



CONNI RAMSKOV, CAND.MAG.
MUSEUMSINSPEKTØR, MUSEET PÅ KOLDINGHUS

DRONNING DOROTHEAS BRUDESMYKKE

CONNI RAMSKOV, CAND.MAG.
CURATOR, MUSEET PÅ KOLDINGHUS

QUEEN DOROTHEA'S BRIDAL ORNAMENT

FIG. 1

Dorotheas brudesmykke som det ser ud i dag: Pelikanten i midten med Dorotheas våben i klørne og omkranset af smykkesten og perler.

Foto: Iben Kaufmann

FIG. 1

Queen Dorothea's bridal ornament as it looks today; the pelican in the middle holding Dorothea's family coat of arms in its claws, encircled by gemstones and pearls.

Photo: Iben Kaufmann



I 1557 donerede Christian 3.s dronning Dorothea et stort, overdådigt smykke til Københavns Rådhus, så det kunne udlånes til døtre af byens borgmestre og rådmænd, når de, som de eneste, havde adgang til at benytte rådhusalen som ramme for deres bryllupper. Med den fornemme gave til byens rådhus knyttede dronningen en klar forbindelse til byens øverste administratorer. Moderne undersøgelser af smykket har vist, at det på daværende tidspunkt var blevet sammensat af flere forskellige ikke samtidige dele. Undervejs i sin lange levetid har det været udsat for ændringer, og først i 1943 fik smykket igen sit oprindelige udseende på baggrund af omfattende historiske studier.

In 1557 Queen Dorothea, wife of King Christian III, donated a large and sumptuous ornament to the city of Copenhagen, making it available for the daughters of the mayors and councillors to use when they – the only people eligible to apply – received permission to hold their wedding receptions in the main chamber of the city hall. By presenting such a fine gift to the city, the queen was signalling a clear link to the leading civic administrators. Modern studies have shown that not all the various elements of the ornament were contemporaneous. In the course of its long life, the piece had undergone alterations, and it was not until 1943 that historical records enabled the ornament to be returned to its original composition.

ET FORNEMT OG OVERDÅDIGT SMYKKE

Et af de få bevarede brudesmykker fra 1500-tallet herhjemme har en direkte forbindelse til Christian 3.s hustru, Dorothea af Sachsen-Lauenburg. Smykket fører os tilbage til året 1557, hvor hun som landets dronning gav det til Københavns Rådhus. Dengang var rådhuset ikke bare hjemsted for byens administration, men fungerede også som mødested for byens fremmeste borgere, rådmænd og borgmestre, der også dengang havde ret til at bruge rådhuset til fester.¹ Dronning Dorothea sikrede med det overdådige smykke, at byens "uberygtede brude" kunne pyntes på passende vis til livets store fest, og manifesterede samtidig forbindelsen mellem byens øverste administratorer og kongehuset.

I midten af smykket ses en stor pelikan, hvis kløer holder Dorotheas våbenskjold² med årstallet 1557 indgraveret øverst. Seks ferskvandsperler og fire store smykkesten: en ametyst, en safir og to bjergkrystaller omkranser den store pelikan, der under hver vinge holder en unge, og i kløerne, som nævnt, Dorotheas våbenskjold.³ Perlerne symboliserer uskyld, de to blå smykkesten symboliserer tro (skab), den lille ametyst kærlighed, og den gulgrønne bjergkrystal er symbol på frugtbarhed og håb – tilsammen de tre kardinaldyder: tro, håb og kærlighed. Pelikanten, symbolet på Kristi offerdød, er fuglen, der ofrer alt for sine unger. Den fodrer dem med sit blod og plukker sit bryst for at fore reden med dunene. Et sindbillede, der passer perfekt ind i en bryllupssfære og matcher brudens rolle over for brudgommen samt undersåtternes over for dronningen, hvis diskrete, men tydelige rolle som ophavsmand understreges med våbenskjoldet.

KOLDINGHUS OG DRONNING DOROTHEA

Dorothea var nært knyttet til Koldinghus, der gennem Christian 3.s regeringsperiode, 1534-1559, og i hendes tid som enkedronning var det foretrukne opholdssted. Da parret blev viet i 1525 i Lauenburg, var der ingen tegn på, at de skulle ende som Danmarks første protestantiske regentpar. Christian fik Haderslev-Tørning len, og hertugparret slog sig ned på det nu forsvundne Haderslevhus, hvorfra de straks gik i gang med at indføre Luthers lære. Efter Frederik 1.s død i 1533 og tre års borgerkrig, Grevens Fejde, der i 1536 sluttede med,

A NOBLE AND SUMPTUOUS ORNAMENT

One of the few surviving sixteenth-century bridal ornaments in Denmark has a direct link to the wife of King Christian III (b. 1503, r. 1534-1559): Dorothea of Sachsen-Lauenburg (1511-1571). The ornament takes us back to 1557, the year in which Queen Dorothea presented it to Copenhagen city hall. At that time, a city hall was not simply the office of the administrative authorities; it also functioned as a meeting place for the most distinguished residents, councillors and mayors, and they had the right to use the city hall for celebrations and festivities.¹ By presenting such a sumptuous gift, Queen Dorothea ensured that the city's "brides of unblemished reputation" could be suitably adorned for their big day, and she also manifested the link between the city's leading administrators and the royal family.

A large pelican features at the centre of the ornament; in its claws it holds a medallion bearing Dorothea's family coat of arms,² the date 1557 engraved on the upper horizontal bar of the heraldic shield, and two of its young, one under each wing. The pelican is encircled by six freshwater pearls and four large gemstones: an amethyst, a sapphire and two rock crystals.³ The pearls symbolise innocence and purity, the two blue gemstones symbolise faith (fulness), the red amethyst is the symbol of love and the yellow-green sapphire is the symbol of fruitfulness and hope; together, the stones represent the three cardinal virtues: faith, hope and charity. The pelican, symbol of Christ's sacrificial death, is the bird that would give its blood to save its young, plucking the down from its own breast to make a softly-lined nest. An emblem that is a perfect fit with the concept of marriage, matching the bride's role vis-à-vis the groom, and the subject's role vis-à-vis the queen: the discreet, but distinct role of the latter as author of the piece is highlighted by the coat of arms.

KOLDINGHUS AND QUEEN DOROTHEA

Dorothea had very close links to Koldinghus, which was the favoured royal residence throughout her husband's reign and while she was queen dowager.

When the couple married in 1525 in her home duchy of Lauenburg, northern Germany, there was no indication that they would go on to become Denmark's first Protestant royal couple. The then Duke Christian

FIG. 2

Der findes ingen gode danske billedgengivelser af et dolslag. Det nærmeste man kommer, er et stik gengivet i *Trachtenbuch Nürnberg* af Hans Weigel fra 1577: Brud fra Nürnberg. Både bruden i midten og de to brudepiger har alle et løst firkantet slag over skuldrene svarende til beskrivelserne af et dolslag. Foto: Mats Landin/Nordiska Museet.

FIG. 2

No good-quality Danish depiction of a partlet can be found today. However, this item of clothing is illustrated on an engraving by Hans Weigel, reproduced in *Trachtenbuch Nürnberg, 1577: Bride from Nürnberg*.

The loose square-shaped 'capas', which cover the shoulders of the bride in the centre and the two bridesmaids, correspond to descriptions of a partlet.

