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Lars Berglund

Mourning a dead Queen.

The music at the funeral of Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in Stockholm (1693)

The festivities, the ceremonies, the solemn princely and royal celebrations were extraordinarily important events in early modern society. They were, with a formulation borrowed from Gino Stefani, occasions when the entire society at the same time expressed itself and articulated its hierarchical structure, with all its means of expression available.¹ In seventeenth-century Sweden, as in the rest of Europe, the state assembled all its resources for highly impressive manifestations at the great functions of the realm. Royal weddings, coronations and funerals were celebrated with exceptionally costly ceremonies, characterised by an effective integration and coordination of the different arts.

One of the most impressive functions of this kind in Sweden was the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in 1693. It was the most important state ceremony since the establishment of absolute monarchy in Sweden, at the dioceses in 1680 and 1682. The new form of government led to a massive display of royal power with a particular focus on the royal family. The Danish princess Ulrika Eleonora was married to King Charles XI in May 1680, and in the autumn of the same year she was crowned Queen of the realm. It was a highly symbolic union, manifesting the peace between the two Kingdoms after the Scanian War 1675 to 1679.² In the public, political rhetoric the Queen

¹ Gino STEFANI, *Musica barocca. Poetica e ideologia*, Milano: Bompiani, 1974, p. 9.

² Lars BERGLUND, *Studier i Christian Geists vokalmusik*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2002 (Studia musicologica Upsaliensia, 21, PhD dissertation), pp. 238–242.

was portrayed as the mild and pious mother of the entire kingdom and all its subjects.³ This image of the relation between subject and realm as a large family, where the King and Queen were the parents, was certainly conventional, but was given particularly strong emphasis in the official political rhetoric during Ulrika Eleonora's thirteen years as queen. From this viewpoint, her sudden death was comparable to the decease of a beloved mother.

The arrangements at her funeral are relatively well known and described. In particular, the visual decorations are depicted and analysed in Mårten Snickare's excellent study of occasional architecture for royal ceremonies during the era of absolutism.⁴ However, much less is known about the music at the funeral, a gap which this essay aims to fill.⁵

A Queen is buried

Ulrika Eleonora passed away at the castle of Karlberg in northern Stockholm on 26 July 1693, but the funeral had to wait until 28 November. The solemn funeral ceremony was held in the Riddarholmen Church (*Riddarholmskyrkan*), which served as the royal burial site. The decorations of the church were designed by the court architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728).⁶ During almost three months, artisans and carpenters were occupied with adorning and partly rebuilding the interior of the church. The funeral ceremony was arranged as an impressive and compassionate symbolic representation of the exceptional dignity of the Queen and of the royal dynasty. This was combined with references to the religious import of the ceremony: reminders of the transience of earthly life and allusions to the triumphal reception awaiting the Queen in heaven. Tessin used wooden constructions draped with black cloth to reshape the irregular plan of the medieval church into a symmetrical space, more in line with the baroque-classicist taste in vogue. For

³ Nils EKEDAHL, *Det svenska Israel: myt och retorik i Haquin Spegels predikokost*, Uppsala: Gidlund, 1999 (Studia rhetorica Upsaliensia, 2, PhD dissertation), p. 93; Mårten SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter: kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre*, Stockholm: Raster, 1999 (Uppsala, PhD dissertation), pp. 71–75.

⁴ See footnote 3.

⁵ This is a revised English version of an article published in Swedish in 2004: Lars BERGLUND, "Sorge-Musique för en död drottning. Om musiken vid Ulrika Eleonora den äldres begravning 1693", *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 86, 2004, pp. 27–48.

⁶ This and the following build on SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter*, pp. 83–114.

the presentation of the Queen's coffin, he created a grandiose *castrum doloris*, crowned by a pyramid. The pyramid was covered in black taffeta and decorated with inscriptions and emblems. These were written in transparent gold, and were illuminated by candles placed inside the pyramid. Along the sides of the nave, Tessin placed skeletons carrying large candelabra. The pyramid was held by four winged representations of death (see figure 1).

