

—Merit Laine—An Archivist Queen?  
Lovisa Ulrika and the Historical  
Documents at Drottningholm  
Palace—

In the early autumn of 1750, the small but historically important town of Strängnäs was visited by the Swedish Crown Prince and Princess, Adolf Fredrik of Holstein-Gottorp (1710–1771, r. from 1751) and Lovisa Ulrika of Prussia (1720–1782).<sup>1</sup> [See *Laine, figure 1*, p viii.] As was usual on their travels, historically important buildings and sites were part of the schedule – in Strängnäs they chose the cathedral, which is of medieval origin and the burial place of several historically important persons. Lovisa Ulrika was especially interested in the grave of Karl IX, and the princely couple and their retinue tried to study the inscription on his coffin, though, as the Crown Princess later wrote to her mother Sophie Dorothea, Dowager Queen of Prussia, it was difficult to read in the gloom of the crypt. The verger (*marguillier*) informed them that one of the other coffins contained the body of Karl IX:s younger son Karl Filip, brother of Gustav II Adolf, whom Lovisa Ulrika admired greatly. Curious to see Karl Filip's body, she had the lid removed. The company obviously studied the embalmed remains in the coffin with some care, and Lovisa Ulrika reported to her mother that since the body wore a wig, which was not the fashion in the prince's lifetime, they had all agreed that the verger must be mistaken about the identity of the coffin's inhabitant.<sup>2</sup>

This incident summarises important aspects of Lovisa Ulrika's historical studies: the focus on princely persons, the social, communicative context – in this case a conversation within the court society as well as letter-writing – the critical approach, and the interest in sources; here, an embalmed body and the inscription on a coffin.

The visit to the cathedral put Lovisa Ulrika in mind of the Swedish past in general, and her letter continues:

I cannot deny my infinite desire that some fine pen would want to undertake to write the history of Sweden. It would be a work worthy of the pen of monsieur de Voltaire; but it seems to me that to be successful he would have to write it in Sweden, since he would find more facilities for verifying incidents that appear unresolved. I have endeavoured to collect documents, that were in the hands of several persons of the nobility, who were pleased to give them to me. I believe that several facts that are completely unknown will be discovered in them.<sup>3</sup>

Despite repeated invitations, Voltaire never visited the Swedish court, nor did he accept the task of writing Sweden's history. Nevertheless, Lovisa Ulrika continued to gather historical source material, and her collection was to remain important for scholars until it was dispersed in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The documents were kept at Drottningholm, an impressive baroque royal palace near Stockholm, built by Adolf Fredrik's great-aunt, Dowager Queen Hedvig Eleonora. It was put at Lovisa Ulrika's disposal in 1744, soon after her arrival in Sweden. From then on, until she handed the palace and its contents over to her son Gustav III in 1777, it provided the visual framework for her collections of paintings, old master drawings, antiquities, coins and medals, books, historical documents and natural history specimens.<sup>5</sup> The historical documents have been thoroughly discussed by Bertil Broomé; this chapter focuses on Lovisa Ulrika's interest in history and historical sources, her interaction with scholars and collectors, and her intentions as a collector and keeper of historical manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> It also explores the connections between the documents and their physical environment at Drottningholm, where history and connected concepts such as dynasty, monarchy, memory, fame and glory were

visually manifested from the palace's earliest building period in the 1660's, and continue to be so to this day.

### History at court—the historical documents in context

As was usual in princely education, the history taught to the Prussian royal children in the first half of the eighteenth century was dominated by two overlapping themes: the history of their own dynasty, and the concept of *historia magistrae vitae*, history as a teacher of ideology, morals and right action through good and bad examples.<sup>7</sup>

The history of the Hohenzollern dynasty would remain a life-long concern for Lovisa Ulrika, but very soon after her arrival in Sweden, she also began to demonstrate an interest in the past of her new country. In this, she followed a pattern already established by her spouse, who was elected heir to the Swedish throne in 1743 after considerable pressure by his close dynastic connection Elizabeth, Empress of Russia. He was a most unpopular choice among his future subjects, and anxious to improve his position, he stressed his historical ties to Sweden, especially his dynastic link with the earlier ruling house of Vasa.<sup>8</sup> Though undoubtedly part of Adolf Fredrik's and Lovisa Ulrika's strategies of connection, their interest in Swedish history was real; indeed, it is pointless and anachronistic to try and separate a "genuine", scholarly interest from political/dynastic considerations and ideological bias. The couple's visible, performed commitment included visiting and funding repairs of historical buildings and monuments, collecting source material, and archaeological activities. In 1753, the Queen's interest and support was formalised in the founding of the Royal Academy of

Letters, the aim of which was to improve the Swedish language and literature and encourage the study of history and antiquities.<sup>9</sup> A model for Lovisa Ulrika in this context was possibly her older sister Philippine Charlotte, who after her marriage to Karl I of Braunschweig encouraged German literature (despised at the Berlin court but traditionally supported by the Braunschweig ducal family) and took an interest in the history of the dynasty she had married into.<sup>10</sup>

The eminent historian and writer Olof von Dalin, one of Lovisa Ulrika's many scholarly associates and tutor to Gustav (III), was the Academy's first secretary.<sup>11</sup> An important part of its activities was the yearly competitions in history, poetry and eloquence. Of the nine subjects given during its first active period (1753–1756), six were taken from Swedish history.<sup>12</sup> Historical topics were also to remain important in Lovisa Ulrika's conversations and correspondence throughout her life. She developed strong feelings on the subject, as is evidenced in a letter to Gustav III, who had been critical about Karl XI:

He was a great man – his virtues were his own, his faults those of the persons who brought him up. It makes me furious when people criticise him. We discussed this matter one day at my table [...].