Photo: Mats Landin/Nordiska Museet.



at Christian erobrede København, kunne parret året efter lade sig krone af Luthers (1483-1546) egen udsending og reformator, Johan Bugenhagen (1485-1558), og vejen var hermed banet for at udskifte fortidens katolicisme med protestantismen i hele kongeriget. Kongeparret var stærkt optaget af den nye tro og dens udbredelse til deres undersåtter. Ifølge Luther var kongen Guds stedfortræder på jord, og det var kronparrets pligt at sikre undersåtternes sjælefrelse, så de undgik fortabelsen, der var helt konkret i datidens forestillingsverden. Arbejdet foregik på mange planer: For eksempel tog Christian fat på at få biblen oversat til dansk, og denne første dansksproget udgave udkom i 1550.⁴ Samtidig undergik Koldinghus en større ombygning: Tre år forinden var det besluttet, at slottet skulle indgå i dronningens livgeding,⁵ og det var derfor vigtigt, at det kunne danne en passende ramme om hendes hof. I begyndelsen af 1550'erne opførtes sydfløjen og dermed også slottets kapel, hvis rester stadig ses i dag. Det regnes for det tidligste private, protestantiske kapel i Danmark⁶ og var en tydelig manifestation af

was given the fiefdom of Haderslev-Tørning, and the couple settled in the now long-gone medieval fortress of Haderslevhus, where they immediately started promoting Lutheran Protestantism in what was at the time a Catholic realm. Following the death of King Frederik I (b. 1471, r. 1523-1533), a civil war broke out over the line of accession. Known as the Count's Feud, the conflict lasted for three years; in 1536 Christian won back Copenhagen and the couple were crowned King and Queen of Denmark and Norway by Luther's (1483-1546) own envoy and reformer, Johan Bugenhagen (1485-1558). The door was now open for the process of replacing the Catholicism of the past with the new Protestantism, and to do so throughout the kingdom. The king and queen were much involved with the new faith and its dissemination to their subjects. According to Luther, the king was God's representative on Earth; the royal couple had to ensure the salvation of their subjects' souls so they would avoid the perdition that was a very real place in the contemporaneous scheme of things. This work was undertaken on many levels: for

regentparrets personlige tro og den vigtige rolle, den spillede i deres liv.

DRONNINGEN, DEN NYE TRO OG BRYLLUPPER

I Luthers protestantiske lære var ægteskabet grundstenen for familien. Med indgåelse af ægteskab sikrede man, at menneskene opfyldte Guds krav. I en tid med stor social kontrol og for os i dag forbavsende mange regler for, hvordan man skulle leve sit liv, var det overordentligt vigtigt, at man kunne bevise, at man var lovformeligt gift. Derfor var et stort bryllup med til at bevidne giftermålet og samtidig manifestere ens sociale status.

Hvis der var nogen, som forstod at håndhæve traditioner og kendte forpligtelserne som dronning, var det Dorothea. Hun arbejdede ihærdigt med at skaffe passende partier til både sine egne børn og til de adelsdøtre, der var tilknyttet hendes hof. Der er flere eksempler på, at dronning Dorothea holdt bryllupper enten på Koldinghus eller på Københavns Slot⁷ for de unge adelsfrøkner, der var tilknyttet hoffet.

Eftersom æren skinnede både på modtageren og giveren, når man betalte for eller bidrog med penge, gaver eller udlån til et bryllup, var det forventeligt, eller næsten en pligt, at bidrage efter evne til andres bryllupper. Det er i den sammenhæng, man skal betragte brudesmykket, som dronning Dorothea gav til Københavns Rådhus i 1557.

BRYLLUPSFESTER OG OVERFORBRUG I 1500-TALLET

Brylluppet hørte til en af livets vigtigste fester. Her indgik to slægter i en alliance, hvor alle, både familien og de trolovede, skulle billige aftalen, der var juridisk gældende både i forhold til de verdslige og de religiøse love.

Med smykket kunne Dorothea signalere sin og kongens forbindelse til byen København, og det skulle på den ene side bidrage til de fornemste brudes udstyr⁸, og på den anden side forsøge at begrænse det eskalerende forbrug i forbindelse med bryllupper i disse år. Samme tankegang fremgik af Christian 3.s lov fra 1557⁹, der forsøgte at indføre begrænsninger i antallet af gæster og dage, som bryllupsfester måtte vare.¹⁰

example, Christian III instigated the first Danish translation of the Bible, in a version published in 1550.⁴ At the same time, Koldinghus underwent major renovation work: three years earlier, the fortress had been listed as part of Queen Dorothea's 'pension package'⁵, and it was therefore important that the buildings be appropriate to the status of her court. In the early 1550s, a south wing was added along with a chapel, the remains of which are still visible today. Now regarded as the earliest private Protestant chapel in Denmark,⁶ it was a clear manifestation of the royal couple's personal faith and the key role this played in their lives.

THE QUEEN, THE NEW FAITH AND WEDDINGS

Luther's Protestant doctrine saw marriage as the foundation stone of the family. Marriage ensured that humankind fulfilled God's will. At a time of much social control, and what we today would consider a surprisingly large number of rules about how to conduct daily life, it was of extreme importance to be able to prove lawful marriage had been contracted. One way of doing this was by means of a grandiose wedding, which would also signal elevated social status.

If anyone knew how to maintain traditions and was well-versed in the duties of a queen, it was Dorothea. She worked tirelessly to find suitable matches both for her own children and for the daughters of nobility affiliated to her court. There are a number of examples of Queen Dorothea hosting weddings, either at Koldinghus or at the then Copenhagen Castle,⁷ for young ladies of noble rank.

Given that honour shone upon both giving and receiving, when paying for or contributing with money, gifts or loans for a wedding, it was expected, or virtually a duty, to do so according to one's means, thus demonstrating the connection between giver and receiver. This is the context in which to view the bridal ornament donated by Queen Dorothea to the city of Copenhagen in 1557.

WEDDING FESTIVITIES AND EXCESSES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A wedding was an extremely significant event: two families entered into an alliance in which everyone –

FIG. 3

Brigitte Gøye, en af dronning Dorotheas hofdamer, ses her med Halsbånd, store vedhæng, ringe, et bælte og et utal af guldkæder, der svarede til den type smykker, som 1500-tallets brude ville eje, eller låne af familie eller velyndere og bære til brylluppet.

Maleriet er tilskrevet Jacob Binck (ca 1500-1569), Christian 3.s foretrukne hofmaler, der malede kongefamilien og mange af landets førende adelsfamilier i 1500-tallet.

Foto: Jens Olsen, Næstved Museum.

FIG. 3

Brigitte Gøye, one of Queen Dorothea's ladies-in-waiting, wearing necklaces, large pendants, rings, a belt and numerous gold chains: the type of jewellery that a sixteenth-century bride would own, or borrow from family or patrons, and wear at her wedding.

The painting is attributed to Jacob Binck (c.1500-1569), Christian III's favourite court artist; he painted portraits of the royal family and many of the leading families of rank.

Photo: Jens Olsen, Næstved Museum.



BRUGEN AF BRUDESMYKKET

Et hurtigt blik på smykket afslører, at det er stort og tungt.⁴¹ Vender man det om, kan man se, at der er et ønske, så det har kunnet bæres i en kæde. Nedenunder er der rester af holdere til en brochenål. Smykket må have krævet fæste i et fast stykke stof, og det kunne

the family and the betrothed – should approve a contract that was legally binding in secular and religious law alike. By donating the ornament, Dorothea could send a signal about the royal couple's affiliation to Copenhagen; the ornament would also add to the outfits of the most distinguished brides,⁸ while attempting to limit the wedding celebration excesses that were getting out of hand dur-



FIG. 4A
Peder H. Resens gengivelse af smykket fra 1675. I 1675 udgav Københavns borgmester, historikeren Peder Hansen Resen (1625-1688), et prøvetryk til sit senere storværk *Atlas Danicus*. I udgivelsen ses den ældste kendte gengivelse af brudesmykkets for- og bagside. Bemærk, at på bagsiden ses tydeligt spændet og øskenen ovenover, der gjorde det muligt at bruge det som et smykke. Desuden ses ombukningen af

smykkestenenes og perlernes fatningspinde tydeligt, og hvis man sammenholder for- og bagside er det tydeligt, at der mangler 3 perler, i forhold til hvordan smykket ser ud i dag. Illustrationen er fra *Descriptio et illustratio Samsøe insulæ maris Balthici præmissa uti specimen Theatri Daniæ sive potius Atlantis Danici sequentibus annis in lucem prodituri* af Resen, Peder Hansen 1675, s. 62-63. Ejer: Syddansk Universitetsbibliotek.