For the most prominent guests at the funeral, a temporary stand was built in the southern aisle. Moreover, the entire grand organ was dismantled and removed, to give space for the foreign envoys and other participants, in all 300 persons. For the music, a temporary loft was built by the pulpit.

An official, printed account describes the funeral ceremony in relative detail.⁷ The full ceremony lasted several hours. It was preceded by a short procession from the Royal castle to the church, including the royal family, the Council of the Realm and the nobility. The dead Queen was represented in the procession by an empty coach, draped in black. When the King entered the church, the musicians started to perform "mourning music" (*Sårge musique*). After this the hymn *O Herre Gud af Himmelrik! / Vår tilflygt är du evinnerlig* was sung – a Swedish translation of the Lutheran hymn *Herr Gott Vater im Himmelreich*, by Cornelius Becker. Then the arch-bishop Olof Svebilius held an hour-long funeral sermon. It was based on a verse from the Pauline Epistle to the Philippians, which had served as the Queen's motto: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain". After the sermon, Svebilius read the *personalia*, i.e., an account of the Queen's biography. When he descended from the pulpit, "mourning music" was performed again. Another hymn was sung, and three members of the Royal Council removed the Queen's regalia, which had been placed on a pillow on top of the coffin. One more hymn was sung, while the Queen's coffin was carried to the Royal funeral chapel. Then the service was concluded with the benediction and a final hymn.⁸ In the evening after the

⁷ *Kort relation / Om Högst Sahl. Hennes May:tz / Wår alldernådigste Drottning / Ulricae Eleonorae Lijk Process, som skedde uthi Stockholm den 28. Novembris 1693* [Brief account of Her Most Blessed Majesty, our all merciful Queen Ulrica Eleonora's funeral, that took place in Stockholm on 28 November 1693].

⁸ The three hymns sung were *Jesus är mitt liv och hälsa* (Jesus is my life and health, a hymn by Johann Gerdes, former vicar of the German Chrich in Stockholm), *Med glädje och frid får jag hän* (a Swedish translation of Martin Luther's *Nunc dimittis* paraphrase *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*), and *I himmelen, I himmelen* (In Heaven, in Heaven, by the Swedish priest Laurentius Laurinus).



Figure 1. Queen Ulrika Eleonora's funeral in the Riddarholmen Church, with the *castrum doloris* in the center. Tinted drawing by Nichodemus Tessin the Younger used for an engraving produced in Paris by Pierre Le Pautre (the image is therefore inverted). Stockholm, National Museum, NM H THC 4822

ceremony, there was a banquet at the Royal castle, where all four estates of the realm were represented.

As we can see from this account, four Lutheran hymns were sung during the funeral. In addition, there were at least two occasions for mourning music, termed *sorge-musique* in the printed Swedish account. This is an important distinction: *musique* at this time would have meant figural music, i.e., composed, polyphonic music, presented by the singers and instrumentalists of the Royal *Hofkapelle*.

Preserved poems and songs to the memory of the Queen

According to a royal edict, services were held in all the churches of the realm, simultaneously with the funeral ceremony in the Riddarholmen Church. They all included a funeral sermon and reading of the *personalia*. All of the sermons, several of which are preserved in print, addressed the Queen's motto from the Pauline Epistle.

Ulrika Eleonora's death resulted in an immense number of poems, orations and songs. There are several hundred such occasional prints preserved, deriving from the major cities of the country, including those in the German and Baltic provinces, such as Rostock, Riga, Greifswald, Stade, etc.⁹ In Stade, Vincent Lübeck composed two cantatas for the mourning service, on commission by the city's Swedish administration.¹⁰ There is also a "Trauer-Ode" composed by Paul Itzen, possibly in the city of Lüneburg, and a lament written by Johann H. Schaefer and performed in the Trinity Church in Gävle.¹¹ In addition, there is a large number of poems written to be sung to well-known melodies.

None of these pieces, however, can be connected with the *musique* performed at the official funeral ceremony in the Riddarholmen Church. The music for that ceremony must instead be searched for in the Düben collection in Uppsala. This large collection, donated to Uppsala University in 1732 by

⁹ These are preserved at Uppsala University library (Sv. Personvers, Svenska kungl. Personer, Ulrika Eleonora d. Ä.) and at the Royal Library in Stockholm (Verser till och över enskilda).

