

Essays on Swedish Cultural Life During the Late Eighteenth Century

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Dusting Out the Corners

Edited by

Alan Mauritz Swanson
and Bertil van Boer

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A DUSTY INTRODUCTION

ALAN SWANSON AND BERTIL VAN BOER

In dashing, as we do, though the high points of culture in its broadest sense, we often make it easy for ourselves to sweep aside the people and the less-obvious conditions and events which make those larger concerns visible, even possible. An opera becomes only a score, a play becomes only literature, a library becomes only books in a room, a painting becomes only decoration, and a song becomes only a text, all perhaps only to be noted in passing, and then passed by. Thus, these once important elements are consigned to the corners as scholarly dust, overlooked and perhaps even left to gather even more dust, as the larger contexts ignore what lies there in favor of a larger picture.

The essays offered here are aimed at dusting out some of those cultural corners and suggesting some new ways of looking at things we think we know, and a few things we do not. They are directed toward what happens and how. They are not, indeed, cannot in any way be exhaustive, nor are they so intended. We have taken a limited group as examples of approaches that are useful in extending our understanding of culture in general and one part of Scandinavian culture in particular. For this exercise, we have chosen the later Swedish eighteenth century as our working place and period, though it is our hope that others will take a similar look at other places and times, for such forgotten or overlooked corners are legion in all of these times and places.

Our dusting begins with Eva Helenius' close study of the evolving career of the Swedish composer, Johan Helmich Roman, a career which began with a deep involvement with music abroad, but which led him as well to a commitment toward making and promoting modern Swedish music. Jay Lutz follows with a look at the family letters of Carl Christopher Gjörwell, the unceasing correspondent of all that happened in Stockholm during the period we now call "Gustavian." What makes his observations interesting is that Gjörwell had access to both court circles and those of the generally cultured elite. But what is striking about his incessant writing is its educated curiosity. In and out of those circles moved Carl Michael Bellman, who, in 1783 produced a long parodic poetic dialogue entitled

Bacchi tempel [The Temple of Bacchus]. It was illustrated with etchings by Elias Martin, whose work in this unique book is discussed here by Alan Mauritz Swanson. Bellman's role in a court afterpiece in that same year was noted by Duchess Hedwig in her diary. His part in that play and, particularly, the song he sang is called to our attention by James Massengale, who has discovered roots of it earlier in the century and outside Sweden. It took many people to keep the public theatrical establishment functioning properly, and the practical organization of it all fell to Olof Kexél, also a successful comic playwright. One of his most successful and certainly longest-lived plays was a one-act comedy, *Capitain Puff*, whose practical stage transformations are discussed here by Swanson.

It is obvious from a glance at the table of contents that several articles concern music, an aspect of Swedish culture not much dealt with in the larger cultural discussion though of considerable significance from the middle of the century on. Bertil van Boer reminds us of the importance of the many Swedish composers in the musical culture of Stockholm of the time and shows us the differing contributions of two of them, Johann Friedrich Grenser and Johan David Zander. Magnus Tessing Schneider examines *Electra*, the principal opera by Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner, and its relationship to both Gluck's opera reforms and to French libretti on the same subject, notably that by Nicole-François Guillard.

A constant motif which has evolved in this series of essays is how Swedish makers in this period easily absorbed models, texts, ideas, and people—even unto kings—from abroad and shaped them anew into something that was clearly, and intentionally, Swedish. Such traffic is, perhaps, inevitable in any small country, but the speed with which it occurred in this period had its engine in the court, whose royal family had itself but the merest drop of Swedish blood in it. The present studies demonstrate, too, that, while we must be aware of the overall historical movement of the cultural moments and events of this time, it is such details that form the foundation of that larger picture, and these also require careful explication and research to bring the entire picture into historical and cultural focus.

Perhaps we often feel obliged to look for frequently murky “meaning” underneath the apparent. But yet, too, perhaps we feel uncomfortable in our day to accept that what we write about here was intended to give common pleasure, an experience ranging from laughter to tears, an experience that required, and still requires, an audience to become complete. Indeed, the same is true of this collection of studies, to which we welcome you.

“HANDEL WAS HIS HERO”:
JOHAN HELMICH ROMAN AND THE RIVALRY
BETWEEN FRENCH AND ITALIAN
MUSIC TASTES

EVA HELENIUS
KLAVERENS HUS

It is a general opinion that in Sweden there was no conflict between the French and Italian music styles. Certainly, there was no opera in Stockholm initially, but despite this reality, there was indeed a conflict between the two ideals, although this is hidden in administrative documents. From the late seventeenth century through the whole of the eighteenth century, French culture, literature, theatre, music, and language dominated the nobility and upper classes, so that it was sometimes said that Sweden was more French than France itself. The meeting between the two stylistic worlds was not easy, though this had its background.

The cultural and political landscape around 1720

In 1721, when Sweden at last had peace after two centuries of war, a mighty work began to rebuild society. A new ruler, Queen Ulrika Eleonora, the Younger, the sister of King Charles XII, who was killed in action at the Halden fortress in 1718, after a short reign of one year had given the crown to the King Consort, Frederick, Hereditary Prince of German Hesse-Kassel. As a protest against the autocratic rule of the late king, a new constitution moved the main political focus from the King to the parliament, thereby inaugurating new foundations for ruling the country. The 1720s, thus, were a period of rebuilding and reorganizing the nation. In this process, the court music was no exception, since the Royal Orchestra (*Hovkapellet*) too had suffered from the effects of war, such as starvation, destitution, and disease. Already in 1719, Anders von Düben (1673-1738), both director and conductor of the Royal Orchestra, had sent for Johan Helmich Roman (1694-1758) to come back home from London, where he had been staying

since 1716. The son of a violinist in the orchestra, Roman grew up close to the court and the Royal Orchestra, to which he belonged unpaid at least from 1706 and paid as part of the permanent personnel from 1711. In 1712, the gifted young musician had the permission of Charles XII to study abroad. (Swedish Riksarkivet, The National Registry B 1:657, royal letter signed 19 March 1712¹ at Bender). The years in London were decisive, for there he played in two of George Frederick Handel’s opera orchestras, studied composition with Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752), thorough bass with Handel, and, most probably, violin with Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762) and viola d’amore with Attilio Ariosti (1666-1729). There, he had met with and was strongly influenced by Italian composers and, of course, by Handel himself.² But now, in 1721, it was time for Roman to return to Stockholm. He arrived there in August 1721 and found himself in a town culturally and musically empty, which must have given a shock when compared to the richness of London, which he had just left. (Slottsarkivet, Accounts of the Royal Kitchen I, A:163, 1899).³ In December 1721, he was appointed assistant conductor of the Royal Orchestra where hard work awaited him.

