



Single-Sheet Prints and Broadsides from Denmark in the Sixteenth Century

Henrik Horstbøll

► To cite this version:

Henrik Horstbøll. Single-Sheet Prints and Broadsides from Denmark in the Sixteenth Century: Time, Religion and Politics. Popular Prints and Imagery - Proceedings of an International Conference in Lund 2000, 2000, Lund, Sweden. hprints-00284981

HAL Id: hprints-00284981

<https://hal-hprints.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00284981>

Submitted on 4 Jun 2008

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Single-Sheet Prints and Broadside from Denmark in the Sixteenth Century

Time, Religion and Politics

Henrik Horstbøll

Single-sheet prints represent the oldest use of the printed medium, because they do not differ in kind from the block prints from the period before or just after the invention of printing. The sheet was finished in a single work process – unless it was also to be coloured. However, it was the spread of printshops which was the basis of the diffusion of single-sheet prints and broadsides as a medium of mass communication.

The issue in what follows is to investigate the function of single sheet prints from the very beginning of printing in Denmark. What was the use of broadsheets judged by the surviving prints?¹

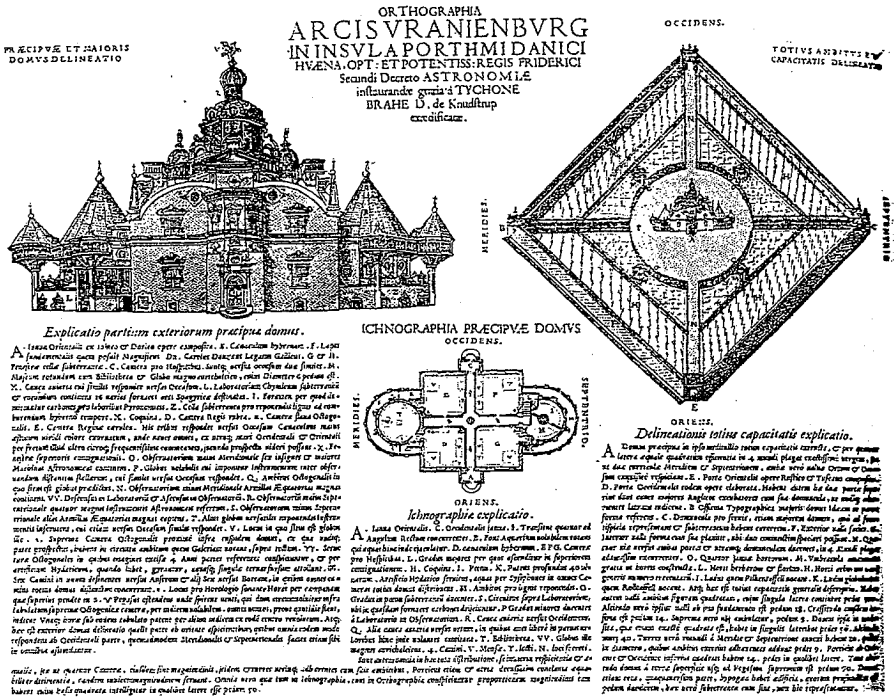
Within the system of formats single-sheet printing represents a specific format: Folio patent, i.e. the sheet is not folded. The classical format system, in which printed works appeared in one of the four basic formats – ‘in folio’, ‘quarto’, ‘octavo’, and ‘in parvo modo’ – became traditional in the course of the first century of printing’s existence. The format system was the structure through which the various functions of the medium assumed their historical form. The format system became the communication system of printing.²

Format and appearance signal content, and it is through the format system that the various functions of the medium are made recognisable on the market. Psalm books, news pamphlets, almanacs, and chapbook stories each received a particular form, in which the form of the text defined the genre-group just as much as the content of the text. The use of pictures made even more apparent the differentiation of the printed medium: already by the last decades of the sixteenth century, woodcuts were most often used in publications in the smallest formats written in Danish. When engraving became the form of reproducing images for both academic books and artistic books in the seventeenth century, the woodcut continued to be the form of illustration used in the pamphlets, calendars, and chapbook stories of popular print. Strangely enough this does not apply to single sheet printing and the use of broadsides in Denmark before the eighteenth century.³

The pioneer of the investigation of broadsides printed in Denmark, V.E. Clausen, concentrated his interest in particular on pictorial popular woodcuts, and he discovered persistent survival first from the 1700s.⁴ According to



1. 1565 Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård, Portrait of Christian 3. (Woodcut).



2. 1585 Uraniborg, Orthographia arcis Uranienburg (Woodcut).

Clausen only one pictorial single sheet print is known from the 1500s, a royal portrait of Christian III, dated 1565.⁵ It was a re-cycling of Jacob Binck's portrait from the Danish Bible edition of 1550, and the text of the picture was altered from a dedication to the Danish Bible edition to the regent (Ill. 1). Mads Vingaard either had the picture copied, or gained permission to use the block from the Bible project for a royal propaganda sheet. When viewed in the light of other propaganda printed in the 1560s, the latter is probable.

To this picture must be added a few other illustrated single sheet prints: The first printed calendar preserved in Denmark from 1530 (printer unknown)⁶, and a woodcut from Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg in the island Hven from 1585 with text in Latin and the three oldest pictures of Tycho Brahes's observatory (Ill. 2).⁷ Another five illustrated sheets printed in Copenhagen turn up in the bibliography: One further print from the house of Mads Vingaard and four prints from the house of Lorentz Benedicht.⁸ Furthermore two of the imprints from Wittenberg depict woodcuts.⁹ Total: Only ten of the 69 single-sheets recorded by Lauritz Nielsen are illustrated.

The Character of the Surviving Single-Sheet Prints from the Sixteenth Century

The 69 surviving prints in folio patent from the first century of the printed medium in Denmark sketch the contours of how this medium was used by the church, by the king and by aristocratic and learned persons. They demonstrate an ecclesiastical and secular media-consciousness in the exploitation of the design and form potential in the art of printing.

Apart from the picture of the king, the calendar and Tycho Brahe's observatory the prints according to table 1 consist of four genealogical tables depicting the kings of Denmark and Norway. We find 29 occasional/ephemeral sheets (weddings, funerals, academic graduations). Handbills or broadsides describing events at the University, programmes and advertisement amount to 17. Seven open letters are concerning political matters. Furthermore we find five religious broadsides and four ordinances.