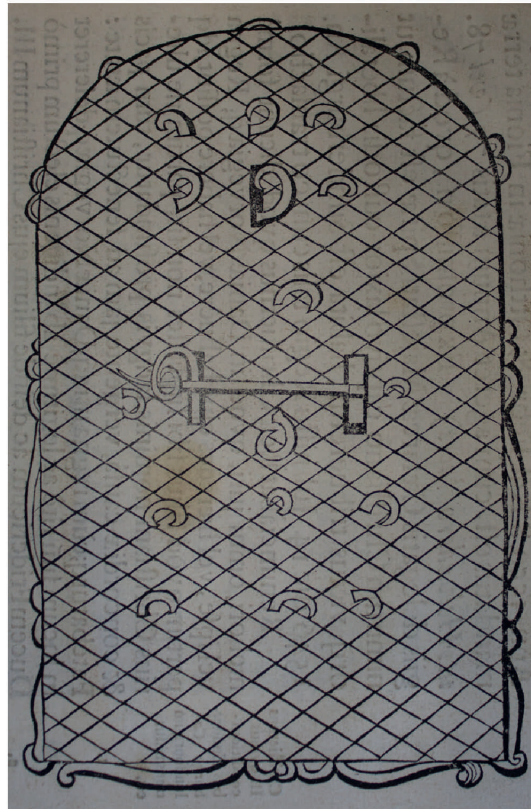


FIG. 4A
Peder H. Resen's depiction of the ornament, 1675. In 1675, the mayor of Copenhagen, historian Peder Hansen Resen (1625-1688), published a trial proof for his later monumental project *Atlas Danicus*. The publication includes the oldest known depiction of the bridal ornament, front and back. Note the clasp with eyelet above attached to the back of the ornament, enabling it to be worn as a piece of jewellery. The bent mounting sprigs for gemstones

and pearls are clearly visible. Comparison between the front of the ornament and the backplate shows that originally there were three more pearls than we see in the ornament today.

The illustration is from: Resen, Peder Hansen, *Descriptio et illustratio Samsøe insulæ maris Balthici præmissa uti specimen Theatri Daniæ sive potius Atlantis Danici sequentibus annis in lucem prodituri*, 1675, pp. 62-63. Owner: Syddansk Universitetsbibliotek, Odense.



FIG. 4B
In 1776 the ornament was depicted once again. This time in a little book about the treasures of the town of Copenhagen, published by Mayor H.C. Hersleb. © Designmuseum Danmark/ Biblioteket.

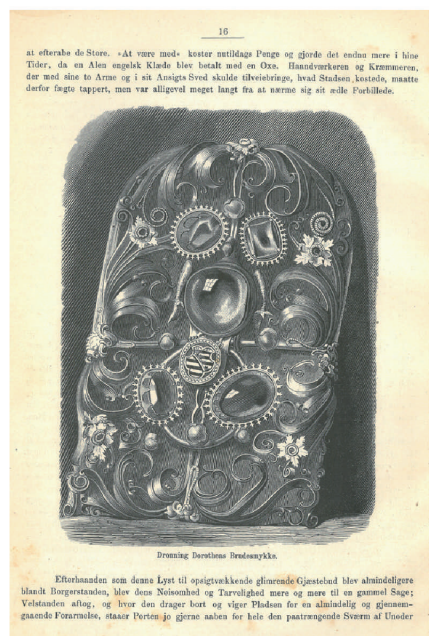


FIG. 4B
I 1776 blev smykket endnu engang gengivet. Denne gang i en lille bog om København bys skatte, udgivet af borgmester H.C. Hersleb. © Designmuseum Danmark/ Biblioteket.

FIG. 4C
Smykket som det så ud i Rosenborgs kataloggengivelse fra 1867. Bemærk, at de fire store smykkestenene er flyttet rundt, og der nu ikke længere er ni perler men kun seks. © Kongernes Samling, Rosenborg.

FIG. 4C
The ornament as depicted in Rosenborg Castle's 1867 catalogue. The four large gemstones have been rearranged, and the nine pearls have now been reduced to six. © Kongernes Samling, Rosenborg.

være den form for krave, også kaldet et dolslag, som bruden blev iført over kjolen.

Bar hals, arme eller hænder var utænkeligt i kirken eller ved begyndelsen af bryllupsfesten, så for at bruden kunne fremstå sømmeligt til vielsen, blev hun iført en løs krave, der minder mest om en kort version af messehagelen, som kendes fra nutidens præstebeklædning. Dolslaget var af fløjl og dannede en flot baggrund for brudens smykker, der var så rigelige, som hun og hendes familie overhovedet kunne præstere.

I 1500-tallet var det helt almindeligt at låne sig frem til smykker, som man kombinerede med de smykker, der allerede var i familien. Her har dronning Dorotheas gave kunnet fungere som et smukt centralsmykke på brudens dolslag, der skulle ”bræmmes”, og det kunne ske med guld eller forgyldte vedhæng, brocher eller, hvis man ikke kunne skaffe nok af den slags, så med kæder eller skuepenge, der blev syet fast til kanten af kappen.

Der er beskrivelser af brude, der var så tungt belæsedede med smykker, at det sortnede for deres øjne.¹² Man kan få et indtryk af mængden af smykker ved se på billedet af den adelige Birgitte Gøye, der havde været en af dronning Dorotheas hofdamer, og som efter mange forviklinger og en ulykkelig trolovelse med Jesper Daa endelig blev løst af de forpligtelser, hendes far havde indgået på hendes vegne, før hun blev myndig. I 1544 kunne hun endelig gifte sig med Herluf Trolle.¹³

I dag virker det uforståeligt at lave regler for, hvem der måtte bære hvilke smykker og hvilke typer beklædning, men sådan var det langt fra i renæssancen. Her sikrede strikse regler blandt andet fra Christian 3.s tid, at man ikke pyntede sig over sin stand. Frederik 2. søgte også forgæves at begrænse mængden af smykker og udstedte anbefalinger til, hvor mange halsbånd en adelskvinde måtte bære til sit bryllup, og fra 1603 måtte adelige brude højst bære tre smykker på brystet.¹⁴ Disse forbud har næppe kunnet håndhæves, og anbefalingerne er næppe blevet fulgt. Forbuddet mod at låne smykker til bryllupper kunne bedre håndhæves over for eksempelvis tjenestepiger. Det var uacceptabelt, hvis de i kirken til søndagens højmesse, hvor brylluppet normalt stod, kom til at overstråle borger- eller købmandsdøtre, fordi de var blevet pyntet til brylluppet af deres tidligere arbejdsgiver, en fornem adelsfrue, med fine lånte smykker og fornemme klæder i fløjl og pels.¹⁵

ing this period. The latter endeavour was also evident in Christian III's law of 1557⁹ attempting to introduce restrictions on the number of guests who could be invited and the number of days the wedding festivities could last.¹⁰

USE OF THE BRIDAL ORNAMENT

The ornament is a large and heavy item of jewellery.¹¹ Turning it over, we see an attached eyelet, allowing the piece to be hung on a chain, and the remnants of a brooch pin fitting. The ornament must have required fastening on a firm piece of fabric, possibly the type of collar – also known as a partlet – worn by the bride over her dress.

Bare neckline, arms or hands were unthinkable in church or at the start of the wedding celebration; in order to maintain the bride's decorous appearance, she wore a loose 'collar' that resembled a short version of a chasuble, as we know it from the clerical robes of today. The partlet would have been made of velvet, providing a fine background for the bride's jewels, which would have been as plentiful as she and her family could possibly muster.

It was normal sixteenth-century practice to borrow jewels, which were then combined with family jewels. Queen Dorothea's gift could be used as a beautiful centrepiece on the bride's partlet, a centrepiece that would then be 'bordered' with gold or gilt pendants, brooches or, if these were in short supply, with chains or metal medals sewn to the edge.

