Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances Printed in Sixteenth-Century Cologne

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Cologne presents a fascinating case for the study of broadsheet ordinances. In the sixteenth century, the metropolis on the Rhine had a population of approximately 40,000.¹ As one of the biggest trading centres in the Holy Roman Empire, many citizens made a living from commerce. Merchants offered a great variety of locally produced cloth, steel, iron and ironware.² Farmers from East Friesland, Oldenburg and the region around Münster regularly brought their cattle and other livestock to the markets in Cologne.³ Thanks to its favourable position on the Rhine, Cologne was well-connected to the long distance international trade permitting many salesmen from within the Empire and beyond to offer their in some cases exotic goods to Cologne citizens.

Naturally this hustle and bustle in the city called for control and the city council was eager to maintain law and order within the city walls. A key part of this regime of regulation was the promulgation and publication of ordinances. During the Middle Ages, the city council of Cologne promulgated ordinances concerning the welfare and peace in the city with so-called ‘morning speeches’ (*Morgensprachen*), a common practice in north German cities.⁴ Every inhabitant was required to attend these ‘morning speeches’ which regularly took place twice a year, close to the election of the city council – around St John’s Eve (23 June) and Christmas Eve (24 December).⁵ If a pressing issue presented

1 Heinz Schilling, *Die Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004), p. 4.

2 Franz Mathis, *Die deutsche Wirtschaft im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), p. 44.

3 Susanna Gramulla, ‘Kölner Kaufleute im Handel mit dem Ostseeraum am Ende des 15. und 16. Jahrhundert’, *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 60 (1971), pp. 553–598, p. 559.

4 In other German cities these announcements are commonly known as ‘Burspraken’. See Robert Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit im spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlichen Köln (1450–1550)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998), p. 53.

5 Klaus Militzer (ed.), *Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit: Reichsstädte. Köln* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2005), vol. 1, p. 8. For more information on the council’s election see Manfred Huijskes (ed.), *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln, 1320–1550: Die Ratsmemoriale und ergänzende Überlieferung, 1320–1543* (Dusseldorf: Droste, 1990), p. xvi.

itself, such as severe financial difficulties or rowdy students, the council announced additional ‘morning speeches’ to explain the current crisis and encourage the public to remain calm.⁶

With the advent of printing, the city council increasingly relied on the new medium to draw their subjects’ attention to new regulations. As Cologne was among the first German cities that embraced the invention of moveable type, the council swiftly realised the great opportunities that the ‘black art’ offered. An important issue that faced the city council in the fifteenth century was the regulation of coinage. To ensure smooth sale transactions it was of great importance to regulate the use of all the different coins that the many foreign salesmen and merchants brought with them. With the help of printing, ordinances concerning the value of coins as well as tables of exchange could be reproduced on a large scale to be hung up in public for everyone to consult. Thus it is hardly surprising that of the fourteen broadsheet ordinances printed in the fifteenth century that have survived, half of them deal with the circulation of specific coins or provide the details of an agreement on coinage with the archbishop and the neighbouring dukes.⁷

Printing also offered the opportunity to spread news easily and swiftly. This gave the council real power, since by presenting recent events from a certain point of view the councillors were able to shape public reaction. The year 1482 proved to be particularly challenging for the city council. Due to financial difficulties over the previous years, Cologne was facing revolt and uproar.⁸ The situation escalated in March when enraged townsmen occupied the town hall and imprisoned several councillors. Alarmed by such an assault on their authority, the rest of the council thought it helpful to spread information about the current developments as quickly as possible to those outside the city walls.⁹ The council produced a densely printed broadsheet – comprising over 70 lines – which provided an account of the outrages committed by these ‘bad, evil and defiant’ people. This long statement also specifically named the ringleaders of the uproar along with the punishments that awaited them.

6 Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 63–65.

7 The ordinances on coinage are USTC 745654; 745656; 744100; 744094; 744101; 744102; 744103. The other fifteenth-century Cologne ordinances are USTC 744091; 744092; 744093; 744095; 744096; 744098; 744099.

8 Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 106–107.

9 USTC 744091; A facsimile of this particular ordinance can be found in Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Kölner Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Wamper, 1979), no. 32. The original German text says: “Allen ind ycklichen fursten. herren Grauen vryen Edelmannen Ritteren. knechte[n]”.