Time and life: The 29 ephemeral sheets record rites of passage in the life cycle of noble and/or learned men and women with connection to Denmark. Of these prints 13 were imprints from German towns, especially printed in Wittenberg, the religious centre and university town (10 sheets). They mostly consist of epithalamiums and epitaphs – celebrations of weddings and commemorations of deaths and funerals. As mentioned above, some of them carry illustrations. The woodcuts show heraldry: coats of arms belonging to families involved in the ceremonial occasions. The epitaph printed in Latin and Greek by Lorentz Benedicht in 1572 exhibits a fine example. The two woodcuts represent the coats of arms of Sidsel Ulfstand and Bjørn Andersen (Ill. 3).¹⁰ Another print from 1572 – an epithalamium printed by Lorentz Benedicht – is remarkable for the first score of a part-song hymn printed in Denmark.¹¹

Two other illustrated single sheets from the office of Lorentz Benedicht deserve special attention: The salutary poem from Anders Sørensen Vedel to the victorious admiral Peder Munk printed in 1569 with a coat of arms and a beautiful frame (Ill. 4).¹² Furthermore the *Typus Amicitiae* 'Picture of Friendship', a poem by Hans Frandsen (Ill. 5). The version from Benedicht 1579 is dedicated to the king's chancellor Niels Kaas with a wood cut showing a metaphor of friendship: summer/winter, far/near, life/death.¹³ Hans Frandsen (Johannes Franciscus Ripensis 1532–84) went to Wittenberg in 1551 to study and in 1556 and 1561 he published the *Typus Amicitiae* in Wittenberg, the last time with a dedication to his teacher Philip Melancthon. The prints from Wittenberg use the same text and woodcut.¹⁴ A new version of the emblematic motive of friendship was cut to the print from Benedicht in 1579 and a new stanza was added to the poem.

With the combination of wood cut motifs of the months, days and golden

CARMEN GRATULATORIUM
AD

NOBILEM ET GENEROSVM VIRVM,

PETRVM MÜNCK DN. DE ESTVADGAARD, CLASSIS

Serenissimi Regis, Frederici II. Regis Danie &c. Ammiralium fortissimum,
post memorabilem Victoriam partem de Piratis in Oceano orientali, Mense Iulio, Anno Domini 1569.Scriptum ab
Andrea Senesino Velleio.

In Vcetiam, infa qui ponderat omnia lance,
Et solet officij semper succurrere rebus,
Calorum atq; hominum pater huc sua lumen
na flexit,

Grandia preedonum scelera vides vindicte destra
Et diro poscens meritis pro crimine penas,
Expedit quistes pauida formidine montes.

Hec quistes fortuna omni spolatus iniqua,
Ingemuit, cœlum ipsum clamorq; repleuit,
In falso residens scopulorum vertice nudus
Nauta, sceleratorum facta impia piratarum
Incursans, Nemesisq; implorans vindicis iram?
Aut quoties, cari cura inflammata mariti
Dilectis coniunx frustrata amplexibus, omnes
Turbabat lacrymis portus: natig parentum
Dulcia neququam sperantes oscula, circum
Mœsta fatigabant se incensum littora cursu.

Sed non incensum tanta cecidere querela,
Nec tacuit, tacuit qui nusquam ad iusta precantium
Vota Deus venit, quam dudum optauimus, hora,
Qua pro furtiui scelerumq; immanibus ausis
Mulantur seni prædones, viueret raptis
Gens male fœta bonis, stirps edita Cæcis,
Oceani pestis, vitæq; infœmia Ponti.
Illa dies Fastis auro miniq; rubenti
Signata, in longum exiit memorabilis ænum.
Vestra quaq; Heros sortis, quorum auspice dextra
Res gesta est, nullum obscurabit nomina tempus,
Sed nostri veterum inquirunt si facta minoris,
Hæc dicant, est illa dies, qua Regia celsio
FRIDERICI, Oceani tractus purgavit eosq;
Prædonum inuasit spolia existiq; latebras.

Macte noua virtute, tuæ qui seminata gentis
MÜNCKORVM illustres, famag ad sidera tollis
PETRE tui generis natos serosq; nepotes.

Talis erat, patria ardenti succensus amore,
Iuista præstans dextra & fulgentibus armis
Pompeius, quando latè expulit æquore toto
Fœdas Harpyias, terreeq; fræteg uocantes,
Prædonum populatrices, dira omina, classes.
Non ille ambiguit vulgi rumoribus aures
Advertens, capis flexit de tramite cursus,
Sed fidens animo & generosi pectoris auso,
Prædia, diuitias, factum infectumq; metallum,
Vitam ipsam & vite sociam, natoq; tenellos,
Vrbis postpositis laudi populisq; saluti.
Sic tu magnanimus dum cuncta pericula sternis,
Publica priuatis preponens commoda rebus,
Apirat ventos Deus in tua vela secundos,
Fausa tibi applaudit læti victoria pomis,
Et victrice Hædora FORTVNÆ Registra coronat.

Quæntiam, cui dat STELLA AP' Rex nobile nomē,
HENRICVS, factis & animo sanguine clarus,
Non huc pontuaza cum sola PTIRINE portum
Hoffniaci intrant, verum spolia ampla reportans
Appulit integram secum hæc ad littora classem.

Illud erat, dudum quod nostra Ecclesia voto
Continuè orabat: pro quo iam sepe dolentes
Pupilli, misere matres viduæq; maritæ,
Tristia fundebant costas suspiria ad aras:

Hoc erat ille bonus regni Iosephus & alter
Seruande patriæ qui seruet amore Camillus
OXY S, in hoc lapsu glaciali tempore Brumæ,
Quod prudenti animo volebat & hæcenus visse
Pro iure & fama patriæ populisq; salute.

Scilicet hoc ipsum est, quod seruantissimus equi
Et tuæ Rex pacis amans querebat bonisq;
Consilij votisq; pijs & fortibus armis.
Hoc etiam voti compos iam gaudet abunde,
Et gratus primò persoluit debita laudum
Dona Deo, hinc cuiq; ex meritis sua præmia facis.