He is and always will be a great man, and if his son, this madman of the North, had not pushed the war outside his borders, Sweden would still be what it was.<sup>13</sup>

The argument for Karl XI was made by the Prussian diplomat and historian Ewald Friedrich von Hertzberg: "... who is a profound and enlightened man; the others fell silent, and I triumphed".<sup>14</sup> Swedish history was also one of the many threads in Adolf Fredrik's and Lovisa Ulrika's literary, allusive, playful but politically charged

court culture. Adolf Fredrik undertook several archaeological excavations in the countryside near Drottningholm, which is rich in burial sites and other remains of the bronze and iron ages. The digging expeditions took the form of court picnics and on one occasion in 1751, the year of her spouse's accession, Lovisa Ulrika had prepared the site beforehand with an urn filled with little gifts for the royal archaeologist, including a prophecy of his coming, happy reign written with the runic alphabet – a pseudo-historical document. The confirmed royalist Dalin, who was regularly present on these occasions, used the archaeological activities to introduce political themes into his impromptu court poetry.<sup>15</sup> Jokes and political allusions apart, the aim of the digs was of course to disinter objects from ancient Swedish history. It is not known where Adolf Fredrik kept his finds – the locations and exact contents of his collections are not fully researched – but, like the extensive collection of coins and medals of Lovisa Ulrika, the finds constituted historical source material.<sup>16</sup> The function of both these object categories was thus similar to that of the documents in the Queen's collection.

### **The collection of manuscripts—formation, content, donors and collaborators**

None of Lovisa Ulrika's various collections remain intact at Drottningholm. The manuscripts, including the historical documents, were transferred to the Royal Library (now the Swedish National Library) together with the printed books in 1854, but were later split up between several collections within the National Library and the National Archives. The most important sources for our knowledge of the formation of her manuscript collection are a catalogue by Erik af Sotberg of the library at Drottningholm dating from 1777,

and two letters from Sotberg to the historically interested writer and publicist Carl Christoffer Gjørwell written two years later.<sup>17</sup> There are also several later inventories. The catalogue is part of the inventory of Drottningholm taken before the palace was handed over to Gustav III; as he explained to Gjørwell, Sotberg did the writing while the Dowager Queen herself arranged the books and manuscripts, so that everything would be in perfect order when she left.<sup>18</sup> They were in an “indescribable hurry”, as they had only fourteen days to fulfil the task, when several months would really have been necessary. The catalogue included all hand-written material in the library and reveals some of Lovisa Ulrika’s other interests as well, such as Chinese culture, manufacture and natural history.

Sotberg was at this time secretary to the Academy of Letters and had worked with the Queen for several years on her document collection and research.<sup>19</sup> A further link to the court was his employment as teacher to Adolf Fredrik’s and Lovisa Ulrika’s youngest child, Princess Sofia Albertina. Sotberg was a highly qualified scholar who had done research on several medieval manuscripts, including the precious 6<sup>th</sup>-century *Codex Argenteus* at Uppsala University Library. The letters to Gjørwell demonstrate his impressive grasp of especially private archives in Sweden, as well as of donations and current collecting activities going on in the field of historical sources.<sup>20</sup>

Sotberg’s letters demonstrate that Lovisa Ulrika was not merely the owner, but also the keeper of her books and manuscripts, personally overseeing their cataloguing and arrangement.<sup>21</sup> Carl Reinhold Berch, another of her highly qualified scholarly associates and valued assistant in her general collecting activities, confirmed that she had chosen all of the books herself.<sup>22</sup> Sotberg knew the provenance of parts of her collection, and his main source was the

Queen herself, though she could not recall where everything came from. It also emerges that she must have started gathering historical source material soon after her arrival in Sweden. Much of it was already historical when it came into her hands, but there was also contemporary material as well as a small proportion of documents relating directly to herself and the royal family. Papers in this last category must have been carefully chosen for inclusion (or exclusion, of which more below), while others were to a certain degree in the archive by chance, as they had been gifts to or acquisitions by the Queen, or in a few cases were presumably found by her among the possessions left at Drottningholm by the palace’s earlier owners, Dowager Queen Hedvig Eleonora and Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Younger.

