

**The Genesis of the
New Danish Typography**
**Matthias J. E. Horneman-Thielcke,
Sofie Beier**

Introduction

The Danish architect and designer Knud V. Engelhardt (1882–1931) was a man ahead of his time. Designing for modern industrial life through rationality, standardisation, and objectivity, Engelhardt incorporated various principles of design that would later be published in Jan Tschichold's well-known 1928 manifesto, *Die neue Typographie* (The New Typography). Unfortunately, scholars have failed to recognise Engelhardt's inspiration from and influence on the international design movements of the era. His archives, located at the Designmuseum Danmark in Copenhagen, his cultural contemporary context, his personal relations, and his travels altogether indicate that Engelhardt was inspired by the same ideology that would later influence the Bauhaus movement, which in turn influenced the principles of the New Typography. Engelhardt died in the beginning of April 1931, just a few years after *Die neue Typographie* had been published. By this point, Engelhardt had long been working with various typographic principles of the New Typography.

Until now, the literature has primarily presented Engelhardt's typographic work as rooted in and inspired by the Danish national architectural and craft tradition, using conventional serif typography, illustrations and centred layouts. Most famous publication records include the ones for Ringsted Kloster (1915) and Faaborg Museum (1929).¹ We will demonstrate that, in addition to drawing on national sources for information, Engelhardt found inspiration beyond the borders of Denmark, particularly from international acquaintances who were interconnected with key persons in the avant-garde and the Bauhaus movement. These new findings place Engelhardt as an avant-garde designer relevant to this wider international context.

The Danish Tradition

Engelhardt is considered one of the founding fathers of the Danish type design tradition and the first Danish designer who designed for mass production within the Danish Functionalism movement.² Unlike in other countries, Danish type and lettering design in the 20th century was created almost exclusively by "a number of architects with a penchant for designing alphabets [...] and graphic design".³ Engelhardt has always been recognised for being inspired by the previous generation of Danish architects, especially the architect and artist Thorvald Bindesbøll (1846–1908), who was the "god-

father" of the Skønvirke Danish art movement (similar to the International Jugendstil and Art Nouveau).⁴ However, the graphic style of Engel-

1 Ejlertsen 1997; Ejlertsen 2015; Frederiksen 1965.
2 Ejlertsen 1997; Frederiksen 1965.
3 Ejlertsen n.d.
4 Frederiksen 1965.

hardt which used sans serif typography, clear typographic hierarchies and limited colour palettes, was revolutionary at its time. Equally revolutionary was his work with custom lettering, which did not compromise on legibility or quality. Altogether, Engelhardt's work was a typographic U-turn from Danish conventions and traditions, and a different approach than that of his Danish predecessors.

Today, Engelhardt's legacy and typographic forms still appear in the work of renowned Danish design agencies such as *Kontrapunkt*, Urgent Agency and e-Types. Custom typefaces for DSB (Danish State Railways), the Danish Design Award, Noma, The Royal Danish Academy and the contemporary art exhibition space Den Frie are just a few examples that echo the work of Engelhardt. His legacy is also identifiable in typefaces by Danish and international designers such as Henrik Kubel (in the Biilmann typeface), Sofie Beier (Ovink), Trine Rask (Akademi), Jonas Hecksher (Willumsen), design studio NORM (LL Replica) and Mårten Thavenius (Skilt Gothic).

Yet, despite the significant impact Engelhardt had on Danish design culture, literature on his modern typographic work is limited. Among the few publications is an influential 1965 book that celebrated his work: *Knud V. Engelhardt: Arkitekt & Bogtrykker 1882–1931* (Knud V. Engelhardt: Architect and Printer 1882–1931) by Erik Ellegaard-Frederiksen (1924–1997), a well-known Danish architect and graphic designer.⁵ In the eyes of the public, this curated selection of work has become the main legacy of Engelhardt. The Danish architect and lecturer Steen Ejlers (b. 1951) has also researched the Danish type design tradition for decades, resulting in multiple publications and lectures for Danish students at the Royal Danish Academy of Arts.⁶ However, as we will show, Engelhardt's legacy extends far beyond the pages of Ellegaard-Frederiksen's book or other previously published material.

