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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 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

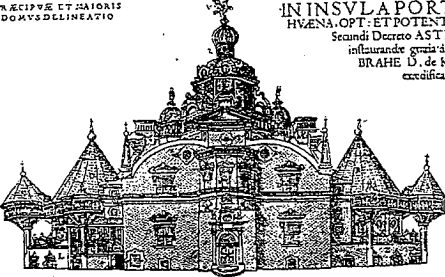
The pioneer of the investigation of broadsides printed in Denmark, V.E. Clausen, concentrated his interest in particular on pictorial popular woodcuts, and he discovered persistent survival first from the 1700s.⁴ According to



Christian met Guds Raade/hend tre-
die/ Danmarks/ Norges/ Wendis oc
Sousis Konning. Hertug i Sleswig/
Holsten Stormarn/ oc Dancrcken Guesue i Oldenborg oc
Wendenboff. Premier i Nordenbaffu aff Mads Vingard. 1565.

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

PRACIPVÆ ET MAIORIS
DOMVS DOLLINÆTORV



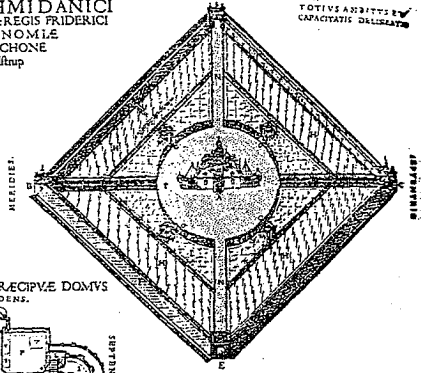
Explicatio partium exteriorum præcipua domus.

A. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. B. Cædemum huiusmodi. C. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. D. Cædemum huiusmodi. E. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. F. Cædemum huiusmodi. G. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. H. Cædemum huiusmodi. I. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. K. Cædemum huiusmodi. L. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. M. Cædemum huiusmodi. N. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. O. Cædemum huiusmodi. P. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. Q. Cædemum huiusmodi. R. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. S. Cædemum huiusmodi. T. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. U. Cædemum huiusmodi. V. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. W. Cædemum huiusmodi. X. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. Y. Cædemum huiusmodi. Z. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua.

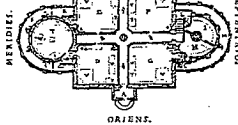
ORTHOGRAPIA
ARCIS VRANIENBVRG
IN INSVLA PORTHMI DANICI
HVÆNA. OPT. ET POTENTISS. REGIS FRIDERICI
Secundæ Decretis ASTRONOMIÆ
Instructuræ genitricis TYCHONIS
BRAHE D. de Knauffup
excuditur.

OCCIDENTIS.

TOTIUS ANTIQVITATIS
CAPACITATIS DILIGENTIA



ICHOGRAPHIA PRÆCIPVÆ DOMVS
OCCIDENTIS.



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ICHOGRAPHIA PRÆCIPVÆ DOMVS
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quæ, si in præcipua domo ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. B. Cædemum huiusmodi. C. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. D. Cædemum huiusmodi. E. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. F. Cædemum huiusmodi. G. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. H. Cædemum huiusmodi. I. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. K. Cædemum huiusmodi. L. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. M. Cædemum huiusmodi. N. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. O. Cædemum huiusmodi. P. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. Q. Cædemum huiusmodi. R. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. S. Cædemum huiusmodi. T. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. U. Cædemum huiusmodi. V. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. W. Cædemum huiusmodi. X. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua. Y. Cædemum huiusmodi. Z. Intra domum ex lateris et Dactylis esse præcipua.

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

Clausen only one pictorial single sheet print is known from the 1500s, a royal portrait of the Danish Bible edition of 1550, and the text of the picture was altered from 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 a woodcut from two of the 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 depicted woodcuts.⁹ Total: Only ten of the 69 single-sheets recorded by Lauritz Nielsen are illustrated.

EPITAPHIVM,

Nobilissimæ & pijsimæ *Fœminæ*, *Cecilix Vlfstandt*, *Filiæ*
PRÆSTANTISSIMI HEROIS D. TRVDERI VLFSTANDT,

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

Biornonia Andree, Domini de Stenholt: Et Senatoris Regni

Daniæ, coniugis. Quæ in vera filij Deij agnitione

obdormiuit, Anno domini 1561.