This wordy report was addressed ‘To all princes, dukes and counts as well as their noblemen, knights and servants’ and, thanks to a detailed list in the council records, we know that this long broadsheet proclamation was sent to at least 78 recipients. This list shows that the city council sought to inform not only direct neighbours such as the archbishop of Cologne and the dukes of Jülich and Cleve, but also many southern German cities such as Regensburg, Nuremberg, Ulm and Strasbourg. The archbishops in Mainz and Trier also received a copy. Finally, the magistrates considered it as important to notify many cities in the Netherlands such as Antwerp, Amsterdam, Bruges, Gent, Utrecht and Brussels, underlining the close trading connections that Cologne enjoyed with these cities.¹⁰ By circulating this announcement so widely, the council made it very difficult for the banished ringleaders to find a hiding place where people were unaware of the situation.

These then were the main purposes that made the use of print attractive for civic authorities in Cologne and elsewhere. Public authorities in Germany made use of print in this manner quite extensively in the first decades after the introduction of printing. This is not to say that this use of print in any way superseded the importance of traditional means of notifying the public of official acts. Rather the two worked harmoniously together. Indeed, some printed regulations specifically allude to this close connection between oral and written communication by stating that the content of the ordinances had also been openly proclaimed – ‘That was outlined and made known in a morning speech’.¹¹

The introduction of print into the practices of government was a significant, and perhaps inevitable, change to the regime of Germany’s city states: Cologne was in this respect not unusual, though not all places leave such a vivid documentary trace. The sixteenth century would bring further change. The council made increasing use of the new medium to the extent that we discern already a decline in public announcements in form of ‘morning speeches’ by the 1520s. This was the harbinger of a radical change during the next thirty years when ‘morning speeches’ became exceptional and new regulations were mostly communicated with the help of printing.¹²

The rise of printed ordinances is matched by an expansion of state activity in many realms of early modern life. Moving on from their initial preoccupation with the regulation of coinage, the city council progressively promulgated ordinances on numerous matters concerning a variety of aspects of public life in Cologne. So we learn, for instance, how salesmen successfully evaded taxes

10 Schmitz, *Kölner Einblattdrucke*, p. 64.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 94, no. 36, ‘Dit is uyssgeroiffen ind gemorgenspraicht’.

12 Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 66–67.

on flower, bread, malt and meat (and the steps taken to combat this evasion).¹³ Some ordinances also reveal how new regulations were perceived, suggesting that some council decision evoked disagreement and anger among the citizens. When in August 1596 the council published new wages for stonecutters, carpenters and roofers, several of those affected angrily tore down the documents and even published lampoons against the city council. The council addressed this unruly behaviour with another ordinance which called for calm after the recent disturbances.¹⁴ Thus these broadsheet ordinances illustrate very effectively what the magistrates perceived as pressing issues that called for immediate regulation, in the process providing intriguing insights into the politics of a vibrant city.

Fascinating as a study of these documents may be, it is by no means clear that the printed documents that we have to hand tell the whole story. Creating a comprehensive corpus of sixteenth-century ordinances is a daunting task. The historian of civic government at least in so far as they rely on print, faces several obstacles. For practical reasons – they could be hung up on walls, houses and churches – the city council of Cologne produced their ordinances primarily as broadsheets. Such single sheets, however, are often difficult to trace, not least as they were excluded from the national bibliography of sixteenth-century Germany, the VD16. By adopting such an unusual strategy, the VD16 differs from other major bibliographical projects that include broadsheets, such as the English STC or the various components of the bibliography of the Low Countries now brought together in *Netherlandish Books*.¹⁵ The

- 13 Köln – Rat [Cologne City Council]: *Wÿr Burgermeystere und Raidt der Stat Collne Doin kundt öffentlich und warnen hoe myt (Erlass gegen die Hinterziehung der Accise für Mehl, Brot, Malz und Fleisch, 16.03.1527)* ([Cologne]: s.n., 1527). Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (hereafter HASTK): Best. 90 (Handel): A 349, f. 6.
- 14 The ordinances on wages which spurred the unrest was issued on 2 August: Köln – Rat, *Tagelohntaxe für Steinmetzen, Zimmerleute und Leinendecker* ([Cologne]: s.n., 1596). See: Hermann Keussen, 'Inhaltsverzeichnis zu den Sammlungen der Rathsedikte 1493–1819', *Mittheilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 29 (1899), pp. 159–336, p. 176, no. 376; and the ordinance that called for appeasement was issued on 16 September: Köln – Rat, *Wir Buergermeistere uns Rath dieser deß Heil. Reichs freyer Statt Coelln (Schmähschriften sowie Beschädigung und Verhöhnung der Ratsedikte, 16.09.1596)* ([Cologne]: s.n., 1596).
- 15 A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640* (2nd edn, 3 vols, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1976–91); A. Pettegree and M. Walsby (eds.), *Netherlandish Books* (2 vols., Leiden, Brill, 2010); The components are: W. Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg (eds.), *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* ('s-Gravenhage, M. Hijhoff, 1923–1971); P. Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541–1600: repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederlanden tussen 1541 en 1600* (2 vols., Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1998); E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux, B. op de Beeck (eds.), *Belgica typographica 1541–1600: catalogus librorum*

absence of broadsheets from the VD16 means that this vital aspect of sixteenth-century print world is entirely missing from the German national bibliography.¹⁶ The student of civic use of print, in so far as broadsheets were concerned, has therefore to fall back on their own resources.

