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NATIONALMUSEUM / ROYAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM: CONNECTING NORTH AND SOUTH

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The acquisition and movement of works of art and other property through war and trade in the seventeenth century had a decisive role in the collecting of art and the formation of museums in Sweden in the eighteenth century. Following the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), Sweden's position as a great Nordic power afforded it new access to the artistic offerings of southern and central Europe. Conflict and commerce encouraged artists themselves to migrate among princely houses, facilitating firsthand knowledge of art from far and near. There was good reason for artists from the South to seek employment in Sweden's Baltic empire: there, many noblemen and princes with newly acquired resources were keen to exhibit their influence by means of magnificent mansions with lavish interiors and works of art appropriate to their status and dignity. They put on such displays not only to make the order of the world clear to their inferiors but also to dazzle and win over ambassadors and other foreign visitors.

The Thirty Years' War had a logic of its own. Standing armies consumed vast resources, and thus tribute, in the form of large ransoms as well as booty, was demanded from the vanquished. Art dealers followed in the tracks of the warring sides. The motive for the looting was not just economic, however; it also had symbolic and propagandistic value. The pillaging of the Munich *Kunstammer* of Maximilian I, elector of Bavaria (r. 1623–51), in 1631 augured the taking of war booty by Swedish troops seventeen years later. The Swedes were well aware of the enormous riches in the imperial collections when they stormed the Malá Strana (Lesser Side) district of Prague on July 26, 1648. Besides paintings, their most spectacular trophies included sixty-nine bronze sculptures. A large number of these were life-size masterpieces by the Dutch sculptor Adriaen de Vries (ca. 1545–1626) for the Holy Roman emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612) and for Field Marshal Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634) (fig. 7-1). This invaluable collection of bronzes reached Stockholm in 1649.¹

FIGURE 7-1.

Johan Pasch (Swedish, 1706–1769), *Panorama View of the Gardens of Drottningholm Palace*, 1740s (detail). Oil on canvas, 265 × 140 cm (104¼ × 55⅞ in.). Nyköping, Governor's Residence. In the center is the *Hercules Fountain* (1596–1602), assembled from bronze sculptures by Adriaen de Vries (Dutch, ca. 1545–1626): the massive *Hercules Fighting a Dragon* (ca. 1590–93), looted from the Prague Castle, and three *Naiads* (1615–18), from the Frederiksborg Palace, in Hillerød, Denmark. In the foreground are two bronze sculptures by de Vries: *Seated Woman with a Goose*, at left, and *Bearded River-God, Seated, with a Pitcher*, at right, both from the *Neptune Fountain* (1625–27) of the Wallenstein Palace, Prague.

Swedish Kings and Roman Antiquities

During his visit to Rome in the spring of 1673, the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728) was introduced to Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), probably via Bernini's patron Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689, r. 1632–54). Tessin became friendly with the great artist and would surely have known his views on the controversial issue of the export of antique masterpieces from Rome. During his visit to Paris in 1665, Bernini—according to his cicerone, Paul Fréart de Chantelou (1609–1694)—had explained to his French hosts that the great antiquities ought to remain in Rome, as they were the spring from which future generations of painters and sculptors would draw.² The result was that Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) and French art institutions met their need for “tout ce qui'il y a de beau en Italie” (everything beautiful in Italy)³ with plaster casts, primarily of antique sculptures. The French also used their molds to provide other nations with much-sought-after copies in plaster. The purchasers included the Swedish king Charles XI (r. 1660–97), who put in a large order to a Parisian workshop, via Tessin, in 1695.⁴ Charles XI's purchases coincided with the building of the Royal Palace in Stockholm, and the primary purpose of the plaster copies was as models for the palace's architectural decoration. Tessin had asked in particular for a cast of the Farnese Hercules (formerly Rome, Palazzo Farnese; today Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale), as it was considered a suitable model for the musculature of the herms that were to flank a portal on the northern side of the palace.⁵ A plaster cast of the Vatican marble Laocoön was among the copies ordered from Paris by Tessin in 1697 and 1698 (fig. 7-2). Tessin's purchases at this time seem to have been made with the plaster copies' value for artistic education in mind. At the Académie de France in Rome, plaster casts of virtually all the antique masterpieces known at the time were available for study by young artists. It went without saying that any royal art academy required casts. (The Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts was founded in 1735.)

It is reasonable to assume that the casts' combined uses contributed to a greater appreciation of plaster as a material. More than a century after Tessin's meeting with Bernini, the shift in emphasis, from authentic material to authentic form, is expressed in travel letters written in 1781 by the Swedish admiral, philosopher of art, and draftsman Carl August Ehrensvärd (1745–1800) to his cousin the court chamberlain Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd (1746–1783). He emphasizes that King Gustav III (r. 1771–92) ought to have casts made of antiquities, as Louis XIV had done, since “the plasters are just as good as the originals. . . . It is they and only they that can nurture artists.”⁶ The letter writer was evidently trying to use his cousin's position as a courtier to influence the king. Thus he did not merely point out the educational value of casts; he also equated them with the originals when it came to the embellishment



of public buildings. His battle cry was: “They . . . would not cost more than the price of a couple of dirty, mediocre antique marble statues, yet provide the beautiful riches of all of Italy.”⁷

Ehrensvärd’s opinion may have been widely shared among European artists and students, but in the world of princes things were different. Nothing matched imperial Rome when it came to bestowing legitimacy and status on rulers. The importance of the original, in this case, had to do with the work of art as a relic. A fragment of an authentic antique work conferred almost magical power. The obelisk erected in 1732 at Chiswick House by Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington (1694–1753), is a typical example: its base consists of an ancient Roman sepulchral relief that had previously been in the sculpture garden of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585?–1646).⁸ In the same spirit, Catherine the Great of Russia (r. 1762–96) had an antique floor mosaic

FIGURE 7-2.

Workshop of Guillaume Cassegrain (French, act. 1672–98) and Pierre Robert le Jeune (French, act. late 17th century), *Laocöon*, 1697–98. Plaster cast from original marble in Vatican City, Museo Pio-Clementino, Musei Vaticani, 230 × 178 × 95 cm (90½ × 70 × 37¾ in.). Stockholm, Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts

brought from Rome and incorporated into the Music Pavilion (later the Concert Hall) at her palace in Tsarskoye Selo (modern Pushkin).⁹ Gustav III, too, was tempted more by ancient spoils than by plaster casts.