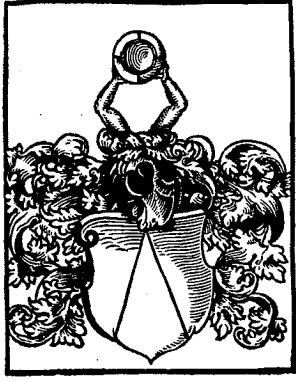
die 7. Augusti.

Scriptum

à

NICOLAO LAVRENTIO

Ripens.



V T niveis inter distinctas floribus herbas,
Punico surgit comta colore rosa:
Emula, vitaleq; comas ut sparfit in auras,
Vere nouo frödens, germina prima dedit.
Hanc mesor curua secuit dum falce, iuuentæ
Exiit, amissa fronde virente, decus.
Aetatis viridi virens Cecilia flore,
Sic præmatura morte soluta fuit.
Edita nobilium fuerat quæ stirpe parentum,
Per quos nobilium Scania nomen habet.
Claruit insigni genitor Truderus honore,
Qui fuit Auratus nobilitatis Eques.
Cuius magnificis gestæ res laudibus extant,
Crebraq; diuersis cognita fama locis.
Vt proceres inter magnos celeberrimus omnes
Emicuit, donec fata tulere senem:
Sic quoq; fæmæe decus ingens nobilitatis
Exstitit, & tanto digna parente fuit.
Nec minus illustri genetrix hanc sanguine natam.
Eddidit, insignis quæ numeravit auos.
Præstantem celebri coniunctam stemmate formam,
Morbis ornauit cum grauitate pijs.
Inclita progenies, clarum quoq; nomen auorum,
Et decus & titulum nobilitatis habent:
Insita sed egregio præstans in corpore virtus,
Nobile commendat non sine laude genus.
Hanc vitæ sociam, de sanguine natus Equestri,
Iunxit Biorno sibi fædere coniugij.
Perpetuò cuius casto flagrabat amore,
Reddidit illa vicem, lite carebat amor.

Tres genuit natos, socialis pignora lecti,
Eximij claros dotibus ingenij.
Filiolas celebri peperitq; propagine natas,
Virginea quater est factaq; prole parens.
Omnes hanc gelida lugebant morte solutam,
Fouit in Aonijs quotquot Apollo iugis.
Ipsam plangebant pullo yelamine tecti
Magnates, & qui florida ruca colant.
Gratior, ætheræ sed vixit in arce, Tonanti,
Affidua timuit quod pietate Deum.

ALIVD EIVSDEM.

Σ *Inclita progenies, clarum quoq; nomen auorum,*
Et decus & titulum nobilitatis habent:
Insita sed egregio præstans in corpore virtus,
Nobile commendat non sine laude genus.
Hanc vitæ sociam, de sanguine natus Equestri,
Iunxit Biorno sibi fædere coniugij.
Perpetuò cuius casto flagrabat amore,
Reddidit illa vicem, lite carebat amor.

Hænicæ.
Impressit Laurentius Be-
nedicti.

1 5 7 2

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 Melancton. 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 ESTVADGÅRD, CLASSIS

Serenissimi Regis, Frederici II. Regis Danie &c. Admiraldi fortissimum,
post memorabilem Victoriam partam de Piratis in Oceano orientali, Mensis Iulio, Anno Domini 1569.Scriptum ab
Andrea Senenino Velleio.

I Vcietiam, iusta qui ponderat omnia lance,
Et solet officitibus semper succurrere rebus,
Cælorum atq; hominum pater huc sua lumina
na flexit,

Grandia prædonum scelera vltus vindicæ dextra
Et duro potens meritis pro crimine penos,
Expedit tristes pauida formidine montes.

Hæc quoties fortuna omni spoliatus iniquæ,
Ingemuit, cælumq; ipsum clamorq; repleuit,
In falso resedens scopulorum vertice nudus
Nautæ, sceleratorum facta impia piratarum
Incursans, Nemesiq; implorans vindicis iram?
Aut quoties, cari cura inflammata mariti
Dilectis coniunx frustrata amplexibus, omnes
Turbabat lacrymis portus: natig. parentum
Dulcia nequicquam sperantes oscula, circum
Mœsta fatigabant se incensum littora curvis.

Sed non incausum tanta cecidere querela,
Nec tacuit, tacuit qui nusquam ad iusta precantium
Votis Deus, venit, quam dudum optauimus, hora,
Qua pro fortius scelera magis immanibus ausis
Mulantur sæni prædones, viuere captis
Gens male fœta bonis, stirps edita Cæcis,
Oceani desitis, vitæq; insomnis Ponti.
Illa dici Fasibus auro miniq; rubenti
Signata, in longum exiit memorabilis ænum.