The Traditional and The Modern Publication Records

The work of Engelhardt can be divided into two: the conventional design that he is primarily known for (hereinafter, "Traditional publication records") and the modern design that the archives reveal (hereinafter, "Modern publication records"), which is the focus of this chapter. Most of Engelhardt's personal archives show that, within the Modern publication records he was a master of typographic hierarchies and clarity, though not in the radical way of Tschichold's *Die neue Typographie*. Although Engelhardt was using centred layout and capitals for headlines, in terms of thinking function, objectivity and practicality in his designs, he was using various typographic principles that would later be described in *Die neue Typographie*.

Engelhardt was passionate about the crafts of his métier. In 1908, during his architectural education at the Royal Danish Academy of Arts (1901–1915), he simultaneously earned a diploma as a certified letterpress and art printer.⁷ At the Academy, he quickly transformed from being inspired by the Skønvirke art movement into a more rational, objective and functional approach to design.⁸ At this point in history, the Royal Danish Academy of Arts was itself in a state of transition. While it was known as a classical and tra-

ditional craft-based institution, new architectural styles and new materials such as reinforced concrete were finding their way into the Academy's teachings.⁹ Contemporary Danish ar-

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Ejlers 1997; Ejlers 2015.

⁷ Frederiksen 1965.

⁸ *Ibid.*; Rode et al. 1954.

⁹ *Ibid.*

chitects, like Carl Brummer, advocated for the incorporation of the new ideas of the modern avant-garde, especially those pioneered by the Deutscher Werkbund, founded in 1907.¹⁰ This transition must have had a strong impact on Engelhardt, who was already recognised as an innovative student within print design and lettering.¹¹ The Academy even credited him as a lonely pioneer within the modern *Saglighed* movement (objectivity).¹²

In proposing a novel approach to understanding Engelhardt's influence and work, we triangulated information from the period 1901–1927 on his personal relations and travels, contemporary exhibitions and magazines, and as well as archive material showing his designs. This method allowed us to see that Engelhardt found inspiration for his work in the ideas of the international avant-garde movement.

Personal Relations and Travels

As a student, Engelhardt travelled in 1906 to northern Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and London. In 1910 he travelled to Paris, northern Italy, Tyrol, southern Germany and Berlin.¹³ His sketchbooks from these travels, archived at the Designmuseum Danmark, reflect a passion for typography and an eye for detail and materials. At the time, the cities he visited, especially Paris and Berlin, were showing state-of-the-art architecture within the avant-garde movement. Among these, the 1909 AEG Turbine Hall in Berlin by Peter Behrens (1868–1940) and the 1906 Garage Ponthieu in Paris by Auguste Perret (1874–1954) were considered quite disruptive and sensational at the time. These buildings were to be a “must-see” for architecture students.

Engelhardt's transformation was also likely influenced by his personal acquaintances during those years. Among his close friends was the Danish avant-garde architect, photographer, researcher, writer and information designer Knud Lønberg-Holm (1895–1972).¹⁴ He attended the Royal Danish Academy of Arts at the same period as Engelhardt and is known for his opposition to the traditional Danish craft-based approach to contemporary architecture. Lønberg-Holm was interested in the German and Dutch architectural avant-garde, such as the works of Peter Behrens, and he was one of the early Danish architects to grasp the core ideas of the avant-garde.¹⁵ From 1918 to 1921, Lønberg-Holm designed the six building halls of Køge Værft (Køge Shipyard) and the worker dwellings in reinforced concrete, which was aligned with the avant-garde preference in building materials. Engelhardt designed the site's logo and corporate identity with a heavy sans serif custom logo (and a stencil version).

In 1923, Lønberg-Holm emigrated to the United States, where he

lived, worked and taught modern architecture and design based on the ideologies of the De Stijl and Bauhaus movements. He was in touch with people including Cornelis van Eesteren from the De Stijl movement as well as Walter Gropius, El Lissitzky and László Moholy-Nagy from the Bauhaus.¹⁶ Hannes Meyer, the second director of the Bauhaus, later invited Lønberg-Holm to teach

¹⁰ Brummer and Larsen 1918.

