Scripts of Kingship

Essays on Bernadotte and Dynastic Formation in Sweden, 1771–1809

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Dynastic Histories
Art Museums in the Service of Charles XIV

PER WIDÉN

As a top ranking politician and military figure in the circles of Napoleon, Charles XIV had witnessed how the revolutionary regime as well as Napoleon himself had used the Louvre as a way of legitimizing their regimes. As king of Sweden Charles XIV attempted something similar, although on a smaller scale, when he turned the renaissance castle Gripsholm into the world's first National Portrait Gallery, and tried to create an art gallery on the grounds of his summer palace Rosendal on the royal hunting grounds outside Stockholm.

The first public art museums opened in the late eighteenth century in Vienna and Rome, the Belvedere and Museo Pio-Clementino. The Louvre, or Musée central des Arts, opened in 1793 in revolutionary France, and quickly became the model for a national museum (itself being modelled largely on Museo Pio-Clementino), especially after Napoleon had recreated it as Musée Napoléon and filled it with his art booty from Italy and the German states.

During the 1820s and 1830s the princes and states of Europe tried to imitate the Musée Napoleon, and new museums were opened in e.g. Berlin (Altes

Museum, 1830), Munich (Glyptothek, 1830, Alte Pinakothek, 1836), as well as in The Hague (Mauritshuis, 1822) and Madrid (Prado, c. 1820).

At the time of Charles xiv's coronation in 1818, Stockholm already had a public art museum, Kongl. Museum (Royal Museum), located in one of the wings of the Royal Palace. The museum, focused on antique marble sculpture, contained the collections brought together by the late king Gustav iii, and was opened for the public in 1794. The sculptures were purchased in Rome during the king's journey there in 1783–84 and consisted of Roman busts, candelabras and fragments. Foremost in the collection was a complete suite of Apollo and the Muses, said to be the only one outside the Vatican, and as pièce de résistance the Endymion, a Hellenistic or Roman sculpture of the sleeping shepherd.

For reasons yet unknown, Charles xiv chose not to use this existing museum, but instead tried to establish new structures that were his own and not coloured by his predecessors. The two museums studied here, the National Portrait Gallery at Gripsholm Castle and a never-realised project for an art museum on the grounds of Rosendal Palace, were both closely tied to the court and to the king personally. The aim of this study is to show how the king used the concept of art museums as a tool in his image-making.

As has been shown by other scholars, art museums have frequently been used by kings and their likes as means of representations of power and legitimacy. In early nineteenth century Sweden, Charles xiv used the concept of art museums as a way of strengthening his and his new dynasty's position on the throne. One way of doing this was the traditional royal way of picturing oneself as a patron of the arts. Another way, hitherto unknown, was to inscribe oneself in the line of succession in the context of a national portrait gallery. During his reign, Charles xiv made use of both strategies, most successfully in the case of the National Portrait Gallery at Gripsholm Castle.

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3 See e.g. McClellan (1994); Duncan (1995); Collins (2004).
Building on Tradition:  
The National Portrait Gallery at Gripsholm Castle

Gripsholm Castle has a very special place in Swedish history. Built in the sixteenth century, it is heavily connected to one of the most mythical figures in Swedish history, King Gustav I, more commonly known as Gustav Vasa. Gustav, a Swedish nobleman, successfully commanded the Swedish forces to victory against the Danes, thereby ending the union between Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and in 1523 he made himself king of Sweden and established his own dynasty of hereditary kings of Sweden.

Due to their highly symbolic value, Gustav I and the Vasa dynasty were used in royal propaganda from the eighteenth century onward, and Gripsholm from early on was used for propagandistic purposes. Gustav III, for instance, used the castle to emphasise his own, very distant, relationship with the Vasa dynasty. Gripsholm was seen as an important monument, and as such attracted visitors and what we might, somewhat anachronistically, call tourists. The first tour guide of the palace was published in 1755.4

Apart from its place in the historical mythology of Sweden, Gripsholm was also a castle well known for its collection of portraits, mainly of European royalties that in some way were related to the Swedish royal houses. During the first half of the eighteenth century, Gripsholm was used more or less as a storage place for less modern furniture and portraits. During the last quarter of the century, the hanging of the portraits at Gripsholm were systematized and in connection with the opening of Kongl. Museum in 1794, the decision was made to transfer groups of portraits to Gripsholm, among them a series of paintings depicting the Prussian relatives of the royal family, thereby creating a traditional royal portrait gallery in the castle.5

In the late 1810s however, the idea was brought forward among members of the court to transform the collection at Gripsholm into a National Portrait Gallery, comprised of pictures of “merited citizens” and foreign persons that

4 Karl Fredrik Ljungman, En kort Beskrifning om Gripsholms Slott (Stockholm 1755, 2nd extended edition 1795).
had somehow affected Swedish history, thus creating the world’s first Na-

tional Portrait Gallery.