Despite relatively strict papal control, works of art seem to have been exported from Rome on a considerable scale during the eighteenth century. Travelers on the Grand Tour had their portraits painted in the studio of Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787) or that of Angelica Kauffmann (1741–1807), where they were depicted alongside famous antiquities in landscapes of Roman ruins—but the tourists also moved the ruins, literally, to more northerly latitudes.¹⁰ A spectacular example was the attempted purchase by Frederick Augustus Hervey, fourth Earl of Bristol and bishop of Derry (1730–1803), of the Temple of the Sibyl in Tivoli—the very essence of the picturesque; he planned to dismantle the temple and have it rebuilt in Northern Ireland. He was thwarted, however, by the papal control on exports. Gustav III was more fortunate during his Grand Tour, taken late in life, between 1783 and 1784 (he spent about half his tour in Italy). A good personal relationship between Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–99) and the Swedish monarch developed during their meetings, furthered by Gustav's role as a religiously tolerant sovereign, albeit a Lutheran one. Thus he had support at the very highest level when it came to taking his purchases out of Rome.

It was a commonly held view among European travelers that Rome had itself to blame for the loss of its antiquities. Visitors from northern Europe often considered the officials of the Roman Catholic Church to be superstitious parasites who had nothing in common with the heroes of ancient Rome. During the Italian portion of his Grand Tour, notwithstanding his religious tolerance at home and his relationship with Pius VI in Rome, Gustav III predicted the imminent fall of the papacy; there was also an implied connection between the weakened papacy and what the king regarded as the decadence of contemporary art. This outlook was shared by others in the king's entourage. The secretary in his traveling chancellery, Gudmund Göran Adlerbeth (1751–1818), put it with particular clarity in his notes from the journey: "Paintings, statues, and memorials must over time be dispersed from here and moved to those places whither riches and taste call them."¹¹ The reasoning is far removed from that of Bernini just over a hundred years earlier and is instead akin to that of contemporary warlords: it is the culture that expands and blossoms that has the right to the art of antiquity, regardless of where that culture is found, and regardless of whether war or trade is the reason for the art's relocation.

Gustav III's collecting ambitions were the same as those of other princes of his time, who vied to acquire the most desirable ancient marble sculptures.¹² The struggle was often won by the highest bidder, and in that respect the Swedish king was unable to compete with his uncle in Prussia, Frederick the Great (r. 1740–86), or his cousin in Russia, Catherine the Great. But buying by correspondence, as Frederick and Catherine did, was fraught with difficulties. Carl

August Ehrensvärd was not slow to pillory the princely art collectors: “The king of Prussia and the empress of Russia [do so] more often than not [buy poor specimens of antiquities]. We who are here [in Rome] and see it laugh at their purchases. The pope takes everything that is any good, and Cavalceppi [Bartolomeo Cavaceppi], a wretched and rich sculptor, has large warehouses full. They are antiques, indeed, but ugly.”¹³ Even Gustav III did not escape Ehrensvärd’s criticism. If one is to believe him, the king did not understand the ancient masterpieces: “[H]e is in a hurry, and antiquity requires patience.”¹⁴

The Swedish monarch’s visit to Rome not only caused a stir in the papal administration—it coincided with negotiations on the tolerance of Catholics in Sweden; it also occasioned upheaval in artistic circles. When Gustav III arrived in Rome around Christmas, 1783, it was not the restorer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1716?–1799) who succeeded in selling him antiquities but his competitor Giovanni Volpato (1735–1803).¹⁵ The key to Volpato’s success was presumably his friend the Swedish Neoclassical sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel (1740–1814), who acted as the king’s artistic guide on the tour. Through Sergel, Volpato was well acquainted with Gustav III’s taste and finances. After several visits to Volpato’s studio, Gustav purchased an Apollo Citharoedus and nine Muses on March 13, 1784. They did not form a coherent, authentic group but were an assemblage of mismatched, extensively reworked antique Roman sculptures. A tantalizing provenance (including Hadrian’s Villa, in Tivoli, and Rome’s Palatine Hill) was provided for some of the statues; the provenance of others was obscure. Volpato had owned this collection for a while, and had had time to alter the appearance of some of the sculptures in the group (not all originally represented Muses) to meet the needs of the market. (The group of Apollo and eight Muses found in 1774 near Tivoli, and exhibited since 1781 in the Sala delle Muse, in the Museo Pio-Clementino at the Vatican, was much admired, and dealers sought to create similar groups to offer for sale. Gustav III had visited the Sala delle Muse in the company of Pius VI [see chap. 4, fig. 4-1].)

Volpato’s sale angered the king’s art agent in Rome, Francesco Piranesi (1758–1810): “The king is to depart in hardly a week, and I have not yet managed to sell him anything, not for a single sou, though he has purchased from others. . . . [I]t is evident that there is a conspiracy behind this, and they have made me the victim.”¹⁶ In his view, Sergel was to blame. Piranesi did everything he could to attract the king’s attention via his foremost contact in Stockholm, Gustav III’s unofficial artistic adviser, the chancellery secretary Carl Frederik Fredenheim (1748–1803). Not until the autumn of 1784 was an agreement reached to purchase Piranesi’s collection of antiquities, which included three extravagant pastiches of modern and ancient sculpture by his father, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), in addition to ancient busts, reliefs, and fragments. In September of the following year, Francesco received his long-awaited reward—a pension for life from Stockholm.

Gustav III's Plans for a Museum

As early as 1784, during his sojourn in Rome, Gustav III had started to make plans for how his Apollo and Muses would be arranged. His first idea was grandiose. The sculptures would be placed outside, on the rise that formed the backdrop to the pleasure garden at Drottningholm Palace; the dramatic arrangement recalled the mythical Mount Parnassus, which was home to Apollo.¹⁷ A quick sketch, in the king's hand, showing the placement of the Muses around Apollo, is preserved in the National Archives (Riksarkivet), Stockholm.¹⁸ Gustav soon abandoned the idea, however, after Sergel had pointed to the difficulties of situating antiquities outdoors in the severe Scandinavian climate. Instead, the king opted for a gallery of more conventional form, in one of the main rooms in a new palatial residence to be built at Haga. He had already commissioned one of his court architects, Fredrik Magnus Piper (1746–1824), to draw up plans for a casino in Haga Park,¹⁹ but the acquisition of the Muses changed the basic premise of the project. Now the monarch envisaged a combination of residence and museum. When Piper's plans finally reached Gustav in Rome in the summer of 1784, they were immediately handed over by Piranesi to the French architect Léon Dufourny (1754–1818), who was resident in Rome, to serve as the basis for a new design. This marked the beginning of Gustav III's idea of providing his collections with a magnificent architectural setting.²⁰

Dufourny had promised to send drawings to Gustav within four months, but it took four years. He blamed the delay on constantly changing specifications, and to a certain extent he was justified. Even before his return home, Gustav had seen a marble Endymion on display at the Villa Pichini, outside Rome's Porta Pinciana, and been taken with it; the sculpture was said to have been recently discovered in Tivoli, at Hadrian's Villa. But the purchase proved a long-drawn-out affair, and was settled only in 1785. Not until July 1786 did the sculpture arrive in Stockholm, and it then became the natural centerpiece of Gustav's collection of antique sculptures.