¹¹ Rode et al. 1954.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Frederiksen 1965. A 1913 letter from Engelhardt to Joakim Syirtkovgaard documents his visit to Berlin in 1910. Engelhardt 1913.

¹⁴ Adrian Täckman, ongoing research project documenting the work and legacy of the Danish-American architect Knud Lønberg-Holm. This project has been featured in an article, see Täckman 2015.

¹⁵ Täckman 2023.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

architecture at the Bauhaus school.¹⁷ When Lønberg-Holm emigrated to the United States, he brought a portfolio of Engelhardt's designs with him,¹⁸ presumably to promote the work of his friend. In 1923, Lønberg-Holm invited Engelhardt to come to Detroit to work with him, but Engelhardt declined the invitation because he was on a two-year scholarship to travel around Asia, where he collected everyday craft objects.¹⁹

This close friendship between Engelhardt and Lønberg-Holm, their collaboration on Køge Værft and the international connections of Lønberg-Holm suggest that the latter must have been a direct link for Engelhardt into the international avant-garde movement.

Contemporary Exhibitions and Magazines

To understand the cultural context in which Engelhardt found himself, we must go back to the beginning of the 20th century, where the avant-garde movement slowly began to bloom in Europe. At the turn of the century, Danish museums were showcasing international art and design. The Designmuseum Danmark archives show that in 1913 the museum hosted an exhibition arranged by Peter Behrens and Walter Gropius which showed Deutscher Werkbund works selected from the Deutsches Museum in Hagen. The exhibition included pieces by Peter Behrens, Walter Gropius, Fritz Helmuth Ehmcke and Lucian Bernhard, alongside works from the Wiener Werkstätte and the Wiener Kunstgewerbeschule (Vienna School of Arts and Crafts).

In 1912, the first Futurist exhibition in Denmark organised by Herwarth Walden (publisher of *Der Sturm* magazine and owner of the homonymous gallery in Berlin) was held at Den Frie Udstilling, contemporary art exhibition space.²⁰ The exhibition met a “*succès de scandale* that received comprehensive press coverage”.²¹ This was followed by other avant-garde exhibitions in Copenhagen arranged by *Der Sturm* in 1913, 1917, 1918 and 1919.²² In 1914, the *Baltic Exhibition* in Malmö, Sweden, exhibited works by Kandinsky, Jawlensky and Werefkin,²³ for which Engelhardt designed a sans serif grid-based alphabet used for the signage in the Danish section.

During the same period, the Danish architecture magazine *Architekten* was exploring national and international architecture and design by showcasing reviews from architecture conferences held in London, Berlin and Vienna; the architects Otto Wagner and Peter Behrens were featured from time to time.²⁴ Engelhardt himself was also mentioned several times and even redesigned the layout of *Architekten* in October 1908.²⁵ He must

therefore have been familiar with the journal's articles which presented the international avant-garde and industrial architecture. Other possible Danish references for Engelhardt are the avant-garde and Expressionist magazine *Klingen* (1917–1920), and the Constructivist broadsheet *Pressen* (1923–1924).²⁶ The work of the Futurist author and poet Emil Bønnelycke (1893–1953) was frequently published in *Klingen*, and he even became a co-author of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Strum 2018.

¹⁹ This is documented in letter correspondences between Engelhardt and Knud Lønberg-Holm found by Adrian Täckman. The two letters are dated 9 November 1923 and 20 October 1924.

²⁰ Aagesen 2002; Jelsbak 2016.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Aagesen 2002; Enders and Pirsich 2021.

²³ Aagesen 2002.

²⁴ See the Danish trade magazine *Architekten* from 1907–1914.

²⁵ Engelhardt's redesign appeared in *Architekten*, 11 (1), 3 October 1908.

²⁶ Klevgaard 2021.

the magazine in its last years. In 1918, Bønnelycke commissioned Engelhardt to design the publication *Asfaltens Sange* (Songs of the Asphalt), an extensive collection of Futurist poems.²⁷ This demonstrates Engelhardt's connections with the epicentre of the Danish avant-garde.

Visual Inspection of Archival Material

A close inspection of works from Engelhardt's Modern publication records shows a visual language close to that of Behrens, one of the founders of the Deutscher Werkbund.

