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Single-Sheet Prints and Broadsides 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 print-shops 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

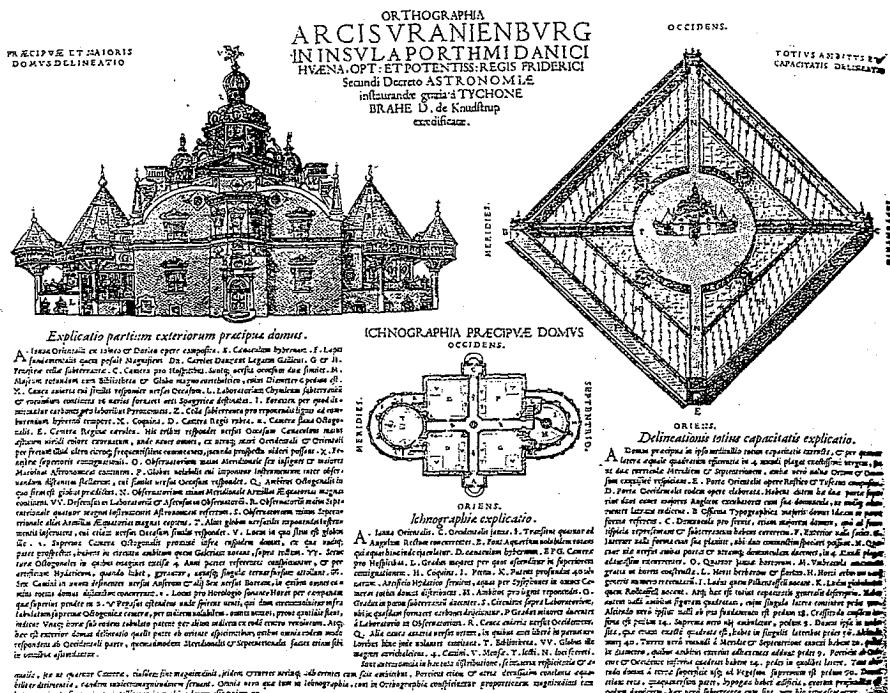
Within the system of formats single-sheet printing represents a specific format: Folio patent, i.e. the sheet is not folded. The classical format system, in which printed works appeared in one of the four basic formats – ‘in folio’, ‘quarto’, ‘octavo’, and ‘in parvo modo’ – became traditional in the 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 of the Bible to a dedication 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 on 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 Benedict.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.

EPITAPHIVM.

Nobilissimæ & pñssimæ Foeminæ, Ceciliae Vlfstandt, Filiae

PRÆSTANTISSIMI HEROIS D. TRVDERI VLFSTANDT,

Equitis Aurati, & Domini de Estrup: Generosiq; & sapientis viri, D.

Biornonis Andreae, Domini de Stenholz: Et Senatoris Regni

Daniæ, coniugis. Quæ in vera filij Dei agnitione

obdormiuit, Anno domini 1561.

die 7. August

NICOLAO LAVRENTIO

Ripenfis



Venit inter distinctas floribus herbas,
Puniceo surgit comta colore rosa :
Emula, vitale, comea ut sparsit in auras,
Vere non frondes, germina prima dedit.
Hanc messor currua secutus dum falso, iuvent
Exxit, amissa fronde virent, decus.
Atetatis viridi vivens Cecilia flore,
Sic prematura morte soluta fuit.
Edita nobilium fuerat que stirpe parentum,
Per quos nobilissima Scania nomen habet.
Claruit insigni genitor Trudericus honore,
Qui fuit Auratus nobilitatis Eques.
Cuius magnificis gressus re laudibus extant,
Crebraq; diversis cognita fama locis.
Vt proceres inter magnos celebrerimus omnes
Emicuit, donec fata tulere senem :
Sic quoq; faminee decus ingens nobilitatis
Exitit, & tanto digna parente fuit.
Nec minus illustri genitrix hanc sanguine natam.
Edidit, insignes que numerauit auos.
Præstantem celebri coniunctam stremmate formam,
Moribus ornauit cum gravitate pijs.
Inclita progenies, clarum quoq; nomen avorum,
Et decus & titulum nobilitatis habent :
Iuncta sed egregio præstans in corpore virtus,
Nobile commendat non sine laude genus.
Hanc vitæ sociam, de sanguine natua Equestris,
Iunxit Biorum, fibi fæderi coniugij.
Perpetuo cuius casto flagrabat amore,
Redditis illa vicem, lite carebat amor.