Written accounts survive of brides so heavily laden with jewels that they simply fainted.¹² Some impression of the quantity of jewellery can be gleaned from a portrait of noblewoman Birgitte Gøye (c.1511-1574) who had been one of Queen Dorothea's ladies-in-waiting and who, after many a complication and an unhappy arranged betrothal to one Jesper Daa, was eventually relieved of the commitments made by her father on her behalf before she came of age. In 1544, she was finally free to marry the man of her choice, Herluf Trolle.¹³

Today it might seem rather strange to make rules stipulating who is allowed to wear which piece of jewellery and which item of clothing, but in Renaissance Denmark this was the norm. Strict regulations from the reign of Christian III, for example, ensured that no one dressed above their station. Frederik II (b. 1534, r. 1559-

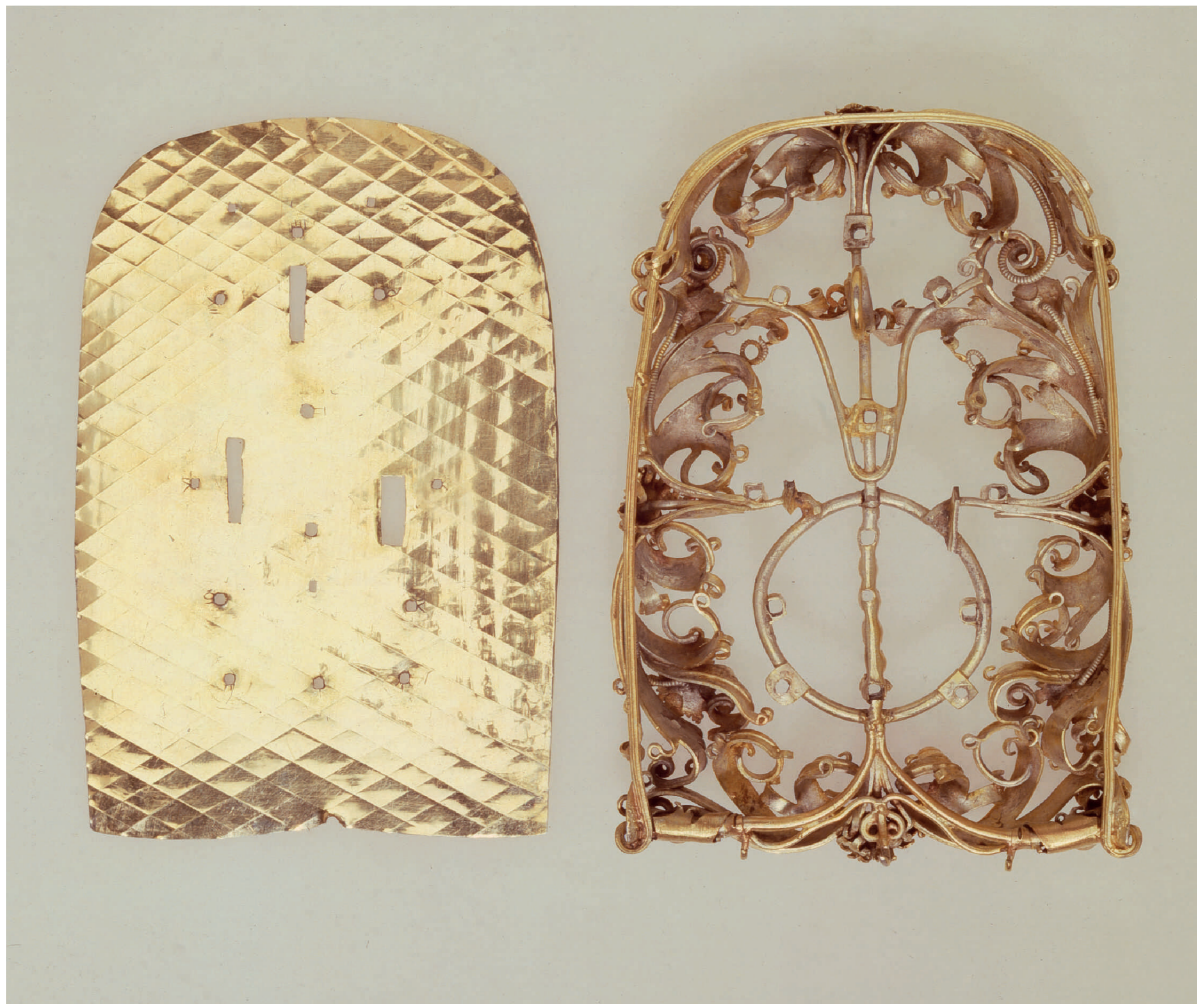


FIG. 5
Bagsiden af brudesmykkets forreste del og bagpladen. Oprindeligt har smykkets "skelet" været korsformet, men i forbindelse med monteringen af pelikanen og smykkestenene er der blevet påloddet en svungen u-form og herunder en cirkel, hvorpå de nye dele kunne fæstnes. Fotograferet i forbindelse med at smykket blev adskilt som en del af Københavns Bymuseums forskningsprojekt fra 1982. Foto: N.E. Jehrbo, Nationalmuseet, 1986.

FIG. 5
The back-plate (left) and the back of the framework (right). The 'skeleton' was originally cruciform, but when the pelican and gemstones were mounted, a curvaceous u-form with a circle below were soldered onto the framework, enabling the parts to be fixed. Photograph taken when the ornament was dismantled during the research project undertaken by the Museum of Copenhagen, starting in 1982. Photo: N.E. Jehrbo, National Museum of Denmark, 1986.

Omkring år 1600 var det drevet så vidt, at en af kansler Christian Friis til Borrebys (1556-1616) tidligere tjener skrev og bad om hjælp, da hans hustru var blevet idømt en bøde på 20 speciedaler for at bære sin egen perlesnor i håret til deres bryllup i København.¹⁶ Den sociale kontrol var med andre ord omfattende i 1500- og 1600-tallet.

SMYKKETS VIDERE HISTORIE

Man ved ikke præcis, hvem der benyttede sig af muligheden for at låne Dorotheas smykke, eller hvor længe det vedblev at være i brug. Hvad forskellige kongers love og anbefalinger mislykkedes med i forhold til begrænsning af smykker og luksus, klarede imidlertid modens skiften: I slutningen af 1600-tallet var smykket håbløst umoderne og endte i stedet sammen med byens øvrige rariteter i et indmuret skab i Københavns rådstue.¹⁷

1588) also attempted, in vain, to restrict the amount of jewellery worn, and issued recommendations as to the number of necklaces a noblewoman might wear for her wedding; and in 1603, during Christian IV's reign, a decree stipulated that an aristocratic bride was only permitted to wear a maximum of three jewels upon her chest.¹⁴ These prohibitions were, of course, difficult to enforce and easy to bypass. The ban on borrowing jewels for weddings was more enforceable with regard to, for example, female servants: it was deemed unacceptable for a servant to attend church for Sunday service, which was when weddings were usually held, in attire that outshone the daughters of citizens or merchants – and this outfit would only have been possible had the servant been dressed for the wedding by her former employer, a distinguished noblewoman, with fine borrowed jewels and elegant garments of velvet and fur.¹⁵ By around 1600 it had all got so out of hand that a former servant of chancellor Christian Friis til Borreby