The idea seems to have been initiated by the Marshal of the Realm, Count
Claes Fleming, and the County Governor and Governor of Gripsholm
Castle, Baron Pehr Skjöldebrand, who discussed the matter in a letter in
April 1821. From the letter it is clear that King Charles xiv was informed of
the plans.6 The real creator of the National Portrait Gallery at Gripsholm was
another man however; the former Chief Chamberlain of the Queen Dowager
Sofia Magdalena, Baron Adolf Ludvig Stjerneld. From what we know the
idea of a National Portrait Gallery was unprecedented, and was invented
by these men who themselves collected portraits and historical artefacts in a
manner similar to the collections at Gripsholm.7

Stjerneld was born in 1755 and served as an officer and courtier from his
early youth.8 During the 1780s he was one of the leading members in the op-
position against Gustav iii. After the assassination of Gustav iii, in which he
apparently had no part, Stjerneld served as a loyal courtier during the reign
of Gustav iv Adolf. After Queen Dowager Sofia Magdalena had died in 1813,
Stjerneld’s life took a new turn, and he dedicated the rest of his living days
to the study of history and the collecting of old manuscripts and historical
portraits. In 1817 he founded Kungliga samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter
rörande Skandinaviens historia (Royal Association for the Printing of Manu-
scripts concerning Scandinavian History) and the same year he was made
honorary member of Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien
(The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities).

From 1822 the work with the portrait gallery at Gripsholm was taken over
by Stjerneld. Each summer until his death in 1835 he worked in the collec-
tions, enlarging them by donations and rearrangements of portraits from

6 Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, F 818 f, 374, letter from P. E. Skjöldebrand to C. Fleming, April
23 1821.
7 Stjerneld’s collection, consisting of portraits, archeological findings and historical artifacts
like a button from Charles xii’s coat and brick fragments taken from the castle where Gus-
tav i was born, was published as Samling tillhörande Öfver-Kammarherren, Friherre Stjerneld
(Stockholm 1835).
8 On Stjerneld, see Per Widén, “Stjerneld, Adolf Ludvig”, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, forth-
coming.
other palaces. The work was made easier by the fact that complete series of portraits of royal relatives and important politicians had been sent to Gripsholm from the 1780s onwards, and by Stjerneld's widespread connections with persons who helped him in locating portraits suitable for the gallery. The donation of portraits to the gallery was seen as a patriotic deed.

The archival sources regarding the creation of the portrait gallery are sparse. This is probably due to the informal character of the project. No formal decisions seem to have been made. Instead, all work was conducted by a small group of courtiers, all closely tied to the monarch. Among them was the Marshal of the Realm Fleming, the highest official of the court, and Stjerneld, who in his diary writes about dinners with the royalties several times every year. In a diary entry from 1826 Stjerneld also writes that since 1823 he "voluntarily has held the post" as curator of the portrait gallery.

The function of the gallery seems to have been at least twofold. First, it was a place where visitors could see the marvellous line of merited Swedish citizens who could set an example for their own time. In one of his numerous guide books to Gripsholm, Stjerneld writes that

The Swede can proudly know that Sweden owns more exceptional men, from the sceptre to the plough, than any of the most brilliant countries, when the number of inhabitants is taken into account.

The persons represented in the gallery were, apart from royalties, also politicians, famous authors, scientists and scholars and other persons that might

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9 E.g. Marshal of the Realm Count Claes Fleming, the Librarian at Uppsala University, Johan Henrik Schröder and Court Marshal Baron Johan Jennings and his wife Baroness Sophia Elconora Jennings née Rosenhane.

10 Some of the activities are possible to reconstruct. In the Royal Palace Archive (Slottsarkivet) there are receipts and invoices concerning the transportation of paintings to the palace, often over the ice of Lake Mälaren in wintertime. In Uppsala University Library (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek) there is also correspondence between the involved persons, e.g. A. L. Stjerneld, C. Fleming and J. H. Schröder.