*Tres genuit natos, sociali pignora lecti,
Eximis claros dotibus ingenij.
Filiolas celebri peperit e propriae natas,
Virginea quater est factaq; prole parens.
Omnes hanc gelida lugebant morte folasum,
Fouit in Aonijus quotquot Apollo inguis.
Ipsam plangebant pullo velamine tefti;
Magnates, & qui florida rura colunt.
Gratior, etherea fed viuit in arcu, Tontani,
Aſſidua timuit quod pietate Deum.*

ALIVD EIVSDEM

Σενίλινη προσθήτησαν θάλαμους πάνω
ταύτης κοινωνίας αρχαιότητας πέρα,
καὶ γραφεῖσι τούτοις μηδεποτέ οὐαίσια
ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέτικταν θάνατοι.
Ἄγην δὲ την παραπομπὴν ταῦτα καὶ βούλησε
εὐχαρίστης εἶναι ταῦτας τὰς καταβοτάς.
Ευτοπίας Σάμου την φύλαξεν οὐαίσια,
βαθέστα τὸ φράγμα τὸ θεωρεῖσθαι λαζαρεῖον.
Πίστιν δὲ ὡρῆι μάκριν αὔστοι πέντε θύεσαν
Ημαδίας τοῖν τοῖν στόλοι σφίλας πέρι θύεσθαι
μήχανος καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θύεις εἰλέσθαι περιπολίσθαι
Τυρεῖς δὲ τὸν πόλεαν καὶ θύεισιν:
Οιουλανταρίας δὲ τὴν ἔργων την θεραπείαν ταῦτα γο
ευμάρτιον πολὺτελεῖς Χρυσούς αἴσθασθαι.
Υπόφορος δέ τοιν τὰς καὶ κοριτσίν ταῦτα γο
καὶ τὰς πλαΐσιας θεραπείαν ταῦτα.

Hafnia.
Impresit Laurentius Be-
nedicti.

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

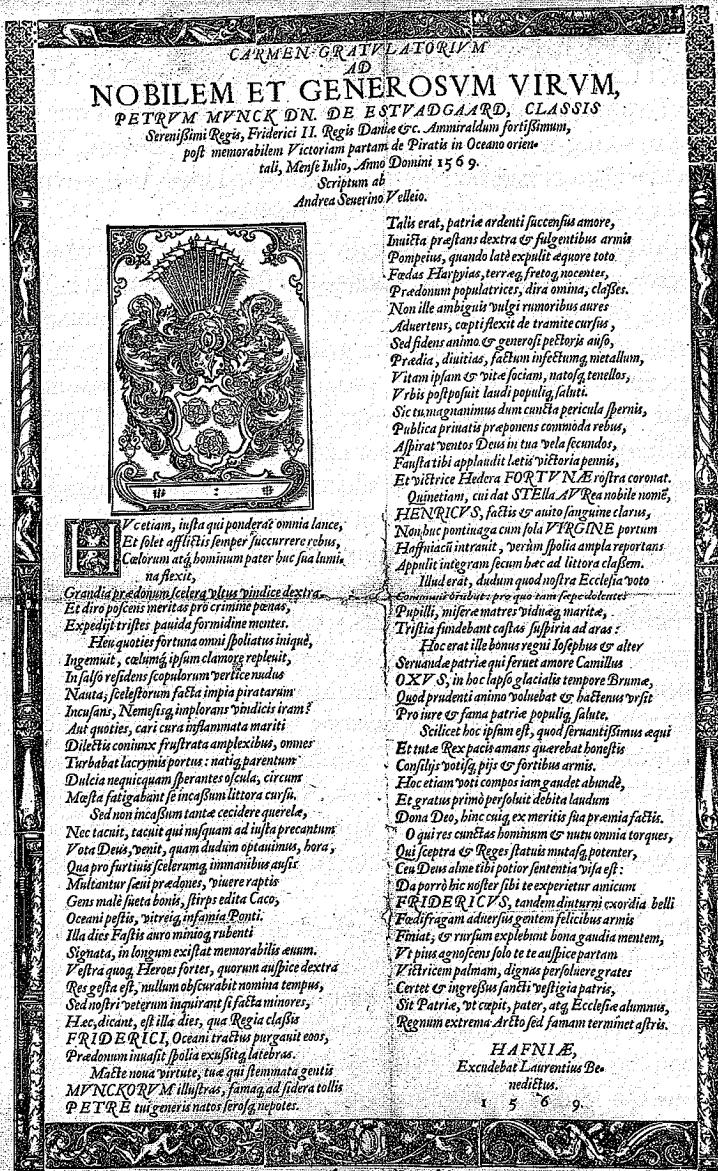
The 69 surviving prints in folio patent from the first century of the printed medium in Denmark sketch the contours of how this medium was used by the church, by the king and by aristocratic and learned persons. They demonstrate an ecclesiastical and secular media-consciousness in the exploitation of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



4. 1569 Copenhagen/ Benedict, A.S. Vedel: Carmen Gratulatorium (Woodcut).