¹⁰ Wolfram SYRÉ, *Vincent Lübeck: Leben und Werk*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000, pp. 61–62.

¹¹ See Carl Allan MOBERG, *Från kyrko- och hovmusik till offentlig konsert. Studier i Stormaktstidens svenska musikhistoria*, Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1942 (*Studia musicologica Upsaliensia*, 4), pp. 70–71.

Anders von Düben, contains large parts of the repertoire of the Royal Swedish *Hofkapelle*, from the 1650s and until the 1720s.

In the Düben collection, there are actually some music manuscripts that can be associated with the 1693 funeral. The perhaps most obvious example is an anonymous aria for soprano, two *viole d'amore* and basso continuo, *Ach Swea Thron är klädd I sorgedräkt* (Alas, the throne of Sweden is dressed in a mourning veil).¹² The text describes how the house of the King is filled with sorrow and the realm filled with tears, and Ulrika Eleonora is mentioned by name. The piece is highly interesting, but it is hardly a candidate for the funeral service in the Riddarholmen Church, simply because it is very clearly a secular text, not suitable for the church service. It could possibly have been sung at the banquet arranged at the royal castle after the funeral.

There are however at least two more compositions that can be related to the 1693 funeral. The first is Pierre Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv*, preserved in the Düben collection with call number Vmhs 37:1. The second one, somewhat surprisingly perhaps, is a motet from 1672 by the Flemish composer Daniel Danielis, *Aspice e coelis*, S-Uu Vmhs 54:1. In the following I will try to substantiate that these two works are identical to the *Sorge-Musique* performed at the Queen's funeral.

The 1693 funeral music

Pierre Verdier (1627–1706) was a French violinist, who was recruited to the court of Queen Christina already in 1646, in connection with an embassy, as part of a string band of seven. Verdier remained in Sweden as a court musician until his death in 1706.

Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv* is scored for soprano, bass, violin, two violas and basso continuo, and the key is c minor. The text is a free paraphrase on the first chapter of the epistle to the Philippians, starting with the motto of the Queen and the topic of the funeral sermon – this is obviously a strong argument for associating it with the funeral. Also the dating of the manuscript confirms the connection. Through watermark studies, Jan Olof Rudén was able to date one of the papers found in the set of parts to the late 1680s or

¹² S-Uu, Vmhs 67:3.

early 1690s.¹³ But an even stronger argument is found in the text. The second strophe contains the lines:

All the splendour of the world I miss the least
for Jesus has given me
a heavenly crown, an angel's garb
from earthly Queen I shall become the bride of Christ.¹⁴

Those lines of the text unequivocally refer to the Queen. They also agree with the sermon delivered by the arch-bishop, where he emphasizes the honour and the celestial coronation that shall befall the Queen as she is received in heaven. The piety and modesty of the Queen referred to in the text ("All the splendour of the world I miss the least") also resonates strongly with the public rhetoric surrounding the Queen in her life.

The second candidate for the mourning music mentioned in the official account of the funeral is a composition by the Flemish composer Daniel Danielis (1636–1696). In 1693, he was *maître de musique* at the cathedral in Vannes in Bretagne, and had no known contacts with the Swedish court. The piece in question, however, was composed already in 1672. At that time, Danielis was *Kapellmeister* at the court of Duke Gustav Adolph of Mecklenburg-Güstrow (1633–1695). Gustav Adolph ruled over a small duchy in northern Germany, which had close contacts with Sweden. The Duke was married to a sister of the Swedish Queen dowager Hedvig Eleonora, who was the mother of King Charles XI, Ulrika Eleonora's consort.