O qui res cunctas hominum & nutu omnia torques,
Qui sceptræ & Reges statuis mutasq; potentes,
Ceu Deus abne tibi potior sententia visa est:
Da porro hic noster sibi te experietur anicum
FRIDERICVS, tandem diuturni exordia belli
Fœdis fragam aduersus gentem felicibus armis
Finitæ, & rursus explebant bona gaudia mentem,
Vt pins agnosens solo te te auspice partem
Victricem palmam, dignas persolvere grates
Cores & ingressus sancti vestigia patriæ,
Sit Patriæ, ut caput, pater, atq; Ecclesiæ alumnus,
Regnum extrema Arctis sed famam terminet astris.

HAFNIÆ,
Excebat Laurentius Be
nedictus.

1 5 6 9.

TYPVS AMICITIÆ

AD
D. NICOLAVM KAAS CAN.
CELLARIVM



Et quicquid videt pistor in imagine vultus
Effe typum vera nroræ Amicitia.

Illud ut quondam pretiosius decusq; virebas,

Sic nunc pro vili sub pedibusq; iacet.

Inde mali labet & tristis regnas Eryman,

Qua misert multa mœnia bella plagis.

Omnia distidit sua omnia plena tumulor,

Mari peritru tota diris in orbe furit.

Si quid Amicitia superesse cura, profecto

Lū minor, & pietas maior vobis foret.

Hæc igitur vira nexor, hæc vincula quisquis

Tollit, in extincto nubila Sole probat.

Amicquaq; iterum renouat chaos: inq; Mincem

Oppressi reuelor conijcti igne Diem.

Sponsæ sua variæ vira off obiecta periclis,

Nec quicquam solida commoditatis habet.

Dulcis amicitia tamen hic si nexor, honorq;

Duras, habet quo se colligat aqua bonum.

Tanti sperg; manet vira dulcedo, beata

Donec amicitia inq; fidelisq; manet.

Ac si constanti quis definitur amico,

Quid vel consilij vel rationis habet:

Cur consiliari vira huius celsior opes,

Et quod mortali ferri vchis atropati?

Sic vel amicitia deninchtus legibus: ausis

Proxima qui busto iura gradusq; petas:

Huius enim frustra sine amico copia vira

Constat, & effructu constata planta solo.

Quæ cum non fructus adas quæ carpat amicum,

Mœrula languenti nœmina fore gerit.

Sed cessa. Quas amicitia sine comoda vere,

Ista refert veria picta figura notis.

Cernis in egregio iuuenilem corpore formam?

Hanc & amicitia semper in esse decet.

Tempore nequaquam disterno mota tepescant

Sed fens aquas candor, amorq; gradu.

Vix bona est virtus se sit durabiliq; ipsa.

Perq; sit nulla pericula lit fides.

Per caput incerto nudum suis ordine crinis,

Vi sit decetis quisquis amicum erit.

Erbescat nunquam nec Peras amicum amicum

Hæc sati quamvis tempora dura fymat.

Non habet ornata pretiois murice vestis,

Sed Pelas tenuis candida terga chlamys.

Sic qui profectus scilicet nomen amici,

Pro scio discas tristitia fata pati.

Mors & vira simul vira sub velle legantur,

Certus in incerta forte videtur amor.

Ardua non pigeat perferre pericula vira

Et mala pro feci summa salute pati.

Sic Plades carum carus dilectis Orpheus.

Pro quo non dubitæ mortis adire reges.

Hæc Aestas & Hyems supra caput additur illi:

Tristibus & latis rebus amicum adit.

Hæc quidem periculi infro suis tempore morte,

Tantum fortuna subiacet omnia amor.

Lubrica quo tandem sese fortuna reclinat,

Sine petis dubia summa, vel iura rota:

Quilibet hanc sequitur luctu periculis amor,

Nullo in aduersu rebus amicum adit.

Mta reuelari cernuntur viscera cordis,

Non vltimæ vira celat amicum opus.

Hæc igitur Amos querobis parit fenestram,

Viscera occultæ mentis aperta forant.

Quod cubitum inclinat pectus dum monstrat apertum

Facit quod hand cordi sine altera decet.

Et cor conuictus factis, nihil ore loquatur

Quæ non cum tacito consensu corde manent.

Per vira hic Longe, Prope, coniunguntur, amicos,

Non ratio longe & separata vira

Corporis seu inuicem fuerint seu forte remoti

Alter in alterius pectore nomen habet.

Vi nisi mors nemo vira distingat amicos,

At mala lit facies dissipatq; hunc.

Sic mea Asta typum paucis descripsi amici,

Florima sed mea quod Asta requirit, erant.

Cor patulum quo fons suas genus omne bonorum,

Quæq; solent cordis iussa subire manus.

Officia hic debent comprehendere cuncta duobus:

Officij fons est non simulacrum amor.

Nec tamen hic metum vira profectus fidali,

Sponsæ sua innumeras prestat amicum opes.

Tolle ere qualem mea pagina pingit amicum,

O mihi vira summo dignus honore coli.

Auctore IOHANNES FRAN-
CISCO Renski.

HÆFNIÆ,
Impressit Laurentius Benedicth.
1579.

U. 1. 39

numbers and types printed in black and red the Calendar from 1530 is outstanding not only for its age but also for its singularity in Denmark¹⁵: No tradition of printing single sheet calendars developed in Denmark as it did in the German states and towns. Of course, the great majority of the broadsides printed must have vanished, but it is unlikely that all the copies should have disappeared, if single-sheet calendars had been marketed as were the 'Peasants Practica' and the Almanac. Though almanacs were recycled too, nevertheless copies of almanacs printed in Denmark persistently survive from the 1570s. It is likely that the spread of calendars in the Lutheran Hymn books¹⁶ and later the calendar-monopoly of the privileged Almanac prevented the printing and diffusion of competing broadside-calendars in Denmark.

The private placard or advertisement is also known to have existed in the 1500s: in the year 1575 a doctor from Saxony, Valentine Reussworm, had a placard printed in Danish by Lorenz Benedicht in Copenhagen, on which he made known and evident to all, and especially to those who suffer from manifold illnesses and frailties of the body, that they "may visit me at my lodgings which are listed here below/ Each will receive good advice from me/and insofar as God has granted me grace /diligently to cure and help".¹⁷ The printed advertisement assumed a placard form in the sixteenth century that must have proved beneficial and profitable to the professions.

