather in compliance with a decorative stylistic choice. The question is whether this change alters the effect of the narration. It actually does, because rhythm in a story requires a condensed meaning in each word and phrase, a pointed sense. Here, instead, we find a persuasive tone, as if the narrator wanted to conquer the reader's consensus. Sometimes, though, what in the French version appears as sheer redundancy, in the

18 'He soon began to take pleasure in the world's honours and pomp and to be interested in being highly praised among the people, which caused him no small expenditure.'

19 'Immediately he began to take pleasure in the world's honours and pomp; and, although he was a devil, he got to enjoy the people's praise and adulation, and he found that these were very pleasant things; but what he considered very pleasant was also very expensive.'

20 'That is why he began to take pleasure in the world's honours and pomp and, although he was a devil, he liked being praised and famous, and he found that this was something that suited him well. But what he found so pleasant, cost him also a lot of money.'

Danish text shifts to a sharper metaphor, which almost turns the humble peasant into a hero in medieval terms.²¹ This happens in the first description of Matteo. Here are the three versions:

Machiavelli: «Era Gianmatteo, ancora che contadino, huomo animoso»²² (my emphasis) (*Favola*, ed. Corsaro and Grazzini 2012: 311)

French translation: «I. Matteo, quoy que paysan, estoit homme resolu, & qui ne manquoit pas de bon sens»²³ (*Le mariage de Belphegor*, ed. Le Fèvre 1661: 19)

Danish version: «Matteo som var en Bunde, var dog en Mand færdig til alt, oc som haffde Been udi Næsen»²⁴ (*Belphegors Gifftermaal*: f. A7v)

Matteo is quick to seize the chance to help the devil and then obtain a reward from him. But from this point onward the story displays an escalation from chance to astuteness that Machiavelli cleverly keeps on the level of the popular story with a crescendo of three (the magic number!) picaresque situations, including the staging of hoax exorcisms.

In the first of these episodes, a certain «messer Ambruogio», after trying every manner of possible remedies (Machiavelli: «tutti i remedi») to deliver his daughter from the devil, has lost all hope. In the French translation, the *remedies* fall into two specific categories: «les remedes que la Medecine & que la Religion luy auoient presentez» ('the remedies that medicine and Religion had offered him'). The Danish version, constantly loyal to the source text, tells us that «alle de Midler, som kunde findis, enten udi Lægekunsten eller i Religionen» ('all the remedies that could be found, in Medicine or in Religion'). This explicitation is certainly an overtranslation, which makes the tone become more colloquial, more suit-

21 See in *Kalk. Ord.* one of the metaphorical uses of *næse*: «(a) have mod; ere haarde helte og hafne been i næsen. Sn. Sturlesøn v. P. Claussøn. 305».

22 'Although he was a peasant, Gianmatteo was a resourceful man'.

23 'I. Matteo, although he was a peasant, was a resolute man, and he was not short of good sense'.

24 'Matteo, who was a peasant, was nevertheless a man ready for anything, and who had courage'.

able to a sitting-room context. In this case, Machiavelli's sharp edges have been moulded into an entertaining story, though not without a keen attention to the experience of the listener, more than to the imagination of the reader.

The question whether the Danish translator only relied on *Le mariage de Belfegor* or had at least an indirect knowledge of the *Novella di Belfagor* is hard to answer. Presently, there is no evidence of a possible dependency of the Danish text from Machiavelli's text. But the explicit reference in the front page to the authorial role of the historical Machiavelli gives enough reason to believe that the translator knew about Machiavelli and certainly nourished more than a superficial interest in the complex vision articulated by him in the *Prince* and ironically suggested in this seemingly marginal short story. It is not by chance that he/she, or somebody else in the publishing process, highlights in the title page the political role of the «Florentine Secretary».