Daniel Danielis' composition *Aspice e coelis* is preserved in a music print published in Güstrow in 1672, together with another Latin motet, *Cessavit gaudium*.¹⁵ It is clear from the print that these pieces were originally the music

¹³ Jan Olof RUDÉN, *Vattenmärken och musikforskning: presentation och tillämpning av en dateringsmetod på musikalier i handskrift i Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks Dübensamling* [Watermarks and music research: presentation and application of a method for dating musical manuscripts of the Düben collection in the Uppsala University Library], Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1968 (licentiate dissertation), appendix I, p. 84. The study is available online at <http://www.ordom-musik.se/duben/>.

¹⁴ "All werdzens Pracht jag saknar minst / Ty Jesus har mig givit / En himlisk Crona Engla Skrud / Af jordisk konung är jag Christi Brudh".

¹⁵ Catherine CESSAC, *L'Oeuvre de Daniel Danielis (1635–1696). Catalogue thématique*, Paris: CNRS Editions, 2003, pp. 103–104 and pp. 111–112. The music print is entitled *Leich-Bestätigung Der Durchleuchtigen Fürstinn Princessin Eleonora Hertzogin*, Güstrow, 1672; there are surviving copies in D-SWI, D-Mu and D-ROu.

for the funeral of a daughter of Duke Gustav Adolph, princess Eleonora of Mecklenburg-Güstrow who died that year, only fifteen years old. Princess Eleonora was thus a cousin of the Swedish King Charles XI.

However, the two motets *Aspice e coelis* and *Cessavit gaudium* are also preserved in manuscript in the Düben collection. The source consists in a score in organ tablature (S-Uu, Vmhs 54:1) and sets of parts for the two works.

Among these manuscripts, there is a very interesting part-book, belonging to the tablature score, Vmhs 54:1. It is an extra soprano part for Danielis' *Aspice e coelis*, with a Swedish text (see figure 2). Both the paper, the ink and the handwriting differs from the rest of the source. Strangely enough, it is transposed from c minor to b minor. This soprano part is of a later date than the rest of the source. Jan-Olof Rudén has dated it to c. 1692.¹⁶

The Swedish text in this part is not a translation of the original Latin text, but a freely composed prose text, resembling a prayer. It is a lament of sorrow, and a prayer for grace and mercy. The text describes a pain and sorrow too strong to bear, but a sorrow that is a punishment for the sins of the people that have annoyed God. In translation, the text begins like this:

Alas! What sorrow and lament is now heard,
 alas! That we have sinned so,
 alas! Shall all our joy, our delight and lust end like that!
 Lord, you alone are Holy and we are all mull, dust and ash,
 alas! That we have sinned so against You,
 Lord, although you are furious now,
 alas! Our sorrow is great,
 and no one can adequately pity our lament,
 it is the sin of our sin.
 Alas! That we have sinned so!

This was a central topic in the political rhetoric of the era, and a recurring *topos* in the sermons delivered all over the Kingdom in the Great Days of Prayer (*Storböndagar*), celebrated three times a year, and centred on penitence, prayers for the health of the royal family and the welfare of the realm.¹⁷ Thus, the idea that the people were responsible for the welfare of the realm and of the royal persons through their acts and their way of living, was thoroughly impressed on the subjects of the Kingdom.

¹⁶ Jan Olof RUDÉN, card catalogue prepared for RISM, Uppsala University Library.

¹⁷ Göran MALMSTEDT, *Helgdagsreduktionen. Övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige 1500–1800*, Göteborg: Göteborg University, 1994 (PhD dissertation), pp. 94–106, and BERGLUND, *Studier i Christian Geists vokalmusik*, pp. 92–93.

Soprano Solo.

Auf! Guds Rätt i det Rätt og Klagen, Auf! auf! att
 vi så syndat Läst, så syn-dat, syn-dat
 Läst, Auf! Hall Gud var gläd, var fröjd og lust
 så ändat vi, var fröjd så ännu-dat vi! Herre
 du all-na äst Gelig og vi är Mice, Rätt og
 Rätta all-samant, Auf! auf! att vi så
 syndat, så syndat, så syndat, Auf Jämn! auf att vi
 auf! att vi så syndat Guds Rätt! Auf! att vi så
 syndat Guds Rätt! Herre, Herre du Guds Rätt
 Auf! var Rätt är Rätt, var Rätt är Rätt, og var Jämn in-
 gen Rätt Rätt Rätt Rätt Rätt Rätt Rätt Rätt Rätt Rätt
 auf! att vi så syn-dat Läst - wa!