Vestra quæq; Hæretos sorter, quorum auspice dextra
Res gesta est, nullum obscurabit nomina tempus,
Sed nostri veterum inquirant si facta minoris,
Hæc, dicant, est illa dies, qua Regia classis
FRIDERICI, Oceani tractus purgauit eos,
Prædonum inuasit spolia exiitq; latebras.

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

Talis erat, patria ardenti successus amore,
Luctu præstans dextra et fulgentibus armis
Pompeius, quando latè expulsi æquore toto
Fœdas Hælypias, terrasq; frætas, uocantes,
Prædonum populatrices, dira omnia, classes.
Non ille ambigit vulgi rumoribus aures
Advertens, capis flexit de tramite cursus,
Sed fidens animo et generosi pectoris ausu,
Prædia, diuitias, factum infectumq; metallum,
Vitam ipsam et vitæ sociam, natoq; tenellos,
Vrbis postpositi laudi populiq; saluti.
Sic tu magnanimus dum cuncta pericula sternis,
Publica priuatis præponens commoda rebus,
Aspirat ventos Deus in tua vela secundos,
Fausa tibi applaudit lætis victoria pennis,
Et victrice Hædera FORTVNA Res nobile nomē.

Quæntiam, cui dat STELLA A. Res nobile nomē,
HENRICVS, factis et animo sanguine clarus,
Non hoc pontuæq; cum sola PIRIGINE portum
Hoffniacū intrant, verum spolia ampla reportans
Appulsi integram secum hæc ad littora classem.

Illud erat, dudum quod nostra Ecclesia voto
Commendat dabant: pro quo nam sepe dolentes
Pupilli, misere matres vitæq; maritæ,
Tristitia fundebant costas suspiria ad aras.

Hoc erat ille bonus regni Iosephus et alter
Seruandæ patriæ qui seruit amore Camillus
OXVS, in hoc lapsu glacialis tempore Brumæ,
Quod prudenti animo voluebat et bacillus vrsi
Pro iure et fama patriæ populisq; salute.

Scilicet hoc ipsum est, quod seruantissimus æqui
Et tuæ Rex pacis amans quærebat bonisq;
Consilij votisq; pijs et fortibus armis.
Hoc etiam voti compos nam quædet abunde,
Et gratus primò persoluit debita laudum
Dona Deo, hinc cuiq; ex meritis sua præmia facis.

O qui res cunctas hominum et nutu omnia torques,
Qui sceptra et Reges statusq; mutasq; potentes,
Ceu Deus abne tibi potior sententia visa est:
Da porro hic noster sibi te experiret anicum
FRIDERICVS, tandem diuturni exordia belli
Fœdis fragam aduerso gentem felicibus armis
Finit, et rursus explebant bona gaudia mentem,
Vt pios agnosens solo te te auspice partem
Victricem palmam, dignas persoluere grates
Ceteris et ingressus sancti vestigia patris,
Sit Patriæ, ut caput, pater, atq; Ecclesiæ alumnus,
Regnum extrema Arctæ sed famam terminet æstris.

HÆFNIÆ,
Excendebat Laurentius Be
nedictus.

1569.

B. D. H.

TYPVS AMICITIÆ

AD
D. NICOLAVM KAAS CAN.
CELLARIVM



Quoniam vides pictas in imagine vultus
Effe typum vera veris Amicitia.
Hinc ut quondam preciumq; decemq; virebas,
Sic nunc pro vili sub pedibus iacet.
Inde mali labes & tristis regnas Eryman,
Qua miser nullis mæna bella plagis.
Omnia distidij sunt omnia plena tumultus,
Mors penitus toto diris in orbis furis.
Si quid Amicitia superestis curis, profecto
Lix minor, & pietas maior vobis foret.
Hæc igitur vita necum, hæc vincula quisquis
Tollit, in extimulo nubila Sole probat.
Antiquumq; iterum renouat chaos: inq; siticem
Oppressi reuelat conijctis igne Diem.
Sponte sua varij vicia est obiectis periculis,
Nec quicquam solida communitatis habet.
Dulcis amicitia tamen hic si necum, honoriq;
Duras, habet que se colligat aqua bonum.
Tanti sperq; manet vicia dulcedo, beata
Donec amicitia inq; fidemq; maneat.
At si constanti quis desinat amice,
Quid vel consilij vel ratiæ habet:
Cum consiliari vicia huius cibus optet,
Et quod mortali sero vobis atrapat?