Many documents in Lovisa Ulrika’s collection were gifts from owners of aristocratic family archives, as she acknowledged in the above-mentioned letter to her mother. Among the most generous donors were the Stenbock family, whose source was the archive at Rånäs manor. Gustaf Leonard Stenbock had employed Sotberg as tutor to his sons and assistant archivist in the 1750.s, though it was his colleague Samuel Loenbom who was given the task of putting together an archival gift to the Queen, which was presented by Stenbock in 1755.<sup>23</sup> Loenbom was a key figure in the archival world of eighteenth-century Sweden, as a writer and as editor of documents. A further gift to Lovisa Ulrika came from Gustaf Leonard’s son, the chamberlain Arvid Nils Stenbock. Another important contributor was Johan Gabriel Banér, whose substantial donation came from the archive at Djursholm. Adam Horn, who was at times a political ally of Adolf Fredrik and Lovisa Ulrika, gave the remains of the *diarium* of Erik XIV, taken from the archive at Horn’s maternal inheritance Fogelvik. A later gift was a bound volume

of miscellaneous documents, including correspondence from the French sixteenth-century diplomat Charles de Dançay. This was a real collector's piece which had already passed through many hands when it was acquired by Anders Johan von Höpken as a present for the then Dowager Queen. Höpken was one of the most prominent men of eighteenth-century Sweden; Lovisa Ulrika herself at one time called him the best brain in the country and had appointed him to write the statutes of the Academy of Letters.<sup>24</sup> These and many other gifts were often originals, but there were also copies in the collection. Sotberg too seems to have given papers to his employer; he mentions material for the history of Fredrik I of Sweden, as well as a collection of notes described as *Collectaneis Drottningholmensibus*, thus notes on the collections at Drottningholm. It seems from Sotberg's letter that this was the only one of the manuscripts that Lovisa Ulrika brought with her from Drottningholm to her Dowager residence of Fredrikshov.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately the notes seem to have been lost.

The historical documents at Drottningholm are part of a larger pattern of patronage and gift-giving centred on Adolf Fredrik and Lovisa Ulrika, a pattern that included other fields as well, especially natural history, which was an important concern for the élite at the time. Through collecting and display in specially designed interiors, the Royal couple sought to connect and integrate themselves into contexts that were also valued by the élite. The latter acknowledged and demonstrated their appreciation of these efforts in various ways, such as presenting gifts to include in the collections. Such mutual strivings for understanding and common causes were not unusual in the interaction between the royal family and the élite, though they have been overshadowed by the more dramatic conflicts, culminating in the failed royalist coup of 1756. Gift-giving was

also a way for clients to court a patron – apart from Sotberg, Carl Reinhold Berch presented documents to Lovisa Ulrika.

The social interaction surrounding the historical documents also follows a familial pattern. It involved the royal family, noble patrons (who were sometimes also experts in their own right), Swedish diplomats abroad, distinguished foreigners and non-noble expertise, directly employed by the royal family or active on their behalf within the learned network. For this last group, posts at court could be one step in a career that usually also included employment in noble households as well as public service, and could end in ennoblement. Sotberg is a typical example. Dalin was less fortunate, as his royalist leanings and loyalty to Adolf Fredrik and Lovisa Ulrika caused his public disgrace (and probably near-execution) after the attempted coup of 1756.

## The Queen and her documents

Lovisa Ulrika's interest in Swedish history was as we have seen general, but nevertheless some documents were probably of special interest to her, such as the "few hundreds" of letters written by Swedish monarchs, from Gustav Vasa onwards.<sup>26</sup> There was also a group of sources on the turbulent Swedish political history of the eighteenth century, the earliest of which was Karl XII:s "serious and remarkable" letter to his sister Ulrika Eleonora the Younger, who to the King's anger had taken a place in the council during his long absence on campaigns. Some years later, Ulrika Eleonora, then Queen, and her spouse Fredrik I had several objections to the new constitution which they nevertheless had to accept; a copy of this with their notes was preserved by Lovisa Ulrika. Her collection also included outlines for a memorandum concerning the "harsh

speeches and discourses” to be found in the minutes of the Senate, opposing the “high right and might of the Royal Majesty”.<sup>27</sup> It seems probable that this memorandum was initiated and perhaps begun by Lovisa Ulrika, though there is no indication of the date.

Another royal theme to be found in the documents was princely education, more precisely of the last generation of Pfalz children and the first of the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty. The earlier set of documents included an exercise book of the seven-year old Karl (XII), and two historical picture books written for his sisters, the princesses Hedvig Sofia and Ulrika Eleonora, by Coelestin Friedrich Guter-muth.<sup>28</sup> These were obviously executed with some artistic ambition: they represented a great deal of work, but were incredibly simple, according to Sotberg. From the education of Adolf Fredrik’s and Lovisa Ulrika’s own children, Gustav (III), Karl (XIII), Fredrik Adolf and Sofia Albertina (Abbess of Quedlinburg) there were several exercise books and the beautiful manuscript *Reçueil des portraits anciens qui se trouvent a Gripsholm*, written by Gustav’s governor Carl Gustaf Tessin and dedicated to Lovisa Ulrika, but intended as a history book for Gustav.<sup>29</sup> [See *Laine, figure 2*, p ix.] As so much art at court, it was a collaborative work, with vignettes by Jean-Eric Rehn, who would later design the library at Drottningholm, miniature copies of historical portraits at Gripsholm by Niklas Lafrensen the Elder, and an elaborate, allegorical title page by Johan Pasch who otherwise is best known for his decorative paintings in many royal palaces and manor houses. In style and colouring the title page is very much a rococo image, but its trumpets of fame and the book symbolizing history remind us that the visual rhetoric for young princes remained essentially the same throughout the early modern period and beyond; Gustav’s great-grand-aunt Dowager Queen Hedvig Eleonora had used the same motifs to celebrate her

son, the future Karl XI, at Drottningholm and elsewhere. There is no explicit reference to Gustav in the title page of the *Reçueil*, but the implication is that one day his name too will be glorious in History’s great book.