5. 1579 Copenhagen/ Benedict, Frandsen: Typus amicitiae (Woodcut).

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 alsomhøyste Keyseris oc Kongis alnørlig bud oc beslaming til alle sine tro Christne/bidkrefteue oc aff hans Raade paa Ky formeret ved sin fætige Fætre.

Nicol: Pall:

Eg Jesu Christus den leffuende Guds Søn/syd os Konge Davids stædt/
en Aarsfeld Konge/ en Verdens folkesyger/ en midleret mæltre Gud er mænns-
keden/ en Guds Lam som bort tager Verdens synder. Preker er tilblidet alle
mænne tro bischte or spiske/mih glæde & Barnflektighed.

¶ Vider høre bischte or spiske/ oc som der befortenekter/ at leg os mihi
himmelke fader næde og kærlighed/ for tuinde sin hundrede halftredelands tue
oc sine Bar/kon reb os himmelens i denne Jæmedal i en siceris skæltre, planer og gisstet oss han-
deren/ eder arme innankee til hjælp os salighed/ oc paa der teg phille met min pine og Død bojt ta-
ge eders synder os Guds vrede/ oc forlige eder met Gud/ oc at teg sandre foderesse os forslere eders
mænne tro bischte or spiske/mih glæde & Barnflektighed.

¶ Det fant mine elskelige bischte os hestie raader leg eder oc blader / om i ville ikke lide culse
stæff/ at fulde fra affugderi et menigheds ledet (gen) som hand givere fadre or enige foderessens
oc kommer till mig/ leg vil aleen oc genne vere eders salghed/ som mihi himmelke fader os teg hofuer
loftet eder/ oc som leg hoffuer ladet mig omklaas/ idt leg stude saa veldelige for eder/ at mit
opzæder blod blaff dødes/ /leg les gaff mig i døden for eher/ /I ikke leke flamme alle freyre eder
enøg i haffere/ mange mæde saltet/ der willsølge med mig/ kommer chor dufstelge til mit bren-
tih leg es megt naadig/ os full af Barnflektighed/ som ofure gaar alle Verdens synder/ oc had-
tike lide nogen syndre. Døben at hand statcnuende fra os leffur/ ledet effter mig vores Hære/
men i kunde finde mig/ Robet til migson hilpmæde leg er mer/ /Chi leg vil sef effter sifst vores eders
hjørde/ som skal spde eder met Guds ord/ huelike leg ledet mi obenhvælge os klatlæg hædobe os blis-
der der ill/ at alle son ere bangs or forrigshulde for detes synder os frete sig for mit fader/ vrede och
der enig Dø/ / de hule komme til mig/ leg til fulstalte or vernege dem/ /Se røg deres hylde
hørt ikke for de refredigheds genninger/ pleb som i haffue giort/ men effter mig Barnflektighed
gissuet leg eder alle mæde kærlighed.

¶ Det fant mine elskelige/ beder/ leg all ikke forhindre heller ringe arte saadann mig hilt och
teg/ par det i fælle ikke elskede varfage till at fade i blingsyd ign/ oc blisse bidragne oss Døfseue-
len/ Preken or Pøfuen or andre mihi faderes stæmer/ Chi Døfseuer eders modstandere gaar om-
kring som i glændende lise or /siger alle vegne tempe til at laache eder til sig os foderesse eder.

¶ Detle mine hære underfante kunde leg ikke dølie faar eder/ at leg ey (vdi en god mening)
skulde gissue eder det til kende/ /so haabendis visselige/ /och i her effter bekende eders store nyd och
træng/ oc robe til mig om distand or plæt/ /Saa bli leg da genne forvarne mig ofure eder/ /oc høst
eder af alle eders stenders hender/ /oc vil oca liden by hørt idt komme ned off himmelens och gøre
mine trofaste tiener delactas/ i mihi himmelke faders enige Rige/ /oc vante os menschede/ (som ere
salone sin mig/ til minn funder Døfseuer/ /Preken or Pøfuen) vil leg hen finde i den enige for-
dømmelse/ /Der effter mine elskelige kam huer off eder/ (met det statiske, vide at rette sig. Chi i vide
huercken dog eller stand/ /paa hulcken leg teg/ paa en endelige dom/ os ofure leffuende
os Dø/ /Døtan høst mig faderes høye haand/ /Bar effter min høfædel. ¶ D L D.
Jesu Christus den leffuende Guds Søn/ oc Verdens selræ.