Figure 2. Soprano part of Danielis' motet with the new Swedish text

There is nothing in this text that explicitly refers to Queen Ulrika Eleonora and the 1693 funeral. However, there is an additional manuscript in the Düben collection that provides strong evidence that this soprano part with the Swedish text was originally intended for the funeral.

Apart from Pierre Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv*, there is another manuscript in the Düben collection with a title inscription suggesting it to be a setting of the same text: "Christus är mitt Lijf / Soprano solo / et / 3 Violdigamba / et / Basso Continuo" (S-Uu Vmhs 68:3). There is no vocal part preserved in this set. It consists of eleven part-books: two identical ones for viola 1, three for viola 2, four violone parts and two bc parts. A closer examination of this piece reveals the instrumental parts to be identical with Daniel Danielis' *Aspice e caelis*, or in the Swedish version, *Ach! Hwad hörs nu för sårg och klagan*.

What has happened here? Why is the manuscript titled "Christus är mitt Lijf"? There seem to be two possible scenarios, both based on the same precondition. The court *Kapellmeister*, who at this time was Gustav Düben Jr. (1659–1726), needed appropriate music for the Queen's funeral. Someone suggested Danielis' composition as a suitable candidate, being originally composed for the funeral of a royal person, a relative of the King. Following this assumption, there are two possibilities. Either, the original plan was to fit the text *Kristus är mitt liv* to Danielis' motet. This, however, would be an impossible task, since Danielis' piece presents a Latin prose text set in a free recitative, closely adapted to the prosody of the text. But if this was the original idea, it would explain why that text incipit was written on the title page of the manuscript.

A second possibility is that the musician responsible for preparing the performance material for the funeral music simply confused the two compositions and put the wrong title in the wrong place. In my opinion, this second explanation appears somewhat more plausible, but we cannot know for sure.

Regardless of which explanation we choose, the set of parts for Danielis' motet with the wrong title connects the two compositions, and offers strong evidence that the Swedish *contrafactum* of that piece was prepared for the 1693 funeral.

An additional piece has been pointed out by Maria Schildt as a possible third composition, to be performed at the funeral ceremony.¹⁸ It is an arrangement

¹⁸ Maria SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 382–383.

of the Lutheran hymn *Einen guten Kampf*,¹⁹ made by Christian Ritter, who was court musician in Stockholm 1688–1699.²⁰ It may originally have been used at the funeral of Maria Euphrosyne of Pfalz-Zweibrücken in 1688. She was the sister of King Charles X Gustav, and thus the aunt of Ulrika Eleonora's husband, Charles XI. She had been married to the former Seneschal of the Realm (*Riksdrots*), Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. The composition is preserved in a Düben collection manuscript (S-Uu, Vhms 32:17). This set of parts appears to contain a later layer, comprising vocal parts with the hymn in Swedish translation: "Een god Kamp pa wärdlen här". These vocal parts in Swedish are copied on a paper with a watermark that is also found in the parts for Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv*, which suggests that the Swedish translation of the hymn could have been prepared for the 1693 funeral.

Decorum and affect: the selection of music for the funeral

The two pieces by Verdier and Danielis are both clearly suitable for the occasion. They are both set in c minor, a mode characteristically associated with sorrow, pain and mourning – what Athanasius Kircher called *affectus luctus seu planctus*.²¹ Moreover the instrumental setting in both compositions with *viola da gamba* and / or *viola da braccio* was typical for funerals, laments and with the Passion.²² The performance material for both the compositions suggests an unusually large scoring, with double or even triple string parts and large basso continuo sections. This is very unusual for the performance material from the Swedish court, and suggests that a particularly strong and rich timbre was desired at this occasion.