11 Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, x 299 e, diary of A. L. Stjerneld. The year 1823 is obviously wrong, since letters from Stjerneld show that he was working at Gripsholm in 1822. See e.g. Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, F 818 f, 589, letter from A. L. Stjerneld to C. Fleming, July 23 1822.

12 Adolf Ludvig Stjerneld, Gripsholms-galleriet (Stockholm 1833), p. 21.
fit the description of being a “merited citizen”.\textsuperscript{13} Set in an historical environment, the marvellous line of depicted persons became a national and patriotic example of the classical “historia magistra vitae”, where the visitor regardless of rank could and should, see and learn.\textsuperscript{14}

The second function, the dynastic aspects of the gallery, seems to have been central from the start. Among the portraits discussed in the letter mentioned above were one of the king himself and one depicting his predecessor and adoptive father, Charles XIII. By displaying the line of Swedish kings, beginning in the late middle ages and ending with Charles XIV, the new dynasty could place itself in a line of predecessors and thereby show the visitors that the new dynasty was in fact royal and the latest link in a long chain. The two parts of the gallery, the traditional royal portrait gallery and the newly invented gallery of merited citizens thereby worked together, thus creating something which was at the same time modern and traditional.

The setting of the gallery in a historical environment, in fact inside what already at the time could be called a “heritage site” in the modern sense, also invited the visitors to draw parallels between the king and his predecessors, especially the mythical “father of the nation” Gustav I, the builder of the castle. The similarities between Charles XIV and Gustav I, that they were both successful commanders who had earned their crowns by their successes on the battlefields, were by these means stressed, and hence served the king’s dynastic ventures. That Gustav I and the similarities between them were seen as important by Charles XIV is not least underscored by the fact that the personal coat of arms of the Bernadottes are made up of the arms of the principality of Ponte Corvo, given to Charles XIV by Napoleon I, and the arms of the Vasa Dynasty.

That visitors were supposed to see the similarities is underlined by the different guidebooks that were published and sold on the site. In them Stjerneld emphasized the castle’s historical significance, telling the reader that the castle


\textsuperscript{14} A similar purpose was expressed when, some thirty years later, the British National Portrait Gallery was founded. See Marcia Pointon, Hanging the Head. Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-century England (New Haven & London 1993), pp. 227–245.
was the place where “the Chronicles preferably should be read; surrounded by the proud or bad individuals of History”. The historical environment is used to provoke nationalistic feelings in the visitor and reader. This nationalism is then turned into royalism when confronted with the abundance of royal portraits and the royalist tendency in the guidebooks, where the kings generally are portrayed as “proud”, “self-sacrificing”, “a safeguard” and – in the case of Charles XIII – one who “saved the fatherland twice”. In his texts, Stjerneld places Charles XIV in a line of glorious predecessors bearing the name Charles, and then turns to the future and the grandson of the king, the forthcoming Charles XV. The young prince, to whom the book was dedicated, is then encouraged to use the gallery and the depicted persons as a model for his own actions.

If the usage of the portrait gallery at Gripsholm Castle as a dynastic venture should be successful, there must be something more than merely a gallery and explanatory texts. There must also be visitors. Travel diaries, letters and royal decrees tell us that Gripsholm and the other royal palaces have admitted visitors from the higher classes at least since the seventeenth century, but in the early nineteenth century admission to the palaces seems to have been given to new and broader groups of people.

One explanation is that the royal palaces were being used in new ways, as means of royal propaganda aimed at broader segments of society, not just the elite, as before. Another is that the new steamboat technology allowed new groups of people to be tourists. In fact, steamboats can be said to be part of the foundation of the new mass-nation, especially in a country with great distances like Sweden. Already in the first years of steamboat traffic in Sweden there were regular tours between Stockholm and Gripsholm on weekends in the summer, providing a rather inexpensive way of spending a summer Sunday for the inhabitants of the capital. These excursions became so popular that in the 1830s several shipping companies competed for the tourists.