Broadsides were used to warn the public too: April 20 in the year 1595 the students at the University in Copenhagen could read a placard warning them against a certain Martin Schwartzbach from Schlesien "juris et fictitiæ poetic. Studiosum". He was known as an impostor from Sweden and Poland and now he was practising in Copenhagen.¹⁸

A natural extension of the image of power – the picture of the king (Ill. 1) – is presented by the dynastic tables which have survived from 1592: "Four tables or family trees: On the kings of Denmark and Norway." These were assembled by the Bishop of Bergen, Anders Foss, but printed in Copenhagen, and when supplemented with the counts and dukes of Holstein (sheet four) the tables give a clear picture of the historical kinship of the rulers of the lands and landscapes within the composite monarchy.¹⁹

The genealogical tables of the kings of Denmark and Norway are 'modern' in the sense that they discard the mythological tradition from Saxo and begin with the written tradition of the Kings Gorm and Harald. Saxo is still the source of Foss' table as mentioned on sheet I: "Harald the wise, the sixth King of that name (as Saxo says) with the nickname 'Blaatand', King in Denmark during the 50 years after his father promoted the Christian religion to the whole of the Kingdom, made law and right and did create a fine police, he was killed by his son in the year 980 and buried in Roskilde in the church of the holy Trinity, that had been founded by himself". The first sheet covers and comments on the rulers from Gorm to Kristoffer (deceased 1448). The sec-

ond register the Kings of Norway from the introduction of the Christian religion to the Union with Denmark, the death of Oluff 1387 and the rule of Margrete 1. The third and most current comments on the dynasty of Oldenburg, actually ruling Denmark and Norway, and it ends with the government of the new King Christian 4. and with the wish "from his loyal subjects that he will succeed his forefathers with piety, justice, courage and fortune, Amen". The broadsheets kept order in time, territory and history.

The broadside tables from the printing shops of Stockelmann and Mads Vingaard differ in size and shape (I: 380 x 288 mm, II: 362 x 264 mm, III: 282 x 362 mm. And IV: 378 x 264 mm). They are not meant to be bound together. It is probable they were to be posted on a board or in a cupboard.

As a parallel to the broadside dynastic tables, the privileged Almanac, printed by the University of Copenhagen, contained chronologies of the Kingdom, the kings and the queens. The common reader could also during the seventeenth and eighteenth century buy cheap prints titled 'A short Description of all the Kings of Denmark... from the first King Dan'.²⁰ The broadside-genealogies and the cheap print-chronologies are important as remains of the use of print in early modern state propaganda and the diffusion of state patriotism.

Politics: The return of the exiled King Christian 2. to Norway in 1531–32, his following imprisonment and the outbreak of the war 'Grevens Fejde' in 1534 provoked the use of single sheet printing as a tool of political propaganda.²¹ The three surviving open letters, probably printed in Malmö 1534, deal with the negotiations between King Frederick 1. and Christian 2. in 1532. The broadsides were printed in support of the followers of Christian 2. during the riots in 1534 by the print shop belonging to Christian Pedersen. As a canon from Lund, Christian Pedersen had printed the Latin Chronicle of the deeds of the Danes, written by Saxo, in Paris by the orders of King Christian 2. in 1514. Later he followed the king in exile and still fought his cause in Malmö. His print shop was closed in 1536 after defeat to King Christian 3.

King Frederick 2. used broadsides as propaganda during the Danish-Swedish Seven years war in the 1560s. Already at the very beginning of the war in 1563 the king had an open letter to the Swedish nobility printed at Hans Zimmermann in Copenhagen, and this was followed up by broadsheets addressed to 'Yeomen and common peasants' in Småland and even throughout Sweden.²² Frederick 2. had another such sheet printed by Lorentz Benedict in 1569 after the unsuccessful peace negotiations in Roskilde. The new Swedish King, Johan III, would not ratify the peace agreement of 1568, and as the hostilities resumed, Frederick apparently replied to Johan's printed propaganda with a printed handbill addressed to "The Yeomen and common peasants, who dwell in all of Sweden"²³. The putative true version of the events was briefly stated, together with an ugly mixture of appeal and threat:

first an appeal to the loyalties of the peasants to the shipwrecked Union or united kingdom that Frederick wished to ‘reconcile’, and then this address to the common people of Sweden concluded:

Since it is our final serious will and intention that if you supply our army with provisions and other necessities, you will be protected from attack, but insofar as you do not ... then we will be forgiven by God Almighty for allowing you to be ravaged with robbery, murder, fire and all other hostilities. And against you as our most arrant evident enemies we will in all ways act and treat so that you will regret and repent your reluctance and obstinacy...

The art of printing delivered both unofficially and officially the language of power directly to the people – the common peasantry. An official use of the single printed sheet in the service of power was the publication of the laws of the land: Ordinances as broadsides.

An early example is the ordinance concerning wrecks from 1521²⁴, and a sheet from c. 1558–59, a prohibition of Anabaptists’ and other Sects’ presence in Denmark, printed by Hans Vingaard and addressed ‘to all authorities as well as citizens and peasants and all others who dwell in our kingdoms Denmark and Norway’.²⁵ The same function was served by a tri-lingual handbill from 1569: *Frederik the Second’s mandate on certain conditions which the foreigners who seek to dwell here in the Kingdoms must meet*. This edict appeared at the same time in a longer version in quarto, 16 sheets, but also as a single sheet in Latin, Danish and German – just the size to mount on a wall.²⁶ The local priest read the ordinances aloud in the church after the service. In this way ordinary people could hear the law – and probably the open letters too – if they were unable to read or if they did not see the printed poster.