7. A preface to the Danish *Belphegor*

In fact, what characterizes the Danish *Belphegor* compared to both Machiavelli's text and Le Fèvre's adaptation is the addition of a preface, one of the many forms of paratextuality which, together with the title page, create a physical and temporal separation from the text they present and, at the same time, guide the reader into the book's realm (Smith and Wilson 2011: 2).²⁵ Is the preface to be attributed to the translator? In Renaissance book production and marketing, the printer, or even his binder, would recur to paratexts in order to encourage purchasers. Since the tale has not come to us in form of a book, it might even have been printed and sold individually to be later bound with other texts on similar topics in a single volume. Here the title page (f. A1r, s. Figure 1.) declares at once the author's name, *Machiavelli*; then his profession, *Den Florentinske Secretarii* in the possessive case (The Florentine Secretary's); third, the embellished title of the story, *artige og lystige Belphegors Gifftermaal*²⁶ ('The Cor-

25 In the thought-provoking volume *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge 2011), the editors Helen Smith and Louise Wilson respond to Gérard Genette's theory on the paratext as a transactional part of a book and extend his taxonomy to the early modern book (Smith and Wilson 2011: 1–14).

26 Emphasis added.

teous and Hilarious Marriage of Belphegor'). One could say that it is a very effective form of advertising. The preface, then, is dedicated to «Braf-ve oc vitberømte Qvinder» ('Audacious and Famous Women') (f. A1v), presumably all the bad women interested in the story's moral.

Here, the most known among Genette's metaphors that describe the paratext's preparatory function, the «threshold»,²⁷ helps us understand the function of the first-person narrator's "I": «ja **jeg** kiender dem, som gifver vores Honesta slet intet effter»²⁸ ('of course, I do know women who are not inferior to our Honesta'). The enacted strategy is to ensure the interest in a debated author's tale, proposing the familiar point of view of a misogynous tale and evoking well-known social experiences so as to elicit an empathic response. So much empathic, that the author of the preface establishes a kinship between the women's husbands and the devil's alter ego Dom Rodrigo, who would rather burn in hell than live here on earth. In parenthesis, a couple of local references make the anticipation even more spicy: «om det var end i Roskild eller Kiøge-Kroe» ('Be it in Roskilde or Køge-kro'). Not only an explicit case of domestication,²⁹ but also, and significantly, an allusion to devastating events like the plague of the 1650s and the first of the two mid-seventeenth century wars against Sweden, which finished with a humiliating peace treaty in Roskilde in 1658. As it is often the case with chapbooks, the interpolation's effect is all the more satirical as it is dropped offhand, apparently with a provocative purpose. While apparently speaking in favour of women, the writer of the preface is in fact concerned with conveying other, more important Danish topical subjects, which in the end make the narration more reliable. Besides, and here we see the pragmatic status of the paratextual element at work: women are given directions about how to steer their married life «saa skal mand udi sin tid sætte eder udi de Danske Krønnicker; Ligesom Honesta staar udi de Florentinske» ('so that one day you will be remembered in the Danish chronicles, just like Honesta is committed to memory

27 As a metaphorical term indicating the paratext in Genette, 'threshold' is a borrowing from Borges (s. Genette and Mclean 1991; and, for the original book, Genette, G., *Palimpsestes*, Paris 1981).

28 Emphasis added.

29 In Geoffrey Baldwin's words: «Whether translators follow the strategy of domestication or that of foreignizing, whether they understand or misunderstand the text they are turning into another language, the activity of translation necessarily involves both decontextualizing and recontextualizing» (Baldwin 2007: 38).

in the Florentine chronicles’). Again, there’s something ironical in this double authorial identity that reminds the reader that the tale is “made in Florence”, but is retold by a new voice, a Danish voice. No mention of the French intermediary text, although faithfully followed, is ever made, probably because that would have overshadowed the Danish medium’s role.

Belfagor would not see a new translation in Denmark until 1829, when Frederik Christian Hillerup, an art critic and translator, included a version of the tale entitled «Erkedjævelen Belfagor» in his anthology *Italica eller Mindeblomster fra mit Ophold i Italien*.³⁰ This happened only four years before Hans Christian Andersen’s first journey to Italy! In 1954, Jens Kruuse and Ole Storm also included a new translation, under the title «En meget lystig novelle», in the anthology *Halvtreds mesterfortællinger*. Finally, in 2008, Mads Qvortrup published *Belfagor eller Djævelen der blev gift*. Because of this article’s limits, it is not possible to attempt an evaluation of these translations, but the mere titles suggest that, thanks to Machiavelli’s creative mixture of realistic and fantastic features, his tale has continued to be appealing through the centuries. A much vaster study than this preliminary exploration would probably reveal if *Belphegors Gifftermaal* has had any influence at all in the making of the Danish “novelle” tradition.