Meanwhile, the Swedish architect Olof Tempelman (1745–1816) and the French architect and stage designer Louis-Jean Desprez (1743–1804) had become involved, offering designs of their own. Partly as a result, Dufourny received contradictory instructions from Sweden and began to hesitate, even though his drawings for the new palace at Haga were complete in May 1787. At the end of that year, he did send the measurements of six ancient granite columns that had recently been found in Ostia Antica and that he now proposed should be incorporated into two temple buildings, one intended for the Endymion and the other for Sergel's *Cupid and Psyche* (1776–87).

By the time Dufourny's drawings reached Stockholm in 1788, they had been overtaken by events. Having heard of Gustav's offer to purchase the

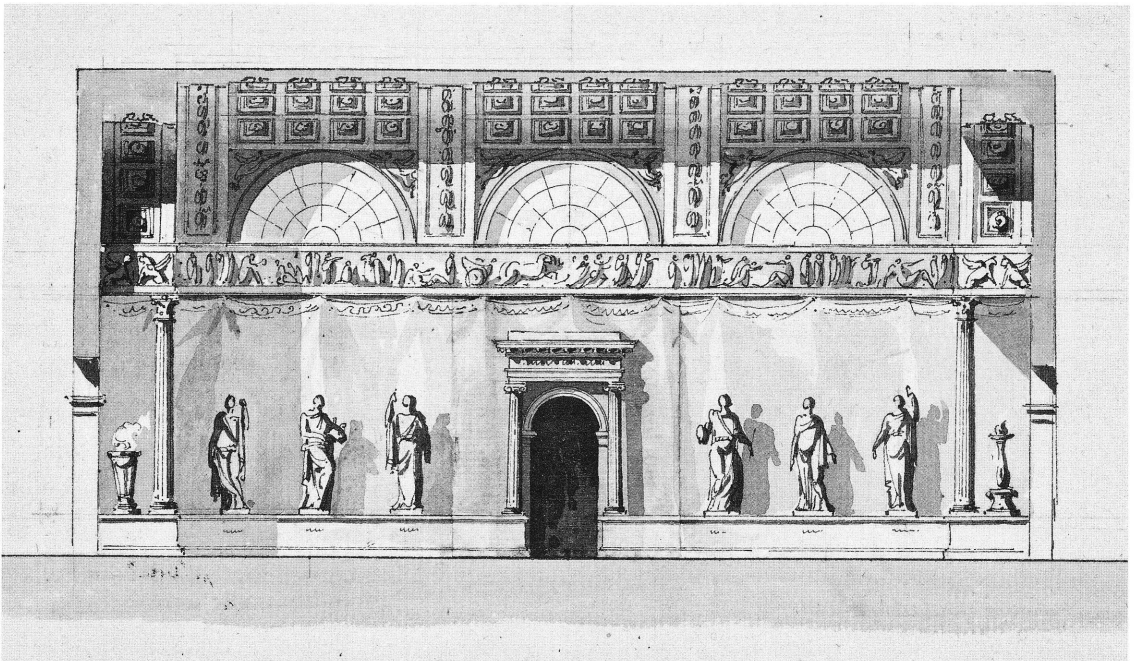
ancient columns, Desprez had incorporated them, with their exact measurements, into a competing proposal before Dufourny's plans even arrived in Stockholm. Nevertheless, Gustav III showed considerable interest in Dufourny's scheme. A playwright and amateur actor, and the founder of Sweden's Royal Opera, Gustav may have been attracted by the theatrical contrivances: a theater in the middle of the palace that could be transformed into a banquet hall, and separate temples for the most renowned sculptures. In addition, Dufourny proposed a large area suitable for festivities in front of the palace, with room for ten thousand spectators.

Fantasies such as these must have originated with Gustav himself. Dufourny simply followed the king's specifications for a combined palace residence and private museum. His proposed edifice, called the Pavilion of the Muses, is known today only through a number of beautiful, but rudimentary, drawings. By good fortune, however, Dufourny's sectional drawing of the sculpture gallery itself, called the Gallery of the Muses, has been preserved in the Nationalmuseum (fig. 7-3). The drawing, which was once owned by Sergel, shows that the architect intended to place the antique sculptures on a high plinth, against a wall of painted drapery. Above, there was to be a figured frieze and a coffered barrel vault, rhythmically divided into sections by transverse arches and decorated with festoons of laurel leaves. Skylights would have solved the problem of illumination.

While awaiting the completion of the palace at Haga—Tempelman's plan had been chosen—Gustav III had arranged for his newly acquired antiquities to be displayed in the Royal Palace in Stockholm. Tessin the Younger's royal

FIGURE 7-3.

Léon Dufourny (French, 1754–1818), Longitudinal section of the Sculpture Gallery in the Pavilion of the Muses at Haga, ca. 1787–88. Pen, ink, and watercolor, 23.1 × 34.5 cm (9 1/8 × 13 1/2 in.). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NMH 686/1890



castle was a natural choice, even if the king regarded it as a provisional setting. As early as 1780, a museumlike environment had begun to emerge here with the installation of Gustav's recently purchased marble sculptures by Ser- gel. The architecture of the palace's Pillared Hall was adapted specifically for Sergel's companion sculptures *Apollino* (1771–72; a copy of the Medici Apollo at Florence, Uffizi Gallery) and *Callipygian Venus* (1777–85; after the Roman marble formerly at Rome, Palazzo Farnese; today Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale). In the adjoining room, the king had started hanging pictures in a gallery-like manner as early as 1778, and soon there were to be several works by Rembrandt among the major items, including *The Kitchen Maid* (1651), bought in 1779 from the estate of Countess Eva Bielke (1706–1778).²¹

In 1784, when Gustav III enthusiastically put his Muses and Apollo on display, he chose to show sculpture and paintings together. A longitudinal sectional drawing in the king's own hand, depicting a picture and sculpture gallery, can presumably be identified with the so-called Little Gallery at the Royal Palace. It clearly shows that Gustav followed the arrangement of the private collections in Rome that he had seen personally, such as the Galleria Colonna (see introduction, fig. 2). There, art was a way to build up and underpin princely magnificence. There is nothing to suggest that the Swedish king had any other purpose. A contrary opinion might be ventured in connection with Desprez's various proposals for the interior of the Haga Palace, in which the Apollo and nine Muses comprised the pièce de résistance of a large cupola-crowned rotunda. But since all royal environments are public in some sense, and the Apollo theme suited the personal iconography of every enlightened despot, it is likely that the dominant purpose of Gustav's Stockholm gallery was to project royal splendor, not to be the nucleus of a museum. The king's proud plans for an enormous palace at Haga were thwarted, however, when he was assassinated in 1792.²²