Lovisa Ulrika certainly envisaged nothing less for her eldest son, and for future generations documents regarding Gustav’s education would therefore be of as great an interest as the exercise book of the seven-year-old Karl (XII). In this context, what might be called the relic value of some of Lovisa Ulrika’s manuscripts becomes evident – the fact that the exercise-book *is* the exercise-book is the important thing, rather than any historical information that might be gathered from it. Indirectly, the mementoes of her own children’s education were also historical sources regarding Lovisa Ulrika; their very preservation confirmed the interest she took in their upbringing.

Among the comparatively few papers in the collection connected to Adolf Fredrik were plans for new buildings at the royal palace of Ulriksdal. These were found on the King’s desk after his death, and therefore, as was explained by Sotberg, the last work to which he had put his hand. To Lovisa Ulrika, who was extremely fond of her husband, they must have represented a valued personal memento, but they were also a documentation for the future of his achievements as an architect.<sup>30</sup>

Ownership of historical source material included Lovisa Ulrika in an international network of scholars with similar interests. The correspondence of Carl Christoffer Gjørwell provides a lively insight into the Swedish threads of this network and its exchanges of information, lending, gifts, sales, arranging for copies, and even theft of historical documents.<sup>31</sup> In most cases, Lovisa Ulrika’s dealings with this network would have passed through the hands of

her scholarly associates, but she was also a user and transmitter of manuscripts herself. For example, she sent a copy of a letter from the Prince of Condé to Voltaire, hoping that he would be able to use it for the revised edition of his *Le siècle de Louis XIV* (1751).<sup>32</sup> Her most important direct associate was as far as can be judged her brother Frederick II, whose output as a writer was considerable. When working on the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Brandebourg* (1750, revised version the following year), he asked his siblings to gather and send him what documentation they could find, and during Lovisa Ulrika's visit to Berlin in the first years of her widowhood, Frederick was able to repay her archival services.<sup>33</sup> At this time she was planning to research and write a history of her great-great-grand-aunt Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, the consort of Gustav II Adolf and mother of Queen Kristina, and Frederick promised her assistance and access to relevant sources. As far as I know there is no manuscript or preparatory work for the book in existence today and it remains unclear how far the work progressed, but fragments of Maria Eleonora's archive among the manuscripts at Drottningholm confirm Lovisa Ulrika's interest.<sup>34</sup> Unlike her universally admired husband Maria Eleonora had a very problematic posthumous reputation. Why Lovisa Ulrika chose her as a subject, rather than one of the more obviously admirable of her relatives is impossible to say. It is tempting to imagine that she may have felt some sympathy or at least special interest in this Brandenburg princess who had been so completely rejected by her husband's subjects – as Lovisa Ulrika herself felt she had been at this time of her life. During the visit to Berlin she also returned to her plans for a Swedish history, having found a suitable author in the historian and Archivist of the Berlin Academy of Science Jakob Daniel Wegelin, but the project once again fell through.<sup>35</sup>

In the second edition of Frederick's *Mémoires* the vignettes and illustrations are explained for the benefit of the reader.<sup>36</sup> The title page shows a genie, holding attributes of the qualities of scholarly clarity – a torch – and precision – scales. The composition is crowned by the symbol of eternity in the shape of a snake biting its tail, here signifying the longevity of a good work of history. [See *Laine*, figure 3, p ix.] The precision alluded to in the vignette rested on correct information, which in turn could only be found through archival research. Interest in history was thus inextricably linked with an interest in sources – a view evidently shared by Lovisa Ulrika. In the dedication of the book to his younger brother and heir August Wilhelm, Frederick explained at some length that “Truth, pure and simple” was the aim he had pursued in writing the *Mémoires*.<sup>37</sup> However, the whole truth did not necessarily need to be told, as is indicated by Lovisa Ulrika's concern regarding papers pertaining to her maternal grandmother Sophie Dorothea of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (better known as of Celle, as Duchess of Hanover, or the Princess of Ahlden, ), who was the first spouse of Georg Ludwig, Elector of Hanover, from 1714 George I of Great Britain and Ireland. After discovering Sophie Dorothea's affair with Philip Christoph von Königsmarck, Georg Ludwig had the marriage dissolved and sent her to spend her remaining life as a prisoner at Schloss Ahlden. It seems her grandchildren looked upon her with some sympathy, but her conduct was nevertheless a blot on the family's history. When Lovisa Ulrika discovered that the correspondence between Sophie Dorothea and Königsmarck was in the possession of the Lewenhaupt family, she arranged to have the letters stolen.<sup>38</sup> The first attempt was partly successful, and at the second try the unnamed thief managed to get hold of the rest.<sup>39</sup> Lovisa Ulrika's main objective was clearly to suppress the

letters, since they were evidence of occurrences that would be best forgotten, but when sending them to Frederick, she also hoped they would be of use to him as a source on the way of thinking of their grand mother. Lovisa Ulrika wrote that she herself did not know all the details of this sad affair, and as some of the letters were in code the correspondence would not reveal everything. She suggested an alternative source, the aged Karl Ludwig von Pöllnitz, who, if his memory still served, must be a “living chronicle”.<sup>40</sup>

Collecting historical manuscripts, patronising history-writing, and writing history was thus not merely a question of preserving and transmitting facts and drawing correct conclusions, but also a matter of control. The need to control history is evident in Lovisa Ulrika’s instruction to her younger children to burn parts of her own personal archive after her death. In 1756, after the unsuccessful attempt at a coup d’état, she had already destroyed large quantities of papers.<sup>41</sup> The scarcity of surviving letters and other material concerning Adolf Fredrik makes one suspect that she, or someone else close to the King, may also have got rid of part of his archival legacy.