Sic vel amicitia denudatus legibus: ausis
Proxima qui busto inuæ graduq; petas:
Hinc enim frustra sine amico copia vicia
Constat, & est sterili cunctis planta solo.
Que cum non fructus adas quos carpat amicum,
Mærida languenti nominis fore gerit.
Sed cæsi. Quos amicitia sunt comoda veris,
Ista referri veris picta figura notis.

Cernis in egregio iuuenilem corpore formam?
Hanc & amicitia semper in esse deceat.
Tempore nequaquam distans mota tepescant
Sed fens aquas candor, amorq; gradu.
Vix bona est virtus si sit durabili iusto,
Veriq; sit nulla pericula list fides.

Per caput incerto nudum suis ordine crinim,
Vt sit detectus quisquis amicum erit.
Erbescat nunquam nec Veras amicum amicum
Hinc sati quamvis tempora dura fymant.

Non habet ornata precioso murice vestris,
Sed Pelas tenuis candida terga chlamys.
Sic qui profertur scilicet nomen amici,
Pro scio distas tristitia fata pati.

Mors & vicia simul trita sub velle legantur,
Certus in incerta fore videtur amor.
Ardua non piget perferre pericula vicia
Et mala pro serij summa salute pati.
Sic Plaudis carum carus dilectis Orpheum.
Pro quo non dubitæ mortis adire reges.

Hinc Æthas & Hyems supra capus additur illi:
Tristibus & Læti rebus amicum adfi.
Hinc quidem peruenit infra suas tempore morte,
Tantum fortuna subiacet omnia amor.
Lætica quo tandem sese fortuna reclinat,
Sine petis dubia summa, vel ima rota:
Quilibet hanc sequitur lucri persequus amor,
Nullus in aduersis rebus amicum adfi.

Læta reuelati cernuntur viscera cordis,
Non vultus verus celat amicum opus.
Hæc igitur Mænas queribus parit fenestram,
Visensa occulta mentis aperta forat.

Quod cubitum inclinat pectus dum monstrat apertum
Fata quod hand cordi sine aliena deceat.
Et cor concinnat factis, nihil ore loquatur
Que non cum tacito consensu corde maneat.

Partibus hic Longe, Prope, coniungantur, amicum,
Non ratio longe separas vicia vici.
Corpore seu in hæc fuerint seu forte remoti
Alter in alterius pectore nomen habet.
Vt nisi mors nemo verus distingat amicum,
At mala licet facies distaret vix hinc.

Sic mea Astusa typum paucis descripsit amici,
Furima sed mea quod Astusa requiras, erunt.
Cor patulum quo fronte suas genus omne bonorum,
Queq; sitent cordis iussa subire manus.
Officia hic debent comprehendit cunctis duobus:
Officij fens est non simulacrum amor.
Nec tamen hic metum vero proficisio fadali,
Spente sua innumeras prestat amicum spes.
Talis era qualem mea pagina pingit amicum,
O mihi vir summo dignus honore coli.

Auctore IOHANNE FRAN-
CISCO Epenst.

HÆRNIE,
Impressit Laurentius Benedicti.
1579.

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-

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 III’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 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-

Rogleg Naz Herrens Jesu Christi Hel- lige oc saltege Passin oc Titteler/ all den hellige scrift/ alle

Chyrtine meget trostelige / tilfammen kreteine oc skencke Erllig oc
Velsygdig Quinde/ siue Penelle Døe/ oc hendis hære Døstire / til nyt are gasfur.
Aar. M. D. LV.

Jesus eller fristemand. Matth. i. Act. iiii.
Døll. ii.
Hesus eller Chyrtus. Esai. lxi. Luc. iiii.
Dsal. xlv.
Vor konge. Zach. ix. Matth. xxi.
Vor eug Døst. Psal. cx.
Vor faade her. Ro. iii. Joh. iiii.
En solste for alle vndfens synder t. Jo. ii.
En søster oc gemstels. Esa. xl. Jo. Matth. xv.
i. Cor. i. Luc. i.
Den enste Bilde i Timoth. i. Gal. iii. Heb. viii.
Vor Tølmænd. t. Jo. ii.
Vor Blotoffer oc Dienoffer. ii. Cor. ii. Esa. lxi.
Eph. v.
Vor Alter. Heb. xii.
Guds lam som diager vndfens dynder. Jo. i.
Vor hufdom / resteløshed / hellighed ec. i. Cor. i.
Giere. psall.
Vor vndfens luff. Jo. xii.
Vor Døstere. Jo. xii.
Gude suend oc tiener. Esa. xlii. iii.
Vor Døp / vandhed oc Luff. Jo. xlii.
Vor Dyndelste. Jo. xi.
Begyndelsen oc den søstte døde off de døde. Col. i.
Den søstte døde blant mange byde. Ro. viii.
Vor haad. i. Timoth. i.
Vor Byder. Psal. xlii. Heb. ii. Mat. xxviii. Jo. xv.
Vor Døst. Zach. xxviii. Jo. x.
Den pøppesti dyde. i. Pet. v.
Den rette haaresti dy. Jo. x.
Luffens dyd. Jo. vi.
Vor klippe. Matth. xvii.
Den sten som sten. Zach. iii.
Den sten som er vdsygdig off Hæretet sunden
hender. Dan. ii.