The King's Museum Becomes the Royal Museum

While he lived, Gustav III was in charge of the museum himself. During a stay in Rome in 1789, his unofficial adviser on the arts, chancellery secretary Carl Fredrik Fredenheim, had been so bold as to suggest that his role be confirmed through his appointment as curator of the royal art collections. Fredenheim even enlisted the help of Cardinal de Bernis, the French ambassador to the Vatican, to the same end, but to no avail. The death of Gustav III, paradoxically, gave Fredenheim the position he sought. On June 28, 1792, only a few months after the king's demise, the new Royal Museum was founded as "a public memorial to the protection the king had granted them [the fine arts] during his lifetime." The new institution had been created with amazing speed, which is all the more remarkable given that a new and far more economical way of

thinking had quickly been introduced by the regency of Gustav III's brother Charles, Duke of Södermanland (r. 1792–96). (Gustav III's son and successor, Gustav IV Adolph, was still a minor.) The museum's founding would not have been possible without the considerable influence that Fredenheim, the newly appointed curator, wielded within the civil service and the government. He had long been a member of the circle around the new chancellor of the realm, Baron Fredrik Sparre (1731–1803), which no doubt was a decisive factor in the rapid establishment of the museum.

The attitude of the regency and the executors of the estate of the deceased monarch toward the boundary between public and private, royal ownership was also of great significance. In November 1792, amid a government financial crisis in the wake of Sweden's war with Russia (1788–90), it was declared that everything that had been procured with monies from the public purse was public property. The art collections of Gustav III were thus transferred to the Crown, a decision that was confirmed in a royal decree dated December 4. Nevertheless, the museum continued to have a strong link to the king. Fredenheim, as head of the new institution, still spoke at this time of the museum as “the art collection of King Gustav IV Adolph.”²³ Even several years later, when he compiled the first inventory of the collections, he used the term “the King's Museum.”²⁴ It is relevant that the museum not only had its premises in the Royal Palace but also formally came under the auspices of the royal court.

Fredenheim came to feel that people were against him, despite the museum's rapid success. Several times he met with the same unsympathetic question from those around him: “À quoi sert tout cela?” (What purpose does all this serve?) Fredenheim answered his critics with equal coolness, and hastened to write to Baron Sparre: “I hope that we shall never degenerate into such barbarians that it will be necessary to reply to such a question. Otherwise foreigners will reply on our behalf.”²⁵ Fredenheim presumably had such malicious tongues already in mind when he devised the inscription that was to appear on the stone tablet officially marking the museum's founding. His reasoning also sheds light on the myth that it had been Gustav III who had conceived the idea of the new public museum. In a draft of the inscription in the spring of 1793, Fredenheim calls the dead king the “conceiver” (*instituit*) as well as the “founder” (*instruxit*) of the museum. This claim could not be challenged—nor could it be verified. Such a formulation would allow the head of the museum, when he was attacked by critics for squandering state funds on something that was purportedly of no use, to invoke the late monarch. It was also important to Fredenheim that the inscription define a role for the regent, Duke Charles, as well as one for the young boy-king. Fredenheim summarized it this way: “Founded by Gustav III, established by Charles, and protected by Gustav IV Adolph.” However, the phrasing of the inscription was

changed again the following year (1794), defining the role of Gustav III even more precisely. The deceased king was no longer described as the “founder”; he was called only the “collector.” In the new inscription the duke-regent and the boy-king became the main actors in the museum’s existence. Finally, the public purpose of the institution was emphasized: “[It] shall be for general use and adornment.”

The revised wording of the inscription reflected important domestic and foreign events. Ideas from Revolutionary France were beginning to make themselves felt in Sweden. Serving the public good became a matter of honor even in an absolute monarchy. In answer to those who were skeptical about the Royal Museum’s usefulness, Fredenheim wrote to Chancellor Sparre in 1794:

Were one to object that the country is poor, it must be observed that the objects are already purchased, and that it is precisely in a poor country (whose inhabitants love all manner of luxury other than that which comes from genius and good taste) that it is appropriate for the monarch to concern himself with the fine arts and that one should thus be grateful to a king who arranges it such that his citizens shall always enjoy that pleasure.²⁶

The same ideas had been espoused by the Physiocrat Victor Riqueti, marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789), some fifty years earlier. In the French political economist’s view, an absolute monarchy was no obstacle to improving the public welfare. The solution to unequal wealth was enlightened despotism. The monarch, the foremost advocate of what was best for society, guided his people and took care of the poor. The impediment to reforming private wealth was, instead, the Old Regime’s feudal pride.²⁷ At the time Fredenheim was writing to Sparre, of course, the French Revolution was on its way to turning the old order upside down once and for all. The Parisian Musée Napoléon (as the Musée du Louvre was called from 1803 to 1815) was to be the most grandiose museum project of the Revolution: there, exhibits comprising expropriated French private property and war booty from countries conquered by Napoléon came to exemplify the ideal of the public good.²⁸ The Revolution and the formation of the Musée Napoléon coincided with the Royal Museum’s first decades as a public institution in Sweden.

Although the idea of an art museum in Sweden had developed gradually, the specific events that were decisive in its establishment are clear. Gustav III’s ambition to be a perfect prince of his time meant that he had to collect art and commission buildings. His meeting with Pope Pius VI and his visits to the Museo Pio-Clementino and private palace galleries in Rome, as well as to antiquities dealers and excavation sites, resulted in significant purchases. Events in Revolutionary France and the death at the guillotine of Louis XVI

(r. 1774–92) led the Swedish monarchy to greater openness toward the public. The government's financial crisis following Sweden's war with Russia caused everything that had been acquired with public funds to be declared public property. Thus the murdered king's art purchases—financed via the estates—came to be public collections.

These decisive events took place in the span of just a few years. So powerful were the political, military, and social upheavals in Europe that they were bound to have repercussions in Sweden. In such circumstances, few measures could be more suitable than to found a publicly owned art museum. From different starting points, the men who governed the realm arrived at a solution that was the result not of violent clashes but of a combination of economic pragmatism, sensitive concessions to political realities, and a belief in the importance of a classical education for a wider public. The Grand Tour, which was beyond the reach of the greater part of the Swedish nobility and of the bourgeoisie, could now be undertaken in Swedes' own country, and the "mob" was allowed to enter the foremost symbol of worldly power, the Royal Palace, in good order and at agreed-upon times.