Engelhardt's design for the signage of the Danish section at the international *Baltic Exhibition* included a rational block letter alphabet, standardised for sign painters to implement, where the letters were constructed in square modules placed on an underlying grid. It is similar to Behrens's lettering for the 1905 Delmenhorster Linoleum Fabrik pavilion at the Northwest German Art Exhibition.²⁸ Parallels are most notable in the letters A and E, the high-centred M, the wide S and the dots in the spaces dividing the words.

Engelhardt's work on typographic hierarchy used centred sans serif typography in capitals, all in a similar fashion to Behrens. **(figs. 35–36)** Unlike Behrens, Engelhardt often differentiated words by colour (black and red) to enhance navigation and information and he used white space, margins and type size as active design components. **(figs. 37–38)**

The archives at the Designmuseum Danmark show that Engelhardt often included custom sans serif lettering in his designs, which can mostly be categorised as heavy bold, rough and compact. Engelhardt's integration of ligatures is also characteristic of his style, which is mirrored in some examples of lettering by Behrens. However, Engelhardt cut off the diagonal strokes of the letters to space words better, enhance legibility and enlarge words on small surfaces.

Like Behrens, Engelhardt often constructed and framed his graphic compositions with thick black lines and solid squares in each corner. **(fig. 39)**

Finally, Engelhardt's way of drawing and shading illustrations was quite rough and visually aligned with his lettering. **(fig. 40)**

These comparisons suggest that Engelhardt was visually rooted in the avant-garde of the beginning of the 20th century and was especially close to Behrens' and the Deutscher Werkbund's approaches. The same legacy had influenced Walter Gropius (a former employee of Peter Behrens) when he founded the Bauhaus in 1919).²⁹ Furthermore, Engelhardt innovatively added his own characteristics to the designs, thereby contributing to the movements of the era.

This innovative approach is similar to Tschichold's professional journey. Both were craftsmen with an utmost sense of detail, and both worked towards rationalising print design and typography. Moreover, the two knew their crafts from the inside – Engelhardt as a letterpress printer, and Tschichold as a typographer. This in-depth knowledge distinguishes their

work from the typographic work of Behrens, who had no similar basis in text composition, being educated in the visual arts. Furthermore,

²⁷ Jelsbak 2010.

²⁸ The characteristics of the custom block letter alphabet by Behrens are described in Burke 1992.

²⁹ Munch 2021; Sommer 1988; Windsor 1981.

Engelhardt's professional and personal transformation in the "new world" is similar to that of Tschichold, who much later encountered the avant-garde at the Bauhaus exhibition in 1923 and converted to Modernism. In what follows, we will further visually analyse Engelhardt's work in relation to Tschichold's writings in *Die neue Typographie*.

Form and Function

In *Die neue Typographie*, Tschichold stated that "the New Typography is distinguished from the old by the fact that its first objective is to develop its visible form out of the functions of the text".³⁰ In his typography work from the Modern publication records, Engelhardt was using sans serif typography for headings, highlights and emphasis; various hierarchical type sizes; and a dynamic layout system intended to be as functional, objective and readable as possible. **(figs. 37–38)** The content of the publication dictated its form. Thus, Engelhardt used all the features that a professional typography designer would use today. Of course, as the technologies of the era were limited, some of Engelhardt's decisions might have been defined by the availability of resources. For instance, for body text he often used more conventional Roman typefaces, with Plantin later becoming his favourite.³¹ It is possible that Engelhardt, like Tschichold, was limited to the typefaces available to printers at that time and therefore could not find a suitable or readable sans serif for body text.

Like the principles of the New Typography, Engelhardt's preferred colour palette was limited to black, red and the colour of paper: "In the New Typography colour is used functionally, i.e. the physiological effect peculiar to each colour is used to increase or decrease the importance of a block of types, a photograph, or whatever".³² Engelhardt also used contrast and functional colours to differentiate, highlight and separate words and images. The printed matter shown in **(fig. 38)** demonstrates Engelhardt's work with grids, margins and especially white space as an active design element.