To be sure, German broadsheets have attracted much attention in the past; here we have especially to thank Falk Eisermann for several illuminating studies.¹⁷ However, most studies concentrate on the well-documented incunabula age, helped here by the inclusion of broadsheets in the standard bibliographies of the period; the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and the ISTC. Falk Eisermann has gathered together information on all German fifteenth-century broadsheet items into a separate bibliography, VE15.¹⁸ However, scholars working on broadsheets that were produced after the turn of the sixteenth century, have no such comprehensive survey. Such scholarly interest as there has been has focussed almost exclusively on illustrated material. Max Geisberg and Walter L. Strauss accumulated an extraordinary catalogue of German single-leaf woodcuts produced in the sixteenth century.¹⁹ In addition Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling have worked through the rich holdings of several libraries including the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt and the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich, in each case concentrating on illustrated material.²⁰

Such publications show the diversity of German broadsheet production – polemical lampoons, portraits, reports of battles, strange and unusual events and natural disasters. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that by far the largest proportions of broadsheets printed were not illustrated. This was the case even in Germany with its rich illustrative tradition. These more mundane publications include calendars as well as almanacs, indulgences, academic disputations, and – by far the largest group of generally unillustrated broadsheets – legal records such as ordinances.

impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt (4 vols., Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1968–1994).

- 16 A problem now partially addressed in the USTC, though many 16th century broadsheets undoubtedly still remain to be discovered.
- 17 Thus for example Volker Honemann, Falk Eisermann, Sabine Griesse and Marcus Ostermann (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).
- 18 Falk Eisermann (ed.), *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004).
- 19 Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1500–1550*, revised and edited by Walter L. Strauss (New York: Hacker, 1984).
- 20 Wolfgang Harms, *Deutsche Illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985–1997).

The very low survival rate of such items further obstructs the compilation of a comprehensive corpus. Much of this material was simply not intended to be collected and after reading the particular single sheet readers discarded them. Roger Paas, the creator of an extremely lavish bibliography of political broadsheets in the seventeenth century, estimates that less than 1% of all copies survived to the present day.²¹ For broadsheets printed one century earlier, the rates of survival may well have been even lower.

Luckily, the situation is not as daunting for official print. Regarded as legal records, ordinances were often kept by contemporaries for administrative purposes. These sober and apparently unadorned printed sheets would not necessarily have made their way into libraries, but we can often find large collections in city or state archives. This is in principle extremely encouraging. Once one recognises that a survey of print needs to look beyond libraries there are very significant discoveries to be found. In the case of Cologne, however, the concentration of collections of official broadsheets in archives rather than libraries presents a particular difficulty, and one of recent making. During construction work for an underground system in 2009 the building hosting the city archive collapsed into its foundations which had been undermined by the tunnelling below. One of the most important collections of archivalia north of the Alps disappeared into the rubble. And if that were not enough, poor weather obstructed the rescue.

As a student, I had the chance to join the many volunteers that offered their help to the task of recovery. We went through innumerable tons of dirt mingled with the precious documents trying to save what was left. The city estimates that about 95% of the archivalia were saved to a certain degree, but during the chaos that followed the collapse these documents were hastily tucked away in boxes which were sent to 20 different archives in Germany.²² Thus currently one of the major tasks is to investigate this material and restore it to some sort of order. Some recovered material is now available for scholars in a provisional reading room. An overview of these restored documents can be found on the website of the city archives. This overview was first published in May 2013 and has already been updated seven times.²³

21 John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600–1700. Vol. 1* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), p. 25.

22 Inge Schürmann, *Fünf Jahre nach dem Einsturz des Kölner Stadtarchivs*, 24 February 2014 <<http://www.stadt-koeln.de/politik-und-verwaltung/presse/fuenf-jahre-nach-dem-einsturz-des-koelner-stadtarchivs>> (accessed 24 October 2014).

23 The current list can be found here: Neuigkeiten aus dem HASTK, Liste der im Original verfügbaren Archivalien VIII, <http://www.archive.nrw.de/kommunalarchive/kommunalarchive_i-1/k/Koeln/BilderKartenLogosDateien/20150511_im_Original_nutzbar.pdf> (accessed 25 June 2015).