Religion: The generally most used form of single sheet printed material was religious. This consisted of both ecclesiastical propaganda and the popular religiosity with which the printers flooded the market. The oldest surviving Danish single printed sheets stem from the clerical agitation in the decades after the Reformation. The items in question are a few tables and devotional sheets devised by Niels Palladius and Peder Palladius and printed by Hans Vingaard in the 1550s. In a beautiful printed frame, for example, “Jesus Christ’s serious commandments to all his faithful Christians” was continually visible (Ill. 6).²⁷ It is actual the oldest ‘Himmelbrief’ known from Denmark. Jesus Christ speaks through the bishop Niels Palladius directly to the reader about penance and real conversion and “beware of my enemies the fraudulent Devil, Turk and Pope”. Signed: “MDLV. Jesus Christ, the living God’s Son and Saviour of the World”.²⁸ As a New Year’s present to the nobleman and canon Lage Urne, Niels Palladius in 1558 had a placard printed covering the eight reasons why the Lord, Jesus Christ was born in the shape of a man in the world: “A very useful Table” (Ill. 7).²⁹ That these tables should help the memory and the learning by heart is obvious from the broadside by Peder Palladi-

**Jesu Christi den allomhøpfte Keyseris oc
Kongis alnorlig bud oc befaling til alle sine tro
Christne/dofcreffuey oc af hans Raade paa Ap formeret
ved sin fattige tiener.**

Artol: Pall:



Esu Jesus Christus den leffuendis Gude Søn / fød off Konge Dawids stert /
en Erkefald Konge / en Verdens saliggøier / en midelere mellem Gud oc mennis
skæg / en Guds Løn som bort tager Verdens syndet / Døpfer oc tilbløder alle
mine tro sigende oc seffte / min Raade oc Dømtidtigghed.

✓ Vder kære sigende oc seffte / oc son eder derfor tænkter / at teg off min
Gummelke faders naade oc heilighed / for tusinde sin hundrede halffredesinds sine
oc fire Aar / kom med aff himmelen i denne Jæmredal / i en tigeris sticke / stent oc giffut off sin
deret / eder atme menniske til siel oc salighed / oc paa det teg skilde met min pine oc Død bort ta-
ge eders syndet oc Guds vrede / oc forlige eder met Gud / oc at teg skilde met sin pine oc Død bort ta-
ge eders Døden / Døffuelen oc helffuer / oc gøier eder met min opstandelse met sin pine / i min him-
melke faders eulge rige / ✓ Vder oc saa vel met hvad Ed oc forpligelse / i haffue saart mig i Aar-
ben / son eders rette affue sterte oc Konge / Du haffuer (disfuer) mange off der i long tid saadant
foriget oc offuer eder fra mig / til den trekonede affgud i Kong / til hans ord / bud oc befaling / oc
i haffue i eders saligheds sag hafft eders tilfuct til eders egne oc andre Dømtidfers forfættelse
oc verdshold / oc laffen sig at dycke oc tilbede skæcke oc stene oc mig eders rette Salig gøier haff-
ue i (son menadere) forfuct oc forat oc lidet ætlet mine ord / seffte Testament / oc wifaglige vel-
gentinger / son teg haffuer vider for eders syld.

✓ Der saar mine elskelge sigende oc seffte raader teg eder oc bløder / on i wille icke lide culge
straff / at i salde fra offueret oc menniskers lærd igen / son hand gøier eder skæde oc enige forderffuelle
oc kommer til mig / teg vil alene oc gerne vider eders salighed / son min Gummelke fader oc teg haffuer
loffut eder / oc son teg haffuer lodet mig omkaaffe / den teg sig skide saa veldelege for eder / at mit
Døtfer blod bleff wæst / oes teg saff mig i døden for eder / ✓ I sterte icke skamme / icke seere eders
erndog i haffue i mange maade pæckit eder wilsigelige mod mig / kommit chon wilsigelige til mig igen.
✓ Hi teg er megt naadig oc fuld off Dømtidtigghed / son offuer gaar alle Verdens syndet / oc hån
icke lide nogen synders Døden / inen at hand skal omuende sig oc seffte / eder efter mig eders sterte
men i hunde finde mig / vider til mig on siel / inen teg er nær / ✓ Hi teg vil her efter seffte vider eders
siunde / son skal føde eder met Guds ord / hulle teg lodet in omuendelige oc klarlige vider oc sin-
der eder til / at alle son ere bange oc forpligende for eders syndet oc seffte sig for min faders vrede oc
den eulge Død / de skulle komme til mig / teg vil hualde oc wærgue dem / oc tage eders syndet
bort / icke for de reffedigheds geminger / syld son i haffue gjort / men efter min Dømtidtigghed
giffue teg eder alle min gøier.

✓ Der saar mine elskelge / bedde teg all icke forpligende heller ringe ætte saadan min siel oc
trøst / paa det i skulle icke giffue anfage til at fæde i blinghed igen / oc bliffue bidagne off Døffue-
ten / Trecken oc Passien oc andre min faders stender / ✓ Hi Døffuelen eders modfænder gaar om-
kling son en glubendis i søie oc søger alle begne lempen til at laache eder til sig oc forderffue eder.

✓ Dette mine kære vnderfaate kunde teg icke dulle saar eder / at teg ey (vdi en god mening)
skulde giffue eder det til kende / forhaabendis wilsig / at i her efter bekende eders store nød oc
trang / oc rode til mig on biffand oc siel / Saa vil teg da gerne forbarne mig offuer eder / oc seffte
eder aff alle eders stenders hender / oc vil oc saa liden ey kort tid komme ned off himmelen oc gøier
mine trofaste tiener belættige i min Gummelke faders eulge Rige / oc wænta oc menadere (son ere
salne fra mig / til mine stender / Døffuelen / Trecken oc Passien) vil teg her skide i den eulge for-
dømmelse / der efter mine elskelge hand huer off eder (met der snare) vider at rette sig. ✓ Hi i vider
huercken dag eller stund / paa hulleken teg vil komme / at fig ey endelge dem aff offuer leffuendis
oc Døde / Dømtid hafft min faders høier haand / Aar efter min siel. Amen.

Jesus Christus den leffuendis Gude Søn oc Verdens freller.



us “Some of the holy names and titles of our Lord, Jesus Christ ...” (Ill. 8).³⁰ It is dedicated to the noblewoman Pernille Oxe and other women – her “sisters” – as a New Year’s present, so that they could “learn the names and titles by heart and remember them, that we can always be faithful and call upon the names”.

There is a close connection between the earliest single sheets and the many of the type: “A small Placard, which our blessed Fathers had daily before their Eyes in their Homes, to behold in their pious simplicity the Goodness of GOD ...”, which are found from the 1700s.³¹ Like the private devotions in the form of single sheets: “A very noble and Christian Home Blessing, He who has this Print in his House and lives by its Precepts will succeed in all Things. For the Lord’s Blessing gives Riches without Toil.”³² The most noticeable difference is the lack of printed pictures on the oldest items. It was in the combination of print and image that the printed single sheet later in the eighteenth century achieved its most popular form.