8. Sources and dating

As previously said (see § 3), *Belphegors Gifftermaal* was not directly translated from Italian. What Anker only hypothesized (1938: 29) by noting the French form that Italian place names take in the text, can now be easily verified through a textual comparison. The Danish translator based his/her version on Tanneguy Le Fèvre’s aforementioned French translation of Machiavelli’s tale. Far from carrying out a simple transposition of Machiavelli’s text into French, Le Fèvre added some material to the tale, so that his French version can more correctly be defined as an adaptation, or a rewriting of the Italian *Belfagor*.

The Norwegian National Library Digital Catalogue dates the Danish *Belphegor* to 1660, likely intended as an indicative year, but in the item’s description, the booklet is more generically defined as an «oversettelse fra 1600-tallet» (‘a seventeenth-century translation’).

30 I am grateful to Anders Toftgaard for this piece of interesting information.

Without a preliminary collation of all five editions of Le Fèvre's translation, as well as a comparison with the Danish *Belphegor*, it is impossible to establish beyond doubt which French text was the actual source, which would help in assessing a *terminus post quem* for its composition. Nonetheless, a small clue may emerge from the analysis of the renderings of the eponymous devil's name in all editions, always spelled *Belphegor* in the Danish translation.

The Italian name *Belfagor* was first adapted as *Belphegor*³¹ in Le Fèvre 1661, but on its title page, the name appears as *Belfegor*, with ⟨f⟩. In Le Fèvre 1664, the name keeps its simplified spelling *Belfegor* on the title page, and within the text, the previous form with ⟨ph⟩ is also retained. Le Fèvre 1665 shows *Belfegor* in both the title and the text (the form *Belphegor* occurring only once in the tale, namely the first time that the devil is mentioned), as well as an irregular alternation of *Belfegor* and *Belfegore* in the running heads (and *Belf.* once, on the last page). Finally, Le Fèvre 1680 generalizes the form *Belfegor* everywhere (title, text, and running heads). On the contrary, in Jaulnay 1677 only the form *Belphegor* is present, showing that the text he adopted most probably relied on either Le Fèvre 1661 or 1664. All this most likely allows us to exclude the possibility that *Belphegors Gifftermaal* relies on Le Fèvre 1665 or 1680.

Furthermore, the ensemble of title and drop-head title in Le Fèvre 1661, i.e. *Le mariage de Belphegor + Nouvelle, traduite de l'italien de messer Nicolo M. secrétaire de Florence* is strikingly similar to the sequence of author, title, and subtitle in the Danish translation, i.e. *Machiavelli + Den*

31 Compared to It. *Belfagor* (thus recorded in Luigi Pulci's *Morgante* (1478-83), a possible source for the name in Machiavelli according to Stoppelli 2007: 15, f.n.), the French name *Belphegor/Belfegor* (currently *Belphégor*) is closer to the Bibl. Lat. spelling *Beelphegor*, which in turn is the adaptation of *Septuagint* Gr. βελφεγορ *beelphegōr*. In the Old Testament, this was the name of the Near-Eastern god of human fertility, to whom the Israelites also became devoted while still in Moab, so much so, as to engage in food sacrifices and sexually immoral behavior with Moabite women. Their conduct provoked the Lord's wrath, who ordered Moses to have those killed, among both the Israelites and the women, who were involved in such immoralities (*Num.* 25). Likely because of the negative role it is assigned in the Bible, the Chaldean god was later adapted into Christianity as one of Hell's devils. The Bibl. Hebrew form of the name is רועף לעב *Ba'al P'ôr* (*Num.* 25:3-5; *Deu.* 3:3; *Ps.* 106:28), literally 'Lord of [the Mount] *Pe'or*' (a mountain located in ancient Moabite territory). While the rendering of the Heb. letter פ *ayin* ([ʃ] or [ç]) with Gr. γ does not pose any difficulties (= [ç] in post-classical times, later simply transcribed in Latin with *g*), according to the Masoretic vocalization rules, non-geminated stop consonants were spirantized in Bibl. Hebrew only after vowel (Durand 2001: 81-82). Consequently, the Greek rendering of Heb. letter פ *pe* with φ (and the double ε in the first syllable) must depend on a different, pre-Masoretic tradition of the biblical text.

florentinske Secretarii (...) *Belphegors Gifftermaal* + *Udsæt aff Italiensk* (...), and could well be its direct source. Alternatively, the reduced drop-head title in Le Fèvre 1664, *Nouvelle traduite de l'italien de Machiavel*, could also be a possible source for the subtitle of *Belphegors Gifftermaal*, if we assume that the Danish translator could have relied on other sources to add Machiavelli's title of Secretary of (the Republic of) Florence.