During Gustav III's Grand Tour of Italy, his secretary Adlerbeth had written that the treasures of antiquity must over time be dispersed and moved "to those places whither riches and taste call them." Could this argument still be used to legitimize the removal of Roman antiquities after the start of the Reign of Terror in 1793, when the Palais du Louvre was opened to the people? The idea of creating a new Athens or a new Rome was of course manifest in some grand projects in Napoléon's time, and later in the Neoclassical architectural regeneration of cities such as Munich and Helsinki. But the removal of antique sculptures, entire buildings, and fragments undertaken by Napoléon from 1798 onward ended in a heated public discussion about which reading of the ethical issues involved should prevail. A work's geographical origins and the concept of nation-state became increasingly important factors, weakening the basis in international law not only for wartime expropriation but also for trade in ancient remains.²⁹

In the early nineteenth century the self-justification to which Adlerbeth gave expression became an increasingly questionable attitude. Later in the century, the expanding science of archaeology could claim, admittedly, that some removals from ancient sites to northern European museums were legitimate, but Sweden played an insignificant role in this activity. After the death of Gustav III and the decision in 1792 to found a museum, the Swedish government abandoned any ambition to move ancient objects and collections north. Instead, the new museum's collections of antiquities were to be made complete by linking them with the collections of casts at the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts, where Tessin's plaster casts, too, were on display.

The Design of the Royal Museum and Its Reception

The energetic Fredenheim, as curator, was responsible for the arrangement of the galleries of the new museum at the Royal Palace in Stockholm. The sculpture galleries were named the Museum of Stones (*Stenmuseum*) and were to be Fredenheim's outstanding achievement. His experience conducting the first systematic excavations at the Roman Forum, in the late 1780s, made him unusually well suited to arrange the collections of antiquities in a way that reflected European Neoclassical standards while keeping them accessible to the uninitiated beginner.³⁰ He organized the sculpture galleries according to aesthetic as well as antiquarian principles, and they differed from each other in both style and content.³¹

In connection with the establishment of the Royal Museum, the Swedish artist Pehr Hilleström the Elder (1732–1816) painted two interiors of the museum, depicting the Greater and Lesser Stone Galleries (figs. 7-4, 7-5), together with an exterior view of the museum from the garden between the eastern wings of the palace (the *Logården*). The three views were painted in a small as well as a large format, the latter for the regent, Duke Charles.³² When the Lesser Stone Gallery was to be reconstructed in 1992, these paintings were carefully studied. Detailed examination of them, and comparisons with archival material, suggests that they are to be seen as visions rather than documents of an existing setting. That notwithstanding, they should be regarded as part of the documentation used by Fredenheim in his presentations to Duke Charles, of which there must have been several during the two years preceding the museum's opening in October 1794. The magnificent compositions of the paintings and their richly gilded and decorated frames, with the arms and crown of the duke-regent, indicate that they were meant to bear witness to what their owner had done for his realm.

The paintings are highly detailed. The architectonic form of the rooms is presented with great thoroughness, and particular objects are portrayed with considerable care. The presentation can be compared with a contemporary handwritten guide and two plans from 1817, according to which the collections were divided between two galleries, the larger of the two with sizable windows facing the *Logården*, and the other with small window openings overlooking the *Lejonbacken* (the system of ramps leading to the palace's northern entrance).³³ The larger gallery was dominated by full-length sculptures: the Apollo and the nine Muses along the length of the inner wall, foremost among them, and the Minerva Pacifera and the sleeping shepherd Endymion. The smaller gallery housed some figures of lesser size, fragments, and a row of busts. The larger gallery, by virtue of its arrangement and spatial form, was marked by a strict Neoclassicism, whereas the smaller gallery, mainly on account of its juxtaposition of objects, gave a more archaic, Baroque impression.

From an educational point of view, the differing character of the galleries was an advantage. Fredenheim refined the arrangement so that they could serve both as study rooms for art students from the academy and as viewing areas for interested visitors. The arrangement of the Apollo and Muses in the niches of the long inner wall, on pedestals between the column bases of the coffered transverse arches, allowed them to be seen even from outside, in the Logården, through the windows facing onto the garden. The large windows also allowed for evening showings—with theatrical effects, as when the Endymion was caressed by the moonlight, just as the shepherd was in the myth. The smaller gallery contained four magnificent columns from Hadrian's Villa, vases, busts, animal sculptures, fragments of ornaments and texts, and other objects, most of them from the collection of Francesco Piranesi. They provided good opportunities not only for artistic study but also for learned conversation.

Further evidence that the arrangement was well thoughtout is provided by the publication that Fredenheim, at his own expense, issued in connection with the opening in 1794. It is entitled *Ex Museo Regis Sveciae Antiquarum e marmore Statuarum Apollinis Musagetae Minervae Paciferae ac novem musarum Series Integra, post Vaticanam unica, cum aliis selectis Priscae Artis Monumentis*. Already in the title, the Apollo and Muses group is proudly presented as a unique equivalent of the ensemble in the Vatican, thus connecting the Museum of Stones directly with Italy's foremost collections of antiquities. The publication is in Latin and Swedish, indicating that Fredenheim from the first intended it for both a domestic audience and an educated foreign public.

The new museum is also described in foreign sources. The German *Göttinger gelehrten Anzeiger* published a review of the newly opened museum, and a travelogue published in 1796 by the French comte de Fortia de Piles (1758–1826) describes the royal art collections and museum project, praising both the collections and the work that Fredenheim had put into them. These descriptions would have been based upon both the printed museum publication and the handwritten, but presumably reproduced, description of the arrangement of the exhibits.³⁴

The transfer of ownership of the royal art collections to a national, public museum marked the start of a professionalization of their management and display. This separation from royal power had an effect on all aspects of the running of the museum, and on its audience. The museum that opened to the public was dominated by the collections of antiquities, since these had been gathered together and arranged for exhibition in rooms architecturally adapted to them. The holdings of paintings, drawings, and prints, however, were spread over different parts of the palace, and for the first few decades were therefore more inaccessible to the public.³⁵

The first visitors to the museum were largely inexperienced observers, a fact that spurred the development of education in looking at art and of new

forms of publication. Pehr Hilleström the Elder's paintings depict visitors in the museum's two galleries and outside in the Logården. We can make out that they are courtiers and burghers, women as well as men. They stand alone or converse in groups, but all of them are equally attentive to and interested in the objects. In the large painting of the smaller sculpture gallery, we can even see a visitor holding a booklet. This is an image of the ideal visitor, following a relatively new pattern for museum visits: a guide in the form of a printed text replaces the once essential human companion, the eloquent cicerone or at least informed custodian. The *Vedute prospettive del Museo Pio-Clementino* (Perspective views of the Museo Pio-Clementino), by Vincenzo Feoli (ca. 1760–1827) and Francesco Miccinelli (act. 1790s), printed a few years earlier, portrays visitors walking about the Museo Pio-Clementino (see chap. 4, figs. 4-3, 4-6). In one of the views (pl. 11) a visitor is sitting on a bench in the midst of an arrangement of full-length sculptures, holding a printed guide and training a magnifying glass on the ceiling decoration. Fredenheim owned a copy of Feoli and Miccinelli's *Vedute*, and it would presumably have suggested to him how to portray the ideal visitor in order to give life and meaning to Hilleström's vision of the museum.³⁶