Reconstructing the Court Orchestra and the meeting of the principal opponents

The biggest problems of the 1720s were providing the orchestra with good musicians and obtaining music suitable for the court. Regarding the former, musicians from abroad were regularly imported. Thus, the German composer, Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (1691-1765), arrived in 1723, probably promised the position as director of the Royal Orchestra, but he lost the competition with Roman, who was always protected by the Queen, and therefore left again in 1725. Some years later in 1728, two musicians from Hannover, the Meijer brothers, were called in, but while the elder

¹ Official dates and a few others herein can be assumed to be designated “old style,” that is, prior to the New Style Calendar Reform Act of 1751, whereby England and a number of other countries moved to the Gregorian calendar from the Julian, dropping 10-11 days in the process.

² The most important source to Roman’s years in London is Abraham Magnusson Sahlstedt’s panegyric on him from 1767.

³ The first source stating that Roman was back home mentions him among the persons who followed the King on one of his many hunting journeys, here in August 1721. The Accounts of the Royal Kitchen mention “two musicians Rohman and [Johann Jacob] Bach.” My sincere thanks to Fabian Persson who drew my attention to this source.

brother Frans Hindrich left in 1729, the younger Jacob Hindrich stayed for the rest of his life, passing away in 1760. The King's father, Landgrave Charles I of Hesse-Kassel, died on 23 March 1730, and Frederick, already King of Sweden and now also Landgrave of Hesse chose to have his court in Stockholm and on a visit to Kassel in 1731 dissolved his German court. At least seventeen musicians, among them Momoletto, a famous castrato singer at the Kassel opera, and Fortunato Chelleri, composer and director of the Kassel court orchestra, left Hesse for Stockholm (Brita Bengtsson 2000, 11-20; Helenius-Öberg 2002, 42).⁴ Even though paid from the King's personal civil accounts, the remaining "Kassel musicians" strengthened the Royal Orchestra and were a good contribution to the musical life of the capital. To further facilitate this, Roman enforced a royal decision to form a special budget for the needs of the *Kapell*, which meant the acquisition of music and instruments, instrument care (tuning and repair), and anything else needed, according to the Royal Orchestra expenses from 1726/27.

Shortly after Roman's appointment as conductor of the Royal Orchestra on the Queen's birthday on 23 January 1727, a new Marshal of the Realm took up his duties. Belonging to the old Swedish nobility, Magnus Julius de la Gardie (1668-1741) was French to the very tips of his fingers. In his early years, he had been on French duty in Paris and several times visited the court at Versailles. He had a solid career as a civil servant, ending up as councilor of the realm, took part regularly in the work of the parliament, and was also assigned diplomatic tasks. Beside his career as a civil servant, he was also a skilled businessman. During the parliament of 1726 to 1727, he opened his large house in Stockholm, where he held salons after French models. In the 1730s, when political topics were again frequently debated, his home became the most important meeting place for the young Hat party, of which De la Gardie was one of the founders in 1734. (Söderberg, 725) Moreover, his wife Hedvig Catharina Lillie is said to have introduced the nickname "Night caps" (*nattmössor*) for opposition to the noble Hats. These were to become the two dominant political parties in the Era of Freedom. The names Hats and Caps are mentioned for the first time in a political song written by her, the *Hat song* (*Hattvisan*) in the spring of 1739. Its only verse is divided into two parts; the first one contains a praise of the Hats in

⁴ In addition to the ten musicians, mentioned by Bengtsson, at least seven more came from Kassel in these years: the castrato singer Michael Albertini called Momoletto; composer, violinist and oboist Johann Ernst Süss; composer, oboist and transverse flute player Johann Scherer (1730, returned in 1731); kettle drummer Johann Lorentz Steindecker (1731); oboist Johann Klusmeijer, bass singer and copyist Johan Hindrich Vogler and probably also the Royal trumpeter Sebastian Wigant (employed in 1737).

contrast to the disparaging and ridiculous Caps, especially addressing them as “you, noble harmonists.”⁵ The Royal Orchestra and the Royal Lifeguards oboists were by profession and function symbols of the King and the nation. In the politically heated landscape that developed in the 1730s, the Caps were loyal to the royalists, supporters of England and Russia and friends of peace, while the Hats were friendly towards France and acted as war-mongers.

Not surprisingly, Roman immediately came into conflict with De la Gardie regarding court music. Roman had focused on the Italian style and the music by Handel, who was his “Hero,” while De la Gardie was committed to everything being French. (Västerås Stadsbibliotek, Hülphers Collection, C b 2, 239, Helenius-Öberg, 2019, 215).⁶ In addition, the two seemed also to have been opposing personalities. De la Gardie, “Count of Tullgarn, Autis, Sjö, Lindholmen and Mariedahl, Baron of Häringe, Hammerstad, Lillienberg, Ekесиö *hovgård*, Dahl, Ellkiärr and Skällarhög, Lord of Ristomta, Slagåla, Söderby and Hartwilla,” grandiose and proud of his noble descent, seemed to lack interest in all but French culture and had no interest or knowledge of music. (Lunds Universitetsbibliotek, De la Gardie Collection, 165:1).⁷ Roman, on the other hand, was careful, cautious, never boastful, but rather humble to the limit of self-denial and dedicated in all that he did, and never French in his musical goals and direction (Sahlstedt, 18, Helenius-Öberg, *Roman*, 208).⁸ Thus, the meeting between the two did not always signify anything good for Roman.

A note to Mr. Dalin

In the preface to Axel Daniel Leenberg’s *Drama*, published in 1734, Roman formulated a pamphlet as justification against the powerful forces at court that had set themselves against him and his music:

⁵ “Harmonist” designated a military musician, later also a professional musician.

⁶ The expression “Händel was his Hero” is found in a letter from vicar Thore Odhelius, who knew Roman personally, to Abraham Abrahamson Hülphers, dated 14 February 1772.

⁷ Even if it was the custom to mention all titles in a letter form, where the title holder decided which was to be used, the pride of ownership here is obvious. The quotation above is taken from a letter, releasing the old garden master Sven Örn from working at the Lindholmen and Mariedahl gardens dated 29 February 1732.

⁸ Sahlstedt’s report of Roman’s second journey abroad is clear when it comes to Roman’s Italian stylistic preferences: “From London, he went to France, where he did not give himself out as being a musician, but only an observant listener searching for what could serve to complete his knowledge or enrich his collection.”