In theory, but with much less probability, even the text in Jaulnay 1677 could have been the source for the Danish *Belphegor*, although the tale, as printed there, is stripped of all information about its origin. In this case, only a good knowledge of the Italian Renaissance politician and his minor literary production would have allowed the Danish translator to associate an anonymous French *Nouvelle infernale* with its original Italian author.

9. Loanwords in *Belphegors Gifftermaal*

As was customary at the time, the Danish *Belphegor* is printed with two different typefaces: Fraktur for standard Danish, and *antiqua* to mark individual words within the text that were considered unfamiliar, mainly because they represent loanwords from other languages (see also Ridderstad 2005: 1248; Galberg Jacobsen 2018b: 73-75). The analysis of some of these loanwords will allow us not only to go into more depth in the process of translation/adaptation of the text, but also to update the information presently available on their arrival in the language.

9.1 Names

Words in *antiqua* include almost all occurrences of personal names in the tale, both of humans (of Italian origin, but often with French adaptation) and devils (of Greek or Hebrew origin, via Latin), as well as most occurrences of place names and their derivatives (such as ethnonyms). Sometimes such loanwords are partially adapted to Danish morphology and can appear in a combination of typefaces: *antiqua* for the non-Danish parts and Fraktur for the Danish parts (endings, suffixes, articles).³² Whenever a genitive is needed, Italian/French names are declined as they were in Lat-

32 Combined-typeface names are for example **Hans Matteo**, **Roderic aff Cafilien**, **Louis den VII. florentinſke**, etc. (here given in non-normalized forms; bold renders Fraktur, italic bold renders *antiqua*).

in (*Matteo: Mattei, Ambrosio: Ambrosii, Honesta: Honestæ*); also Latinized (and accordingly declined) are devils' names of Greek origin (*Minos: Minois, Pluto: Plutonis, Rhadamante: Rhadamanti*). All other names are morphologically adapted with the usual Dan. suffix *-s*, the only exception being *Zanobe*, identical to Fr. *Zanobe*,³³ which thus renders the name of the Florentine bishop *Zanobi*,³⁴ whose name represents the local outcome of Lat. *Zenobius* (< Gr. Ζηνόβιος *Zēnóbios*).

The double name of *Matteo* also appears partially adapted into Danish: in Machiavelli's original, the name is always *Gianmatteo* (= It. *Gian[ni]*, a syncopated and truncated form of *Giovanni* very common in Tuscany, particularly in double names, + *Matteo*); Le Fèvre adapted it in various ways, as *Jean* or *lean Matteo, J. or I. Matteo*, whence the Danish variants with initial abbreviated *J.*, or partial adaptations as *Hans Matteo*. However, on most occasions Le Fèvre prefers the simplest form, *Matteo*, followed by the Danish translator.

Among place names, some are particularly striking: for example, the twice-occurring spelling *Spagnien* in Fraktur (A4r), which is not recorded anywhere else and seems to combine Early modern Danish *Span(n)ien*³⁵ with Fr. *Espagne* or It. *Spagna*; and the three *antiqua*-variants of the name of Florence: *Florence* (5x: A2r, etc.) from French, *Florentz* (4x: A8r, etc.) from German, and *Florens* (A4r) as the Danish phonetic adaptation of the former (both the German and the French variants also appear in Fraktur, so that the city of Florence is indicated in a total of five different ways).