Pictorial woodcuts in other formats in Denmark in the sixteenth century – a comparison

Danish language printing was combined with woodcuts from its very origins in the form of the picture of the king at the beginning of Gotfred of Ghemen’s edition of the Rhymed Chronicle (*Rimkrøniken*) in 1495.³³ Development from the royal portrait as a symbol of power to realistic depiction of things and topography also belonged to Danish printing in the 1500s. For example, the printed portrait of Christian II in the translation of the New Testament from 1524 is among the best in the iconography of this king.³⁴ Hans Tausen’s translation of the Old Testament from 1535 used pictures in an illustrative, new way in Danish language printed books: the pictures appear here in series – for example of the Ark of the Covenant, the Candlestick in the Tabernacle, the Tabernacle etc. – series which spread over several pages without the character of mere references. Instead, these pictures had independent informational value concerning strange things.³⁵ The later complete editions of the Bible, “Christian IIIs Bibel” 1550 and “Frederik IIIs Bibel” 1589, also contain woodcuts of German origins.³⁶ But these woodcuts were closer to artistic expression than was the case with the informative illustrations in the Hans Tausen/Michael Lotter Old Testament. The most eminent illustrations from an aesthetic point of view are found in a Passional from Lorentz Benedicht 1573 and in Mads Vingaard’s edition of Luther’s Huspostil form 1577.³⁷

Practical, topographic information was first used in Denmark in Lorentz Benedicht’s publication of “Sea Chart of the Baltic and the North Seas” (*Søkortet over Øster og Vestersøen*) in Copenhagen in 1568.³⁸ After the maps themselves “follow some figures and compasses / useful for Seamen to know” and the 122 page book was used for the instruction of navigators com-

Ref. 29. D. LVI.

[illegible]

Ruff.
 Kemper:
 Wils fader
 Fredzens Wiffe
 Ruffredigheds Wol: Galach. III,
 Vor fred Eph: II.
 En Donner offuer leffuende cc dyde Act: v.

[illegible]

Det. Pall.

bined with many woodcuts of shore profiles, i.e. topographical orientation on stretches of the coast or islands as seen from the water through the aid of hills, buildings and church towers.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century copper engraving took over the role of the woodcut in informative and decorative illustrations. Graphic artists such as Simon de Pas (1620s)³⁹ and Albert Haelwegh (1640s) made engravings of the Danish kings, and they set an artistic standard worthy of imitation by local engravers.⁴⁰ The technique of the woodcut was abandoned to popular printers' small formats and especially news-sheets (times, *Zeitungen*) printed in quarto (four to eight pages). It is in the news-sheets from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth century that we find the woodcut illustrations of blood-rain, earthquake, the marvellous fish, the abnormal child, the werewolf and the strange basilisk.

Pictorial Single-Sheet Prints in Denmark – a Short Historical Perspective

Nothing like the German golden age of the printed illustration for the common man was found in Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a possible explanation is that the German illustrated broadsides controlled the Danish market. A continuous transmission of illustrated single sheet prints did not occur in Denmark until the 1720s with the production of Christian Thielo and Johan Jørgen Høffner.⁴¹ From the 1730s several Copenhagen printers did well on printed woodcut pictures, and Thomas Larsen Borup's printshop became particularly prominent in this field between 1756 and 1770.⁴²

Freedom of the press, which was introduced in one fell swoop in 1770 during the enlightened dictatorship of count J.F. Struensee, also created a line of demarcation in the history of the printed broadsheet in Denmark. The liberty of the press resulted in a wave of lampoons of the representatives of church and king, and eventually of Struensee and the royal family itself in 1771–72. The boom-like growth in the classic formats of popular print, including the illustrated single sheet, documents the existence of a large reading market in Copenhagen at this time. Most importantly, the liberty of the press gave rise to a marked quantitative growth in weekly publications, which remained a permanent point of departure for political debate in Denmark.

The time of Struensee was the point at which the printing of satirical political pictures made its breakthrough in popular single sheet printing, and it was never effectively opposed during the gradual tightening of the freedom of the press at the end of the eighteenth century.

Johan Rudolph Thiele had established himself as an independent printer only six months before the introduction of the free press, and his specialties

were ballads, pamphlets and the satires for which the new conditions created a hitherto unknown market. When he into the bargain married Thomas Larsen Borup's widow Rebecca, his firm became the centre of pictorial printing in Copenhagen.

Thiele took over the production of religious pictures, which on and off was supplemented with depictions of great events and catastrophes, and to this was added the new feature of the satirical, political pictures. That the trial and execution of Struensee and Brandt became a turning point in the printed media's treatment of Danish politics was indeed metaphorically the patricide of the freedom of the press. Up until this time political power had been marketed in the form of loyal propaganda portraiture, but after the fall of Struensee, satirical, political printed imagery appeared. As a matter of course, other printers, and not only in Copenhagen, imitated Thiele's pictures.⁴³

Thiele became a tycoon within the field of popular printing, but lost everything in the bankruptcy of the Danish state in 1813. The Borup-Thiele materials were used in the first half of the nineteenth century by the Tribler Publishers (Det Tribleriske Forlag)⁴⁴ and when printing was expanded to the provinces in the 1770s the printing of pictures also became a livelihood in the provinces.

The printed pictorial material in the eighteenth century represented by and large the same subject matter as the popular book press: primarily models and religious prescriptions for life. The stages of life were also presented in graphic form. As an attachment to the religious stories the imaginative picture appeared, these were primarily historical reports: the news, illustrated, from earthquakes to the bad ends of minor and major criminals. All these pictorial types were united by a common form of representation: the popular woodcuts continued the use of the pictorial space of the late middle ages: That which was most important was placed as the largest item in the foreground of the picture. Perspective was not employed, and thus neither did the pictures contain the representative illusion of perspective space. The popular printed pictorial tradition allowed for the depiction of events which were separated in time within the same pictorial surface.

This simplistic or naive pictorial language was gradually abandoned in the imagery of the broadsides after 1840, when A. C. F. Flinch's Xylografiske Institut mass-produced graphic sheets in Copenhagen and marketed them with the help of advertisements in almanacs. After a delay of 300 years in relation to art printing or the illustrations to the edition of the Old Testament form 1535 mentioned above, the revolution of perspective technique and its effect on space and time in pictures was introduced into popular printed pictures, and the result was the creation of a new tradition in the second half of the 1800s.