Selv om smykket ikke længere var interessant for byens fornemme brude, vedblev det at være et klenodie for historikere med forbindelse til København og rådhuset. Allerede i 1681 beskrev Københavns borgmester og historiker Peder Resen (1625-1688) smykket, dets brug og udseende så omhyggeligt, at det senere skulle få betydning for dets tolkning og skæbne.¹⁸ Små 100 år senere, i 1776, udgav H.C. Hersleb en bog om Københavns skatte, og heri var smykket gengivet med en nøjagtig afbildning. I 1859 indsamlede den berømte museumsmand J.J.A. Worsaae (1821-1885)¹⁹ genstande til en samling, der skulle fortælle den oldenborgske kongeslægts historie i en udstilling. Han manglede en repræsentativ genstand fra Christian 3.s periode og ønskede derfor at indlemme smykket i samlingen. Det lykkedes, og det blev udstillet på Rosenborg. I 1922 måtte Rosenborg ved museumsinspektør ved Nationalmuseet Chr. Axel Jensens (1878-1952) mellemkomst dog modstræbende atter returnere det til bystyret på rådhuset.²⁰ Efter nogle år blev smykket undersøgt nærmere, og man opdagede, at det i forhold til Resens beskrivelse i 1681 og afbildningen fra 1776 var blevet ændret, hvorved de fire store smykkesten var blevet rykket rundt, og antallet af perler var reduceret fra ni til seks. Forklaringen var, at man på Rosenborg havde ønsket at ændre dets udseende, så det passede til slut-1800-tallets smag. Smykket blev dog i 1943 tilbageført til den oprindelige form, hvilket var muligt takket være de præcise tegninger og beskrivelser fra 1600- og 1700-tallet. Fra 1956 blev det en del af Københavns Bymuseums permanente udstilling og var det, frem til museet lukkede i 2015.²¹ Som en kuriositet kan nævnes, at smykket stadig i 1920'erne og 30'erne blev lagt frem ved borgerlige vielser på rådhuset, og at det af og til helt frem til 1970'erne, hvor det for længst var blevet en del af Københavns Bymuseums samling, har været tilbage på rådhuset i forbindelse med bryllupper.²²

SMYKKET UNDERSØGES, OG NY VIDEN AFSLØRES

Dorotheas brudesmykke har således, også efter det ikke længere blev brugt til bryllupper, tiltrukket sig opmærksomhed, men nu især blandt historikere. Mange beskrivelser har været mindre flatterende – for eksempel kan man i Rosenborgs katalog fra 1867 læse: *”Arbejdet røber ringe Smag og vidner om en lidet dygtig Guldsmed”* og i slutningen af 1800-tallet sammenligner

(1556-1616) requested help when his wife was fined 20 speciedaler for having worn her own string of pearls in her hair on the occasion of their wedding in Copenhagen.¹⁶

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, social control was indeed all-embracing.

THE ORNAMENT SINCE 1557

We do not know the names of those who borrowed Dorothea's ornament, or for how long the opportunity was on offer. Where the laws and recommendations of various kings regarding amounts of jewellery and lavishness failed, however, changes in fashion succeeded: by the late 1600s, the ornament was seen as hopelessly outmoded and it ended up in a built-in cupboard in the council chamber of Copenhagen city hall, along with other curiosities.¹⁷

Even though the ornament was no longer of interest to the noble brides of the city, it continued to be a treasure for historians with links to Copenhagen and the city hall. As early as 1681, the mayor of Copenhagen, who was also a historian, Peder Resen (1625-1688), wrote about the ornament, its use and appearance; his description was so meticulous that it would later be of key importance to the interpretation and fortunes of the piece.¹⁸ Nearly a century later, in 1776, H.C. Hersleb published a book about Copenhagen treasures in which Dorothea's ornament was depicted with a detailed illustration. In 1859, the renowned museologist J.J.A. Worsaae (1821-1885)¹⁹ assembled a collection of objects for an exhibition intended to tell the story of the Oldenburg royal dynasty. Looking for a representative item from Christian III's period, he wanted to display the bridal ornament. He was permitted to do so, and it was duly exhibited at Rosenborg Castle. In 1922, however, intervention by the director of the Museum of Copenhagen (est. 1901), Christian Axel Jensen (1878-1952), led to Rosenborg reluctantly returning the ornament to the municipal council at the city hall.²⁰ A few years later, a closer examination of the ornament revealed that it did not tally with Resen's 1681 description or the 1776 depiction. In 1943, however, thanks to the precise drawings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the four large gemstones were re-set in their 1557 positions; but the three missing pearls from the original nine pearls had been lost for all time. In



FIG. 6
 Rekonstruktion af brudesmyk-
 ket som det ville have set ud
 som en rem-ende. Fotograferet
 i forbindelse med at smyk-
 ket var adskilt som en del af
 Københavns Bymuseums forsk-
 ningsprojekt fra 1982.
 Foto: N.E. Jehrbo,
 Nationalmuseet, 1986.

FIG. 6
 Reconstruction of the bridal or-
 nament as it would have looked
 if used as a strap-end for a
 belt. Photograph taken when
 the ornament was dismantled
 during the research project
 undertaken by the Museum of
 Copenhagen, starting in 1982.
 Photo: N.E. Jehrbo, National
 Museum of Denmark, 1986.



FIG. 7

En af de meget få bevarede tidlige 1500-tals katolske kyssetavler, på latin pax, har tilhørt Eberbach Kloster og findes nu i Limburg Domkirkes Skatkammer. Her ses bagsiden og håndtaget, som præsten holder kyssetavlen i. Rammens svungne løv minder om brudesmykkets ramme. Wikimedia Commons.

FIG. 7

One of the few surviving sixteenth-century Catholic paxbrede, pax in Latin, a tablet to be kissed during Mass, once used at Eberbach Abbey, now kept in Limburg Cathedral Treasury. The illustration shows the back, with a handle for the priest to hold the tablet aloft. The curvaceous foliage of the frame is similar to that on the bridal ornament. Wikimedia Commons.

T. Troels-Lund det med en fladtrykt klokke til en alpeko.²³

I 1982 og flere år frem var smykket genstand for et forskningsprojekt. På Bymuseet ønskede man at finde ud af, om det egentlig var sat sammen af flere, måske ikke samtidige, dele. Tilgangen til en forståelse af smykket var nu ikke længere subjektive bedømmelser af stil og udseende, men i højere grad naturvidenskabelige undersøgelser, så som metalanalyser og stilistiske sammenligninger af guldsmedearbejdet i smykkets forskellige dele. Bymuseets studier blev publiceret i 2004 af John Erichsen og Johan Møhlenfeldt Jensen.²⁴ Deres konklusion var, at der var tale om et genbrugsstykke bestående af et i 1557 allerede ældre rem-ende-beslag kombineret med, hvad dronning Dorothea kunne finde i smykkeæskens af stene og perler. Denne tolkning stod alene frem til 2011.²⁵ Her udgav Karin Stemmann-Petersen, der allerede i 1980'ere var en del af forskningsteamet omkring smykket, selv en artikel, der sammenholder analyseresultaterne fra 1980'erne med smykkedelens form og håndværkets karakter. I artiklen nyfortolkede hun smykket ved så at sige at vende det på hovedet: I stedet for at være en genbrugt rem-ende foreslog hun, at det var et lille bærbart alter fra katolsk tid, der i 1557 fik påloddet ædelsten og et halskædevedhæng i form af en pelikan og ikke mindst dronningens våbenskjold, så det kunne få et nyt liv som brudesmykke.²⁶

ET SAMMENSAT SMYKKE DISSEKERES

Det store smykke²⁷ kan synes rodet opbygget og i al fald meget fremmed for et nutidigt blik: Udefra beskrevet består det af en ramme med fliget løvværk, lange tynde blade, og nellikelignende blomster med krøllede kronblade – alt sammen forfinet udført guldsmedehåndværk. På rammebagsiden er loddet sølvvrør med små øskener, hvorigennem tynde fatningspinde fra perlernes, smykkestenes og pelikanens bagsider er stukket videre ned i bagpladen, hvor de er bukket om. Forskelligt sølvindhold i rammen, bagpladen og den centrale del af decorationen antyder, at delene ikke er samtidige. I samme retning peger pelikanen, der er støbt og ikke hamret ud i sølvfolie eller trukket i sølvtråde som andre dele af smykket. Den har fire huller, så den har sandsynligvis tidligere kunnet monteres som et vedhæng i to kæder. Lignende vedhæng kendes og da-

1956, it became part of the permanent exhibition at the Museum of Copenhagen, where it remained until the museum closed in 2015.²¹ As a point of interest, in the 1920s and '30s, when kept at the city hall, the ornament was still displayed during civil wedding ceremonies; right up until the 1970s, when it had long since become a display item at the Museum of Copenhagen, it was occasionally taken back to the city hall to play its part in a wedding.²²