Fredenheim was himself an experienced visitor of European art collections. His education and knowledge were considerable, and he thus belonged to that small group of aristocrats, learned men, and court artists who even before the French Revolution had access to the royal collections. When the antiquities collections had arrived from Italy and had been arranged for display at the Royal Palace in Stockholm, they had been shown to distinguished visitors by a guide. In 1787, when Fredenheim was in Italy, the Venezuelan captain Francisco de Miranda (1750–1816) had come to Stockholm, and he had been guided through the royal art collections by Johan Tobias Sergel and the artist-brothers Elias and Johan Fredrik Martin.³⁷ Miranda's account provides a good insight into the privileged visitor's experience:

What a wonderful delight to see this famous statue [the Endymion], but one feels fury upon seeing a leg and an arm that have been restored in such a bad way. And his sexual organ has been done badly, too. The position is sleeping, with legs apart, and shows that particular moment when he has finished enjoying the divine delight. What sensuality!... We also saw an Apollo Citere and three or four of the 9 muses that are found here, antique and of natural size, which are very beautiful. To see Endymion and especially the play of the shadows in the light from torches is an experience. What a misfortune that not all these statues have their own temple or private room with light suited to each particular one, as it presumably was once in antiquity... We returned to Endymion and after more than four hours of admiration we left it with regret. We could have stayed there all night.³⁸

These visitors shared a level of education, a knowledge of the antique heritage, and an appreciation of the period's sometimes frivolous, sometimes puritanical pictorial art, either of which might refer to ancient sculpture as a model. Miranda and the well-read members of the contemporary nobility were familiar with the views of the German antiquarian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) on ancient Greek art, which he regarded as art's highest expression and which glorified the ideal male body. So it is hardly surprising that Miranda in his diary mentions that he had Winckelmann's writings with him as travel reading and studied his work between visits to the antiquities collections at the Royal Palace.³⁹

This type of educated, indeed passionate, visitor of course had full access to the Royal Museum when it was established a few years after Miranda's visit. Fredenheim and Sergel were perfect guides when highly educated visitors arrived at the museum. But for the new, inexperienced visitors it was not so easy, and presumably they were not so passionate about the antique heritage. To achieve a greater appreciation of the Royal Museum's collections of antiquities, a visitor needed refinement and education. One means to that end was to study at the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts, which had been founded in 1735. That was where the qualified observers and artists of the future were to be found, the people who would contribute to a more general appreciation of the museum in the years to come.

The Royal Museum and the Swedish Royal Academy of Fine Arts

Fredenheim's role as the head of Sweden's first public art museum meant that he had considerable influence. From 1795 he was also president of the Swedish Royal Academy of Fine Arts and thus held a unique position in the institutional artistic life of the nation. Fredenheim used his position to build upon his work with the Royal Museum by creating a strong institutional link between the museum and the academy.

Displayed in Meyer House, the art academy's headquarters since 1780, was Tessin the Younger's collection of plaster casts. The holding had been enlarged since the mid-1700s by donations and purchases from private individuals. Two important acquisitions were made between 1765 and 1770, and in 1775, from the artists Jonas Hoffman (1726–1780) and Pehr Floding (1731–1791), respectively. Hoffman's collection included a Laocoön, a Venus de' Medici, and a Dying Gaul—all of them presumably in a reduced size—and some nine Niobid heads and other small figures. Floding's collection, meanwhile, comprised 125 plasters, the greater number of which were parts of the body for model studies.

A large portion of the Tessin collection was to be found in the assembly hall, and the rest of the plaster casts were spread over many smaller rooms. Although the casts were thus accessible, their scattered placement was con-

sidered unsatisfactory. The architect Carl Fredrik Adelcrantz (1716–1796) had therefore, as early as 1780, designed an extension that would house a gallery for them, and Fredenheim took up the matter again after Adelcrantz's death. The proposal never got beyond the drawing board, but if Fredenheim had succeeded, the two public, complementary collections of antiquities in Stockholm would each have been on full display in dedicated quarters. The failure of the extension project meant that the plaster-cast collections were never displayed in the systematic manner Fredenheim had wished for. But his concern for these holdings did, nevertheless, result in their being cared for, organized, and inventoried.

Tessin's cast collection in the Academy of Fine Arts was representative of how antique sculpture was valued in the seventeenth century. It reflected the period's canon of good taste and the values of contemporary art. Because the seventeenth-century canon remained relatively stable through the eighteenth century, Tessin's plaster casts met the need of artists, scholars, and royalty to become acquainted with the exemplary masterworks of antiquity. There is reason to maintain that the art academy's collections of casts were, from an educational point of view, far more important objects of study than the antiquities at the Royal Museum. Fredenheim's efforts to establish close ties between the Royal Museum and the Academy of Fine Arts made it possible, nevertheless, for future art students to work from the museum's collections. A special link between the two institutions was provided by the *conducteurs* who taught and instructed the students as they drew from ancient models in both places. This system remained in operation well into the nineteenth century.

An Unfinished Project

Besides the antiquities collections, the Royal Museum contained paintings, drawings, prints, and a collection of coins and medals. Although the greater part of Fredenheim's effort was devoted to the antiquities, he did provide a structure for the work on the other collections. It would seem that the first curators were employed by the museum on a permanent basis in 1793, and detailed drafts of their instructions have been preserved in the museum's archives. These tell us that the court painter Eric Hallblad (1720–1814) agreed to be appointed to the post of curator of paintings, and that Carl Magnus Hägerflycht (1749–1807) became the museum's curator of marbles. The secretary of the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities served as curator of medals. The draft instructions combine job descriptions and plans of action, and give us a context for known movements and inventories of the art collections during 1793 and 1794.⁴⁰

The moral stance that had developed against trade in Roman and Greek antiquities did not imply any restrictions on trade in Italian art from later peri-

ods. On the contrary, with Piranesi's assistance, Fredenheim had reached an agreement in Rome to buy a significant collection of Italian paintings, known as the Martelli collection. It was paid for by Gustav IV Adolf (r. 1792–1809), who had attained his majority in 1796, in the form of a life annuity to Niccolò Martelli (1736–1829), an Italian botanist and physician.⁴¹ The collection would complement the earlier royal holdings, which were rich in French, Netherlandish, and German painting, and thus create what the era defined as a perfect art collection.⁴² Fredenheim's efforts to enlarge and arrange the collections of paintings, drawings, and prints also gave rise to new suggestions and architectural sketches as to how the museum could expand within the palace. A surviving memorandum from 1799, probably in Fredenheim's own hand, asks the king to make a decision on where these collections should be kept: "A space large enough for the requirements of the paintings is unlikely to be found other than in the rez-de-chaussée of the southern wing of the palace beside the Logården, which is the counterpart of the museum's marble galleries, and nothing could be neater and more suitable than keeping the paintings on the one side, and the marbles with the rest on the other side, of a terrace with a situation worthy to unite the beauties of art and nature."⁴³ Through acquisition of the Martelli collection, and by providing access to the southern wing of the palace, with the Logården in between, Fredenheim sought to create a complete art museum of great dignity. But he had just as little success with this proposal as he had had with the extension of the Academy of Fine Arts.