Also Christian Ritter's setting of *Einen guten Kampf* would be suitable for the occasion. The four-part vocal setting of the chorale is imbedded in an instrumental arrangement including violins, viols, *viola d'amore* and recorders

¹⁹ The text was by Heinrich Albert, and published in Johann CRÜGERS *Praxis pietatis melica*, 5 ed., Berlin: Christoff Kunge, 1653 (no. 461, pp. 876–877), to be sung to the melody of *Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott*; this melody is also used by Ritter.

²⁰ After 1690, Ritter seems to have performed some of the duties of the *Hofkapellmeister*.

²¹ Athanasius KIRCHER, *Musurgia universalis*, Romae: ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, 1650, vol. 1, p. 598.

²² Eva LINFIELD, "The Viol Consort in Buxtehude's Vocal Music: Historical Context and Affective Meaning", in *Church, Stage and Studio: Music and Its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Paul Walker, Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1990 (Studies in Music, 107), pp. 163–192.

(*fleutez doux*), which renders it a soft and sweet affect. Moreover, the Swedish version of the fourth strophe from the Philippians contains a paraphrase of the Queen's motto from the Epistle to the Philippians: "Death is now my reward, life is Christ himself" (*Döden winning min nu är, Lijfwet Christus sjelfwer*).²³

Pierre Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv* is set as a duet in dialogue between soprano and bass. This scoring is common in funeral pieces from this period, and can be interpreted as a rhetorical personification (*prosopopoeia*), where the two voices symbolised a dialogue between the Queen (or the Queen's soul) and the Lord.²⁴ This piece was most likely composed for the particular occasion, using the Queen's motto for the text.

More interesting is the adaptation of Daniel Danielis' motet for this occasion. Why was this composition chosen, and why did they go through the laborious task of providing the piece with a new, Swedish text?

We have already seen that Danielis' motet was originally composed for the funeral of a German Princess, who was not only a close relative of the royal family, but also bore the same name as the Swedish Queen, Eleonora. It was thus clearly suitable for the occasion. Interestingly, this was not the first time that Danielis' funeral music for Princess Eleonora had been re-used at the Swedish court. Its sister piece, *Cessavit gaudium*, is preserved in a Düben collection organ tablature containing both of the pieces. In this score, the words "Eleonora Princeps" have been modified to "Gustavus Princeps". It was most likely performed at the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora's son Prince Gustav, who died in 1685,²⁵ possibly together with *Aspice e caelis*.²⁶ In this sense, re-using the piece marked a continuity of dynastic ceremony, which was a very common ingredient in both funerals and coronations at this time.

²³ There is also some evidence associating Heinrich Albert's text *Einen guten Kampf* with Queen Ulrika Eleonora; see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 385–387.

²⁴ Gregory S. JOHNSON, "Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in Seventeenth-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz' Musikalische Exequien (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693)", *Journal of Musicology*, 9, 1991, pp. 186–213.

²⁵ Jean-Roch Jamelot suggested that the piece was used for a commemoration of the death of King Gustav II Adolf; see *Petits motets d'Uppsala / Daniel Danielis*, ed. Jean-Roch Jamelot, Versailles: Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, 1996 (Patrimoine musical français, 3, 1), p. 28; the funeral of Prince Gustav in 1685 is a much more likely occasion.

²⁶ Maria Schildt has proposed that they were both performed at this occasion. This appears likely, considering that they are preserved together in the tablature Vmhs 54:1; there are no corresponding modifications to the text of *Aspice e caelis*, but this is because there is no reference to the Princess in that text.

Daniel Danielis' *Aspice e caelis* is a highly emotional piece, set in an expressive *stile recitativo* from beginning to end. The original text is a free paraphrase of selected verses from the Book of Isaiah, Ch. 63 and 64. It is a penitential text, asking God for condonation for the sins of humanity. As we have already seen, the Swedish re-texting addresses similar themes, but compared to the Latin original, it speaks more straightforwardly about loss and pain.