Sperno musicam! [I despise music!] cries a Princeps rei literariæ, as he is called, a Justus Lipsius⁹; which wretched worshipers say in unison Harmonia remota! [Harmony away!] intending to make the music (a) madness; But their crazy undertakings (b) do not scare me from bringing the music to the quality through which it may, at solenne occasions, correspond to the measures taken for the honor of our nation. (Helenius-Öberg 1994, 97-98)

Neither before nor later did Roman use so harsh words about any human being, where the expression a “*Princeps rei literariæ*, [Prince of Learning] as he is called,” is used as an ironic mark of a person totally ignorant of music. Roman explains his formulations in his footnotes. In the first (Note a) he explodes, fuming by indignant dissociation: ‘They [the enemies of music] can also be absent wherever music is performed.’ Footnote b refers to a section in Olof Dalin’s *The Swedish Argus* [*Then Swänska Argus*] II:19, where Roman says “*Lipsius’s* ape¹⁰ is sensibly rejected in such an unfair¹¹ intention.” There, Dalin writes a justification for music as an art:

Adapting tastes of other people to one’s own is too foolish. *Lipsius* cannot stand music for the death of him: He does not consider that he may be different from most people, either because he has some hearing defects or because the harmony makes him more attentive and takes him into his own thoughts, or even that his genius that has no knowledge in this art, falls, when listening to it, into a woeful mood that breeds anxiety. So, *Lipsius* writes to me [Dalin] asking me to convince my readers that music is madness. Yes, I had nothing else to do for the same reasons that he hates this beautiful art, it is loved by others. *Lipsius* may be right for himself but not for others. The music has its virtue. Not only does she help to find the freedom and pleasure of mind but also the health of the body. According to a general meaning, she furthers the circulating of body fluids, cleans the blood, separates the exhalations, enlarges the veins, opens the pores and so

⁹ Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a Belgian philologist who was a pioneer in his discipline, especially Latin text criticism. He also published a *Princely Mirror* (*Furstespiegel*), which gives Roman’s statement on Lipsius a satirical comment on being a great statesman.

¹⁰ The word *apa* is still used figuratively to disparage and minimize a person. But maybe Roman using the expression *Lipsii Apa* rather pointedly referring to the concept *Ape-Vanity* (Swedish: *Ape-Högfärd*), which hinted about a person having “the inclination of apes to splendor showy and empty ornaments.”

¹¹ The Swedish word “*ohemul*” (*Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, volume 18, column O 468 1949) is used here in the meaning of ‘undue, unjustified, groundless, wrongful.’

on. But there is nothing more ridiculous than seeing *Crysippos*¹² having an absorbed air listen to good music and simulate enjoying it and finding miracles, although he does not understand anything but is inside anxious (Dalin 1734, II:19, paragraph 3).¹³

Dalin's text on music is a satire on a musically deaf person with the pseudonym *Lipsius*. The person in question may have had a dominating position, since he had written to Dalin and ordered a contribution to *Argus*, which declared music a madness. This person would have belonged to the court, since Roman's preface to his *Drama* is a justification of court music, and his custom of always using Swedish texts to vocal music and his own work to improve the quality of the orchestra. There, Roman also gives a description, borrowed from author Sophia Elisabeth Brenner, of a good culture government as “a calm period abundant of many promoting steps by a generous, educated, friendly and mild patron.” His preface offers praise to a *Mæcenas* who fostered music and, at an early stage, “stopped a malicious undertaking, reasonably distrusted slander, controlled arbitrariness and protected such a right-minded task.” Roman's expression “unfair intention” referred to the counteraction of “Swedish Music,” i.e., vocal music with Swedish text, which at intervals “was close to being suppressed in its cradle and hastening to its end even in its fragile beginning.” Whoever was behind the pseudonym *Lipsius* was hardly a person of extensive reading and patriot of language, but rather a person without any sense of artistic aspects, maybe a civil servant who easily got stuck in administrative details foreign to the art. The *Mæcenas* mentioned by Roman would be the Queen and her so good and even financially generous rule for music (Riksarkivet, Royal archives of the Queens of Sweden, Ulrika Eleonora, the Younger K 258).¹⁴ *Lipsius* should, thus, be the head of the court administration, Marshal of the Realm Magnus Julius de la Gardie.

¹² Krysippos from Soloi (c. 279-c. 206 B.C.) was a Greek philosopher who is considered be the second founder of the Stoic School. There is a good deal of irony in comparing *Lipsius*, ignorant of music, to a Stoic hardening himself against something he disapproves.

¹³ *Censor librorum* Johan Rosenadler had nothing to say against paragraph 3 and therefore put his *imprimatur* on it.

¹⁴ Only a few cash books owned by Ulrika Eleonora, the Younger, are preserved. From the years 1712 to 1714, there are several gifts to Anders von Düben and the Royal Orchestra with 1000 thaler silver as the highest amount.

De la Gardie's list of sins

So, what did De la Gardie do to harm Roman? Most probably, they immediately fell out when discussing questions of fact, and the list of sins committed by the Marshal of the Realm was to have been of a certain length. On the other hand, Roman's closest overseer, administrator of the Royal Orchestra, Carl Franc, was well disposed towards him, and we may suppose that Franc's suggestions were supported by Roman. The Queen always held a protective hand over her conductor of the Royal Orchestra. The problem was the Marshal of the Realm, the head of the court and directly responsible for its administration to the King. All letters and documents of economy had to be confirmed by him; either he decided himself or sent documents to the King for a decision. With this line of authority, De la Gardie ran the risk of becoming an obstacle for Roman and his work to develop the Royal Orchestra and court music.

The first time De la Gardie is seen to have been ungraciously disposed towards Roman is when the education of the two singers was discussed (Neubacher 2009, 422). Sophia Schröder and Judith Tischer had belonged to the Royal Orchestra unpaid probably since 1722, when in 1726 they were employed as permanent personnel. Roman thereby exchanged two boys (*discantores*) for two sopranos. According to an older custom, Düben had taught Sophia music and given her board and lodging, as well as clothing. Probably Roman, as conductor of the Royal Orchestra, inherited this teaching duty but left it to Caspar Gottlob Grünewald, a German musician and previously a church singer with Telemann at the Hamburg cathedral back in 1718. But, since he had acted impolitely to his superiors and could not be persuaded to work, Grünewald left in 1727 and, again, the two singers had no teacher.

Maybe it was Roman's idea to give the Royal Orchestra a new stimulus by calling in a good musician from abroad who could take over Grünewald's duties. On 27 April 1728, Franc wrote a letter to De la Gardie saying that he had called in a clever musician. Two days later, De la Gardie answered through a letter to the King with a partly different content. Points of agreement with Franc's request are the new employment of a good musician from abroad and how the distribution of the resources of new employments for the Royal Orchestra could be solved. On the other hand, Franc's letter does not tell which standard the musician from abroad should have. According to De la Gardie, the musician in question must be skilled "both at the harpsichord and the teaching of the singers and especially in playing the oboe" (Slottsarkivet, Office of the Marshal of the Realm B 1:7. Diary and outgoing letters 1728-1730, Diary 1728) Playing continuo and

teaching the singers belonged to Grünewald's duties, while the demand to be a skilled oboist could have been a reprimand to Roman, whose principal instruments were the violin and the oboe.