When the Martelli collection arrived in Stockholm, two months after Fredenheim's death in March 1803, the need for new galleries for the holdings of paintings became acute. Despite this, Fredenheim's proposal was not realized—yet it did not die completely. In 1816 an inventory was made of the paintings, which were scattered throughout the Royal Palace, and almost twelve thousand were listed. A draft of a new memorandum, probably from the same year, starts where Fredenheim's proposal left off: "If the southern wing were to be used in its entirety, in such a way that both floors were converted into a single room, by which one could gain equally good lighting for all the paintings with a supported window construction up on the roof, one would thus be able to unite all the paintings, and if the basement were to be fitted out as is the Marble Gallery, it would give access to another rich collection, of a different type, which at present is so scattered that it can hardly be known."⁴⁴

The memorandum is radical: the collections of the Royal Museum would be displayed in their entirety, in an architecturally coherent part of the Royal Palace that would be reached via a magnificent central stairway from the Logården, which was at that time a public garden connecting the two wings of the palace. The lighting requirements of the museum's painting gallery would be achieved by opening up the roof of the southern wing and adding a "window construction," in other words, a lantern. This may have been an early form

of the gallery lighting that the architect Leo von Klenze (1784–1864) developed for the Glyptothek (1816–30) and the Alte Pinakothek (1826–36) in Munich, and is of great interest inasmuch as it is evidence that it was considered possible to adapt Tessin the Younger's royal castle to accommodate a modern art museum.⁴⁵

The draft was addressed to Crown Prince Charles John (later Charles XIV John, r. 1818–44). This suggestion, like the earlier ones, was never to be developed into a firm proposal. It is not hard to understand why, considering that the crown prince–regent was preoccupied with the political situation in the new union of Sweden and Norway, which had come into being with the support of the Russian czar Alexander I (r. 1801–25), and with the establishment by the Congress of Vienna (1814–15) of a new political and territorial order in Europe following the end of the Napoleonic Wars. An aggravating factor may have been that the proposal would have meant a reduction of royal power, both spatially and symbolically. The expanded museum would have laid claim to the eastern part of the palace, which was the part that travelers first encountered when they arrived in Stockholm by sea. Art, and the citizenry who came to view it, would have reached too near the heart of power. Even for a former fighter in the French Revolution like Charles John (born Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte), that would perhaps have been *too much* public good.

From the 1820s onward, every proposal for a museum combining all branches of the arts sited its premises outside the Royal Palace. With one exception, they all involved constructing a new building for the museum. The network of influential men working on a solution for the future did, however, have a close relationship either with the king (Charles XIV John) or with the crown prince (later King Oscar I, r. 1844–59). This may explain why a proposal of unknown authorship, discovered in 2008, located the nation's art museum at Drottningholm Palace, outside Stockholm.⁴⁶ Had the plan been realized, the De Vries bronzes that had been looted from Prague and Frederiksborg, and placed on the grounds of Drottningholm Palace (see fig. 7-1), would have been the frame for a backward-looking museum. The future demanded something new. In 1845 the proposal that was finally approved marked the museum's independence from the Crown with the proud new name Nationalmuseum. Gustav III's collection of antiquities remained in the Royal Palace. The Nationalmuseum was built directly opposite the palace, in counterpoint to it.⁴⁷

