

Scripts

of Kingship

*Essays on Bernadotte
and Dynastic Formation
in the Swedish Revolution*

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Housing a Dynasty

Tradition and Innovation within the Walls of the Stockholm Royal Palace

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When Bernadotte arrived in Stockholm as the adopted son of Charles XIII, brother of the murdered Gustav III, he gained not only an adoptive father, but a whole new family – the fading Gustavian dynasty. Although the deposed king, Gustav IV Adolf, along with his wife and children, had been deported as a result of the revolution in 1809, his older relatives still remained. Thus, with slight trepidation they all gathered at the Royal Palace in Stockholm to receive their new member.

This extended family consisted of King Charles XIII, uncle of the deposed king and his immediate successor, his consort Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, Queen Dowager Sofia Magdalena, who was the widow of Gustav III, and the king's sister Princess Sofia Albertina.¹ The youngest brother of King Charles XIII, Duke Adolf Frederick, died unwed in 1803, and is therefore missing from this idyllic scene. Incidentally, there were no children around for the first time in the history of the palace, and the inhabitants were elderly.

The individual royal family members mentioned above formed separate households to which different sets of courtiers and servants belonged, who were also housed in or near the Palace. This included separate kitchens for each household on the ground level of the Palace. As some living space had become vacant due to the preceding political turmoil, the pool of available accommodations had increased. It consisted of the apartments of the deposed king, his family and the late duke, all mentioned above, and of the deceased first elected crown prince, Charles August of Augustenborg.

¹ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, pp. 607–612, 662 f. Princess Sofia Albertina did not have an apartment at the Royal Palace at the time, since she had bought a property within sight of the palace in 1783, and erected a new building for herself and her household in which she had resided since the mid 1790s. Queen Dowager Sofia Magdalena had an apartment in the Royal Palace, but resided mostly at her country residence Ulriksdal.

There was plenty of space, in other words, where the new crown prince, his family, his retinue and his court could be housed. But as we shall see, this was not as simple an issue as one might believe since accommodation was a symbolic carrier of social and political connotations. As David Kertzer claims: “Through symbolism we recognize who are the powerful and who are the weak, and through the manipulation of symbols the powerful reinforce their authority.”²

Previous studies of royal palaces, mainly made within the discipline of history, have demonstrated that royal power historically has used architecture as a mediator and enabler of social norms and power. A prime example often discussed is Versailles, where the court rituals and the physical spaces complemented each other in the production and reproduction of power and social difference.³

This was also the case with the Royal Palace of Stockholm; since it was brought into use, Sweden had had four regents in succession, and a fifth one was thus looming on the horizon when Bernadotte was elected crown prince. This promoted many opportunities for change in social and spatial practice which impinged on the perceptions of status and power.⁴ My essay will examine if, how and when that occurred, pointing out some cultural and social factors that may have contributed to alterations in the distribution of space and their possible consequences.

The allocation of living quarters at the Royal Palace had not been static during its more than half a century of occupancy. The distribution was continuously reconsidered in order to reflect events of social significance, as the official correspondence between the king and the Marshal of the Realm testifies. Since the mid-eighteenth century, when Lovisa Ulrika and Adolf Frederick, the parents of Charles XIII, took up residence, the inhabitants had moved around quite a lot.⁵ What mostly influenced redistribution of space

² David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (Yale 1988), p. 5.

³ See for example: Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven & London 1992); Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge 2003), and Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Garden of Versailles* (Cambridge 1997).

⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford 1991), p. 26.

⁵ Ove Leijonhufvud, “Våningarnas fördelning och användning”, in Martin Olsson (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia 3. Från Fredrik I till Gustav V* (Stockholm 1941), pp. 273–295.

were, not surprisingly, births, coming of ages, marriages, and deaths within the royal family. In particular the two latter occasions usually caused the greatest upheaval. This affected not only the royal family, but also courtiers and servants.⁶

Space and Social Practice

Architectural historians frequently ignore the lived experience facilitated by the built environment [...] forms of movement, modes of habitation, and even more intangible kinesthetic and emotional responses.⁷

As Edward Dimenbergh claims above, the traditional scholarly regime of architectural history has predisposed its practitioners to focus on the exterior and interior visual character of a building, often forgetting other aspects.⁸ In fact, buildings influence human behaviour, perception and experience in more subtle ways than merely through the iconography of the façade.⁹ The French

⁶ One episode may be mentioned where King Charles XIV discusses the possible evacuation of rooms in the palace by some ladies-in-waiting. See Slottsarkivet, Riksmarskalksämhetens arkiv, E 1:13, March 17 1818, p. 192. Similar correspondence and protocols exist from earlier periods as well. See the accompanying topic register, B 1:52, p. 71 (evacuation of rooms), 436 (rooms for the lady-in-waiting Countess Jaquette Gyldenstolpe), and 437 (rooms for Countess Silfversparre) in 1810. Unfortunately, some of the letters in question are missing from the archive, but it is possible to follow the changes from the headings.

⁷ Edward Dimenbergh, "In ordinary time: considerations on a video installation by Iñigo Mangano Ovalle and the New National Gallery in Berlin by Mies van der Rohe", in Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut & Belgin Turan Özkaya (eds.), *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (New York 2006), p. III.

⁸ The major exceptions to this are: Bill Hillier & Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge 1984); Charles T. Goodsell, *The Social Meaning of Civic Space. Studying Political Authority through Architecture* (Lawrence 1988); Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Art and the Use of the Plan* (New York 1990); Thomas A. Markus, *Buildings and Power* (London & New York 1993); Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior. Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven 1995); Bill Hillier, *Space is the Machine* (Cambridge 1996); Julienne Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses* (Cambridge 1998); and Katie Scott, "Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour", in Katie Scott & Deborah Cherry (eds.), *Between Luxury and the Everyday. Decorative Arts in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford 2005), pp. 110–152.