At the beginning of July 1728, the Meijer brothers arrived in Sweden. Of the two, Frans left again after a short stay of almost one year, and since he disappeared from the orchestra, once again there was nobody to teach the singers. They needed current information not to forget what they had learned, and so Roman was imposed upon to carry out this work until another solution could be found. He was paid for the whole year of 1729, which means that Meijer had gotten tired of the court musical establishment somewhat earlier; Roman's salary was extended to 1 October 1730, when bass singer Conrad Arnoldi took over this duty¹⁵ (Slottsarkivet, Court Accounts, the King I:215 (verifications 1730), 1078-1080, 1082-1084). A proposal on how the teaching of the two singers was to be solved was again sent by Franc to the Marshal of the Realm, together with questions concerning certain financial arrangements of the Royal Orchestra budget. The letter was written already in November 1729, when Roman was occasionally teaching the singers. By way of introduction, Franc reminds him that several musicians had been called in at great expense, to improve the vocal music, to teach, and rehearse the employed singers. But these musicians, contrary to all expectations, both neglected their duty and went away, which is why the singers derived little or no advantage from them, and the singing without rehearsals declined rather than improved. Therefore, Franc intended to use 300 thaler silver annually for the instruction of the singers instead of calling in an expensive and unreliable virtuoso (Slottsarkivet, Office of the Marshal of the Realm E I:3, 187-188, published in Helenius-Öberg, 2019, 63).

The royal decision to organize the Royal Orchestra in the French taste

De la Gardie's answer to Franc's letter, which at the same time formed the basis for the King's decision, differing essentially in certain respects from Franc's letter, was enclosed with his own, thereby clearly declaring that he was of a different opinion (Slottsarkivet, Archive of the Office of the Marshal of the Realm E I:3, 189-190, published in Helenius-Öberg

¹⁵ Carl Franc's memorandum is dated 30 September 1730; Roman's letter is not dated but written immediately before Franc's. Arnoldi taught the singers until 1733, when Jacob Dederer followed him in this position.

1994, 64).¹⁶ The reason for Franc's proposal on how the education of the singers should be carried on and financed was to relieve the pressure on Roman and transfer this task to another musician in the Royal Orchestra, paying this musician for his work with money which should be free after the demise of royal musician Boisman.¹⁷ Calling in an expensive virtuoso for this was not, according to Franc, financially defensible, since it was possible to solve the problem in another, cheaper way.

De la Gardie's way of solving the problems of the Royal Orchestra was to micromanage everything by opposing Franc on vital points in the request to the King that the Royal Orchestra be arranged according to the French taste. De la Gardie could not deny that the Italian taste, "when perfectly accompanied with good voices is considered the best." But when it "cannot be held in a perfect condition, to which a considerably higher cost is necessary than is granted in the Royal Orchestra budget, so is the French music not only more pleasant" but also much more suitable, since the French music was cheaper to maintain good quality.¹⁸ At the end of his argument, De la Gardie presented one more, in his eyes, important reason in favor of the French taste, namely that "it was far more people who understood it and are used to hear it and enjoy the delight that follows when this music is correctly introduced."

Thus, according to De la Gardie, a skilled musician should be called in from France to educate the singers, strengthening the orchestra and "be free beside his paid duties also to teach everywhere in the town, especially in more distinguished homes with those who are inclined to music." In De la Gardie's opinion, many talented persons had hitherto lacked such possibilities. This virtuoso, he added, should have such a fundamental knowledge of music so that he can stimulate and encourage especially the young Royal musicians. At such events, De la Gardie presumed that the King should be much more delighted at court concerts and amusements in the same way as was the case in courts abroad.

Therefore, an ensemble playing French music was cheaper to run and maintain, and it could be included in the budget of the Royal Orchestra.

¹⁶ De la Gardie's letter to the King is dated 16 November 1730 with the King's decision 22 January 1730.

¹⁷ This was Jacob Dederling, harpsichord player and singer, who had belonged to the Royal Orchestra on an unpaid basis from 1728 to 1733, when he was paid from the orchestra budget. From 1736, he is mentioned as precentor at the Norrköping town parish and died there in 1744.

¹⁸ The 1696 National budget functioned as a model and standard during the whole Era of Freedom which was an unhappy obstacle for the artistic development of the Royal Orchestra.

French music was what people were used to hearing and appreciating. But De la Gardie's words may also be interpreted that the orchestra sounded bad in his ears when Italian music was played by a too small ensemble, and there was no reason to increase the 1696 budget. Thus, financial reasons, combined with old customs and the opinion that French music was better for a small ensemble, were the reasons for the proposals by the Marshal of the Realm, which were approved by the King on 22 January 1730 (Slottsarkivet, Archive of the Office of the Marshal of the Realm E 1:3 Royal letters 1721-1730, 187-190, see Helenius-Öberg 1994, 63-65).

In view of this circumstance where French taste dominated, Roman, in his period as assistant conductor of the Royal Orchestra, wisely chose to compose his birthday cantatas to the King and Queen in a mixed style. It has been said that Roman evolved from French to Italian taste, yet in the middle of the 1720s he was able to compose the cantata *Tu parti amato bene* (HRV 932), which is far from being French. But it rather may be that he was already at that time a master of all styles and brought his compositions in line with current expectations, especially when he wrote for the Royal Couple, using a style which combines French with Italian, i.e., the preferences of the court with his own.

The wording used by De la Gardie strictly rejected Roman's work with the orchestra and the musicians, both concerning the stylistic goals and the measures taken to raise the quality of the ensemble. Permission for a foreign musician to teach both the young musicians of the royal orchestra and give lessons in the homes of the *bourgeoisie* must have been a blow to both Roman and his fellow musicians. Apart from their duties to the Royal Orchestra, several were also organists in the Stockholm churches, and teaching or playing outside the court was welcomed extra income for the Royal Lifeguards oboists as well. Moreover, the teaching of the foreign musician “everywhere in the town” was against current practice, and according to which the parishes made the administrative decisions on the “income districts” of the organists where they had an exclusive right to play at weddings and feasts. This custom right was later confirmed by a decree, given in the Stockholm town hall on 30 December 1745, that the Stockholm *bourgeoisie*, at weddings and other such occasions when music is required, shall use the organists at each parish.¹⁹

¹⁹ The Annual Print (*Årstrycket*) 1745 contains provisions together with the Royal decrees and such, also some published by the town of Stockholm, of which this is one.