Louene fuldkommlis. Ro. x.
Den hellige kirke. Dydigom. Eph. v.
Den hellige kircks hofst. Eph. i. v.
Det fande vnder. Jo. xv.
Den hellige sten. Psal. cxviii. Act. iiii.
Den reuiffedz Luff. Gere. xxviii.
Luffens søstte. Act. iiii.
En hære offer alting. Act. x.
Erens konge. Psal. xxviii.
Den Reuiff. Rom. iii. v. Esa. lxxviii.
Act. iiii. vi. i. Joanne ii. Matth. xv.
Erens haab. Psal. xxviii.
En Ruffing offer alting. Heb. i.
En søstte offer kongerne paa Jorden. Apoca. i.
Luffens oid. i. Joanne i.
Immanuel / Gud met off. Esa. vii. Matth. xv.
Gud faderes Ruge oid. Joanne i.
Guds vifdom. i. Corinth. i.
Guds kraft. Rom. i.
Den vifnige Gudz Bilde. Colof. i.
Den søstte fode saar alle Creatur. Colof. i.
Gans faderes eris sam. Heb. i.
En sand Gud / oc det Ruge Luff / Joanne v.
Zchaorfs Gud. Zach. vi.
Partens Ruge. Malas. iiii.
Egget.

Matth. i.
Esa. lxi.
Kemp.
Erens dyder
faderens søstte
Kerfedelgeds kol. Malas. iiii.
Vor frad. Eph. ii.
En Dømmer offer leffende oc dyde Act. x.

Det kunde t oc eders Erllige oc edele Døstere/ hære siue Penelle/ se saar synd / huad luff / forstand oc for-
klarung disse meckelige Passin oc Titteler sies met sig til at forstan rettelige. vor Herrens Jesu Christi oc fode
begyndens vnderretninger/ oc huad hand vdræte til vor hellighed/ alliguel at de saar her ehon erfordre opreng-
de til at betencke oc offeruere / vden nogen forklarung oc vdelegelse / D hullethen vnderlig vifdom / oc huor off-
uerfædte er off oc hufualde de søst met sig der som nogen vilde met sin vnderfædlig gude bestie sig til at vdeleg-
ge oc vdlige dem / Thi de offer off hlaetige noch til hende huad for en herre Christi oc / huad naad / siet oc
trøst vil hofne vdoff hennem t dyndens oc dydene forkerckse / hulecht dette ene eller hellige Christi
Døstus Jesus / giffue noch som til hende i det at alle hedsfæde sammittighede saar en vilg hufualde / besom
dreuge offerder der oc teke andet nauff giffuit meniskerne paa Jorden / huor ved dem byz at vdele falge. Act. iiii.
huor saar Paulus / Døstir. ii. siar. Gud haffuer oppøget hennem oc giffuit hennem t. Nauff som er offer
alle nauff / at vdi siet nauff skulle alle hne byde t himmelen paa Jorden oc vnder Jorden. huad vilde vil siue
om det Nauff Christi / huor met demercke teke sionstte hane Følge / men orfan hane vifdom / huad der
er oc Immanuel / huad det oid dyder / huad vilde vil da siue om alle de ande / D huor by off teke er met
vdi haad oc kerfede om vor herre Christi / all vor Kerfedelhed / som der siue. Esa. lxi. huad skal met sin vde-
del / Kerfedelge gøre mange. Derfor skal monde legge vdi paa at lære viff fortagelisse Passin oc Titteler
vden at / oc komme dem sfa / oc vs huad Ruge oc alid sstie vor. Thi oc paa helle met dem / Jesus
Christus vde haff off esca i dette øst que som nu begyndis oc saar vor siet i al modgang oc diage off stann
til det eulge luff. 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, *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 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 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 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]	?	Calendarium	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 (Woddcuts)	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

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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

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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 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 Tusulanum*, 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, “Kalendariere 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 *Kobberstikkeren Albert Haelwegh*, Kbh., 1965.
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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.
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