15 Adolf Ludvig Stjerneld, Bihang till Gripsholms slotts beskrifning af år 1825 (Stockholm 1826), preface.
16 Stjerneld (1833), pp. 19 f.
17 Stjerneld (1833), p. 21.
12. The portrait hanging sequence in the upper drawing-room of Gripsholm Palace in the early 1830s. Here, the visitor was truly, as the guidebook puts it, "surrounded by the proud or bad individuals of History", in this instance some 17th century Senators, as evidenced by the names written in pencil within the squares representing spaces for portraits on the wall. (Pencil drawing by Maria Röhl 1832. Nationalmuseum. NMH 7X–7X1913. Photo: Svenska Porträttarkivet, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
The number of tourists who visited the castle and the Portrait Gallery is
difficult to assess, but an indication of the potential of the gallery is that on
Midsummer’s day 1833 Stjerneld noted in his diary that about 450 visitors had
been to the palace that day. Most of the visitors had come from Stockholm
on two steamboats, but a substantial part of them also came from the sur-
rounding countryside. The number of visitors mentioned in the diary is of
course an extreme figure, but it shows us something about the popularity of
the castle as a place to visit. As a way of communicating with the public it
must have been comparable to a printed magazine, maybe even better, and
definitely more subtle.

Building for the New Regime:
The Project for an Art Gallery at Rosendal Palace

The museum project for Rosendal Palace was of a completely different kind
than the portrait gallery of Gripsholm. Rosendal was built close to Stock-
holm in the 1820s and carried no connections to any other royalties than its
builder, Charles xiv himself. It was his own personal palace, built with his
private money, as opposed to the other royal palaces, which were owned by
the State, although the monarch had the right to use them.

In 1828, the palace at Rosendal was just completed. In autumn of the same
year, a group of courtiers introduced a bill at the riksdag, claiming the need
for a new national art museum in Stockholm. The bill seems to have been
written by the Court Marshal and Governor of the Royal Palace in Stock-
holm, Baron Fredrik Klingspor, the Chamberlain Baron Fredrik Boije and
the Court Intendant Axel Nyström. All three were deeply involved in the
project of creating a national art museum and in the spreading of knowledge

18 Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, x 299 e, diary of A. L. Stjerneld.
19 The bill was brought before the riksdag by Fredrik Klingspor, but in a letter written by the
sculptor Niklas Byström, Fredrik Boije is credited for writing the bill (Uppsala universitets-
bibliotek, Y 6:3, letter from J. N. Byström to A. C. Wetterling, February 28 1832), and in a
note written on a printed version of the bill found in Gustav Ancarsvärd’s private archive,
Axel Nyström is given the credit of writing it (Riksarkivet, E: 3130, Mikael Gustaf Anc-
arsvärd’s papper, Museifrågan). It was most probably a collaboration between the three of
them.
of art and its history. The bill was voted down, and, as it seems, in connection with the failure in the riksdag, plans were made by the king for an art museum on the grounds of his palace at Rosendal.

The plans for the building were made by the king’s favourite architect, Lieutenant-Colonel Fredrik Blom. Blom, who was born in 1781, started his career as an officer in the Navy’s Mechanical Corps, where he received his first training as architect. He later completed his architectural studies at Kongl. Akademien för de fria konsterna (Royal Academy of Fine Arts), but never left his position in the armed forces.

His first royal assignment for Charles xiv in 1818 was the so called “Stronghold”, a small pavillion at the exercise area Ladugårdsgräden outside Stockholm. The following year the king commissioned drawings from Blom for the palace at Rosendal, which, as mentioned, were finished in 1828. In 1833, the drawings for the art museum were finished, and the following year the ground was prepared and the first deliveries of stone for the building were made. In the summer of 1834, which is hitherto unnoticed, the portico of the intended museum was erected near the palace as a manifestation of the king’s intentions. The choice of material for the portico, Swedish marble, was of course also intended as a national manifestation of the wealth of the country.

As opposed to the portrait gallery at Gripsholm, which was housed in a renaissance castle, the art gallery at Rosendal was intended to be a modern building, situated on a hill east of the palace. Blom’s plans show a building with two top lighted wings extending from a central rotunda. The inspiration seems to have been taken from a wide range of sources, including Musée

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21 Two presentation drawings have been preserved, a section and a plan and façade. Kungl. Husgerådskammaren, RM 842 a–b. A slightly different version of the façade was also published in Jacob Philip Tollstorp, Djurgården. Historisk statistik (Stockholm 1844).
13. The statue of Charles XIII, intended for the rotunda at the planned museum at Rosendal. The king is posing in ceremonial garments, carrying the royal mantle in the manner of a Roman toga, wearing a laurel wreath on his head, and holding a sceptre in his right hand. With the left hand he is holding a document, which might be interpreted as the act where Charles XIII adopted Bernadotte as his son. (Marble sculpture by Bengt Erland Fogelberg, unknown date. Nationalmuseum. NMSk 395. Photo: Svenska Porträttarkivet, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)
Pio-Clementino in Rome, Schinkel’s Altes Museum in Berlin, and Klenze’s Alte Pinakotek in Munich as well as from Dulwich Picture Gallery, south of Lon-
don.23

The façades were intended to be rather traditional, with arcades made of
Swedish marble surrounding the windows and decorative sculpture in be-
tween. The iconographic program of the façades also seems very traditional,
with sculptures of different personifications of virtues representing the king.
Some of the virtues can be identified from the sketches, e.g. Justitia, Victoria
and mother Svea, the Swedish equivalent of the French Marianne or the Brit-
ish Britannia.