A royal decision without the intended effect

Considering the French faction at court, maybe it is not so striking that the King supported De la Gardie in his request that the court music be arranged in French style and taste. On the other hand, the decision was never realized. In practice, Roman continued the work he had begun almost ten years earlier. Yet, there must have been hard discussions resulting in the fact that the royal decision was ignored. There are statements of accounts of music purchase preserved for the years 1727, 1728 and 1729 but not 1730²⁰ and again regularly from 1731 and the following years (Slottsarkivet, Court Accounts, The King I:215. verifications 1730, 1505*f* and Bengtsson 1955, 73). The explanation of this 1730 omission could be that a decision of the stylistic direction was not yet made and that discussions were still underway. Sheet music, however, was needed for the Royal Orchestra's performances, among others Roman's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* (HRV 405 and 401; Helenius, *Te Deum and Jubilate*, 191-205) and the usual instrumental music. Violin maker Jonas Elg was paid for having given bows new horsehair, a sound quality raising effect for the Royal Orchestra, and a cello was purchased, thus proving that the court owned the instruments played by the court musicians. The stylistic direction of the Royal Orchestra should have been clear at the latest by the end of 1730, when the court may have come to an informal decision on its stipulations. These may have been drawn up so that Roman was permitted to fulfill his plan for the music in Sweden, *if he showed that the Royal orchestra mastered the Italian taste in its full splendor*. From this time, he began writing and performing larger works for solo voices, choir, and orchestra, starting with his own *Te Deum-Jubilate* (HRV 605, 601). To reach a broader audience outside the court and always keep the orchestra in practice, he started giving public concerts, opening the concert life in Sweden with his adaption of Handel's *Brockes Passion-Oratorio* (HWV 48) during Lent of 1731, which he made into a pasticcio with additional music by composers to whom he gave prominence. And he continued with his adaptations of several of Benedetto Marcello's *Estro Poëtico* in August of 1731, Handel's *Coronation Anthems* in 1733, the same composer's pastorale *Acis and Galatea* and oratorio *Ester* in 1734. Such a scenario gives a reasonable background for the intense activity Roman showed at the beginning of the 1730s and the years before his second journey abroad, a period when he also opened new fields of work for the Royal Orchestra. It is an affirmative answer to the question of

²⁰ For the year 1730, there are statements of music copying made by a certain Åhman, organist Abraham Biörck, Per Brant (H/N 94, Brant's youthful hand) and Jonas Londée (H/N 3) but no purchases of music.

whether or not it was the reason Roman inaugurated the public concerts in Sweden at this very time, for it certainly follows the connection.²¹

The choice of Handel's *Brockes Passion-Oratorio* in Roman's adaptation (HRV B 20; HWV 48) was certainly not serendipitous. This oratorio was expanded and arranged with music by Handel, Telemann, Keiser, Mattheson, Fasch, Stöltzer and others. In so doing, Roman adopted an international practice with respect to passion music. In Roman's pasticcio, Handel provides the focus of the composition, complemented by North German (Telemann, among others) and Italian music (Marcello), which may be interpreted as a deliberate presentation of his own stylistic preferences and the musical level of the strengthened Royal Orchestra. But it can also be seen as a method of introducing his own musical development to wider circles than at the court. The performances were open to anybody who could pay a silver thaler for a ticket. But then at the chosen time, Roman used the concerts with the educational aim always to keep the orchestra in as proper a trim as the court theatre, which, besides being an entertainment, also served as instructions (“rehearsals”) for court servants for important receptions of diplomats and foreign envoys (Bennich-Björkman 1970, 353-354). Both the orchestra and the singers needed practice under the scrutiny of a public audience to perform, something which the court did not offer. If opening a public concert was Roman's way of meeting the criticism from De la Gardie that music in the Italian style sounded bad when performed by a small and insufficiently practiced ensemble, it was indeed important that these measures were taken in an early phase. At the same time, they became a regular contribution to the musical life of the capital, completing the offerings in the churches. That Roman was able to give his first concert in the Lent on 4 April 1731 with all preliminary work — his own work, music copying, the search for “foreign helpers,”²² rehearsals, and so forth — indicates that he worked for his cause a rather long time before the unofficial decision was made. According to Friedrichs, Roman's public concerts were given “on order by the Queen in the Knights House Hall where music never before has been performed” (Friedrichs 1975, 224).²³ Thus, the Queen went against the King, her consort.

²¹ Anders von Düben donated the large family music collection (now known as the Düben Collection) to Uppsala University in 1732. He probably understood that the music it contained should not be used any more, since Roman had his permission to continue his work with the Italian stylistic direction he promoted.

²² “Foreign helper” was the name of extra musicians to augment the Royal orchestra who were not paid from the Royal orchestra budget.

²³ My thanks to Jan Enberg for kind information of this publication.

Roman's first larger works for soloists, choir and orchestra, his *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, were composed for the Protestant Jubilee Year 1730 (performed on 25 June 1730), when the Royal Orchestra was strengthened by foreign musicians from Kassel and the cantor of the Stockholm Storkyrka. Although performed on internal court occasions, they may be seen as his first protest against De la Gardie. Together with the purchases of choir works by Marcello (1729, performed in 1731) and Handel (1731, 1732, and 1733), they mark a new direction of the Royal Orchestra by concentrating on larger works for soloists, choir, and orchestra with a regular use of many "foreign helpers." In addition, works by Telemann (1728, 1734), Giuseppe Tartini (1735)²⁴ and Girolamo Laurenti (1735)²⁵ were added to the orchestral music collection. The two last mentioned works were probably intended for the public concerts (as violin concertos), while the two other volumes, including Telemann's *Harmonischer Gottesdienst*, may have been used at court sacred services. When leaving London, Roman may also have brought a considerable amount of music or bought it during his journey back to Sweden. Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate* (revised in 1718), which formed a model to Roman's corresponding works, may have belonged to those works Roman copied at the Cannons Music Library. Roman used the text of the movement *Sì, nu är den behagelige tiden* (taken from Second Corinthians 6:2) from Handel's *Jubilate* for the first intercession day on 28 April 1732. (*Årstrycket* 1732, 11)²⁶ He may also have copied Handel's *Brockes Passion-Oratorio* at this library. Other examples are Handel's sacred oratorio *Ester* (composed in 1720), and all his *Chandos Anthems*. Roman used Anthem V, *I will magnify thee* (*Jag vil uphöja Tig min Gud*) for the Fourth Intercession Day in 1733 and, much later, all three of them for the 1751 Coronation (Helenius-Öberg 2019, 204).²⁷ After the Queen's funeral in 1742, the strengthened Royal

²⁴ Probably violin concertos printed by le Cène in Amsterdam.