Table 1

Single-Sheet Prints and Broadside (folio patent) from Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein in the Sixteenth Century (with German imprints)

Source: Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1600*. Second edition with supplementary volume by Erik Dal. Cph. 1996.

Year	Place of publication	Title/ topic	LN nr
[1521]	Copenhagen / B. Blumme	Forordning om vrag (Ordinance/ Wreck)	67a
[1530]	?	Kalendarium	109a
[1534]	[Malmø / Hoochstraten]	Vidisse (Open Letter)	69
[1534]	[Malmø / Hoochstraten]	Vidisse (Open Letter)	115
[1534]	[Malmø / Hoochstraten]	Vidisse Open Letter)	129
1555	[Copenhagen/ Hans Vingård]	N. Palladius: Jesu Kristi Bud	1224
1555	[Copenhagen/ Hans Vingård]	P. Palladius: Strenula	1296
1555	[Copenhagen/ Hans Vingård]	P. Palladius: Strenula	1297
1556	[Copenhagen/ Hans Vingård]	P. Palladius: Jesu Kristi Navne	1292
1556	[Wittenberg/ Kraft?]	Frandsen: Typus amicitiae (Woodcut)	632
1558	[Copenhagen/ Hans Vingård]	N. Palladius: Tavle..Jesus Kristus	1246
1558/59	[Copenhagen/ Hans Vingård]	Ordinance against Anabaptists	619
1561	[Wittenberg/ Kraft?]	Frandsen: Typus amicitiae (Woodcut)	633
1563	[Copenhagen/ Zimmermann]	Frederik 2.s Open Letter (War)	439
1564	[Copenhagen/ Zimmermann]	Frederik 2.s Open Letter (War)	437
1564	[Copenhagen/ Zimmermann]	Klippingemønt (Ordinance/ Coins)	621
1565	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	Portræt af Christian 3. (Woodcut)	15
1565	Wittenberg/ Kraft	Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding)	709
1565	Wittenberg/ Schwenck	Akademisk Lejlighedsdigt (Propemptikon)	1486a
1565	[Wittenberg/ Kraft?]	P: Pedersen: Lejlighedsdigt (Carmen..)	1323
1566	?	Lektionskatalog (Programme)	1060a
1569	[Copenhagen/ Benedicht]	Frederik 2.s Open Letter (War)	438
1569	[Copenhagen/ Benedicht]	Frederik 2.s Open Letter (Strangers/confess.)	557
1569	Copenhagen/ Benedicht	Vedel: Lejlighedsdigt (Carmen) (Woodcut)	1610
1572	Leipzig / H. Rhamba	Amerinus: Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding)	347
1572	Copenhagen/ Benedicht	Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding) (Music)	1529a
1572	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	Tycho Brahe: Carmen	424
1572	Copenhagen/ Benedicht	Epithaphium (Woodcuts)	1055
1575	Wittenberg/ Kraft	Academic Congratulation	1056
1575	Copenhagen/ Stockelmann	University Programme	691
1575	[Copenhagen/ Benedicht]	Advertisement fom doctor Reusswurm	1396
1579	Copenhagen/ Benedicht	Frandsen: Typus amicitiae (Woodcut)	634
1579	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding) (Woodcut)	1025
1582	Copenhagen/ Gutterwitz	Sascerides – Resen: Themata	1441
1584	Uraniborg	Tycho Brahe: Epithaphium	431

1585	Uraniborg	Orthographia arcis Uranienburg (Woodcut)	1220
1589	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	Lejlighedsdigt (Funeral)	1404
1589	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1347
1591	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1355
1592	[Copenhagen/ Hans Stockelmann]	Genealog. table of kings of Denmark/ Norway	626
1592	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	Genealog. table of kings of Denmark/ Norway	626
1592	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	Genealog. table of kings of Denmark/ Norway	626
1592	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	Genealog. table of kings of Denmark/ Norway	626
1592	<i>Hamburg/ Steinbach</i>	Bryllupslykønsning (Wedding)	1156
1593	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1348
1594	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1349
1594	<i>Wittenberg/ Kraft</i>	Bonnus: Nepenthes.. Lagonio	418
1594	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1356
1594	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1346
1595	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1357
1595	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1350
1595	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1351
1595	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Advarsel til studerende (Warning)	307
1595	<i>Wittenberg/ Kraft</i>	Bonnus: Martis et Artis	416
1595	Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård	J. Dybvad: University Programme	542
1596	Slesvig/ Wegener	Nytårsdigt (De novo anno)	1182
1596	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1352
1596	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1353
1596	<i>Wittenberg/ Gronenberg</i>	Bonnus: Propempticon	419
1596	Slesvig/ Wegener	Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding)	1513
1597	[Slesvig/ Wegener]	Ordinance on rate of interest	1627
1598	Slesvig/ Wegener	Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding)	477
1599	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	S. Baggesen: Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding)	372
1599	[Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård]	Programma universitatis Hafniensis	1354
1599	Copenhagen/ Waldkirch	Hasebard (Funeral)	722
1599	<i>Wittenberg/Gronenberg</i>	Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding)	724
1600	<i>Rostock/Möllmann</i>	Bryllupslykønskning (Wedding)	442
1600	[Copenhagen/Stockelmann]	Epithaphium	571
?	?	Bryllupsdigt (Wedding)	572a