Among the many publications held in the archive was a twenty-four-volume collection of early modern ordinances issued by the city council.²⁴ Half the volumes were *Sammelbände* consisting of single sheets bound together. Unfortunately, this abundant collection of ordinances is not among the restored documents. If the collection was actually – even only in parts – rescued, it will most likely not be available in the foreseeable future. The large proportion of the archivalia that was rescued will not be available before the completion of the new building housing the city archives which is planned for 2019.

As many contributors in this volume argue, there are numerous reasons why early modern books were lost before the modern era. But even if printed documents manage to survive the dangers of war, fire and destruction of the past centuries, we might still lose them today. With such a devastating loss at the beginning of the twenty-first century, how can we attempt to estimate how many broadsheet ordinances existed in Cologne about 500 years ago?

First of all, we can rely on the help of an inventory that was compiled before the 2009 calamity. Now that the documents are no longer available this published inventory becomes an essential substitute. In 1899 Hermann Keussen, who worked extensively on the history of Cologne, compiled an inventory of ordinances collected in the *Sammelbände*. The inventory provides a short description of contents along with the issue date of the ordinance and the call number.²⁵ It covers the entire collection which ranges from 1493–1819 and lists nearly 4,000 ordinances for this time period. With the dawn of the sixteenth century we already see a significant rise in the number of ordinances issued. For this century alone the inventory lists nearly 400 items dealing with issues of taxation, military service, the use of firearms, and many other matters brought to the attention of the civic government.

This inventory provides the basis for a reconstructed list of published ordinances even if in many cases they no longer survive either in this archive or in collections elsewhere. Building on this foundation collection, we then find we can add numerous further editions with the help of a more recent bibliography: *The Repertorium der Polizeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit*.²⁶ This great project hosted by the Max-Planck-Institute for legal history undertook extensive surveys of ordinances published in many territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Started in 1996, the project published two volumes on Cologne in 2005. These Cologne volumes include a variety of different sources relevant for an investigation of regulations, such as council decisions, ‘morning speeches’ – and

24 HASTK Bestand 14 (Edikte).

25 Keussen, ‘Inhaltsverzeichnis’.

26 Militzer (ed.), *Repertorium*.

most importantly – printed edicts. By the notation ‘Dr.’ after the call number of an item, the reader is informed if the item existed in printed form or not, for the German word *Druck*; English: print. (It should be said this is not the case for every volume of the *Policeyordnungen*, where to the frustration of print historians no distinction is made between print ordinances and manuscript entries in a repertory). Most edicts listed in the Cologne volumes refer to at least one printed copy that used to be in the city archive. However, occasionally the council also released other publications – the *Rollen* – which were dealing with one specific item at length, for instance a ‘*Apothekerrolle*’ which lays out several regulations concerning the visitations of chemists.²⁷ These *Rollen* could appear as broadsheets, but some of them were also issued in pamphlet form. Unfortunately, the *Repertorium* does not specify the format of the printed item. Without the possibility to inspect those items lost from the Cologne archive, one is left wondering if the printed item was actually meant to be hung up in public or was issued in pamphlet form.²⁸

Such an extensive survey inevitably has its limitations. Michael Kaiser points out that only a limited selection of material was examined for the *Repertorium*.²⁹ Some sources – most importantly the significant *Reichskammergerichtsakten* – were not included in the current study although they will undoubtedly shed more light on ordinances in Cologne. Furthermore the *Repertorium* leaves its user in the dark about certain terminology. It is often not clear what distinctions are being made between *Edikte*, *Gesetze*, *Punkte*, *Satzungen*, *Verordnungen* and *Ordnungen* (if there actually were such clear-cut distinctions in the early modern period).

Fortunately, the sources that were used for the *Repertorium* point us to divisions of the city archive that also contained broadsheets beside the ordinance *Sammelbände*. As it turns out there were many more ordinances in sixteenth-century Cologne in addition to those bound together in the *Sammelbände*. So, for instance, a regulation addressing trade issues may well have found its way into the collection on ‘trade’, alongside manuscript invoices and agreements.³⁰ Similarly, new legislation for specific guilds can be found in the collection on

27 Köln – Rat, *In wissen des Jedermanniglich, das unsere Herrn vom Rathe sich der alter Rollen von den Apotheken erinnert* (Visitation von Apotheken, 23.05.1588) ([Cologne]: s.n., 1564). HASTK Best. 30 (Verfassung und Verwaltung): N 47, f. 19.