²⁵ Girolamo Nicolò Laurenti (1678-1751), violinist and composer in Bologna, where he was a fellow of *Accademia Filharmonica* 1699, employed at the *Basilika San Petronio* in 1706 and, by Giacomo Antonio Perti, appointed concert master in 1734. Among his works there are trio sonatas, violin concertos, sinfonias and 25 *Ricercari* for a violin without basso continuo. There are two of his violin concertos by this composer, E minor (Kraus 99) and A major (Kraus 101) in the Lund University Library Kraus Collection. There are also fragments of a movement for a violin without basso continuo in Stockholm's Musik- och Teaterbibliotek Ro 95. What was bought in 1735 could have been his six violin concertos, printed by Le Cène in Amsterdam in 1727.

²⁶ The Intercession Days Plaque, given 17 January 1732.

²⁷ All in the Uppsala University Library, *O sing unto the Lord a new song* (*Sjungen Herranom en ny viso*), *Chandos Anthem* 4 *Vokalmusik i handskrift* 65:1; *I will*

Orchestra gave mourning concerts with Handel’s *Funeral Anthem* (*Wägarna till Zion äro sörjande*), together with the music performed at the ceremony.²⁸ Identifying which instrumental music by Handel Roman used is more difficult. There are movements of the *Water Music* (1717), of which No. 7 is an arrangement for a keyboard instrument (Rudén 1981, No. 4006)²⁹ and No. 11 is copied for the use of the Uppsala University Orchestra.³⁰ Yet, we may assume that most of the instrumental music in Swedish music collections at the time was introduced by Roman.

In 1720, another Swede, Royal musician Olaus Westenson Linnert, called Mr. Westen, was employed as bassoon player by the First Duke of Chandos. This was during the very period when Pepusch was responsible for the music at Cannons, and Handel lived there and composed for the Duke’s ensemble. Probably in 1720, Roman was taught composition by Pepusch and thorough bass by Handel, and in connection with this, had access to the music library at Cannons (Sahlstedt 1767, 17; Beeks 1985, 9,17).³¹

Such a concentration on larger works can certainly be understood to disprove De la Gardie’s opinion that Italian music sounded best when performed by a larger ensemble than the court economy could bear. Johann Mattheson has offered an important opinion about the Stockholm Royal Orchestra, yet with the reservation that it was too small in numbers (Mattheson 1735, 6 Abschnitt X; Helenius 2010, 310).³² To strengthen the Royal Orchestra, Roman regularly called in “foreign helpers.” In this

magnify thee (*Tig wil iag uphöia, Gud*, Vokalmusik i handskrift 70:15; *Let God arise, (Gud stånde up)*, Chandos Anthem 11, Vokalmusik i handskrift 65:1.

²⁸ Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket, KO/Sv.-R.

²⁹ Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Instrumentalmusik i handskrift 410. It was performed on 11 April 1722.

³⁰ Lund Universitetsbibliotek, Collection Engelhardt 731.

³¹ According to Sahlstedt, Roman studied composition with Pepusch and thorough bass with Handel. There have been doubts whether Roman really was a pupil of Handel, but there is evidence from the very year (1720) that the two composers divided teaching the theory and practice of composition between themselves, a fact that indicates that Sahlstedt is correct. Eric Otto Deutsch 1955, 162, has observed this in his article “Handel and Pepusch in collaboration.”

³² “... und gefällt mir sonderlich, was die Besoldung betrifft, die Einrichtung der Königl. Schwediscen Capelle nicht übel, ob sie gleich sehr schwach, ja fast gar zu schwach, an Personen ist (. . . and it pleases me especially in terms of remuneration, that the state of the Royal Swedish Kapelle is not bad, although it is at the same time very weak, even almost too weak in terms of personnel).” Mattheson’s contact in Stockholm was Royal musician Georg Johan Londicer. Since he died in 1733, the conditions mentioned by Mattheson should refer to the time around 1730.

respect, fate supported him. When Landgrave Charles of Hesse-Kassel died, and his eldest son, the King of Sweden chose to concentrate his resources to Stockholm, at least seventeen musicians left Kassel and arrived in Stockholm from the summer of 1730 to the spring of 1732.³³ Roman must have welcomed this opportunity to work with a larger ensemble of professional musicians, especially when they were paid from the King's personal funds and did not put a load on the Royal Orchestra budget. Showing that the Royal Orchestra mastered Italian music in its full splendor was part of the terms for Roman to continue his work. Music purchases of larger choral works in the years immediately before 1730 give a clear hint that the fight between De la Gardie and Roman had begun earlier and that the 1730 decision was an attempt to settle it, although it resulted in something opposite to his intentions.

Concentration on new works and new activities of such size demanded the purchase of music on quite another level than formerly. The Royal orchestra expense budget was modest 145 thaler silver corresponding to 435 thaler copper yearly to be used for "purchase of sheet music and copying, harpsichord tuning and care and all other expenses necessary for the orchestra (Slottsarkivet, The Court Office E I:17 Royal Letters 1726-1727).³⁴ It is clear from Roman's statements of accounts that he regularly overdrew the budget with considerably high amounts. The yearly overdrafts have been transferred to the next financial year. Roman's "overpayments" for the years 1727 to 1729 are rather small compared to what he was responsible for in 1731 and the following years. The year 1730 therefore stands out as a pivotal year around which the economy turned about. In 1730, no new music was bought. When the music accounts were resumed in 1731, the figure increased considerably to 1250 thaler silver, of which 537 thaler 29 öre copper was the payment from the Court Office annual budget. Thus, Roman took the difference of 619 thaler copper, which equaled 239 thaler silver. This strong evidence from 1731 coincides with the time shortly after Roman's permission to continue his plan for the orchestra and the development of music in Sweden, which, in turn, meant that the decision to arrange the Royal orchestra according to the French taste had been abolished.

Under these circumstances, it looked like somebody had stepped in between and covered the difference between the budget and the real costs.

³³ See Note 4.

³⁴ Carl Franc's memorial is dated Karlberg 27 July 1727. The King approved Franc's proposals two days later on 29 July.

Roman regularly says that he did so³⁵ but his annual salary was 1000 thaler silver, which means 250 thaler silver or 750 thaler copper quarterly (Slottsarkivet, Court Accounts, The King I:215 Verifications 1730, 1506). His items of expenditure may seem too heavy for the economy of a single musician. Still, he must have realized that the expense budget was too limited to show the beauty of Italian music and the musical standard of the Royal orchestra. How was this solved?