On the other hand, Lovisa Ulrika also sought to shape her posthumous image through the things she included in the manuscript collection. The exercise books and the *Reçueil* confirmed her interest in education, the memorandum concerning the speeches against the right and might of the monarch vindicated her political position. The collection as an entirety demonstrated her interest in and patronage of history, and letters from foreign scholars and *hommes illustres* showed that she was an honoured member of the international *republic des lettres* and learned world.<sup>42</sup> Sotberg notes three volumes of such letters, and of these fifty still survive.

When speaking of the historical documents at Drottningholm, Sotberg preferred the term *cabinet*, denoting a collection rather than

an archive; as we have seen, it consisted of fragments of archives, including the Queen’s own. Yet in her active role in selecting, keeping, arranging, sharing and in some instances destroying documents, Lovisa Ulrika may in some sense be called an archivist queen.

### Past—present—future: the historical documents as part of Lovisa Ulrika’s self-representation at Drottningholm

The mementoes of the education of generations of royal children and the letters from monarchs from Gustav Vasa onwards are just two examples of the manuscript collection as a materialisation of the continuous flow of history. Volumes of writing as visual metaphors for historical continuity are exemplified in an overdoor at Drottningholm: History and Fame are shown ready to record and spread the deeds of Karl XI, the young King of Sweden, while finished manuscripts are piled up beside them. [See *Laine, figure 4*, p x.] As can be read on the bindings, these preserve the histories of Gustav Vasa, the first Vasa King, Gustav II Adolf of the same dynasty, and Karl X Gustav, founder of the Pfalz dynasty and father of Karl XI. The painting was commissioned by Karl XI:s mother, Dowager Queen Hedvig Eleonora, from the learned court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl.<sup>43</sup>

Through more than 40 years of collecting and patronage Hedvig Eleonora made Drottningholm into an historical monument celebrating the Pfalz dynasty as military heroes and rulers, and herself as regent and patron of the arts. The commemorative function of the palace was further strengthened by her granddaughter and inheritor Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Younger, and carefully preserved by Lovisa Ulrika. History and connected concepts such as dynasty,



monarchy, memory, fame and glory were visualised in several genres, including battle scenes, portraiture, mythological subjects, large-scale allegories and emblems. Lovisa Ulrika recycled many of the motifs introduced by Hedvig Eleonora, such as books, trumpets, crowns, laurel wreaths, olive branches, owls, and depictions of the Muses – especially relevant here as the daughters of Mnemosyne, Goddess of Memory. Minerva appears several times, representing first Hedvig Eleonora and then Lovisa Ulrika – in fact there was an established Minerva “genealogy” of Swedish queens, starting with Queen Kristina. In Lovisa Ulrika’s interiors the above-mentioned motifs and the concepts they represent are especially to be found in the series of rooms designed to house her collections.<sup>44</sup> These were redecorated several times, reflecting changes in her scholarly interests, and the final, preserved version was mostly executed in the 1760.s. After three interiors closely hung with her most important paintings came the rooms dedicated to what was clearly thought of as the learned collections, though this term was not used by Lovisa Ulrika herself. The first and by far the largest of these spaces is the library, where the above-mentioned motifs celebrate the Queen as patron of arts, letters and scholarship. A prominent place is given to quotations after Roman authors, several of which link history writing to glory and remembrance [See Laine, figure 5, p xi.]. After the library one enters the Queen’s study, which also included floor-to-ceiling bookcases, and then the room for coins and medals, which not only contained eight coin cabinets, but also, by 1777, a further overflow of books. Lovisa Ulrika’s collection of antiquities, mostly small bronzes, were regarded as objects of study rather than works of art and were thus displayed in these rooms. The suite ended with two rooms displaying minerals and natural history specimens respectively. The latter was decorated with relief portraits of contem-

porary Swedish scientists, designed to resemble the profile heads on Roman coins or carved gemstones. In this manner, the sitters were transferred from their temporal existence into the timeless sphere of eternally valid exempla, which Lovisa Ulrika and many of her contemporaries still associated with the Classical era.

The architectural and decorative framework surrounding the collections visualise the high value placed on the objects – the collections were not merely kept in the rooms, but were the most significant components in the unified display that each interior constituted. “Display” should not be understood as the sum of the visible parts, but rather as the mental image constructed by the visitor from what he saw, and from what he knew.<sup>45</sup> For example, the coins and medals were kept in cabinets, and so were not actually visible when the room where they were housed was entered; yet an awareness of their presence constituted the most fundamental basis for an informed visitor’s mental image of the room. This mental, part visual, part intellectual image, would then be projected back onto the room, which was thus experienced as “seen” rather than “thought”. In the library, the books, historical documents and other manuscripts as seen and “known” objects, demonstrated to the visitor that the celebration of history writing and of Lovisa Ulrika’s patronage in the décor was not mere panegyrics but founded in her actual collection practices. They also showed that she was serious in her interests and understood the materials and processes of scholarly work. The “learned queen” thus becomes a part of the display in the library and the other museum rooms, and a fundamental part of Lovisa Ulrika’s self-representation at Drottningholm.