28 The original Keussen inventory of the Cologne archive *Sammelbände* also does not specify format.

29 Michael Kaiser, ‘Die “gute Policy” in Köln. Beobachtungen zum Repertorium der Kölner Policyordnungen’, *Geschichte in Köln*, 54 (2007), pp. 254–261.

30 HASTK Bestand 90 (Handel).

'guilds'.³¹ The editors of the *Repertorium* carefully examined these collections and were able to trace 91 ordinances for the sixteenth century that did not exist in the *Sammelbände*.

Many of the printed ordinances in the 'trade' collection as well as the 'guild' collection existed in several copies. Sadly only a few parts of these two enormous collections have resurfaced to this point, and these surviving documents do not date back as far as the sixteenth century. So we are extremely fortunate that these collections were both microfilmed in the later twentieth century. After the building collapse, these microfilms are now invaluable particularly as the city archive has started to make them available online.³²

A close examination of these microfilms not only reveals numerous broadsheets but also sheds light on how carefully these documents were kept in sixteenth-century Cologne. Numerous documents are folded and bear contemporary manuscript notes on the back regarding the date and the content of the regulation. It seems that in the early modern period single ordinances were folded and filed in a way that only the short manuscript notes on the back would be visible. Council members were then able to find the appropriate ordinances quickly if they needed to refer to a particular regulation, for instance to draft similar legislation at a later point.

In addition to the inventory and the *Repertorium der Policyordnungen*, the inspection of collections outside the city archive and even outside Cologne can yield further precious evidence. There are two institutions within the city walls that also collected sixteenth-century ordinances. The City Museum possesses seven ordinances from the second half of the sixteenth century; most of them are the only surviving copy of this particular ordinance.³³ Among these regulations is a peculiar ordinance on coinage from 1564 which is over one meter long and comprises 150 woodcuts in varied sizes. This elaborate reference tool is of very fine quality.³⁴ Its remarkable illustrations demonstrate very effectively what a vital tool printing was for this particular area of government

31 HASTK Bestand 95 (Zunft).

32 The 'trade' collection can be found online: <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/lesesaal/bestand/76/Best.+90+Handel>> (accessed 24 October 2014).

33 Kölnisches Stadtmuseum – Bestand Verordnungen.

34 This particular broadsheet has also survived in the 'trade' collection of the city archive and is thus online: Köln – Rat, *Wie Bürgermeistere und Rath der Statt Co[e]ln thun kunth allen (Jülicher Münzverordnung mit Abbildung verbotener Münzen, 31.07.1564)* (Cologne: Jaspar Gennep, 1564). HASTK Best. 90 (Handel): A 927, f. 1, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1130187/Best.+90%2BA+927%2B>> (accessed 24 October 2014). The document is so long that it had to be scanned several times and thus stretches now over 4 pages of the scanned book.

regulation. It is impossible to conceive how an ordinance of this type could have been disseminated effectively purely by oral proclamations.

The University Library also has a much larger collection than one may assume. There is one *Sammelband* comprised of coin ordinances that contains 42 items from the sixteenth century.³⁵ Other broadsheet ordinances can be found in several boxes that contain regulations from the same time period.³⁶ All in all, the University Library has a surprisingly high number of 81 ordinances for the sixteenth century.³⁷ Between the City Museum and the University Library there are nearly 100 broadsheet ordinances. In many cases these are the only surviving copy of that particular regulation. In addition to the microfilms from the 'guild' and 'trade' collection the material in the University Library and the City Museum becomes extremely valuable.

Finally, the German Historical Museum in Berlin also has 30 broadsheet ordinances from sixteenth-century Cologne; again a considerable number of them are already digitalised.³⁸ All of these ordinances date to the last four decades of the century and touch on diverse topics including trading, wages, the spoils of war and regulations on funerals. These broadsheets were almost exclusively bought in two auction sales in 1989 and 1994 from an auction house close to Cologne. As with the copies in the 'guild' and 'trade' collection in the city archive, many of the Berlin copies bear manuscript notes on the issue date and the content of the ordinance on the back. It thus seems more than probable that they used to be in the city archive of Cologne, but got separated over the last five centuries.

Inspecting collections in the hope that they may contain ordinances can be time-consuming, but, as we see, can also be richly rewarding. Inventories can either provide the first clues to the existence of these ordinances or on occasion the only evidence for artefacts which can no longer be located. Archival materials can also offer further valuable information. Here one can take advantage of the fact that in archives ordinances are often intermingled with other contemporary documentation, usually manuscripts, which offer precious information on the functioning of this trade in official documents. When read carefully these documents yield an unexpected harvest of further lost editions,

35 University Library Cologne, RHV2240 Sammlung von Münz-Decreten für die Stadt Köln, 1493–1760.

36 Thus for instance RHKAS 1543, 1544, 1545, 1549, 1550, 1557, 1567, 1570.

37 I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Wolfgang Schmidt who pointed me in the direction of these broadsheets.