At the Designmuseum Danmark, Engelhardt's personal archives also show an unrevealed approach for experimenting with and creating asymmetric typography, dynamic movement, functional geometric forms and photomontage. **(figs. 41–43)**

Signs and the Geometric Sans Serif

According to Tschichold's first manifesto on typography, "a communication should have the 1) briefest, 2) simplest and 3) most urgent form".³³ The road signs Engelhardt designed in 1916 for the KGL Dansk Automobil Klub (Royal Danish Automobile Club) include all of this.³⁴ Bold sans serif custom lettering together with simplistic icons create a brief and urgent message, that is made highly legible by the white on a dark blue background. **(fig. 44)** The symbols Engelhardt designed resemble some of the symbols and flags presented as a simplistic state of the art by Tschichold in *Eine*

Stunde Druckgestaltung (A Lesson in Printing design. 1930).³⁵

While Tschichold was designing geometric sans serif alphabets in the period 1926–1930,³⁶ Engelhardt was already designing alphabets for standardisation and industrial use

30 Tschichold 2006 (1928).

31 Frederiksen 1965.

32 Tschichold 2006 (1928).

33 Tschichold 1925 cited in Burke 2007.

34 Frederiksen 1965.

35 Tschichold 1930: 26–27.

36 Burke 2007.



35



36



37

- fig. 35 Cover of the book by Peter Behrens, *Feste des Lebens und der Kunst: eine Betrachtung des Theaters als höchsten Kultursymbols* (Celebrations of Life and Art: A Consideration of Theatre as the Highest Cultural Symbol), Diederichs, Leipzig 1900.
- fig. 36 Poster for *De Unge Kunstneres Karneval* (The Young Artists' Carnival), Copenhagen, 1909. Graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt. Comparing designs by Behrens and Engelhardt shows that Engelhardt's work was aligned with the avant-garde at the beginning of the 20th century.
- fig. 37 A directory designed by Engelhardt showing his work with typographic hierarchy, 1909.



38

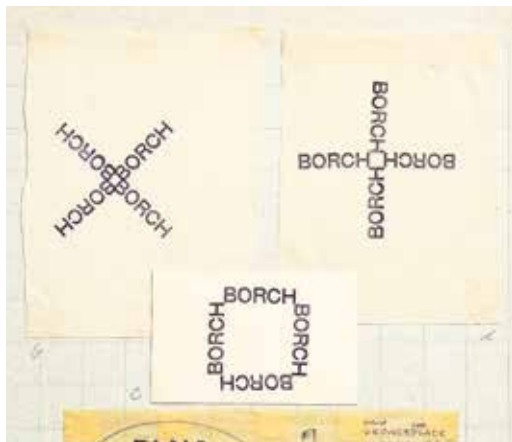


39

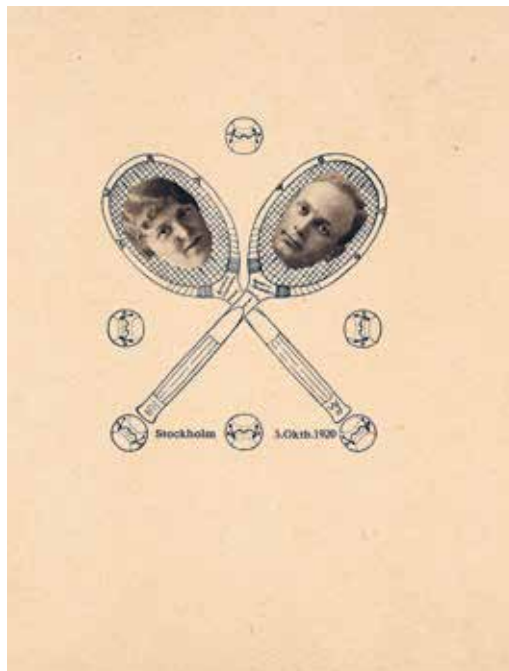


40

- fig. 38 An example of Engelhardt's work in which he creates a functional hierarchy by using sans serif typography, colour, margins and whitespace to differentiate, highlight and separate words, 1909.
- fig. 39 Tram ticket for Copenhagen Tramways, graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt, 1909. In 1908, Engelhardt began a total redesign of the Copenhagen Tramways including both the exterior and interior: the tramcar, the signage, the sans serif lettering and numbering, a new rational graphic design for the tickets, time schedules and more.
- fig. 40 Letterhead for the painter decorator Rob Rasmussen, graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt, 1909.