Princely self-representation through architecture and collections were an important means for communication, not only with the present, but also with the future. In a speech given to the revived

Academy of Letters after he was elected member, the poet Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg celebrated the Dowager Queen's collections. They were gathered "for future Swedish geniuses, to spark and feed their flame" and at the same time, they were "great and worthy memorials" to Lovisa Ulrika.<sup>46</sup> That this was part of their function for her is confirmed by her lament when Adolf Fredrik's collections were sold after his death to pay his debts:

This lack of respect for his memory has caused me to shed tears; he had hoped that his beautiful collections of paintings and drawings and his library would be a monument to his memory. Good God, what a prospect for me – I am tempted to get rid of everything while I still live.<sup>47</sup>

Posterity has proven Gyllenborg right and fulfilled Lovisa Ulrika's intentions; though no longer displayed as entities, her collections have remained genuinely useful to scholars in several disciplines, and, when imagined as part of the original display in the collection rooms at Drottningholm, have served to keep her memory alive. And among all her collections, the historical documents perhaps best of all represent the flow between past, present and future that was such an important feature of history as it was viewed and experienced by her.

## Endnotes

1 This chapter was finalized as part of my research project "The Visual Strategies and Court Culture of Adolf Fredrik of Holstein-Gottorp (1710-1771) and Lovisa Ulrika of Prussia (1720-1782), King and Queen of Sweden", for which I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of Berit Wallenbergs stiftelse. For Lovisa Ulrika's biography

and political career, see Olof Jägerskiöld, *Lovisa Ulrika* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1945), and Elise Dermineur, *Gender and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Sweden: Queen Lovisa Ulrika* (New York: Routledge, 2017); for her collecting and patronage of the visual arts Merit Laine, "*En Minerva för vår Nord': Lovisa Ulrika som samlare: Uppdragsgivare och byggherre*", diss. (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1998). There is no biography of Adolf Fredrik, but see Jägerskiöld, op. cit. A good introduction to the period is Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty: Sweden 1719–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

2 Lovisa Ulrika to Sophie Dorothea, Dowager Queen of Prussia, 25/9 1750, in *Luise Ulrike: Die Schwester Friedrichs des Grossen: Ungedruckte Briefe [...]*, ed. Fritz Arnhem (Gotha: Perthes, 1909–1910), vol. II, 229–230. Karl Filip is in fact buried in Strängnäs cathedral.

3 Ibid, p. 230: "Je ne saurais nier que je désirerais infiniment qu'une bonne plume voulut entreprendre d'écrire l'histoire de Suède. Ce serait une ouvrage digne de la plume de Monsieur de Voltaire; mais il me paraît que, pour y réussir, il faudrait l'écrire en Suède, puisqu'il trouverait plus de facilité à vérifier des faits qui paraissent indécis. J'ai taché de recueillir des manuscrits qui étaient entre les mains de plusieurs personnes de la noblesse, qui ont bien voulu me les donner. Je crois qu'on y trouverait des faits entièrement ignorés..." Lovisa Ulrika admired Olof von Dalin's *Svea rikets historia* (1747–1762) but evidently felt that a Swedish history for an international audience required a different approach.

4 Bertil Broomé, "Drottningholmssamlingen", *Arkivvetenskapliga studier IV* (Lund: Berling, 1968), 19–26; 19.

5 For sources and present whereabouts of the collections see Laine, *En Minerva*, 41–86; for their display at Drottningholm, see below.

6 Broomé, "Drottningholmssamlingen", *passim*.

7 For the history taught to the Prussian princesses see especially Günter Berger on the manuscript history of the world written for Wilhelmine by her teacher Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze (Günter Berger, *Wilhelmine von Bayreuth: Leben heisst eine Rolle spielen* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2018), 27–38, the ms in Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg). The dynastic aspect is evident in

Frederick II:s dedication of his *Mémoires pour servir a l'histoire de la maison de Brandebourg* (revised version, 1751, s.p.) to his younger brother and heir August Wilhelm. For historiography at the Mark-Brandenburg court see Wolfgang Neugebauer, "Staatshistoriographen und Statshistoriographie in Brandenburg und Preussen seit der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Historiographie an europäische Höfen (16.-18. Jahrhundert): Studien zum Hof als Produktionsort von Geschichtsschreibung und historischer Repräsentation*, eds. Markus Völkel and Arno Strohmeier, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung beiheft 43 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2009) 39–154; who claims that Frederick can be regarded as his own historiographer (153). For the importance of history and historical sources in a court context see other articles in the same publication, as well as in *Les princes et l'histoire du XIVE au XVIIIe siècle: Actes du colloque organisé de l'Université de Versailles-Saint Quentin et l'Institut Historique Allemand*, eds. Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss, Pariser historische Studien 47 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1998); an abundance of further references can be found in these volumes.

8 Merit Laine, "Slottet under åren 1744–1800", *Uppsala slott – Vasaborgen*, ed. Berndt Douhan (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 207–229; 225–228. For the political uses and interpretation of history in general during the Age of Liberty, see Peter Hallberg, *Ages of Liberty: Social Upheaval, History Writing and the New Public Sphere* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2003), and Erik Bodensten, *Politikens drivfjäder: Frihetstidens partiberättelser och den moralpolitiska logiken*, diss. (Lund: Historiska institutionen, Lunds universitet, 2016), esp. 336–337, 343. The authors do not include the strategies of Adolf Fredrik and Lovisa Ulrika, but their research provide an important background. My current research project on the visual strategies and court culture of Adolf Fredrik and Lovisa Ulrika will develop these themes further.