However, the most interesting are two local toponyms from Florence, which are treated differently by the Danish translator. The first, *Porte du Prat* (A7r, lit. 'Gate of the Meadow') identifies a (still extant) gate in the north-west section of the city's (no longer existing) outermost walls, through which Dom Roderic rides when he leaves the town. The French name (*porte du Prat* in Le Fèvre's text) is the adaptation of It. (Florentine dialect) *Porta al Prato* (thus in Machiavelli's text, lit. 'Gate at the Meadow'), which the Danish translator refers in its French form. The other, *aff alle Helgen* (A4r, lit. 'of All Saints'), is the Danish literal translation of the name of the place where Dom Roderic lives in Florence. In Machiavelli's

33 Unless differently specified, all quoted forms from Le Fèvre's French *Belfegor* are from the edition in Le Fèvre 1661.

34 All quoted forms from Machiavelli's *Belfagor* are from the edition by Corsaro and Grazzini 2012.

35 See *Holb.Ord.*: *Spanien*; *Moth*: *Spannien*; *Kalk.Ord.*: *Spanien*.

text, it is *Borgo d'Ogni santi* ('All Saints Road'; still in use today), where *borgo* (commonly used in Italian for 'borough, hamlet', or 'suburb') indicates in the city toponymy, today as well as in Machiavelli's time, a road that until the late Middle Ages used to depart from the city walls and lead towards the countryside, but later became surrounded by more recent constructions. Interpreting *borgo* as 'suburb', Le Fèvre adapted the toponym as *Faux-bourg d'Ogni santi* [italic in the orig.], which in turn led the Danish translator to proceed word-by-word, as *Forstaden, kaldet aff alle Helgen* ('the suburb called of All Saints').

9.2 Other words

In addition, in the Danish *Belphegor* fourteen other words are printed in *antiqua*, generally of French or Latin origin (via German in some cases), which receive Danish morphological adaptation through suffixation when inflected as nouns (with *-er*, *-en*, or *-erne*), or conjugated as verbs (*-ede*, *-it*): *audience* (B4v), *balcon(en)* (5x: B3v, etc.), *Balleter* (A6r), *Baronerne* (A2r), *Collegierne* (A2r), *dedicerit* (A1r), *disputerede* (A8v), *dominerede* (B3r), *humeur* (A4v), *occasion* (A6r), *order* (A7r), *Religionen* (B1r), *Secretarii* (A1r), *tracterede* (A5v). Even if *Belphegor's Gifftermaal's* dating were to be more recent than currently thought, it would still constitute the first known appearance of seven of these loanwords in the Danish language when compared to the currently available data, even by several decades in some cases. Besides grammatical adaptation, five of those seven new loanwords (Nos. 1.-5.) show a complete lexical dependence on the French *Belfegor* (for Nos. 6. and 7. see below):³⁶

1. *audience* (< Fr. *audience* < MLat. *audientia* 'hearing', cf. Lat. vb. *audiō* 'hear'; DHLF: *audience*): with the meaning 'interview with a person in authority' is first recorded in 1722, and as 'formal hearing' in 1725, although *Audientz*, a direct loanword from Lat. (or perhaps via Germ. *Audien(t)z*, in turn borrowed from French in the fifteenth century? See DWDS: *Audientz*), is already attested in Danish in 1577 (ODS: *audiens*; RSD: *Audientz*).

36 The other seven pairs are: *Balleterne* : *Ballets*; *disputerede* : *disputoit*, *Religionen* : *Religion*; *tracterede* : *traittoit*, which show a complete lexical dependence on the French text; *Collegierne* : *Chambres*; *dominerede* : *pesta*, which show a change in lexical choice; *dedicerit*, which has no correspondence in the French *Belfegor*.