Henrik Horstbøll

Møllebakken 4

DK-3400 Hillerød

Denmark

Photos: The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Notes

1. The transmission of the surviving prints is described by Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1600*, Copenhagen. 1919–1933. New edition with supplements by Erik Dal, vol. 1–4, Copenhagen. 1996. (In the following: LN).
2. The formatsystem is the key to my investigation of the culture of popular print in early modern Denmark: *Menigmands medie. Det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500–1840*. Copenhagen 1999.
3. Contrary to the situation in the German states: Gisela Ecker, *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555. Untersuchungen zu einer Publikationsform literarischer Texte*, 1–2. Stuttgart 1981. Walter L. Strauss, *The German single-leaf woodcut 1550–1600: a pictorial catalogue*. 1–3. N.Y. 1975. Wolfgang Harms/ Michael Schilling (eds.), *Das illustrierte Flugblatt in der Kultur der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main, 1998. About the earliest single sheet prints from the fifteenth century: Falk Eisermann and Volker Honemann, "Die ersten typographischen Einblattdrucke", *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 2000, p. 88–131.
4. V.E. Clausen, *Det folkelige danske træsnit i etbladstryk 1565–1884*, Copenhagen. 1985. (In the following: Clausen).
5. Clausen no. 208.5 and LN 15 (supplement-volume 1996).
6. LN 109a (682 x 72 mm).
7. LN 1220: Orthographia Arcis Uranienburg. Lauritz Nielsen, *Tycho Brahes Bogtrykkeri*, Copenhagen 1946, p. 19–20. Peter Zeeberg, "The inscriptions at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg", in *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature*. Ed. By Minna Skaftte Jensen. Odense 1995, p. 254.
8. LN 634, 1025, 1055, 1529a, 1610. The printer and xylograph Lorentz Benedicht is particularly famous for his woodcut-illustrated books: R. Paulli, *Lorentz Benedicht. Bogtrykker og xylograf i sidste halvdel af det XVI. Aarhundrede*. Copenhagen 1920. Georg Garde, "Lorentz Benedichts dekorative rammer. Inspirationen fra Lyon", *Fund og Forskning* 16, 1969, p. 31–42. Lauritz Nielsen, *Boghistoriske Studier*. 1923, p. 69–70.
9. LN 632, LN 633.
10. LN 1055, Niels Lauridsen, Epithaphium Ceciliae Ulfstand.
11. LN 1529a.
12. LN 1610.
13. LN 634.
14. LN 632, 633. The version from 1561 is reproduced in *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Ed. Wolfgang Harms, Bd. I, "Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel" Teil 1, ed. Wolfgang Harms und Michael Schilling, Tübingen 1985, no. I.17, p. 47. About Hans Frandsen and the poem: Karsten Friis-Jensen and Minna Skaftte Jensen, "Humanismens gennembrud i Danmark set gennem Hans Frandsens forfatterskab", *Museum Tusculanum*, 40–43, København 1980, p. 651–680, especially p. 674–675. The emblem and the poem were widely diffused in Europe in the sixteenth century. Professor Gábor Tüskés has kindly informed me about a version from Hungary 1599: Marót Károly, "Amicitia", *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Sectio Philologica*. Tomus XIII, Fasc.1. Szeged, 1939, p. 65–72.
15. Rasmus Nyerup, *Det skandinaviske Litteraturselskabs Skrifter* 18, 1822 p. 190–199. Nils Lithberg, "Computus" ed. Sam Owen Jansson, *Nordiska museets Handlingar* 29, 1953.
16. From 1533 we can see the calendar in the Hymn Book from Malmö: LN 237. Merete Geert Andersen, "Kalendarierne i vore ældste danske Salmebøger", *Hymnologiske Meddelelser* 1976, 3, p. 108.
17. LN 1396
18. LN 307. H.F.Rørdam, *Københavns Universitet 1537–1621*, vol. 3. 1873–77, p. 49–52.
19. LN 626. The first printed by Hans Stockelmann and the last three by Mads Vingaard 1592. Mads Vingaard's printer's imprint on sheet four. Sheet 1 and 2 survived in Copenhagen, sheet 1–4 in Stockholm: Gustaf Rudbeck. "Biskop Anders Fos' Genealogiska Tabeller af år 1592" *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* IV, 1917, p. 198–203.

20. Horstbøll, op. cit. 1999, p. 530ff.
21. LN 69, LN115, LN 129. L. Nielsen, "Christian Pedersen og Bogtrykkerkunsten", *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* V, 1918 p. 59.
22. 1563 Letter to the nobility: LN 439. 1564 Open Letter to Yeomen and Peasants in Småland: LN 437.
23. 1569: LN 438.
24. LN 67a.
25. LN 619.
26. Folio patent: LN 557. Quarto: LN 556. A parallel in the ordinance LN 617 from Lorentz Benedicht 1588 in which the requirement that all beggars be registered in both boroughs and counties was made known to authorities and people.
27. LN 1224. Hans Vingaard 1555. Vingaard had acquired the initials and frames from the workshop of Hochstraten/Christian Pedersen in Malmö. Lauritz Nielsen, *Boghistoriske Studier*. 1923. p. 60–62.
28. Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Biskop Niels Palladius. Et bidrag til den danske kirkes historie 1550–60*. Copenhagen, 1968. p. 78–82. Palladius' Himmelbrief was the inspiration and source to the first Himmelbrief from Sweden: Stockholm 1574.
29. LN1246. Hans Vingaard 1558. Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Biskop Niels Palladius. Et bidrag til den danske kirkes historie 1550–60*. Kbh. 1968. p. 93–94.
30. LN1292. Hans Vingaard 1556.
31. Clausen, no. 175–180.
32. Clausen, no. 102–119.
33. LN232. Copengagen 1495.
34. LN270. Det nye Testamente, Leipzig, Melchior Lotter 22.8.1524.
35. LN269 Hans Tausen ed. Det gamle Testamente, Magdeburg, Michael Lotter, 1535.
36. Poul Otzen, "Illustrationerne i Frederik II's Bibel 1589", *Fund og Forskning* 13, 1966 p. 51–70.
37. LN 1306 og 1085, Lauritz Nielsen, *Boghistoriske Studier*, 1923 p. 54.
38. LN1549.
39. H.D. Schepelern, "Simon de Pas og andre kobberstikkere omkring Christian IV", *Kunstmuseets Årsskrift*, 1951.
40. Jørgen Styhr, *Dansk Grafik 1500–1800*, I, Copenhagen 1970. Jørgen Styhr has produced an analytical biography of *Kobberstikeren Albert Haelwegh*, Kbh., 1965.
41. Clausen, p. 14–24. Harald Ilsøe, *Bogtrykkerne i København*, Copenhagen 1992, p.103.
42. J.E. Tang Kristensen, "Thomas Larsen Borup. En københavnsk bogtrykker som form-skærer", *Bogvennen*, 1957, p. 98–110.
43. Frederik Krohn, *Samlinger til en beskrivende fortegnelse over danske kobberstik, raderinger, illustrationer m.m.*, Copenhagen 1962.
44. Clausen, p. 35.