Metrically, the new Swedish text fits the music perfectly (see example 1). Considering the complexity of rhythm and accentuations in the *stile recitativo* setting of Danielis, there can be no doubt that this text was custom-made to fit the music. Moreover, the author must either have been skilled in both music and letters or, alternatively, he used the prosody of the Latin text as a close model for designing the Swedish text. In a few places, there are modifications of the musical rhythm; either a longer note has been split into two shorter ones, or, in one case, a melisma on the word "miserationum" in the original version has been set syllabically in the Swedish *contrafactum*. These modifications actually suggest that the author wrote the words based on the musical rhythm, and not on the Latin original text. Interestingly, the anonymous author has carefully strived also to follow the content and the affect of the original, especially at places with more pregnant motifs and affects.

Where the Latin original speaks about the fury of the Lord ("ecce ut iritis est", and "ne irascaris Domine") the Swedish text presents similar topics: "Lord! You almost turn angry now" ("Herre! Tu fast wredgas nu") and "Alas! Do not turn angry, dear Lord" ("Ach! Wredgas icke Herre kär"). Where the Latin text in the concluding section mentions the deserted Sion, and describes how everything we desire or love are turned into sorrow and despair ("omne desiderabile nostrum fuit in desolationem"), the Swedish text presents a more general feeling of loss: "Gone now is all our comfort and joy" ("Bårta är nu vår hugnadt och vår glädie"). At other places the literal sense has been modified, but the strong affect represented in the music is still maintained. There is no doubt that whoever prepared the Swedish text was exceptionally aware of the strong connections between text and music, both regarding rhythm, content and affect.

The Swedish *contrafactum* of Daniel Danielis' motet is a unique case of its time. There are no other examples of a full composition in this kind of expressive *stile recitativo* with a Swedish text.

Canto

Ach! Hwad hörs nu för sårg och kla - gan, ach! Ach! Att wij så syn - dat—
 As - pi - ce, as - pi - ce e coe - lis, as - pi - ce, as - pi - ce et—

Vdg. 1, 2

Organo

haf - wa, så syn - dat, syn - dat haf - wa, ach! Skall doch vår
 vi - de de ha - bi - ta cu - lo, sanc - ti - ta - tis

gläd - je, vår frögd och lust så än - dasnu, vår frögd så än - das
 tu - ae et glo - ri - ae, et glo - ri - ae, glo - ri - ae tu -

nu.
 ae.

Her - re tu al - le - nastest He - lig
 U - bi, u - bi ze - lus tu - us!

Figured bass notation: 7 6 5 b6 6 5, 6 6 5 b 6 5 4 3

Example 1. Daniel Danielis' motet, bars 1-11 with both the Swedish and the Latin text²⁷

²⁷ The Swedish re-texted soprano part has here been transposed from b minor to c minor.

Recycling as a tool for dynastic continuity

The way in which these compositions were re-used for several funerals is highly interesting. *Aspice e caelis* was thus first used for King Charles XI's cousin in Güstrow, a namesake of his consort Queen Ulrika Eleonora. It was then used for the funeral of their sons, before finally being performed at the Queen's funeral, with a new, Swedish text. *Einen guten Kampf / Een god Kamp* was first produced for the funeral of the King's aunt, and then reused for his Queen's funeral, once again with a Swedish text.

Interestingly, similar instances of recycling can be found also in the visual decorations for royal funerals. Mårten Snickare has shown that the candelabras shaped as skeletons made for Ulrika Eleonora's funeral in 1693 were re-used as late as 1751, for the funeral of King Frederick I.²⁸ There are also indications that elements from the Queen's funeral were re-used at the funeral of her consort King Charles XI four years later. For example, a pyramid similar to the one of the Queen's *castrum doloris* was used.

There are also indications that the music for the Queen's funeral was used again at the funeral of her husband in November 1697. According to the printed report from that occasion, a piece to the text *Jesus är mitt Lijf* was performed. This is not unlikely to have been Pierre Verdier's composition for the 1693 funeral. Such recycling – musical and visual – was arguably not made for economic reasons, but to mark the crucial continuity of royal power and dynasty, something that in fact constituted its political legitimacy.