38 I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Matthias Miller who brought this collection to my attention and informed me about its background.

as well as providing contextual information about the way the production of these official mandates impacted on the local publishing industry.

One such revealing contemporary source is an invoice presented to the city council by the printer Maternus Cholinus in 1576.³⁹ Cholinus was among the most successful printers at this time, but also held several offices in the city administration. He was also repeatedly elected to the council. His good connections to the urban elite probably secured him the very lucrative job as *Ratsdrucker* (printer for the council).⁴⁰ In this position he printed numerous ordinances for the city and seems to have been the only one entrusted with the production of official print from the mid-1570s onwards.⁴¹ In his invoice, Cholinus charges the city council for fourteen items that he produced between August 1575 and April 1576. He lists eleven ordinances, one privilege and two *Münzstocke* referring to the woodcuts he used to supplement two coin ordinances. On this remarkable list Cholinus not only specifies the exact amount of money he charges, but also describes the content of the regulation and when exactly he produced it.

When we compare the information provided in this invoice with the available lists of published ordinances we get a clear sense of how efficiently the publication of ordinances was organised in Cologne by the 1570s. New regulations were usually printed within a few days of the council meeting. On 3 August 1575 the magistrates forbade farmers to water their cattle at local wells. Cholinus printed the ordinance three days later. New regulations for beggars and coins issued in February and April of the same year appeared two days after the magistrates' decisions. On one occasion, a regulation on the salt trade appeared on the very same day as the council's decision. Perhaps Cholinus himself attended the council meeting and after it finished went straight over to his print shop to order his workmen to set up the type for the ordinance.

Of the eleven ordinances on Cholinus' invoice, eight can be identified with the help of the city archive inventory and the *Repertorium*. Thus the invoice points us to three ordinances that existed in the mid-1570s which have not survived and did not leave a trace in either of these registers. Two of these apparently lost items reveal a very interesting fact – one ordinance could

39 HASTK Bestand 90 (Handel), A 225 f. 12, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1055809/Best.+90+A+225+>> (accessed 24 October 2014).

40 Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Habilitation Universität zu Köln, 1990), p. 403.

41 Otto Zaretzky, 'Ein Quentelisches Rechnungsbuch aus der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 93 (1912), pp. 55–102, p. 88.

actually appear in several different editions. This would particularly be the case if a regulation had ramifications in several different jurisdictions.

In April 1576 the circulation of Jever *Taler* was of some concern to the city council. On 18 April the council banned the use of this specific coin. In the introduction to this particular ordinance, the council refers to the recent law on coins from Jever and Holland which was passed by the district assembly: "After the recent district assembly, our men from the council forbade two coins of inferior *Taler*".⁴² This district assembly meeting resulted in an ordinance issued on 11 April which banned *Taler* minted in Jever and Holland. Cholinus supplied the printed regulations two days later. But in contrast to the other ordinances on his invoice, Cholinus divided this job into three entries. He listed the ordinance of the forbidden *Taler* and specifies that 60 copies were for Cologne and continues with *it[em]* listing 100 copies for Aachen and 50 copies for Dortmund.

This seems to suggest that the ordinance following the district assembly appeared in three different editions. If the three items on the list were actually one and the same edition to be handed out to all three cities, there would have been no need for Cholinus to list the items individually. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that one of the three editions actually survives in the University Library. The edition intended for the populace in Aachen opens with the following words: "We mayor, lay lawyers and council of the royal seat and city Aachen".⁴³ Presumably the other two editions differ at least in the beginning as they would most likely open with greetings from the respective local authorities.

This brings into focus one further extremely interesting fact; that a Cologne printer not only produces regulations that applied to the citizens in his city, but also for citizens of surrounding cities issued by their local authority. In the sixteenth century this was not unusual for such a vibrant print centre as Cologne. The dukes of Jülich-Cleves-Berg had all their ordinances printed in Cologne until 1555 when they persuaded a printer to come and work in their

42 "Als unsere Herrn vom Rathe vermo[e]g jungsten hie in der Stat Coln genommenen Kraiß abscheide zweierley sorten von geringen Thaller öffentlich verpieten lassen", Köln – Rat, *Zu wissen sey jedermenniglich, als unsere Herrn vom Rathe mit Ernste[m] bevelch dern hieunden abcontrafteiten Thaller fur Wertschafft keinen zu empfangen, noch ußzugeben oder einzuschleiffen* (18.04.1576) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1576]), HASTK Bestand 90 (Handel), A 927 f. 10, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1130198/Best.+90+A+927+>> (accessed 24 October 2014).