2. *balcon* (<Fr. *balcon* (1565) <It. *balcone* <MLat. *balcō*, *-ōnis* <Langob. **balko*/**palko* ‘beam’; *DHLF*: *balcon*; *TLIO*: *balcone*): with the meaning of ‘accessible structure expanding from the façade of a building’ is first recorded in Leonora Christina’s memoirs (*RSD*: *balcon*) but it does not appear in published literature before 1764, with the same meaning. Only much later, in the nineteenth century, is it documented with the meaning of ‘theater balcony’ (*ODS*: *balkon*).
3. *baron* (< Germ./Fr. *baron* <MLat. *barō*, *-ōnis*, of probable Gmc origin; *TLIO*: *barone*): in Latin-Danish bilingual dictionaries from the Renaissance, Lat. *baro* is always glossed with the Dan. *friherre* or *bannerherre* (*RSD*: Lat. *baro*). As *Barøn* (pl. *-nner*), the Germ./Fr. loanword is first recorded in Moth’s Dictionary. In other sources, *baron* appears for the first time in 1671 (*RSD*: *baron*).
4. *humeur* (< Fr. *humeur* < Class. Lat. *hūmōr*, *-ōris* ‘humidity; liquid (element); body fluid’; *DHLF*: *humeur*): sixteenth and seventeenth century Lat.-Dan. dictionaries gloss Lat. *humor* with *vedske* ‘fluid, liquid’, and its use in a literary context is first documented in 1646 (*Kalk.Ord.*: *humor*). As a loanword from French, *humeur* is first recorded in Leonora Christina’s memoirs (*RSD*: *humeur*) with the same meaning of ‘character, nature, disposition’ it has in the Danish *Belphegor*. In other sources, its (now obsolete) plural *humeurene* is documented for the first time in 1716 as a medical term, indicating ‘the (four) body fluids whose combination regulates the human physical and mental status’. A few years later, in 1721, the sg. *humeur* is also attested, with the metaphorical meaning of ‘character, etc.’ (*Holb.Ord.*: *humeur*).
5. *occasion* (< Fr. *occasion* < Lat. *occāsīō*, *-ōnis* ‘a happening, a falling out’, whence ‘favorable time, chance’, cf. Lat. vb. *occīdō* ‘fall down’; *DHLF*: *occasion*): first attested in Leonora Christina’s memoirs. In other sources, the pl. *occasioner* is first documented in 1722 (*Holb.Ord.*: *occasion*) and the sg. in 1723 (*ODS*: *okkasion*). With the spelling *okkasion*, it appears in Moth’s register of the lost parts of his dictionary (*Moth*: *okkasion*).
6. *order* (< Germ. *Order* (middle seventeenth century) < (Middle)Fr. *ordre* < OFr. *ordre/ordene* < Lat. *ōrdō*, *-īnis* ‘arrangement, disposition’, whence, especially in military context, ‘command, instruction’; *DWDS*: *Order*): recorded for the first time in 1672 with the meaning of ‘command’ (*RSD*: *order*). In this case, Dan. *order* translates Fr. *loy* ‘law’ in Le Fèvre’s translation.

7. *secretarius* (< Lat. *secretarius*, derived with the suffix *-arius*, denoting a job or a profession, upon Lat. *secrētum*, nt. pf. part. of *secernĕre* ‘separate’, i.e. ‘what is separated, concealed, private’ whence the noun ‘secret’): as a Lat. word, it is present in Lat.-Dan. dictionaries from the sixteenth century, where it is translated as *byscriffuere*, *Cantzelere* (Smith 1520: 2, 26; 3, 28), and, later, as *Secreterer* (Tursen 1561: 29, 115; 57, 373; derived from the same Lat. noun, possibly via EmG *sekretär* and/or Fr. *secrétaire*) (RDS: Lat. *secretarius*). Within a literary text, *Secretarius* is recorded for the first time in 1577 as an epithet of the Christ, *denne himmelske Secretarius* [in *antiqua* in the orig.] (RDS: *secretarius*), but in non-metaphorical terms only in 1713 (*ODS: Sekretær*). In *Belphegors Gifftermaal*, it may translate Fr. *secrétaire*, if we assume the text’s dependence on Le Fèvre 1661.

Conclusions

Each translation is a journey from one language to another, from a literary and cultural system to another. The exciting thing about a journey is that nothing, as regards both people and things, is the same afterwards. Translation sets out a dynamic process of renewal and enrichment: it definitely did so in seventeenth-century Danish language and literature. In recent years, the circulation of European Renaissance texts has become an increasingly fruitful field of multidisciplinary studies, and the role played by translators as cultural mediators has proved to be decisive in the construction of cultural identities. Höfele and Von Koppenfels have called them “Renaissance Go-betweens” because, at a time of divides in political and religious systems, translators have been a precious channel of cultural “trade” (Montini *et al.* 2019a).