In the preface of his *Drama* (1734), Roman mentions the Queen as a *Mæcenas*. Did the Queen come to an agreement with Roman to compensate him so that he had the courage to press on so very hard as he did? Was it for this that Roman took the responsibility for the overdrafts to make them correct, seen from the court perspective? Whatever the reasons, Roman had financial guarantees for the venture to last. This being the case, the orchestra repertoire might be expanded, and its music library augmented according to the circumstances.

The assumption that the Queen stepped between “invisibly” to those closest to Roman and compensated him privately from her civil funds for the difference between budget and real costs gives reasonable answers to these kinds of questions. Queen Ulrika Eleonora, who in hard times regularly supported the Royal Orchestra by allowances from her civil funds, may well have seen to it that Roman got what he needed. Her financial support of Roman is seen for the first time when she gave him travelling funds before his journey to England in 1715 (Sahlstedt, 16).³⁶ Her support of the Royal orchestra is mirrored in her ledgers for the years 1712 to 1714. They may be hinted at during the last years of the 1720s and may have been a basis for the hectic first years of the 1730s, when Roman could show the splendor of the Italian music and the ability of the Royal Orchestra. She may have resumed her support to the orchestra after Roman’s return home from his second journey abroad in 1737 and continued it until her death in

³⁵ The 1730 accounts give an example of this, when Roman remarks: “An saldo, according to my account given the year 1730 I have overpaid 26 thaler.” Since the accounts naturally always refer to the year before, this statement should have reference to 1729.

³⁶ Here, Sahlstedt quotes Roman’s “autobiographical notes” that he gave to the Royal Academy of Science shortly after his election in 1739 as a fellow of the academy.” In 1714, he [Roman] had the permission to go to England to continue his education in music, for which Her Majesty, the late Queen Ulrika Eleonora endowed him with traveling funds”. Sahlstedt borrowed and used these notes when writing the panegyric of Roman (statements marked with an asterisk in his book) but unfortunately never gave them back. The year 1714 for Roman’s journey to England may have been a slip of his memory.

1741. Roman's name of the Queen as a *Mæcenas* thus would have been based on the reality of her continued financial support.

Two centers of power and a drama – a key to the development

The pseudonym *Lipsius* for Roman's harshest opponent, Marshal of the Realm Magnus Julius de la Gardie, is found as one of the role characters in his 1734 *Drama*. Since all actors have names drawn from Antiquity, such as Cassandra, Aurelia, and Sidonia, we can assume that the *Drama* is a role play so common in the eighteenth century's hot political atmosphere, and that the cover names alluding to personal characters of each name were easy to recognize by an audience. Thus, Aurelia would be a rich person of noble descent, who most probably acted as a *Mæcenas*, and that is the Queen. The role of Cassandra, the Greek prophetess, may be suitable for Emerentia von Düben, the Queen's personal maid of honor and private friend. Antenor was a Trojan nobleman, the wisest and most sensible of them who, in the Trojan war, acted as an arbitrator and tried to make peace between the Greeks and his fellow countrymen. This part is perfect for the director of the Royal Orchestra, Carl Franc. Two roles remain, Cardenio and Sidonia. Cardenio derives his name from the Latin word *cardo*, or door peg, an object around which everything revolves, the principal person, and that is Roman himself. Sidonia's name reminds one of the celestial spheres, a star-spangled personality, that is, Music itself.

Thus, we get this cast:

Aurelia: The Queen, Ulrika Eleonora

Cassandra: Emerentia von Düben

Lipsius: Magnus De la Gardie

Antenor: Carl Franc

Cardenio: Johan Helmich Roman

Sidonia and her brother: Music and the Mother Tongue, or Swedish

So, there they are, all the persons involved in the *Drama* surrounding the court music. The story of the *Drama* is modeled after Handel's pastoral *Acis and Galatea*, which Roman had adopted to Swedish words and performed at the beginning of 1734. In Handel's pastoral, the giant Polyphemus destroys the happiness of the shepherd couple by killing Acis. In Roman's *Drama*, Sidonia and Cardenio correspond to Acis and Galatea with a happy ending, and Polyphemus to Lipsius.

In light of this, the dialogues between the personalities are of high interest. Lipsius, the villain of the *Drama*, sews discord between Sidonia

and Cardenio. Sidonia had been seen talking familiarly to an unknown man, and Cardenio feels deceived. The two antagonists Lipsius and Cardenio meet in a duet:

Cardenio: Disloyalty, that rejects fidelity, / *Lipsius*: Severity, that rejects my respect,
Cardenio: And lasting friendship hates. / *Lipsius*: And my love always hates.
Cardenio & Lipsius: Go away with all your company.

Antenor’s cool tale of Cardenio’s anguish could be those of Roman:

More often the wind is calm
 Than a lover rests in peace.
 He is always depressed to be confused.
 He is always ready to believe [imagining things].
 Now he begs, and now he scolds,
 Now he cries, now he smiles;
 But all his anxiety stops,
 When he, at last, finds himself happy.

A dialogue between Lipsius and Aurelia gives us the key to the interpretation that Roman had permission to abide, and that Lipsius had been pushed to promise not to take any notice of music anymore. Gradually, he understands that he has to change his mind:

I will no more waste my time with love.
 From now on, my will has to be guided by common sense.

Aurelia answers him: “If you have seriously made up your mind in this, you will not regret it.” Shortly thereafter, when Sidonia passes Lipsius and Aurelia, she admonishes him: “Now remember your promise well,” to which he replies: “I forgot it as soon as I saw her.” Through Antenor’s statement and Aurelia’s and Cassandra’s careful wisdom, Sidonia understands that also she might have been deluded into suspecting Cardenio, and he understands that Sidonia really had been faithful to him. The stranger Sidonia had talked to is her brother, the Mother Tongue, and Cardenio understands that she had never left him. So, everything ends by a happy reunion of Sidonia and Cardenio, and everybody is happy except Lipsius. As soon as he had given free range to vent his rage as a loser through the aria “Is there no evil Fury who may vent his wrath?” the choir wishes the fair couple “delight and pleasure [that] may remain with them so that no more uneasiness happens to them.”

The content of the court administrative documents is verified and given more detail by the story and dialogues of the *Drama*. The audience that saw it, might have known about the conflicts at court, identified the personages, and understood the double message during the course of events and their underlying meaning.