43 Köln – Rat, *Wir Burgermeistere Scheffen un Rath des Königlische Stuls unnd Stadt Aich* (11.04.1576) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus], 1581), University Library Cologne.

capital, Düsseldorf.⁴⁴ Thus when Cholinus produced the Aachen ordinance in 1576, he fulfilled the task as a Ratsdrucker for this city. However, in Dortmund there were two printers working in 1576 – Albert Sartor and Arnold Westhoff – and they may well have been entrusted with the production of official print for the local magistrates.⁴⁵ Perhaps Cholinus was producing these ordinances as they were important for those tradesmen and merchants that had trading relations with these cities. It may also be the case that the city council of Cologne wanted to inform travellers, particularly those visiting the cathedral in Aachen, of the currency acceptable at their destination. In business terms this was certainly a more efficient model since the body of the ordinance only had to be set up once with marginal variations for each jurisdiction. Certainly if it had not been for Cholinus' invoice we would have assumed that the coin regulation appeared in one edition and overlooked the other two that left no trace in the inventory or the *Repertorium*.

The *Repertorium* lists two more instances when one regulation was printed in three different editions. Firstly, in June 1581 the council decided on new regulations for cartage and these were made known to the populace with a printed ordinance. Whereas the inventory only lists one entry, the *Repertorium* differentiates between the regulations for three different areas of Cologne – the *Rheingassen*, the *Trankgassen* and the *Salzgassen*. Fortunately two of these different editions survived in the 'trade' collection and a comparison of the two copies shows clearly that these are two different editions.⁴⁶ The third is lost.

When in 1600 another regulation for cartage was issued it again appeared in three different editions. Similar to the ordinance from 1581 two editions addressed the *Rheingassen* and the *Trankgassen*, but the third edition was now regulating the *Mühlengassen*.⁴⁷ These three editions were issued on the same

44 Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Habilitation Universität zu Köln, 1990), p. 465.

45 Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 161.

46 Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn von der Reingassen in der statt Holtz, Wein und Stein zu fuehren* (28.06.1581) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus], 1581), HASTK Best. 90 (Handel): A 560, ff. 15 and 16, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085937/Best.+90%2BA+560%2B>>; Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn von der Saltzgassen, Haußkrahen, Hasenpfort von Wein zu fuehren* (28.06.1581) ([Cologne: Maternus Cholinus], 1581), HASTK Best. 90 (Handel): A 560, f. 17, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085938/Best.+90%2BA+560%2B>> (both accessed 24 October 2014).

47 Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn, was von der Dranckgassen, in die Statt Wein, Holtz und Stein auff zu fu[e]hren, zu zahlen schuldig seye* (13.11.1600) ([Cologne]: s.n., [1600]), HASTK Bestand 90 (Handel): A 560, f. 22, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085946/Best>>

day as a regulation for the sale of timber. The printer – Cholinus' successor as *Ratsdrucker* – must have had a busy time producing four different broadsheet ordinances close to the issue date.

Cholinus' invoice is truly a remarkable source. It not only points us to lost editions, but also reveals fascinating insights into the print run and costs of broadsheet ordinances. In the case of the 1576 currency regulation the printer specified on his invoice the number of copies he produced for Cologne, Aachen and Dortmund. The Aachen ordinance was produced in 100 copies and Cholinus asks the city council for a reimbursement of 2 *Taler*. Cholinus printed 60 copies of the Cologne ordinance and 50 copies for Dortmund, asking both times for 1 *Taler*. Although the other items on the list do not indicate the print run of the regulations, the information given for the ordinance on currency provides us with a clue how many copies were produced. As almost all other ordinances on the invoice are priced at 1 *Taler*, it seems that these items were also printed in 50–60 copies.

Another fascinating contemporary source reveals a lost ordinance but in a very different manner. This source is a fish ordinance from 1572 of which two copies were kept in the city archives' collection on 'trade' (so they are fortunately now both online).⁴⁸ The last line of the text reveals the issue date of the ordinance – 1st February – *sic conclusum prima februrii Anno etc. LXXII*. The regulation comprises a list of different fish along with their respective prices. These prices are printed in a currency that was commonly used in the Rhineland from the Middle Ages onwards – the *albus* (here shortened to *alb.*). According to this regulation, citizens of Cologne could obtain salmon for 6 *albus* and a pound of eel for 7 *albus*.