9 The literature relevant to the Academy is abundant, see esp. Henrik Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien: Dess historia och förhistoria*, vol. V (Stockholm: [Wahlström & Wistrand], 1936), 672–718 and *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika och Vitterhetsakademien*, ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och

Antikvitets Akademien, 2003); for Lovisa Ulrika's intentions especially Merit Laine, "En drottning med 'manna-wett'", 17–39; other contributions quoted below.

10 Thomas Biskup, "Four Weddings and Five Funerals: Dynastic Integration and Cultural Transfer Between the Houses of Braunschweig and Brandenburg in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century", *Queens Consort: Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500–1800*, eds. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (New York: Routledge, 2017), 202–230; 216–217.

11 For Dalin and Lovisa Ulrika see Ingemar Carlsson, "Olof von Dalin: Hovskalden", *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika och Vitterhetsakademien*, ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 91–113.

12 Torkel Stålmärck, "De vittra tävlingarna i 'Drottningens akademi'", *Lovisa Ulrika och Vitterhetsakademien*, ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 115–135.

13 "C'était un grand homme; ses vertus étaient à lui, et ses vices à ceux qui l'avaient élevé. Je me mets en fureur, quand on en dit du mal. On a discuté un jour à ma table cette matière [...]. Il est et sera à jamais un grand homme, et si son fils, ce fou du Nord, n'eût pas poussé la guerre au delà de ses bornes, la Suède serait encore ce qu'elle était."; "... qui est un homme profond et éclairé; les autres se turent, et je triomphais". Lovisa Ulrika to Gustav III, from Berlin, *Gustaf III:s och Lovisa Ulrikas brevväxling*, ed. Henrik Schück, Ur Svenska akademiens arkiv (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1919), vol. II, 153; dated to February 1772 by the editor. When Lovisa Ulrika called Karl XII *ce fou du Nord*, she was surely recalling the well-known quotation from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*, where the author claims that "heroes are much the same, it is agreed / from Macedonia's madman [Alexander the Great, *fou de Macédonie* in the French translations] to the Swede".

14 Ibid.

15 Merit Laine, "Forntid på lek och allvar: Om Adolf Fredriks och Lovisa Ulrikas intresse för Sveriges äldsta historia", *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens årsbok 1999* (1999), 171–183.

- 16 For the coins and medals see Laine, *En Minerva*, 41–46.
- 17 RA, Ericssbergarsarkivet, manuskript- och avskriftssamlingen vol 4; E. af Sotberg to C. C. Gjörwell 23/7 1779 and an undated letter from the same year, National Library, Stockholm, H Ep G 7:6; Broomé, “Drottningholmssamlingen”, where later documents are also discussed, 25–26. Gjörwell was an important person in Swedish intellectual life during the late part of the eighteenth century. For biographical information, sources and printed works see Lars Lindholm, “Carl Christoffer Gjörwell”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* urn: sbl:13087, downloaded 2018-08-07. Most of his voluminous correspondence is preserved at the National Library, Stockholm. Scholarship on Gjörwell is extensive but not of direct relevance to this article. For Lovisa Ulrika’s book collection see Sten G. Lindberg, “Lovisa Ulrikas bibliotek på Drottningholm”, *Kungl Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok* 1994, Stockholm 1994, 76–84.
- 18 E. af Sotberg to C. C. Gjörwell, probably 1779, National Library, Stockholm, H Ep G 7:6.
- 19 See Anders Burius, “Eric Sotberg, af”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* urn: sbl:6157, downloaded 2018-08-08.
- 20 E. af Sotberg to C. C. Gjörwell 23/7 1779, National Library, Stockholm, H Ep G 7:6.
- 21 See also Laine, *En Minerva*, 73.
- 22 Laine, *En Minerva*, 73.
- 23 Hans Gillingstam, “Samuel Loenbom”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* urn: sbl:9646, downloaded 2018-08-08.
- 24 The scholarship on Höpken is extensive; for basic biographical information see Olof Jägerskiöld, “Anders Johan Höpken, von”, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* urn: sbl:14044, downloaded 2018-08-08; in connection with Lovisa Ulrika and the Academy of Letters also f. ex. Jonas Nordin, “Anders Johan von Höpken: ‘Sveriges Tacitus’”, *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika och Vitterhetsakademien*, ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 63–89.
- 25 E. af Sotberg to C. C. Gjörwell 23/7 1779, National Library, Stockholm, H Ep G 7:6.
- 26 Cf. note 17.
- 27 “[S]våra tal och discourser”; “K. Majts höga rätt och välde” (E. af Sotberg to C. C. Gjörwell, undated 1779, National Library, Stockholm, H Ep G 7:6).
- 28 This is probably the manuscript for Gutermuths *Christlicher Fürsten-Lehre* [...], printed in Stockholm in 1698 on the initiative and with funding from the princesses’ grandmother, Dowager Queen Hedvig Eleonora; see Anders Jarlert, “Rikets trogna mor och amma. Hedvig Eleonoras kristna värld”, *Hedvig Eleonora: Den svenska barockens drottning*, ed. Merit Laine (Stockholm: Kungl. Husgerådskammaren, Votum, 2015), 34–39; 36–37 and Gurli Taube, “Coelestin Friedrich Gutermuth och hans historiska bilder”, *Lychnos: Lärdomshistoriska samfundets årsbok* 1957–58 (Uppsala, 1958), 14–38.
- 29 Cf. Marie-Christine Skuncke, *Gustaf III – Det offentliga barnet: En prins retoriska och politiska fostran*, (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1993), 80–82; 143–144. For Gustav’s education and other examples of the visual rhetoric surrounding him as a prince see op. cit., passim.
- 30 The present location of these is unknown, but other drawings by Adolf Fredrik can be found in the Vasa Collection, now part of the privately owned Engelsbergsarkivet, Ängelsberg. Cf. Laine, *En Minerva*, 133.
- 31 H Ep. G:7, National Library, Stockholm.
- 32 Marie-Christine Skuncke, “Lovisa Ulrikas korrespondens med utländska författare och lärda”, *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika och Vitterhetsakademien*, ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 41–61.
- 33 Broomé, “Drottningholmssamlingen”, 19–20; Laine, *En Minerva*, 73.
- 34 Broomé, “Drottningholmssamlingen”, 24.
- 35 Skuncke, “Lovisa Ulrikas korrespondens”, 50.
- 36 Frederick II, *Mémoires*, s.p.
- 37 Frederick II, *Mémoires*, s.p.
- 38 “... j’eu trouvé le moyen de les faire voler...” Lovisa Ulrika to Frederick 8 March 1753 (quoted) and undated, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, I HA REP 96, Geheimes Zivilkabinett ältere Periode, Nr 111 Gg Bd 2 g and 3b.
- 39 Broomé, “Drottningholmssamlingen”, 19, Jägerskiöld, *Lovisa*