It is to be regretted that Roman's music to the *Drama* has not been preserved in its entirety. What we have are three pieces sung by Cassandra³⁷ and a canzonetta sung by Antenor.³⁸ The first chorus, "*Wälkommen sälla Tid igen*" (Welcome happy times again) may be a reminder of or the same music composed for the first chorus of Roman's cantata at the return of Frederick I from Kassel in 1731, *Wälkommen store Kung igen* (HRV 606:2; Welcome great King again). The text for Sidonia's first aria *Liufwa stunder, ilen ej / Wänten angenäme Dagar* (Happy hours, do not hasten / Wait for pleasant Days) seems to be a loan from the first vocal part, the aria *Süsse Zeiten eilet nicht / warten angenehme Stunden* in the cantata for a table music 1727 (HRV 601:2).³⁹ Thus, Roman's *Drama* opened with a paean to the King. Not by chance Cassandra's aria *Då natten aldra mörkast är* (When the night is as darkest) uses the second movement of Roman's birthday cantata 1726, *Verdopple Sonne, deinen Schein* (HRV 603:2; HRV 818), where night and day were in opposition to each other, wishing that the sunbeams might drive away the darkness of the night which may be interpreted as an appeal of an increased support from the Queen. Another of Cassandra's songs *Det gagnar grenen at han skäres* (It is good that the branch is cut; HRV 811) is a loan from *The Golovin Music* (BeRI 1:30). If Cassandra is the cover name for Emerentia von Düben, it is natural that she sings the music the Queen appreciated. If behind the personality of Antenor stands a person who does not take sides but tries to get peace and calm by mediating, it is logical that his songs are written new. In the same way, Lipsius' arias may have been written in the French style. Several of the arias are spread as texts only — the poetry was sung — or used as melody instructions which shows that Roman's music was popular in broader social layers. Also, Lipsius' aria *Gå hwart jag wil, hwart jag mig wänder* (Go away wherever I will / wherever I turn around), Sidonia's aria *Liufwa*

³⁷ "*Det gagnar grenen at han skiäres*" (It is good that the branch is cut) HRV 811, "*Då natten aldra mörkast är* (When the night is as darkest) two versions HRV 817 and 818, and the soliloquy *Wist behöfves at man öfves* (No doubt that it is necessary to be trained) HRV 945.

³⁸ "*Hvilken är som trädet fäller*, HRV 944 (*Who is bringing the tree down*).

³⁹ Ingmar Bengtsson's observation. (Stiftelsen Musikkulturens främjande, Rudolf Nydahl Collection, Archive of Professor of Musicology Ingmar Bengtsson, volume 31).

stunder, ilen ej (Happy hours do not hasten), Cardenio’s aria *Falskhet, du som trohet ratar* (Disloyalty which rejects fidelity) and Aurelia’s song *Den för sanning sannlikt tager* (Who takes probability for being the truth) are frequently found in song books with texts only, unfortunately without instructions on the melody to be used.

Epilogue

The general problems Roman had to fight were to raise the quality of the Royal Orchestra, to augment it with good “foreign helpers” who were professional musicians as well as skilled amateur musicians, to keep up with the development of musical style, and to obtain good and suitable music for the orchestra. The journeys of unpaid Royal musician Jonas Londée to North Germany exactly for the four important years from 1731 to 1734 fit well into this pattern of large expansion and search for new music. Roman signed the documents to certify time and geographical goals for Londée’s applications for a passport, and thus, as part of his duties, he would have gone with orders to orientate himself to the general development of music and to buy sheet music for the use of the Royal Orchestra (Helenius-Öberg 1994, 76, 81, 84, 96; Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Archive of the Office of the Governor of Stockholm, 1. Secretariat E XI a).⁴⁰ Thus, he was compensated for the purchase of Telemann’s *Fortsetzung des Harmonischen Gottes dienstes* on 30 September 1734.

In 1735, Roman himself went abroad. The official aim of Roman’s second journey, his Grand Tour through Europe, was to cure his weak hearing at the warm baths at Ischia close to Naples. But the real goal was to inform himself of the latest musical stylistic developments and collect good music for the Royal Orchestra. Thus, he visited famous composers, orchestra leaders, and violin virtuosos and teachers, as well as copied music kept in important libraries. He was permitted to use the orchestra expense budget, which was not always sufficient. Being in London in December of 1735, he wrote home to Sweden for extra money to be able to buy suitable music for the Royal Orchestra, a request which was granted (Slottsarkivet, Court Accounts I:225, verifications 1735, 8 January 1736).⁴¹ Thus he brought back “a large and most wonderful collection of music” (Sahlstedt 1767, 19). But again, he had overdrawn the budget and was late coming back to

⁴⁰ Passport dated 9 August 1731 to go to Danzig “for some weeks,”; 14 July 1732 to Danzig “for four weeks”; 30 July 1733 to Danzig “for six weeks,”; 8 July 1734 to Lübeck and Hamburg again “for six weeks.”

⁴¹ Franck received funds from the surplus for copying several compositions from London (20), and the Kings decision, (2256).

Stockholm by almost a year, which presented problems. And when the orchestra received such a large collection, it was not allowed anymore to buy new music, a situation that probably lasted during the entire 1740s. Instead, music was copied from the Royal Orchestra collection, which explains why there are so many manuscripts dating from this decade. Roman wanted to develop the orchestra, but when the best became an enemy of the good, the large collection was in fact an obstacle for his intentions. But this same large music collection soon received another function, that as a lending library. Since copying music from it was an easy way of obtaining music, both professional musicians such as the *directores musices* at the Uppsala (Bengtsson 1977, 22, 26)⁴² and Lund⁴³ universities and private persons used copies from the Royal Orchestra collection (Helenius-Öberg 2002, 38-40).⁴⁴ Thus, Roman's large music collection in fact became the foundation of the library of the Royal Academy of Music. As in several other instances, Roman was many years ahead of his time, and it was the generations to follow that reaped the fruits of his pioneering work.

⁴² The *director musices* H. C. Engelhardt at the Uppsala University was a very diligent copyist of music from the Royal orchestra collection. Much music in the Engelhard collection mirrors the Royal Orchestra repertoire, frequently lost in the Stockholm and Uppsala library collections.

⁴³ For music loan to be sent outside Stockholm, lists of the wanted sheet music were made up. Such a request of loan from the *director musices* at the Lund university Friedrich Kraus is found among Clas Ekeblad's documents from the exercise of his duties as Marshal of the Realm (1750s). (Kungliga Biblioteket, The Engeström Collection B.VII.I.20) For Kraus' use of the Royal orchestra collection, see Andersson 1976-1977, 12-15.

⁴⁴ A good example is Pehr Cederhamn who copied music for the Royal orchestra (H/N 23) in the 1740s when he was a foreign helper to the orchestra and at the same time, as student at the Uppsala university, copied music for the university orchestra (H/N E:16) and for himself, now a collection of four volumes of mostly instrumental music in Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket. Another example is Patrik Alströmer who, on 8 March 1757, paid his friend and brother Freemason, Royal musician Lüdert Dijkman, Junior, for copies of the Royal Music Collection. (Landsarkivet i Göteborg, Östad manor archive, vol. 14 account books, verifications.

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