The main purpose of the museum seems to have been to house the five
monumental, larger-than-life marble sculptures commissioned from the sculp-
tors Niklas Byström and Bengt Fogelberg. The sculptures depicted the king’s
predecessors Charles x, Charles xi, Charles xii and Charles xiii and the Old
Norse god Odin (Woden/Wotan), a deity used by Charles xiv as a personifi-
cation of himself. In the sagas, Odin was the successful warrior who came to
Sweden to be king, invited by the old and childless king Gylfe, a perfect meta-
phor for the new king and his background as a successful French General.24

The sculptures were to be put on display in the central rotunda with Odin
as the focal point, thereby creating a superb dynastic manifestation depicting
the king as part of a long tradition, in fact inscribing him in the ancient sagas,
as well as showing him to be a patron of the arts.

The intended hanging of the surrounding picture galleries is more un-
clear. It appears that the museum was intended to house the king’s personal
collection of art, but the dividing line between private and public was far
from clear when it came to the royal collections.

In a section plan of the museum, there is a sketch of a picture hanging
done in pencil.25 The outlined hanging is rather cluttered, with the paint-
ings very close to each other. The paintings are shown hanging in four to
five rows, with two rows of smaller pictures closest to the floor and, above, a

25 Kungliga husgerådskammaren, RM 842 b.
row of large mainly horizontally organised compositions flanked by groups of smaller pictures. Close to the ceiling, the person who drew the sketch has included a last row of smaller horizontal paintings. No individual painting can be identified. It has been suggested, though, that the large horizontal pictures were battle paintings, of which the king had commissioned several from Swedish artists, depicting his achievements in the battle field, and that the hanging should be seen as centred around these.²⁶

The sketched hanging looks very old fashioned for its time.²⁷ It is cluttered, and seems to be more focused on symmetry than on any pedagogical ideas such as schools or chronology. The lack of space between the pictures would have made it hard for the visitor to look at individual paintings, especially since many of them are placed close to the ceiling.

The person behind the sketched hanging is unknown. It might be Blom, but a more plausible name is the curator of the Kongl. Museum, Court Intendant Lars Jakob von Röök, whose hanging of the lower gallery at the Royal Palace in Stockholm in 1841 bears close similarities to the sketched hanging for the museum at Rosendal.²⁸

It seems clear that the main purpose of the museum was a manifestation of Charles XIV as king and patron of the arts, and of Bernadotte as the royal dynasty of Sweden. But the chronological proximity to the rejection of the bill for a national museum at the riksdag of 1828 makes it plausible that the king also intended to solve the museum question by himself. None of the authors of the bill seems to have been directly involved in the plans for Rosendal, though.

Another interesting feature is the similarity between the intended composition of the sculptures in the rotunda at Rosendal and how Stjerneld described what the visitors saw at Gripsholm. Stjerneld writes:

The proud Charles X gave Sweden the most necessary provinces. Charles XI from here arranged Sweden's most honourable prosperity, thereby sacrificing his entire lifetime. The

The architect Blom's presentational drawing shows the plan and façade of the intended art museum at Kongl. Djurgården, Stockholm. The drawing shows the modern gallery building with two toplighted gallery wings stretching out from a central rotunda. The rotunda seems to be intended for sculptures as square fundaments are marked in the drawing, five large and eight smaller. At the back side of the building a new set of smaller rooms in two storeys are sketched in pencil, making room for larger collections. (Fredrik Blom, date unknown. Kungliga Husgerådskammaren. RM 842a. Photo: Alexis Daflos, Kungliga Husgerådskammaren, Stockholm.)
15. A section of the planned but never built art museum. On the gallery walls a suggested hanging of paintings is drawn in pencil and in the rotunda one can see the shapes of the intended monumental sculptures. It is uncertain if whoever drew the hanging had specific works of art in mind, it is most probably made to illustrate the general impression of the gallery, rather than to show an exact intended hanging. (Fredrik Blom, date unknown. Kungliga Husgerådskammaren. RM 842b. Photo: Alexis Daflot, Kungliga Husgerådskammaren, Stockholm.)
The similarity in composition between the rotunda at Rosendal and the described gallery is striking. Both the rotunda and Stjerneld's text conjure up the predecessors of Charles xiv to legitimize him as their equal. The lines of continuity are of course made even clearer by the fact that they all bear the same name and that their deeds and virtues are portrayed as very much the same.