NOTES

- This essay was translated from the Swedish by Rod Bradbury.
- 1 R. Bauer and H. Haupt, "Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II. in Prag: Ein Inventar aus den Jahren 1607–1611," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen Wien* 72 (1976), pp. 95–104.
 - 2 Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal de voyage du cavalier Bernin en France* (Clamecy, 1981), p. 182.
 - 3 Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), p. 37.
 - 4 Johan Cederlund, "Tessins gipser," in *Gips: Tradition i konstens form*, edited by Solfrid Söderlind (Stockholm, 1999), pp. 93–113. See also Anne-Marie Leander Touati, "Trajanuskolonnen i Rom och Stockholm," in *Gips: Tradition i konstens form*, pp. 63–79.
 - 5 Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Letter to Daniel Cronström, dated April 16, 1695, published in Raymond Weigert and Carl Hernmarck, *L'art en France et en Suède, 1693–1718* (Stockholm, 1964), p. 74.
 - 6 Carl August Ehrensvärd, Letter to Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, dated Rome, June 23, 1781, in Gunhild Bergh, *C. A. Ehrensvärds Brev* (Stockholm, 1916), vol. 1, p. 41.
 - 7 Bergh, *C. A. Ehrensvärds Brev* (note 6), vol. 1, p. 43.
 - 8 John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600–1750* (London, 1986), p. 199.
 - 9 Militsa Korshunova, "Architects at the Court of Catherine the Great," in *Catherine the Great and Gustav III*, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1998), p. 462.
 - 10 *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1996); Sabrina Norlander, "Claiming Rome: Portraiture and Social Identity in the Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss., Uppsala University, Stockholm, 2003).
 - 11 G. G. Adlerbeth, *Gustav III:s resa i Italien*, edited by Henrik Schück (Stockholm, 1902), p. 191.
 - 12 For a description of the purchases, see Anne-Marie Leander Touati, with contributions by Magnus Olausson, *The Eighteenth-Century Collection in Stockholm*, vol. 1 of *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum* (Stockholm, 1998). See also Magnus Olausson, "The Collector: Gustav III and His Entourage," in Leander Touati, *Eighteenth-Century Collection*, pp. 37–47. On Piranesi, see also Rossana Caira Lumetti, *La cultura dei lumi tra Italia e Svezia: Il ruolo di Francesco Piranesi* (Rome, 1990).
 - 13 Bergh, *C. A. Ehrensvärds Brev* (note 6), vol. 1, pp. 42–43.
 - 14 Carl August Ehrensvärd, Letter to Louis Masreliez, dated September 18, 1783, in Carl David Moselius, *Louis Masreliez' och Carl August Ehrensvärds brevväxling* (Stockholm, 1934), p. 136.
 - 15 Leander Touati, *Eighteenth-Century Collection* (note 12), pp. 111–17; *Giovanni Volpato 1735–1803*, edited by Giorgio Marini, exh. cat. (Bassano del Grappa, 1988), p. 15.
 - 16 Francesco Piranesi, Letter to Carl Fredrik Fredenheim, dated April 9, 1784, National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, Hs Ep 7:4:1, fol. 119.
 - 17 See Magnus Olausson, "Gustav III:s Drottningholmsparnass: Ett okänt projekt för de nio muserna," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 3 (1984), pp. 115–20.
 - 18 The sketch is illustrated in Olausson, "The Collector" (note 12), p. 43, fig. 9.
 - 19 Fredrik Magnus Piper, Letter to Gustav III, dated March 12, 1784, Uppsala University Library, Hs F 422. In the collections of the Swedish Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm, two proposals for a casino have been preserved (Pi-a 4.4 and 4.9).
 - 20 Magnus Olausson, "Léon Dufourny and the Muse Gallery of King Gustavus III," *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* 12, no. 2 (1988), pp. 102–9.
 - 21 For an account of the king's various purchases, see Olausson, "The Collector" (note 12), pp. 37–39.
 - 22 The king was shot, as the result of a carefully planned conspiracy, on March 16, 1792, while he was attending a masked ball in the Royal Opera House. He died two weeks later from an infection caused by his injuries.
 - 23 C. F. Fredenheim, Letter to Fredrik Sparre, undated (spring 1793), Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, Cabinet for Foreign Correspondence, vol. 31.
 - 24 Fredenheim's inventarium, Nationalmuseum Archives, Stockholm, D III a:1, fol. 1.
 - 25 C. F. Fredenheim, Letter to Fredrik Sparre, dated August 22, 1794, Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, Börstorpssamlingen, E 2949.
 - 26 C. F. Fredenheim, Letter to Fredrik Sparre, dated August 22, 1794 (note 25).
 - 27 For further details, see Magnus Olausson, *Den Engelska parken i Sverige* (PhD diss., Uppsala University, Stockholm, 1993), p. 72ff.
 - 28 See Margaret M. Miles, *Art as Plunder: The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property* (New York, 2008), p. 285ff.
 - 29 Rainer Wahl, "Kunstraub als Ausdruck von Staatsideologie," in *Kunstraub—ein Siegerrecht? Historische Fälle und juristische Einwände*, edited by Volker Michael Strocka (Berlin, 1999), pp. 27–39.
 - 30 Leander Touati, *Eighteenth-Century Collection* (note 12), pp. 49–51. Concerning Fredenheim's time in Rome, see Lars-Johan Stiernstedt, *Vår man i Rom: Överintendenten Carl Fredrik Fredenheims italienska resa, 1787–1790* (Stockholm, 2004).
 - 31 The Greater Stone Gallery (Större Stengalleriet) displayed Volpato's nine Muses, the Endymion, and fantastic composite sculptures by Giovanni Battista Piranesi. The Lesser Stone Gallery (Mindre Stengalleriet) contained Francesco Piranesi's collection of busts, fragments, and reliefs. The arrangement in the Greater Gallery adhered to Neoclassical aesthetics, whereas the arrangement of the Lesser Gallery was more conservative, based on the antiquarian Fredenheim's natural interest in ancient history, sources, and myths.
 - 32 Solfrid Söderlind and Ulf G. Johnsson, "Pehr Hilleströms

- målningar av Kongl. Museum,” in *Kongl. Museum: Rum för ideal och bildning*, edited by Solfrid Söderlind (Stockholm, 1993), pp. 65–67. The larger paintings have the inventory numbers NM Rbg 40–42.
- 33 Leander Touati, *Eighteenth-Century Collection* (note 12), pp. 65–78.
- 34 A. Fortia de Piles, *Suède*, vol. 2 of *Voyage de deux francais en Allemagne, Danemarck, Suède, Russie et Pologne, fait en 1790–1792* (Paris, 1796), p. 63. See Leander Touati, *Eighteenth-Century Collection* (note 12), pp. 29, 70, 79, 115. Leander Touati assumes that the guide was copied and sent to foreign correspondents. A copy of the handwritten guide is preserved at the Nationalmuseum.
- 35 Per Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum, 1792–1992* (Stockholm, 1992), pp. 78–85.
- 36 Volumes 1–4 and 6 of the *Vedute* are listed in the catalogue for the 1805 sale of Fredenheim’s library. *Förteckning På den Boksamling, som tilhört framl. Herr Öfver-Intendenten och Ridd. Carl Fredr. Fredenheim, och kommer, at, medelst offentlig Auction försäljas i Stockholm, Huset N:o 143 på Riddareholmen, hvilken Auction begynnes den 8 May 1805* (Stockholm, 1805): “Böcker in Folio no. 8, Museum Pio-Clementinum, Tom I, II, III, IV, VI, Rome. Fr. B.”
- 37 Francisco de Miranda, born in Caracas, Venezuela, enlisted in the Spanish military service and fought in the American War of Independence in 1779 and 1781. He was sent to Cuba, where he was accused of illegal trading, which forced him to flee to Europe. Traveling across the European continent, he tried to find support for his ambitions to free the Spanish colonies in South America. He died in Cádiz.
- 38 Söderlind, *Kongl. Museum* 1993 (note 32), p. 8off.
- 39 Winckelmann’s writing has been seen as the beginning of the writing of art history as such; see Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven, 1994). Miranda’s diary entries reveal his close reliance on Winckelmann. He probably had Winckelmann’s *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (History of the art of antiquity), published in 1764, in his baggage.
- 40 Transcriptions of the instructions can be found in Söderlind, *Kongl. Museum* 1993 (note 32), pp. 109–12.
- 41 Sabrina Nordlander and Sanna Marander, “The Martelli Collection: Notes towards Its History,” *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm* 10 (2003), pp. 77–84.
- 42 Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum* (note 35), p. 8off.
- 43 Nationalmuseum Archives, Stockholm, KM Konzept 1798–1859: Draft of “Underdånigt Memorial” November 16, 1799.
- 44 Nationalmuseum Archives, Stockholm, KM Konzept 1798–1859: undated and unfinished memorandum, ca. 1816.
- 45 Reinhold Baumstark, “Klenzes Museen,” in *König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Leo von Klenze: Symposion aus Anlaß des 75. Geburtstags von Hubert Glaser*, edited by Franziska Dunkel, Hans-Michael Körner, and Hannelore Putz, *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, Beih., R. B., 28 (Munich, 2006), pp. 16–17.
- 46 The drawing was acquired by the Nationalmuseum in 2008.
- 47 The Parliament (Riksdag) decided in 1845, after seventeen years of discussions, to erect a new museum building for the national museum collections. The Nationalmuseum building was designed by the German architect Friedrich August Stüler (1800–1865) and was opened to the public in 1866. A thorough account of the ideas, proposals, motions to the Riksdag, and personal networks important in the establishment of the Nationalmuseum can be found in Per Widén, *Från kungligt galleri till nationellt museum* (PhD diss., Gothenburg University, Hedemora, Sweden, 2009).