En meget nyttelig taffie som indholder

de besonderligste Aarlager huot faar Guds son Jesu
Christus som ned off Midtlemen/naemende er iandom/oc sig fedte til Dreden/feet
ute off Nicolas Paladsmede/naemende er oc velbygde man/laue Lam/les
gelegd af queisken na bestyrkning man/afleide Segnede Gode/
(Læsne Hest af Niemand naffre. Ær. 14. 148.)

Sto dog at inted minnemte i Herden vdi komme dorf
de nante. Rand noch betecke/ megr mifde munndel
furmed alle da aarage/ hovs fad Huide suige Krift
sig fiske til hemme betecke. Og effter den heilige Krift
lydende er døfe de blystværligste af (spøfse aarage) fo
der effter fisket/ hundte hjaere. Christen minnemte hefant vde/ de frig
sig den mest mar behofft givne.

Den tredie aarage
Denske Kurfuerst / Thorowt der XXIIe Chaffus bleff me-
nige / vort hand hundt / og dengen / den 15de Februarie 1511
baderde Xodus im Himmelste / Feder vilt / vort hundt / og
plenering / fest / thi den som den hundt / nævnt fandt / omvistet
tale / Guds maisten voff / som den hundt / nævnt bleff / Sint bierg /
i den gaarden / denske Chaffus bleff gud / Denne trede aarage
var den 15de Februarie / Chaffus bleff i Jordan / Jesu fra noget
og gud / den 15de Februarie / Chaffus bleff i Jordan / Jesu fra noget
mange maade vort / Doppehente / men ma / den hundt / nævnt bleff / hundt / hundt

Ten fjerde aarstage
Den fjerde aarstage er ar/Enda Søn funde lidspine ee godt for
et menighetsfest. Thi hafset hand blespion i etens thone i Himmel-
ten/ hol/ sin faber/ thi hafset huerten. Det فعلت helte/ en minnen-
tund/ plage hammen/ Sac blæst hand bort/ omhylle/ baar den
handv/ en fulo blod/ hudefugis/ fronte/ kærhuse/ og hvid/ slavis/ blad
og suede blod/ hudefugis/ fronte/ kærhuse/ og hvid/ slavis/ blad

stadfester S. Douel til Philip: iii. Christus bleff sin Fader lydig til
Kaarsens død / Da vilde forde hans erete Fader/ hand stulde blifst
at Ymisse/ paa der hand funde lide kaarsens død / Item. Romi vilde
Gud sende iiii Son ier sindige Lyds lignelse/ at hand stulde blifst
et lydofre for sin dren.

Den Svænde Kørsage er denne

Das der w^{er} helle hoffet ist v^{on} wind/bryd / & c^{on} alemente om Gude
grüne d^ereide hand f^{or}de / & c^{on} om Gude s^{te}rtig^{heit} der h^{an}
hafuerit w^{er} h^{an}ten / som offter gaarle der b^{er}tröba frider/ & der p^{ri}
ste v^{er} de l^ægde Christus sel*f*f. Iohann. iii. S^{ie} alder Gud Verdon.
Item Rom. viii. Gud parcer ist sinigen Son i. sc. o. S^{ie} Bernhard
d^{as} sig fort a der hand hund befrii S^{ie} und / da sprade hand icf j^{en}

Prested i København af Hans Vingaaerd

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 II’s Bibel” 1550 and “Frederik II’s 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 from 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-

Nogle Vor Herris Jesu Christi Hel-
lige og salige Navn og Titeler af den hellige skrift alle
Christne meget respektige tilsammen kresne og brenke Erfly og
Værdig Duinde sine Perle Vor/er heds kare Hjerte til vor vore gosur.

Kap. 29. D. LVI.