The construction work at Rosendal museum seems to have ended in 1838. It has been suggested that the king was offered to buy the sculptor Niklas Byström's house close to Rosendal, with the intention of solving the "museum problem". By that year though, the question of a national museum had been under consideration by the riksdag since 1841, and the question was finally solved in 1845, when the riksdag voted for the building of a national museum.

Art Museums in the Service of Royal Image-Making

As mentioned above, there was already an art museum in one of the wings of the Royal Palace in Stockholm. The museum contained the collections brought together by Gustav iii, to whose memory it was dedicated. The Kongl. Museum was in no way an exemplary museum. The sculpture galleries were fairly modern but in the long run too small. The real problem, however, was the collection of paintings, which had never been properly displayed.

When the museum was created in the 1790s, the antique sculptures had been its main subject, but during the following decades a shift in taste had

29 Stjerneld (1833), pp. 19 f.
30 See e.g. Georg Nordensvan, Svensk konst och svenska konstnärer i nittonde århundradet 1 (Stockholm 1923), p. 324.
occurred, and in the 1820s the collection of paintings became as interesting as the sculptures. This meant that the *Kongl. Museum* appeared as rather old-fashioned, and not in line with what one could expect of an art museum at that time. Suggestions were made that the palace wing opposite to the sculpture gallery should be rebuilt to serve as a gallery for the paintings, both in 1798 and 1816/17, which would have transformed the entire western part of the palace into an art museum very much like the *Louvre* or the *Hermitage* in St. Petersburg.\(^{32}\)

In fact, there is ample evidence that plans were made for the *Kongl. Museum* in the late 1810s. New instructions were given concerning the entry to the museum, which allowed entrance to a much broader segment of society, and a new inventory of the collection of paintings was made.\(^{33}\) Together with the plans to turn the southern wing of the palace into a modern toplighted picture gallery, this clearly shows that some persons were working very actively in the interest of the museum. But the ideas were never realized. At present we do not know who made the plans and who opposed them, but a plausible theory is that Charles xiv (as crown prince) for some unknown reason opposed to the plans.

Why Charles xiv chose to ignore the existing museum in his residence in Stockholm and instead chose to concentrate on new projects outside the capital is hard to say. Additional research is needed. A possible explanation is that the *Kongl. Museum* was too closely connected to the old regime of Gustav iii and Gustav iv Adolph, but that is contradicted by the fact that the driving political force behind the creation of the museum was not Gustav iv Adolph but the adoptive father of Charles xiv, who as Regent in the years between 1792–1796 created the museum together with the Master of Ceremonies at Court and Antiquarian Carl Fredrik Fredenheim.

Whatever the reasons, the fact is that Charles xiv did not use the existing museum structure to any extent, but instead tried to create his own new mu-

\(^{32}\) Söderlind (1993), pp. 94 ff.


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seums. These new museums were the never-realised art gallery at Rosendal and the National Portrait Gallery at Gripsholm. Although on the surface very unlike each other, the two projects have several similarities. Both were intended to work as a means of manifesting King Charles xiv and the new royal dynasty. The newly invented portrait gallery at Gripsholm sought to do this by showing the monarch as one in a long line of predecessors, and stressing the similarities between the highly appreciated Gustav i and Charles xiv, as well as showing the audience a wide selection of portraits of merited Swedish citizens where the king could appear as “primus inter pares”.

In the case of the intended art museum at Rosendal, the king could more freely appear as a patron of the arts, but the preserved drawings show that the exhibitions were also supposed to stress the continuity of the throne, and show the visitors that the king really belonged on the throne of Sweden. In the main rotunda of the museum, five larger-than-life marble statues were to be put on display, showing King Charles xiv personified by the Old Norse god Odin, surrounded by his predecessors on the throne of Sweden, Charles x, Charles xi, Charles xii and his adoptive father Charles xiii.