A third copy of this particular edition also survived in the collection of the German Historical Museum in Berlin.⁴⁹ In contrast to the copies in the city

.+90%2BA+560%2B> (accessed 24 October 2014); Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn, was von der Rheingassen in die Statt Wein, Holtz und Stein auff zu fu[e]hren zu zahlen schuldig seye* (13.11.1600) ([Cologne]: s.n., [1600]), HASTK Bestand 90 (Handel): A 560, f. 23, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1085947/Best.+90%2BA+560%2B>> (accessed 24 October 2014); Köln – Rat, *Fuhrlohn, was von der Muellengassen in die Statt Wein, Holtz und Stein auff zu fu[e]hren zu zahlen schuldig seye* (13.11.1600) ([Cologne]: s.n., [1600]), HASTK Best. 14 (Edikte): 7, no. 72.

48 Köln – Rat, *Unsere Herren vom Rathe wollen nachgesetzte ordnung bej geldung uns verkauffung der Fisch nach gelegenheit dieser zeit unverbruchtlich gehalten* (01.02.1572) ([Cologne]: s.n. [1572]), The city archive used to have two copies – HASTK Bestand 90 (Handel): A 323, ff. 8–9, <<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/dokument/1064073/Best.+90%2BA+323%2B>> (accessed 24 October 2014).

49 1989/1045.1.

archives, the Berlin broadsheet is heavily annotated by a contemporary hand. One of these changes is the last line of the text which now reads not 1 February 1572, but 13 February 1573. It seems that this copy served as a template for a similar regulation of fish prices, published one year later. It was probably edited by an official of the city council who saw no need to compose an entirely new manuscript for the ordinance. Instead he chose to use a copy of the regulation from the previous year and adjusted it slightly.⁵⁰ Most likely this copy was then used to create a manuscript which was sent to the printer for publication. The annotated ordinance, however, was returned to the city officials and the city archive where it remained either for future consultation or to verify that the printer had made the stipulated changes.

The handwritten annotations introduced other changes all of which tighten the regulations on the sale of fish. By carefully crossing out parts of the text at the beginning and end, the places where fish can be sold were limited. Whereas the ordinance from 1572 allowed fishermen to sell their fish in the streets as well as 'at the well-known benches', the new ordinance restricted the sale to the latter. Secondly, the scope of the ordinance was widened by stipulating that it referred to all carp regardless of their size instead of only the small ones (the word 'small' was crossed out). In addition to these textual changes that made the regulation stricter, prices were increased: the price for salmon had gone up by one *albus*, that is, from six to seven *albus*. Similarly, the price for eel was raised by one *albus*. As a result this illuminating annotated broadsheet shows how in cases where the regulation of markets required an annual review printed ordinances could serve as quite adequate templates for new editions.

This regulation of the sale of fish from 1573 cannot be found in the inventory or the bibliography of early modern police ordinances. Neither can it be located in other collections, such as the City Museum of Cologne or the German Historical Museum in Berlin. It is a lost edition and the only evidence of its existence that we have is this annotated copy of the previous year's prices.

Despite the generally poor survival rate of sixteenth-century broadsheets, we can nevertheless still accumulate a substantial collection for ordinances printed in sixteenth-century Cologne. The inventory of the lost ordinance collection in the city archive of Cologne gives us a total of 388 broadsheets. We can add another 91 editions from the *Repertorium*, which included regulations

50 Flavia Bruni also presents evidence of annotated ordinances, printed in seventeenth-century Rome, that served as templates for ordinances printed at a later point in time, see Flavia Bruni, 'In the name of God: governance, public order and theocracy in the broadsheets of the Stamperia Camerale of Rome', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-sheet Publishing in the first age of Print* (forthcoming Leiden: Brill, 2017).

in other collections of the city archive beyond the ordinance collection. Additionally the *Repertorium* differentiates between various editions of a single regulation which further enhances the total. This already substantial corpus can be further enriched with the help of Cholinus' invoice and the annotated fish ordinance which give us another 4 items. Drawing all of this data together, the corpus currently consists of 483 broadsheet ordinances that were printed in sixteenth-century Cologne.

The collapse of the city archives in 2009 made a large number of these ordinances unavailable. However, a close inspection of holdings outside the city archive reveals an astonishing amount of surviving broadsheets. It turns out that the University Library of Cologne, the City Museum of Cologne, as well as the German Historical Museum in Berlin also collected such printed ordinances. Taken together these three institutions possess a considerable total of 188 editions and with the help of modern day technology we can consult many of these editions online. Other copies are available online via the microfilms of the city archive. Thus although most of the nearly 500 editions of broadsheet ordinances disappeared into the rubble in 2009, 100 broadsheet editions of the sixteenth century are still available online.