41



42

fig. 41 Graphic experiments for Borch, graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt, c. 1910–1920.

fig. 42 Photomontage showing a woman and a man in tennis rackets, Stockholm, graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt, 1920.



43



44

fig. 43 Poster with hand-drawn type, graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt, 1910.

fig. 44 Road signs for the for Kgl. Dansk Automobilklub (The Royal Danish Automobile Club), graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt, 1916.

from as early as 1914. Engelhardt's alphabet for the *Baltic Exhibition* (1914) and especially his work with the rational, modular and geometric alphabet for the street signs of the Gentofte Kommune (Gentofte Municipality, Denmark, 1923) are quite unique. This alphabet was designed for large-scale industrial implementation and is still in use to this day, celebrating its 100-year anniversary. **(fig. 45)** Engelhardt's work preceded other early geometric sans serif solutions, such as Joost Schmidt's Universal typeface (1924), Herbert Bayer's Universal Alphabet (1926) and Paul Renner's Futura (1927). Engelhardt designed his sans serif alphabet as a modular system of letters and segments that "built" upon the same "skeleton". As the letters are slightly condensed, the alphabet also features key "Engelhardt-signatures" like cutting off the diagonal strokes of the letters (to reduce the kerning in street names), the opening junctions inspired by ink traps (to enhance legibility) and the dot as a heart above the letter "j". Furthermore, the letters are designed with a large x-height and appear white on a black background, also to improve legibility. These signs were originally designed in enamel, but were later changed with metal for practicality.³⁷ These characteristics and letterforms established the foundation for what we today call the Danish type design tradition.

Discussion

The unpublished Modern publication records of Engelhardt's work indicate that he was ahead of his time and was already using various typographic principles from 1908, which would be outlined later in *Die neue Typographie*. This illustrates that Engelhardt was indeed a visionary architect and, like Behrens, designed for the industrial future.

In *Die neue Typographie*, Tschichold credits Behrens "as the true forerunner of the Modern Movement in typography".³⁸ If we acknowledge that Engelhardt's Modern publications stand alongside the contemporary work of Behrens, we must also recognise him as a forerunner in the history of modern typography. Indeed, in a review of Engelhardt's design for the Copenhagen telephone directory from 1909, Frederiksen stated that Engelhardt was working with a style of typography which would be seen much later in Germany under the influence of Tschichold.³⁹

As mentioned above, Engelhardt was primarily known for his Traditional publication records, as evidenced by design historian Trond Klevgaard.⁴⁰ Referring to Engelhardt's work on the 1909 Copenhagen telephone directory as a good example of modern typography, Klevgaard argues that the absence of avant-garde designs in Engelhardt's portfolio makes it unlikely that he could be a precursor of *Die neue Typographie*. Klevgaard recalls that Engelhardt had an obvious chance to demonstrate that he was an avant-gardist when he was commissioned to design the Futurist work *Asfaltens Sange* (Songs of the Asphalt, 1918), written by the Futurist author and poet Emil Bønnelycke. He further argues that it is doubtful whether Engelhardt had a direct impact on the development of the avant-garde principles in Denmark, as no one mentioned him in relevant trade journals. While it is unknown why there is a lack of reference to