EXAMINATION AND REVELATION

Even when no longer used at weddings, Dorothea's bridal ornament was and remains an item of curiosity, particularly for historians. Many a description has been less than flattering; for example, Rosenborg's 1867 catalogue was of the opinion that *"the work betrays poor taste and bears witness to a goldsmith of little ability"*, and in the late nineteenth century T. Troels-Lund compared it with a flattened Alpine cowbell.²³ In 1982, the ornament was the subject of a new research project that was to last for many years. The Museum of Copenhagen wished to find out if it had in fact been assembled from a number of possibly non-contemporaneous components. The approach now taken to an understanding of the bridal ornament was no longer subjective assessments of style and appearance, but was more concerned with scientific studies such as metal analyses and stylistic comparisons of the goldsmith work in the various elements of the whole. Results from these Museum of Copenhagen studies were published in 2004 by John Erichsen and Johan Møhlenfeldt Jensen.²⁴ They reached the conclusion that the bridal ornament was a composition of recycled components: the strap-end for a belt, which was already an older fitting in 1557, combined with whatever gems and pearls Queen Dorothea had been able to find in her jewellery box. This analysis held until 2011,²⁵ when Karen Stemmann-Petersen, who had been a member of the research team in the 1980s, published an article in which she compared the results from the 1980s with the shape of the various components and the nature of the craft employed. She re-interpreted the bridal ornament by, as it were, turning it upside down. Rather than a recycled strap-end for a belt, Stemmann-Petersen suggested that the piece was actually a small portable altar from the Catholic period, onto which various elements had been soldered in 1557 – gems,

teres tilbage til begyndelsen af 1400-tallet.²⁸ Desuden er dens hale forlænget, så den kan holde våbenskjoldet, der altså oprindeligt ikke har været en del af pelikan-vedhængen, men i stedet en tilføjelse fra 1557.

Tilbage er nu at samle konklusionerne om brudesmykets mange dele og deres tidligere liv:

For det første sandsynliggør Stemann-Petersens undersøgelser, at der ikke kan være tale om en rem-ende, som Erichsen og Møhlenfeldt Jensen tidligere har foreslået – dertil er rammen for stor. I stedet foreslår hun, at rammen var en såkaldt kyssetavle²⁹, som Dorothea omdannede til brudesmykke vha. genbrugte smykkesten og et pelikanvedhæng med et tilføjte våbenskjold. Det er svært at vide, hvor smykkestenene stammer fra, men da man ved, at Dorotheas krone blev skilt ad og stenene herfra genbrugt til andre smykker, er det fristende at foreslå, at nogle af dem kunne stamme derfra.³⁰

For det andet er den blandede håndværksmæssige kvalitet, der går fra at være excellent i for eksempel rammen til mere lemfældigt udførte monteringsrør og -pinde.³¹ Dette sandsynliggør, at smykket er sammensat af forskellige dele fra forskellige tidsperioder, men kunne også tyde på, at man var i tidsnød ved udførelsen i 1557. Netop dette år besøgte Dorotheas ældste datter, kurfyrstinde Anna (1532-1585), og hendes ægtefælle, kurfyrst August 1. af Sachsen (1526-1586), Danmark.³² Det er kendt, at Anna var meget glad for smykker, og at hun havde gode forbindelser til Tysklands fremmeste guldsmedecentre, blandt andet Nürnberg, hvorfra hun måske kunne have medbragt nogle af delene, for eksempel våbenskjoldet, som en gave til Dorothea.³³ Dorothea har så angiveligt i al hast fået monteret det i smykkegaven til byens rådhus, hvor en del af festlighederne i forbindelse med besøget måske foregik.³⁴

Dronning Dorotheas brudesmykke har med andre ord hverken været bestandigt eller uforanderligt, sådan som vi måske har en tendens til at opfatte smykker i dag.

Udskiftning af stene og tilføjelse af nye elementer er ikke nødvendigvis en ødelæggelse, men er guldets først omsmeltet, er der ingen vej tilbage. Når netop Dorotheas brudesmykke har undgået denne skæbne,

a necklace pendant in the shape of a pelican and, not least, Queen Dorothea's family coat of arms – and thus it had been given a new life as a bridal ornament.²⁶

DISSECTING THE WHOLE

The large bridal ornament might seem rather badly organised and certainly somewhat alien to a modern design aesthetic. It consists of a framework comprising curling foliage, long slender leaves and carnation-like flower heads – all delicately executed goldsmith craft. Thin silver tubes have been soldered onto the back of the framework, and eyelets have then been soldered onto these tubes; small mounting sprigs from the backs of the pearls, gems and pelican have then been stuck through the eyelets and into the back-plate and bent over. Varying silver content in the framework, back-plate and central section of the decoration would suggest that the components are not contemporaneous. This is also indicated by the pelican, which has been cast rather than shaped in forged silver or drawn from silver wires like other parts of the ornament. Four holes suggest that the pelican, at some earlier stage in its life, could be mounted on two chains and worn as a pendant. Similar pendants can be dated back to the early fifteenth century.²⁷ Furthermore, the pelican's tail has been lengthened, enabling it to hold the medallion coat of arms, which was thus obviously not part of the original pelican-pendant, but is a 1557 addition.

It is now left to bring together the conclusions about the bridal ornament's many components and their previous lives:

Firstly, Stemann-Petersen's studies render it possible that it was not originally a strap-end for a belt, as Erichsen and Møhlenfeldt Jensen had earlier suggested – because the framework is too big. She suggests that the framework was a paxbrede,²⁸ which Dorothea converted into the bridal ornament by using recycled gems and a pelican pendant with an added medallion coat of arms. It is difficult to know the origins of the gems, but given that we know Dorothea's crown was disassembled and its stones used for other items of jewellery, it is tempting to suggest that some of them might have been used for the bridal ornament.²⁹

Secondly, the various levels of craft quality – from excellent in, for example, the framework, to a more

selvom det for længst har mistet sin funktion, skyldes det, at det er en kongelig gave. En sådan tager man vare på, og kun derfor kan vi i dag glæde os over dette sjældne, og i Danmark enestående, eksempel på et smykke, der bærer vidnesbyrd om både senmiddelalderens og renæssancens guldsmedekunst, og som dertil kan fortælle en såvel kirkelig som fyrstelig og borgerlig historie.



careless execution of the mounting tubes and pins³⁰ – indicates that the elements might well come from different periods. However, this could also suggest that time was short when getting the piece finished in 1557, the year in which Dorothea's eldest daughter, Electress Anna (1532-1585), and her husband, Elector August I of Saxony (b. 1526, elector 1553-1586), visited Denmark.³¹ Anna's fondness for jewellery is well-documented, and she was well-connected with the foremost goldsmith centres in Germany, including Nürnberg, whence she could perhaps have brought some of the components – the medallion coats of arms, for example – as a gift for Dorothea.³² The medallion might then have swiftly been mounted in Dorothea's gift to the city hall, where some of the festivities arranged for the visit perhaps took place.³³

In other words, Queen Dorothea's bridal ornament has been neither constant nor unalterable in design, as we perhaps have a tendency to expect of historical jewellery.

Replacement of gems and addition of new elements does not necessarily represent destruction of a piece; once the gold has been melted down, however, there is no going back. Dorothea's bridal ornament has avoided that fate, even though it has long since lost its function, and it has survived because it was a royal gift; as such, it has been protected. It is for this sole reason that we can today enjoy this rare – and, in Denmark, unique – example of an item of jewellery that bears testimony to the goldsmith art of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and tells a story that is religious, princely and municipal.

FIG. 8
Nærbillede af pelikanen og dronning Dorotheas våbenskjold.
Foto: N.E. Jehrbo, Nationalmuseet, 1986.

FIG. 8
The pelican and Queen Dorothea's family coat of arms in close-up.
Photo: N.E. Jehrbo, National Museum of Denmark, 1986.