*Ulrika*, 16. It seems Lovisa Ulrika was mistaken about the extent of the correspondence, as part of it (presumably) is now in the ms. collection of Lund University Library.

40 Pöllnitz had anonymously published *Histoire secrète de la Duchesse d'Hannover* (1732) but it is not clear whether Lovisa Ulrika was aware of this.

41 Olof Jägerskiöld, "Lovisa Ulrikas arkiv", *Meddelanden från svenska riksarkivet för år 1938* (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 1939), 172–178.

42 Skuncke, "Lovisa Ulrikas korrespondens", 41–61, 44. The twenty-six authors of the letters by no means constitute the entirety of Lovisa Ulrika's contacts with foreign scholars; in some cases the correspondence was carried out through intermediaries (cf op. cit 55), in others, it is today only documented indirectly, for example through gifts such as the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* given by the Queen to the English clergyman and antiquarian John Glen King, who visited Drottningholm in 1774. (It is however doubtful whether he met the Dowager Queen in person). This information is to be found within the book itself, which is preserved in Lund University Library.

43 The literature on Hedvig Eleonora, Drottningholm and Ehrenstrahl is extensive, see *Hedvig Eleonora: Den svenska barockens drottning*, ed. Merit Laine (Stockholm: Kungl. Husgerådskammaren, Votum, 2015) for an introduction and bibliography.

44 For the collection rooms at Drottningholm see Laine, *En Minerva*, 103–117, 223–228; a version in English is Merit Laine, "An Eighteenth-Century Minerva: Lovisa Ulrika and her Collections at Drottningholm Palace 1744–1777", *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol. 31, no 4 (Summer 1998), 493–503; for the library interior also Bo Vahlne, "Le Goût grec: Om biblioteksinredningen på Drottningholm", *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika och Vitterhetsakademien*, ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 136–163.

45 Cf. esp. Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Princeton N.J; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011 [2001]).

46 Laine, *En Minerva*, 116.

47 "[C]e manque de respect pour sa mémoire me fait répandre des larmes; il avait souhaité que ses belles collections de tableaux, de dessins et sa bibliothèque fussent un monument de sa mémoire. Grand Dieu, quel perspective pour moi! Je suis tentée de me defaire de tout pendant ma vie." Lovisa Ulrika to Gustav III 9–12/12 1771, in Schück, *Brevväxling* II, 83–84. Library here refers to the book collection of Adolf Fredrik, not a library interior.

Merit Laine—An Archivist Queen? Lovisa Ulrika and the Historical Documents at Drottningholm Palace—



Figure 1 (p. 257). Lorentz Pasch the Younger, *Lovisa Ulrika*, 1767. Photograph: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Left: Figure 2 (p. 266). Carl Gustaf Tessin (author), Jean Eric Rehn, Johan Pasch, Niklas Lafrensen the Elder (illustrations) *Reçueil des portraits anciens qui se trouvent à Gripsholm*, 1747; Title page by Pasch. Photograph: The National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

Right: Figure 3 (p. 269). Frederick II of Prussia, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Brandebourg*, (title page with vignette), 1752. Photograph: The National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



Figure 4 (p. 271). David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, *Fame and History Recording the Exploits of the Swedish Kings*, 1677. Photograph: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Figure 5 (p. 272). The Library at Drottningholm Palace, designed by Jean Eric Rehn, 1762. Photograph: Alexis Daflos, copyright Kungl. Hovstaterna/The Royal Court of Sweden.