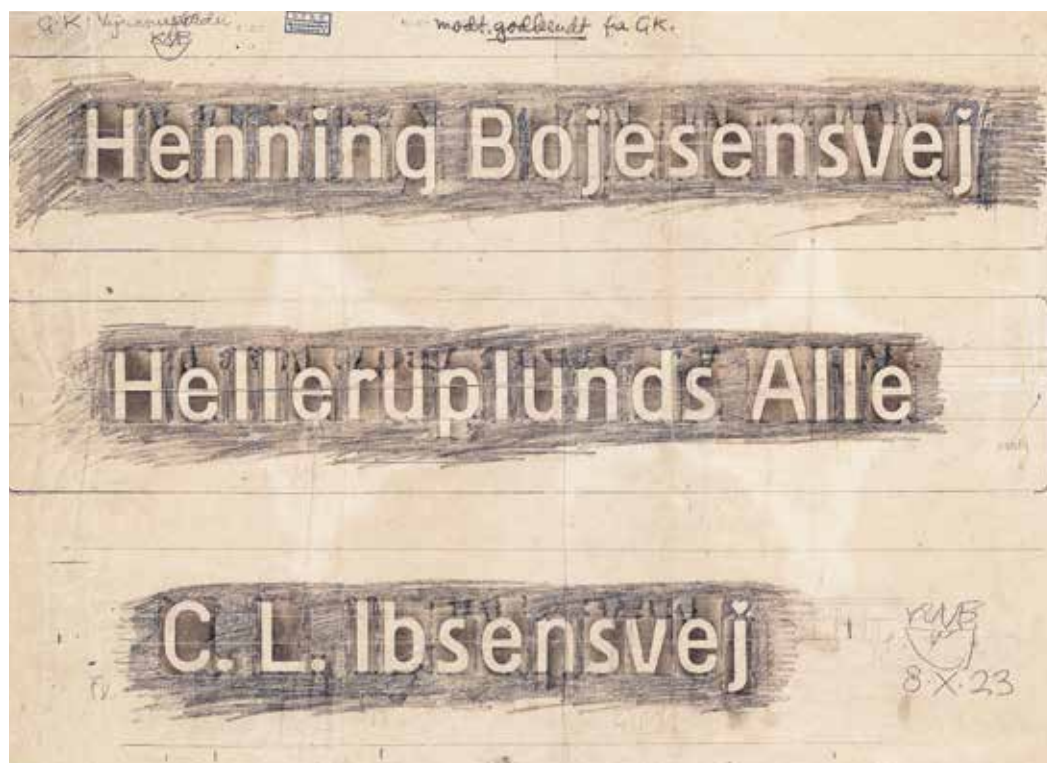
Engelhardt's ideas in journals, it is clear from our analysis that he was deeply embedded in the avant-garde. His unpublished archives found

37 Ejlers 1997; Frederiksen 1965.

38 Tschichold 2006 (1928).

39 Frederiksen 1965.

40 Klevgaard 2021.



45

fig. 45 Sketches for street signs in the Danish Gentofte Municipality, graphic design by Knud V. Engelhardt, 1923. Engelhardt employs a rational, modular and geometric alphabet.

at the Designmuseum Danmark, including the examples shown in this article, clearly demonstrate that he was an avant-gardist who worked and experimented with various avant-garde principles.

Conclusion

When analysing the roots of the New Typography, the work and the personal archives of Knud V. Engelhardt must be considered in the international historical records. Engelhardt's work is unique and reflects the zeitgeist of the early 20th century avant-garde, particularly the design approach of Peter Behrens and the Deutscher Werkbund. Engelhardt's archives, his cultural contemporary context, his personal relations, and journeys strongly indicate that he was inspired and innovated by the same ideology that influenced the Bauhaus movement, which subsequently influenced the principles of the New Typography. Engelhardt was an innovative forerunner who worked with the various typographic principles that would later be published in *Die neue Typographie*. All this points to an international awareness of his work amongst his contemporaries that until now has not been recognised, discussed or fully understood. These new findings place Engelhardt as an avant-garde designer and make him relevant not only to the Danish national context, but also to international movements. Engelhardt died in the beginning of April 1931, aged only forty-nine, just a few years after *Die neue Typographie* was published. Therefore, thanks to the new findings of this chapter, it is now time for his resurrection and the acknowledgement that the Dane Knud V. Engelhardt was among the forerunners within the Modern Movement of typography.

References

Aagesen 2002

Dorthe Aagesen, "Avantgarden indtager København", in Dorthe Aagesen and Svend Bjerkhof, edited by, *Avantgarde i dansk og europæisk kunst 1909–1919*, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen 2002.

Brummer and Larsen 1918

Carl Brummer and Karl Larsen, *Tyskernes Kamp mod den slette Smag. Der Deutsche Werkbund og dets Arbejde*, Krohns Bogtrykkeri, Copenhagen 1918.