Slutnoter

- 1 I midten af 1500-tallet eksploderede antallet af rådhus, på en måde som nærmest tangerer moderne tiders kommunale prestigebyggerier. Før reformationen havde overklassen ofte holdt festerne i landets klostre; her var de tæt på kirkerne og de fornemste gejstlige, der kunne forestå vielsen. I klostrene var der plads til festerne, og ikke mindst var der ofte tilknyttet gode kokke, køgemestre, der kunne klare forplejningen. Men reformationen ændrede dette drastisk, og derfor fik rådhusene en ny og vigtig funktion som festlokale, dog forbeholdt adelen og de fornemste borgere. Troels-Lund, X Bog, 1914, s. 67 ff.
- 2 Dorothea var datter af hertug Magnus I af Sachsen-Lauenburg og Cathrine af Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, så hendes slægtsvåben var Sachsens våben, der er gengivet på smykkets skjold. Hele dronning Dorotheas våbenskjold ses i Sønderborg Slotskapel: Jensen, 2007, s. 72 ill.
- 3 Centrum af smykket er et genbrugt pelikan-vedhæng, hvis bryst er en stor cabochonslebet bjergkrystal. Smykkestene heromkring er set fra oven: en facetslebet bjergkrystal, hvis farve er lysblå på grund af gennemskin fra et bagvedliggende folie, til venstre for våbenskjoldet en cabochonslebet bjergkrystal med guldfolie som baggrund, underst en cabochonslebet ametyst, til højre en cabochonslebet safir. Stemann-Petersen, 2011, s. 177-178.
- 4 Christian 2. havde i 1524 fået oversat det nye testamente til dansk; men Christian 3.s oversættelse indeholdt både det nye og det gamle testamente.
- 5 Et livgeding var den formue i form af gods, jord eller løsøre, som skulle sikre dronningen, hvis hun skulle blive enke. Dronning Dorotheas livgeding i form af slotte var i kongeriget: Koldinghus, Dronningborg ved Randers og i hertugdømmet Slesvig: Sønderborgs Slot. Jensen, 2007, s. 74ff og 162.
- 6 Slotskirker på Koldinghus, s. 923 og 935ff. i Danmarks Kirker XVII, hefte 11 (2009).
- 7 Jensen, 2007, s. 78-79.
- 8 Troels-Lund, X Bog, 1914, s. 103: folkeviser som kilde for middelalderens bryllupsskikke:
Fra gammel tid havde det været skik, at en dronning kunne være "foregangs kvinde" det vil sige være påklædsk for brude, som hun stod i nær forbindelse til. Sådan var det næppe længere på Dorotheas tid. Dog ved vi, at hun bad fire adelskvinder om at "rede brudene", da Anna Grubbe og Magdalene Bild, der begge havde tjent i hendes hof, i 1556 skulle giftes på Københavns Slot.
- 9 V. A. Secher: Corpus constitutionum Daniæ. I 48—49.
- 10 Troels-Lund, X Bog, 1914, s. 115 samt Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, s. 35: At det var en håbløs opgave, understreger det faktum, at allerede to år efter måtte Københavns bystyre udsende en vedtægt, som indskærpede bøderne, der skulle betales til hhv. kongen og til byens kasse, på 40 mark for hvert ekstra par gæster udover de tilladte.
- 11 Smykket mål er 15,7 x 10,7 cm, og det er 2,3 cm tykt og vejer 450 g. Materialet er lueforyldt sølv, emaljeret våbenmedaljon, seks ferskvandsperler og fem smykkesten.
- 12 Troels-Lund, X Bog s. 166.
- 13 Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon.
- 14 Troels-Lund, X Bog s. 166-7: Frederik 2.s forordning af 31. maj 1586 og Sjællandske forordning 30. Juni 1603.
- 15 Troels-Lund, X Bog s. 156: om tjenestepigers begrænsninger ved bryllupper og om de forskellige borgerdøtters genvordigheder, hvis de led den tort, at en tjenestepige var smukkere udstyret end de.
- 16 Troels-Lund, X Bog s. 168.
- 17 Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004 s. 42: Smykket ansås for en oldsag og blev opbevaret sammen med byens andre gamle klenodier: Griffenfeldts horn, gamle sølvsigneter og -bægre mv.
- 18 P. Hansen Resen var fra 1664 borgmester i København, senere jurist og historiker og forfatter til storværket "Danske Atlas", der dog først udkom efter hans død: Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, XIV s. 12ff.
- 19 Worsaae var født i Vejle og tidligt engageret i arkæologi og historie og pioner inden for museumsverdenen. Blandt mange hverv var fra 1858 Worsaae inspektør for den Kongelige Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg og fra 1866 direktør: Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, XIX s. 212ff.
- 20 Chr. Axel Jensen var leder af Københavns Bymuseum fra 1915 til sin død i 1952: Sofie Linde, Christian Elling: Chr. Axel Jensen i *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3. udg., Gyldendal 1979-84. Hentet 6. december 2017 fra <http://denstordanske.dk/index.php?side-Id=292000>
- 21 Københavns Museum (tidligere Københavns Bymuseum) havde til huse på loftet af Københavns Rådhus, indtil det i 1950'erne flyttede til Det Kongelige Kjøbenhavnske Skydeselskabs tidligere bygninger på Vesterbro. I 2015 lukkede museet her, og i 2018 åbner det i nye udstillingslokaler i Stormgade 18.
- 22 Om smykkets skæbne fra 1600-tallet og frem: John Erichsen og Johan Møhlenfeldt Jensen s. 42-47.
- 23 Andersen, C.: Rosenborg. Mindeblade fra de danske kongers kronologiske samling. 2. udgave. København 1875 s. 18; Daglig liv i Norden, X Bog s. 162.
- 24 Undersøgelserne skete i et samarbejde mellem Københavns Bymuseum, Nationalmuseets bevaringsafdeling og DTU, støttet af Ny Carlsbergfondet: Erichsen og Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, s. 47ff.
- 25 I Erichsen og Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, s. 51ff om smykkets forskellige dele, og Stemann-Petersen, Karen, 2011 s. 170 for yderligere henvisninger til andre eksempler, der taler imod Erichsens og Møhlenfeldt Jensens teori om, at det tidligere har været en rem-ende.
- 26 Stemann-Petersen, 2011 s. 169-186.
- 27 Smykket mål er 15,7 x 10,7 cm, og det er 2,3 cm tykt og vejer 450 g. Materialet er lueforyldt sølv, emaljeret våbenmedaljon, seks ferskvandsperler og fem smykkesten.
- 28 Portrætter af Margrete af Østrig fra 1490 og dronning Elizabeth 1. af England fra 1572 gengiver pelikan-vedhæng, ligesom en pelikan også ses på Christian 4.s krone fra 1569: Stemann-Petersen, 2011, s. 179-180 og fig. 13 s. 181.
- 29 En kyssetavle, også kaldet pax, er et transportabelt alter, som de gejstlige i den katolske messe kyssede i stedet for at freds-kysse hinanden. Gennemgang af rammens bagsiden viser, at den korte lige del af rammen er mest solid, og den har fragmenter af små øskener sandsynligvis til små vedhæng. Begge dele indikerer, at rammen har stået på en fod og med denne side nedad. Illustration af lignende eksempel fra Limburg i samme størrelse ses hos Stemann-Petersen, 2011, fig. 3 s. 171. og s. 174.
- 30 Smykkestensfatningen ser ud til at være udført af samme guldsmed, og da de små monteringspinde bagpå ikke er oprindelige, er der sandsynligvis tale om genbrug af smykker til at sy på tøjet. Denne smykkestype er gengivet på Dorotheas baret på Jacob Binck-portrættet fra 1550. Disse smykkesten kan også stamme fra Dorotheas brudekrone, der formodentlig før 1549, hvor den ikke indgår i inventarlisten fra dette år over "kongens sølvtøj fra hvælvingen" som for eksempel kongens krone, scepteret med videre, er blevet adskilt og genbrugt, blandt andet til en hovedprydelse for kongen: Boesen, 1986, s. 27. Museet på Koldinghus' samling inv.nr. MKH 166x1 og Stemann-Petersen, 2011, s. 177-178 og 183
- 31 Monteringspindenes sølvsammensætning er identisk med materialet til rammens store monteringsring, der igen er identisk med pelikanens monteringspinds, hvilket tyder på, at de er lavet samtidig, formodentlig i 1557, men forskellig fra selve rammens, der sandsynligvis er langt tidligere: Stemann-Petersen, 2011, s. 176-178.
- 32 Kappel og Brink (edt.), 2010, s. 11.
- 33 Stemann-Petersen, 2011, s. 183.
- 34 I al fald ved vi, at der i anledning af besøget blev arrangeret ridderturneringer i København: Stemann-Petersen, 2011, s. 171 og Kappel, 2010, s. 93ff.