Interesting too is the use of Swedish texts at the funeral. This was something new, which must be related to the ambitions of nation building that marked King Charles XI's rule, especially after the establishment of royal absolutism in the early 1680s. At the funeral of his father, Charles X Gustav in 1660, music with Latin texts was performed.²⁹ Likewise, as we have seen, Latin texts seem to have been used for the funeral of Prince Gustav in 1685. The ambition to only have Swedish texts for the funeral music of Queen Ulrika Eleonora in 1693 should be seen in the light of a general drive at this time to use the Swedish language more in different official contexts.

²⁸ SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter*, p. 104.

²⁹ The works were *Miserere* by the Hofkapellmeister at that time, Andreas Düben, *Cessavit gaudium* by his son Gustav Düben, and Francesco Della Porta's *Obstupescite redempti* with a modified text (*Obstupescite mortales*).

The funeral of Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in the Riddarholmen Church, on 28 November 1693, must have been a strong and overwhelming experience for the participants. Nicodemus Tessin's impressive decorations of the church with its intricate illuminations, the skeletons reminding everyone of their mortality and the frailty of life on earth, and in the centre the illuminated pyramid of the *castrum doloris* in black and gold, the long and elaborate sermon of the archbishop, the singing of hymns, and the figural music – all this were means put to work together in a totality meant to move the senses and the emotions. It was a ceremony that spoke about power and hierarchies, through the symbolic representation of the elevated position of the King and the Queen. But such royal ceremonies of the early modern period also articulated a sense of community and belonging, which doubtlessly had a strong and true meaning for many of the participants. I have tried to describe the role of the music in this integrated ceremony. Affect was a crucial aspect here. The trust in music's potential to move the passions of the listeners was very strong at this moment in history. The music also had an important function in presenting and intensifying the import of the texts sung. But it could also, independent of the text, express a complex of more or less definite symbolic meanings that were an important ingredient in the dense web of significations articulated in the solemn ceremony.

Summary

Ulrika Eleonora the Elder, Queen of Sweden from 1680, died in July 1693. She was buried in the Royal funeral church, Riddarholmskyrkan, on November 28 of the same year. The Queen's funeral was designed to be one of the most magnificent ceremonies of state in Sweden during the Baroque era. The decorations for the ceremony were created by the Royal court architect, Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728). For the Queen's coffin he built a *castrum doloris* with a huge black pyramid, covered with emblems and inscriptions painted in a golden colour, which were illuminated by lamps inside the construction. Little or nothing has been known about the music played during this ceremony. According to the official printed account two musical works were performed. In this article I am able to show that the works referred to consisted of one composition by the French court violinist Pierre Verdier, *Kristus är mitt liv*, and one by the Flemish composer Daniel Danielis, *Aspice e caelis*, with a new text in Swedish. This can be shown by means of source and watermark studies and by analysing the texts. The biblical verse on which Verdier's piece is based (Phil. 1:21: "[for to me,] to live is Christ and to die is gain"), was the Queen's motto and the text for the funeral sermon. Moreover, Danielis' *Aspice e caelis* was originally composed for the funeral of princess Eleonora of Güstrow-Mecklenburg, who was a cousin to Ulrika Eleonora's husband, the King. That piece has been re-texted with an undoubtedly tailor-made Swedish text, which closely follows the varied rhythm and stress patterns of Danielis' recitative setting, at the same time mirroring the import and affect of the original text, but not the exact wording. Both works are marked by a sad, plaintive affect appropriate for such an occasion. Both are scored for gamba consort, which at this time was associated with tears and sorrow. In both works we find instances of symbolic, rhetorical personification: in Verdier's composition the duet between bass and soprano can be associated with the Queen's tender relation to Christ. In Danielis' motet the solo soprano voice represents the female gender of the person being buried. Apart from these two works, also a choral arrangement by Christian Ritter, *Einen guten Kampf*, can be associated with the funeral.

The recycling of music for the funeral is not a coincidence, but should be understood as a representation of dynastic continuity. In a similar way, the visual decorations of the funeral were re-used at later royal funerals. There are also indications that Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv* was used again at the funeral of Ulrika Eleonora's husband King Charles XI in 1697.

Keywords: funeral music, Sweden, Düben collection, Daniel Danielis, Pierre Verdier, Christian Ritter, *contrafactum*.