Burke 1992

Christopher Burke, "Peter Behrens and the German Letter: Type Design and Architectural Lettering", in *Journal of Design History*, 5 (1), 1992, pp. 19–37.

Burke 2007

Christopher Burke, *Active Literature: Jan Tschichold and New Typography*, Hyphen Press, London 2007.

Ejlers n.d.

Steen Ejlers, "The Danish Lettering Tradition of the 20th Century", Royal Danish Academy, royaldanishacademy.com/institute/visual-design/danish-lettering-tradition-20th-century (accessed 20 July 2023).

Ejlers 1997

Steen Ejlers, "Architects in Danish Graphic Design", in *Scandinavian Journal of Design History*, 7, 1997 pp. 58–73.

Ejlers 2015

Steen Ejlers, "Skriftens ornament. Knud V. Engelhardt og Faaborg Museum", in Gertrud Hvidberg-Hansen and Gry Hedin, edited by, *I skøn forening. Faaborg Museum 1915*, Fåborg Museum, Faaborg 2015.

Enders and Pirsich 2021

Rainer Enders and Volker Pirsich, "Galerie Der Sturm. Ausstellungen 1912–1932. Tabellen und Auflistungen", ART-Dok, Heidelberg 2021, archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/id/eprint/7494 (accessed 20 July 2023).

Engelhardt 1913

Knud V. Engelhardt, letter to Joakim Skovgaard, 13 November 1913, Kilder til Dansk Kunsthistorie, Folder 91 no. 20, skovgaard.ktdk.dk/d/Ig9J?locale=da&q=Engelhardt (accessed 20 July 2023).

Frederiksen 1965

Erik Ellegaard Frederiksen, *Knud V. Engelhardt: Arkitekt & Bogtrykker 1882–1931*, Forening for Boghaandvaerk Arkitektens, Copenhagen 1965.

Jelsbak 2010

Torben Jelsbak, "Avantgarde og boghistorie: Emil Bønnelyckes bibliografiske aktivisme", in *Lychnos*, 2010, pp. 239–259.

Jelsbak 2016

Torben Jelsbak, "'Lifeless glaciers'. The History of Futurism in Denmark", in Günter Berghaus, edited by, *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies*, 6, De Gruyter, Berlin 2016, pp. 147–168.

Klevgaard 2021

Trond Klevgaard, *The New Typography in Scandinavia. Modernist Design and Print Culture*, Bloomsbury, London 2021.

Munch 2021

Anders V. Munch, *The Gesamtkunstwerk in Design and Architecture. From Bayreuth to Bauhaus*, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus, Denmark 2021.

Rode et al. 1954

Aksel Rode et al., *Det kongelige akademi for de skønne kunstner 1904–1954*, 1954.

Sommer 1988

Anne-Louise Sommer, "Bauhaus-Arkitekturen. Den institutionaliserede Avantgarde", in *K&K. Kultur & Klasse*, 61 (16), May 1988, pp. 42–54.

Strum 2018

Suzanne Strum, *The Ideal of Total Environmental Control. Knud Lönberg-Holm, Buckminster Fuller, and the SSA*, Routledge, Abingdon, UK 2018.

Täckman 2015

Adrian Täckman, "En funktionalistisk pioner", in *Arkitekten*, 4 (117), April 2015, pp. 22–28.

Täckman 2023

Adrian Täckman, "Knud Lönberg-Holm: The Invisible Architect", conference held at the Royal Danish Academy, 29 March 2023.

Tschichold 1925

Iwan Tschichold, "Die neue Typographie", in *Kulturschau*, 4, Spring 1925, pp. 9–11.

Tschichold 1930

Jan Tschichold, "Typsignete und Flaggen" (Typographical Symbols and Flags), in *Eine Stunde Druckgestaltung*, Akademischer Verlag Dr Fritz Wedekind & Co., Stuttgart 1930, p. 27.

Tschichold 2006 (1928)

Jan Tschichold, *The New Typography. A Handbook for Modern Designers*, original ed. 1928, University of California Press, Berkeley 2006.

Windsor 1981

Alan Windsor, *Peter Behrens. Architect and Designer 1868–1940*, The Architectural Press, London 1981.