Jesu aller Fræsermod. Matth: 1. Act. 1.
 Psal. ii.
 Jesuus aller Christus. Esaias 43. Luk. 11.
 Psal. viii.
 Vor Konge. Zacha. 9. Matth. xvi.
 Vor enig Præs. Psal. xv.
 Vor Fader fol. 100. 11. Esai. iii.
 En fulgelse for alle vredens Synde i. Jo. ii.
 Guds øre og genfrielse. Esai. xi. 10. Matth. xv.
 i. Luk. 1. Luk. 1.
 Den enige Skøder i. Timor. i. Gal. iii. Heb. viii.
 Vor Talmud. i. Jo. ii.
 Vor Elactoffer og Hændsøster. ii. Co. ii. Esai. iii.
 Esai. v.
 Vor Altee. Heb. viii.
 Guds løn for dinne bedrins Synder. Jo. i.
 Vor hvidson / refredsgod / hellighed i. i. Luk. 1.
 Hjerte. viii.
 Vordens knif. Jo. vii.
 Vor Fader. Jo. viii.
 Guds rørende ømme. Esai. viii. Luk. iii.
 Vor Hjerte / hundhed og Liss. Jo. viii.
 Vor Dyrmand. Jo. vii.
 Begyndelsen og den fællesfode aff de døde. Col. i.
 Den fælle fædre blant mange bønder. Ko. viii.
 Vor Knaf. i. Timor. i.
 Vor Broder. Psal. xix. Heb. ii. Matth. xviii. Jo. vi.
 Den ømme ømme. i. Psal. vi.
 Den rørende ømme. i. Psal. vi.
 Lysfene hjsd. Jo. vi.
 Vor Klippe. Matth. vdi.
 Den sindspærste. Zach. iii.
 Den sten som er vñghagen af Berget souden
 hender. Dan. ii.

Hvæ kunde ikke else Ellen og edet Hjerte have sin Perle/see tanke bogen/hvæ knuff / hvæ stand og for
 hæring disse mærkelige. Gassen af Tæler hje met sig til at fosten rettelige vor Hært. Jesu Christi ærefulle
 Mandens velgeringer og hund hand vñdret til vor Salighed aliggen af de fina her etan infoldige opregne
 de til at betone af opfærtning / bden nosen forsklarung og vñdlegelse / D hulsten vndelig Hjordom / oc hvoz off
 vñdlegelse træf og hæmlestede de høje met sig der som nogen vñde met sin vñdighed gled beslute sa ill ar vñdleg
 se og vñdleg dem / Ohi de giftur os blantige noch ill hende hund for at hært. Christus et / hvæch raud / hlep og
 rest wi hæfse / Vor hærtum i synofens opfærtning / hvæch dette me alle helligste Christ
 Jesus / giftur nochsom til hært / Det at alle hægtfænde samfælighed har en enig hæftialte / hæftialte
 deltek / effredet her er ikke ande næst giftur menfæste par / Jorden hvoz ved den hært at vñde fulge. Act. iii
 hvoz saat Paulus / Döfslig. ii. fægt. Gud hæfser opfært dommen og giftur hammer it / Dappi hært er opfært
 alle nofn / at det Jæta nofn skulle alle hine bøps i himmelnen pag Jorden or under Jorden. Hvad vil lig
 om det Dappi Christus / hvæc med hængtæde lede olenste hæne Kleg / men ofca hæne Vorfædom. Hvad det
 er of Christus / hænd der det old Broder / hvæad vñdte mi da sag om alle de ande / Hvæde de off icke en ret
 vñdleg or kendels om vor Hært. Christus / som der siner. Esai. iii. Hvæand skal met sin hæf
 deltek / hæftialte usæ mang. Derfor skal man legge vñd pan at lære disse fællestede. Ræfn og Tæler
 vñd at / oc komme dem hært / or vi hænde Enige og alidt Hjerte vor. Tro og pankholde met dem / Jesu
 Christus vere høff off osca i dette Ørt vas som nu begyndes os staa vor fore i et middagang og diege off stan
 til det enige Uff. Amen.

Pet. 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*, *Zeitung*) 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 Thielen 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 Triblerske 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 from 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 Broadsides (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 Lejlighedsdigts (Propemptikon) | 1486a |
| 1565 | [Wittenberg/ Kraft?] | P: Pedersen: Lejlighedsdigts (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: Lejlighedsdigts (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 | Lejlighedsdigts (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> | Bonnuus: 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> | Bonnuus: Martis et Artis | 416 |
| 1595 | Copenhagen/ Mads Vingård | J. Dybvd: University Programme | 542 |
| 1596 | Slesvig/ Wegener | Nytårsdigts (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> | Bonnuus: 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 |
| ? | ? | Bryllupsdigts (Wedding) | 572a |

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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 und 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 Skafte 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 Skafte 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 Tuskés 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.

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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 *Kobberstikkeren 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 fortægnelse over danske kobberstik, raderinger, illustrationer m.m.*, Copenhagen 1962.
44. Clausen, p. 35.