In Denmark, a strong interest in the Italian culture of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance had been favoured at court by both Christian IV (1577-1648) and his son Frederik III (1648-1670). This cultural attitude had among its aims the modernization of the country as well as its opening towards Europe. In the frame of such political and cultural strategy, the translation of Italian literary and scientific works began to give its fruits. So much so, that the Danish version (completed in 1666 but never printed) of a classic Italian pastoral poem such as Guarini’s *Pastor Fido* (Venice, 1590), could be welcomed as an enrichment of the Danish language itself (Toftgaard 2019), although this did not involve the massive appearance in the language of loanwords from Italian.

This blaze of interest in the Italian culture and literature began to weaken when French gained a predominant role throughout Europe, mainly because it had become the language of diplomacy since the 1670s. However, while the interest for the former was essentially limited to the products of the written language, the latter came to be written and spoken by an increasing number of Danish diplomats and other members of the upper classes for actual communicative purposes, paving the way for the introduction into their mother tongue of a growing number of new elements from French, either directly or via German, which reached its peak in the following century (Lorenzen 2018: 414-416).

This is the context in which the Danish translator of *Belphegors Gifftermaal* operates, wishing to create a direct contact between Italy and Denmark, when he introduces Machiavelli's *Novella* to the Danish public without explicitly mentioning the intermediation of Le Fèvre's text. However, the French model becomes clearly visible if one considers fundamental linguistic indicators such as loanwords: while in the text there is not a single word or expression of Italian origin dependent on *Belfagor*, there are many that not only show a clear French derivation but also point to Le Fèvre's adaptation to such an extent that the latter can be confirmed as its only source-text.

Summing up, the apparently small incidence of this so far unknown translation is placed at a three-road junction on the way towards the development of a Danish linguistic and cultural identity. As such, it may witness in an interesting way how porous the intellectual and moral boundaries were in Early Modern Europe. In spite of political and confessional conflicts, books could elude boundaries, if not always physically, at least through translation or adaptation. This process allowed new ideas to be transplanted in a new context. The present case of social, if not political, satire might therefore stand as a forerunner of the free thought to come in the eighteenth century.³⁷

37 On the subject of the eclectic and commercial attitude of translators in Early Modern Europe, see Burke and Po-chia Hsia 2007: 124-ff.

Linguistic abbreviations

Bibl.	Biblical	Lat.	Latin
Class.	Classical	MDan.	Medieval Danish
Dan.	Danish	MLat.	Medieval Latin
EmD	Early modern Danish	nt.	neutrum
EmG	Early modern German	OFr.	Old French
Fr.	French	part.	participle
Germ.	German	pf.	perfect
Gmc	Germanic	pl.	plural
Gr.	Greek	sg.	Singular
Heb.	Hebrew	Sp.	Spanish
It.	Italian	vb.	verb

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Note on original spelling and normalization.

In editing the text of *Belphegors Gifftermaal*, I have chosen to keep most of the features of the original. The parts originally printed in Fraktur have been rendered in roman, the parts in *antiqua* have been italicized. Within the text, numbers in square brackets have been added to identify narrative sections corresponding to those introduced in Machiavelli's Italian text by Corsaro and Grazzini 2012. Some minor changes in spelling were necessary to improve the readability:³⁸

38 I am extremely thankful to Simon Skovgaard Boeck for an early revision of a partially normalized transcription of *Belphegors Gifftermaal*, and for his helpful notes and suggestions.

- <j/J> (usually for word-initial /j/ in the orig. but also used with vocalic value) have been tacitly normalized as <i/I> when indicating vowels.
- the three allographs of <s>, i.e. **f**³⁹ (the most frequent, never used in final position); **s** (less frequent, almost only in final position), and **ß** (only 15x) have been tacitly normalized as <s>.
- <z> in a few (Middle)Fr./Germ. loanwords has been printed as <z>.
- Single letters printed in *antiqua* within a Fraktur environment have been tacitly normalized (e.g. the <â> in **hâr** (3x), syncopated form of **haffver** (s. also Galberg Jacobsen 2018a: 119), etc.) It is highly likely that they are in *antiqua* as their equivalents in Fraktur were unavailable when the print matrix was composed.

In the original, words are capitalized after <.>, <?> with regularity, less regularly after <,>, <:>. Nouns are mostly capitalized, and two-noun compounds are frequently capitalized in both stems, as in **Raads-Herrernes**, **Silcke-Vare**, etc. However, I have not amended small initials in nouns, compounds, or any other words.