Endnotes

- 1 In the mid-1500s the number of town halls increased enormously, at a rate that almost equals the increase in municipal prestige building projects of the modern day. Before the Reformation, the upper classes had often held their festivities in monasteries around the country; they were close to the churches and to the most distinguished men of the cloth who could conduct the marriage service. The monasteries had enough space for celebrations, and they often – and importantly – employed good cooks, stewards of the kitchen, who could manage the catering. The Reformation drastically changed this practice, and thus the town and city halls took on a new and important function as party venues, albeit reserved for the nobility and the leading citizens. Troels-Lund, Book X, 1914, p. 67 ff.
- 2 Dorothea was the daughter of Magnus I, Duke of Sachsen-Lauenburg, and Catherine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel; therefore, her family coat of arms was that of Saxony, which is depicted on the medallion attached to the bridal ornament. Queen Dorothea's entire coat of arms can be seen in the chapel at Sønderborg Castle: Jensen, 2007, p. 72 ill.
- 3 At the centre of the bridal ornament there is a recycled pelican pendant, the breast of which is a large cabochon-cut rock crystal. The surrounding gemstones, from the top: a faceted rock crystal, a pale blue colour due to translucency from an underlying foil; to the left of the medallion, a cabochon-cut rock crystal with yellow-colour from its foil background; at the bottom, a cabochon-cut amethyst; to the right, a cabochon-cut sapphire. Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, pp. 177-178.
- 4 In 1524, Christian II had commissioned a Danish translation of the New Testament, probably from Luther's German translation; but the translation authorised by Christian III, definitely from Luther's German translation, contained both the New and the Old Testaments.
- 5 This 'pension package' was the capital – in the form of property, land or movable goods – that would support a queen should she be widowed. Queen Dorothea's 'pension' in the form of castles or fortresses comprised: Koldinghus, Dronningborg near Randers in the kingdom; Sønderborg Castle in the Duchy of Schleswig. Jensen, 2007, p. 74ff and p. 162.
- 6 Chapel at Koldinghus, p. 923 and p. 935ff in *Danmarks Kirker XVII*, part 11 (2009).
- 7 Jensen, 2007, pp. 78-79.
- 8 Troels-Lund, Book X, 1914, p.103: folksongs as source for medieval wedding customs. Since olden times, the custom had been that a queen could be the 'dresser' for brides with whom she had a close relationship. The tradition was unlikely to have lasted until Dorothea's day. We do know, however, that she asked four noblewomen to "prepare the brides" when, in 1556, Anna Grubbe and Magdalene Bild, both of whom had served at her royal court, were to marry their respective grooms at the then Copenhagen Castle.
- 9 V. A. Secher: *Corpus constitutionum Danicæ*, vol. I, pp. 48-49.
- 10 Troels-Lund, Book X, 1914, p. 115, and Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, pp. 35-36: it was a hopeless mission, and just two years later the Copenhagen city administration had to issue a regulation highlighting the fines payable to the king and the city purse, respectively: 40 marks for each pair of guests invited beyond the number permitted.
- 11 The ornament measures 15.7cm in height, 10.7cm in width, and is 2.3cm thick, weighing 450g. The material: fire-gilt silver, enamelled coat of arms medallion, six freshwater pearls and five gems.
- 12 Troels-Lund, Book X, p. 166.
- 13 *Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon*.
- 14 Troels-Lund, Book X, pp. 166-7: Frederik II's regulation of 31 May 1586 and Sealand regulation of 30 June 1603.
- 15 Troels-Lund, Book X, p. 156: about the restrictions placed on female servants at weddings and about the tribulations involved to ensure that daughters of various ranks of commoners did not suffer the indignity of being outshone by a more richly-dressed female servant.
- 16 Troels-Lund, Book X, p. 168.
- 17 Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, p. 42: regarded as a museum piece, the ornament was kept with other treasures from the city: Griffenfeldt's horn, old silver seals and beakers, and so forth.
- 18 P. Resen, mayor of Copenhagen, jurist and historian, author of the monumental work *Atlas Danicus*, first published after his death: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, XIV p. 12ff.
- 19 Worsaae was born in Vejle; he became involved in archaeological work and history at an early age, and went on to become a pioneer of Danish museology. Among many duties, from 1858 Worsaae was superintendent of the Royal Danish Chronological Collections at Rosenborg Castle, becoming director in 1866: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, XIX p. 212ff.
- 20 Christian Axel Jensen was director of the Museum of Copenhagen from 1915 until his death in 1952: Sofie Linde, Christian Elling: *Christian Axel Jensen* in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3rd edition, Gyldendal 1979-84.
- 21 Museum of Copenhagen was housed in the attic of Copenhagen City Hall; in the 1950s it moved to the former premises of the Royal Shooting Society in the Vesterbro district of the city. The museum closed in 2015; it will re-open in 2018, in new premises: Stormgade 18 in the city centre.
- 22 The fortunes of the bridal ornament from the seventeenth century onward: Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, pp. 42-47.
- 23 Andersen, C.: *Rosenborg. Mindeblade fra de danske kongers kronologiske samling*. 2nd edition. Copenhagen 1875, p. 18; Troels-Lund, Book X Bog, p. 162.
- 24 The study was a collaborative project between the Museum of Copenhagen, the National Museum of Denmark's Conservation Department and DTU, Technical University of Denmark, supported by the New Carlsberg Foundation: Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, p. 47ff.
- 25 Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, 2004, p. 51ff, about the various components of the bridal ornament; Stemmann-Petersen, Karen, 2011, p. 170, for further references to other examples that dispute the theory proposed by Erichsen & Møhlenfeldt Jensen, in which it was thought to have earlier been a strap-end for a belt.
- 26 Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, pp. 169-186.
- 27 Portraits of Margrete of Austria (c.1490) and Queen Elizabeth I of England (c.1572) depict the pelican pendant, and a pelican also features in Christian IV's 1569 crown: Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, pp. 179-180, and fig. 13, p. 181.
- 28 Also known as a pax, a transportable altar, which clergy at the Catholic Mass kissed instead of giving one another the 'kiss of peace'. Examination of the reverse side of the framework shows that the short and straight rather than the arched edge of the frame is the most solid, and it has fragments of small loops, in all probability for the attachment of pendants. Both these factors indicate that the framework had once been displayed upright on a foot, with this straight edge at the bottom. Illustration of similar examples from Limburg, on the same scale, are shown in Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, fig. 3, p. 171 and p. 174.
- 29 The gemstone settings would seem to have been executed by the same goldsmith, and since the small mounting pins on the reverse are not originals, this is most likely a case of recycling jewels to sew on garments. This type of jewel is depicted on Dorothea's toque in a portrait painted by Jacob Binck in 1550. These gemstones might also have come from Dorothea's bridal crown, which was presumably at some point before 1549 – when it was included in the inventory for that year of "the king's silver from the vault", such as the king's crown, sceptre and so forth – dismantled and reused for, among other items, a head ornament for the king: Boesen, 1986, p. 27; Museet på Koldinghus, collection, inv. no. MKH 166x1; Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, pp. 177-178 and p. 183.
- 30 The composition of silver in the mounting pins is identical with the material used in the large mounting ring on the framework, which is again identical with the pelican's mounting pins – suggesting they were made at the same time, probably in 1557 – but it is not the same as the framework itself, which is most likely made from an earlier source: Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, pp. 176-178.
- 31 Kappel and Brink (eds.), 2010, p. 11.
- 32 Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, p. 183.
- 33 We know for certain that jousting tournaments were arranged in Copenhagen on the occasion of the visit: Stemmann-Petersen, 2011, p. 171; Kappel, 2010, p. 93ff.

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