When derivatives and compounds appear hyphenated in the original, I have left the original spelling, even though the phenomenon is not regularly recorded. It is not always possible to judge whether a compound/derivative is hyphenated for morphological reasons when it is split at the end of the line in the original, unless the second stem is also capitalized, as in the place name **Kiøge-|Kroge**.

Many fixed expressions have not undergone a complete grammaticalization and show alternating spellings in the original: e.g. **derof(f)ver** (4x) besides **der offer** (2x), etc.; **J/imidlertid** (2x) besides both **J/imidler tid** (2x) and **J midler tid; til freds** (4x), **til gaffns**, and **til pas** besides respectively **tilfreds** (2x), **tilgaffns**, and **tilpaß/-ds** (2x); etc. Such variations in spelling have been retained everywhere.

I have maintained the punctuation marks as they appear in the original.⁴⁰ Fraktur comma </> has been normalized as <,>, and punctuation marks in *antiqua*, i.e. immediately following words in *antiqua* (s. also Galberg Jacobsen 2018a: 116), have been italicized. Also, I have only restored major

39 This and the following words quoted from the Danish *Belphegor* for spelling purpose are not normalized. Also, Fraktur is rendered in bold and *antiqua* in italic bold.

40 For a quick review on punctuation and its rules in Early modern Danish see Galberg Jacobsen 2018a: 111-23.

punctuation marks (full stop, semicolon), and in no more than a couple of places, where a capitalized word follows.

As for the abbreviations, the use of *titulus* is recorded half a dozen times, in words such as **Himelen, deñem, fornødē**, etc., in which restored letters are printed in italic (*Himmelen, dennem, fornøden*, etc.). Also, < > or < . > appear in abbreviations by suspension or contraction, and have been retained as such: **St:** (3x) for *Sankt*, **Mayest:/Majest:** (7x) for *Mayestæt/Majestæt*, **Ed.** for *Eders*, **H.** (5x) for *Herre*.

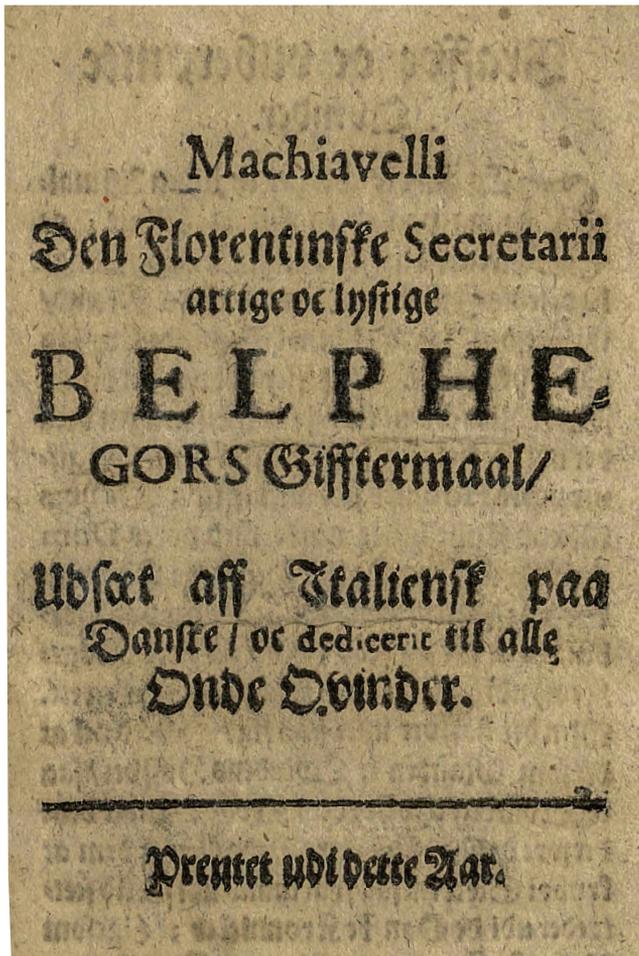


Figure 1. Title page to *Belphegors Gifftermaal*
(Oslo, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Lib. rar. D 48, f. A1r).