⁹ Kim Dovey, *Framing Places. Mediating power in built form* (London 1999), pp. 1–3; Åsa Dahlin, *On Architecture, Aesthetic Experience and the Embodied Mind. Seven Essays* (Stockholm 2002), chapters 4, 6 and 7, and Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin* (London 2005), passim.

political philosopher Henri Lefebvre rightly contends that “Spatial order is one of the most striking means by which we recognise the existence of the cultural differences between one social formation and another”.¹⁰ Further, he claims that space “is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power [...]”.¹¹ The internal social organisation expressed in the plan, as well as the social use and control of space, is then of equal, if not greater importance, as an expression of power than the visible architectural forms.

According to cognitive psychologist Albert Bandura, “social structures represent authorized systems of rules, social practices, and sanctions designed to regulate human affairs”.¹² But there is still room for change; due to human agency, social practice imposes both constraints and openings for alternative action by individual agents.¹³ This means that agency balances the structural influences in a given social situation. The social practice is thus constituted both by structural factors pulling towards maintaining status quo and agentic factors enabling change. The implementation of social power and the spatial practice connected with it is thus partially dependent on agency.¹⁴

As a knowledge domain, social practice is dependent on preconditioned behaviour among individuals often apprehended in a social context which rests to a large extent on a routinization of actions and symbolic ritualisations.¹⁵ This informal way of learning results in what cognitive psychologists refer to as personally embedded knowledge schemas that the individual is not consciously aware of.¹⁶ They function, for instance, as regulators for how a person interprets his or her social environment and influences how she or he deals with it.¹⁷

¹⁰ Hillier & Hanson (1984), p. 27.

¹¹ Lefebvre (1991), p. 26.

¹² Albert Bandura, “Social Cognitive Theory: An Agentic Perspective”, *Annual Review of Psychology* 52 (2001), p. 14.

¹³ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the theory of structuration* (Cambridge 1984), pp. 5–14. See p. 9: “Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any given phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently”.

¹⁴ Giddens (1984), pp. 14 f.

¹⁵ Giddens (1984), p. xxiii.

¹⁶ Cf. the explanation of the schema concept by Kertzer (1988) who has drawn similar conclusions in reference to his discussion on rituals and power, pp. 79–82.

¹⁷ A. L. Wilkes, *Knowledge in minds. Individual and collective processes in cognition* (Hove 1997), pp. 41–47.

Schemas have a somewhat arbitrary character, since they depend on fragmentary observations, accidental interpretations and acquired habits rather than on systematic explorations. Cognitive dissonance may lead to alteration of a schema, which then better fits the input. Still, a person may disregard or misinterpret new information if it fits badly with already firmly established schemas, and the human tendency to keep schemas intact appears to be strong. Thus, they greatly influence our conceptions of situations and social roles and therefore how to behave. With this in mind it becomes easier to extrapolate the possible motivations behind the way people act in different situations, as will be seen in my discussion. Alterations in space allocation and formation during Charles XIV's residency will hint at a new understanding of how change and continuity worked in his social practice and spatial politics.

Source Material

The main architectural history of the Royal Palace of Stockholm, which was written in the 1930–40s, contains a very useful set of tables charting space allocation from the eighteenth until the twentieth century,¹⁸ which is used as a source for my interpretation. In addition, a selection of contemporary diaries and memoirs, as well as official archival records, has been used as a complement to confirm and catch fragments of the actual contemporary experience and understanding of the Palace as social space. Two of the latter sources are more exhaustive, and are therefore introduced in detail below.

The foremost inside source is the diary kept by Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta. Political reflections alternate with anecdotes concerning everyday life. With critical close-reading, the diary becomes useful as an eye-witness account. It was transcribed and published 1902–1942, with a running commentary in the footnotes referring to other corroborative or refuting sources of the time. Other archival material has also been used by the editors to substantiate its contents, and to offer alternative or more developed viewpoints through additional data. A supplement at the end of the published diary offers further source material, including letters and quotes from other diaries.

¹⁸ Martin Olsson (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia* 1–3 (Stockholm 1940–1941), especially Leijonhufvud (1941), pp. 273–295.

Court Marshal Baron J. O. Nauckhoff wrote memoirs at the end of his life, which to all appearances were based on diary notes, offering the most comprehensive account of life with Charles XIV, both as crown prince and as king. For many years Nauckhoff was entrusted with different positions at court, starting out as the crown prince's ordinance officer in 1811, and ending as the head of the royal household before leaving the court in 1832. For various reasons he was less than enamoured by the king's person, and there are many disparaging remarks in his narrative. Nevertheless, he is regarded as fairly dependable as far as facts go. Later biographers and scholars have to a large extent been influenced by his negative bias in the way they represent Charles. I will here attempt to offer a reading without falling into that trap, and instead provide alternative interpretations based on a discussion of the power implications of the events and the king's behaviour included in Nauckhoff's texts. Extracts from his memoirs were published in a journal, *Illustrerad tidning*, in 1857, and in 1880 by Arvid Ahnfelt in the second volume of his collection of historic letters, diaries and memoirs *Ur svenska hofvets och aristokratiens lif*. It is the latter publication which has been used in this essay.

The Royal Palace – the Constructed Environment¹⁹

The original castle of Stockholm, partly a medieval and partly a renaissance building complex, was to a large extent burnt to the ground in 1697. The architect Nicodemus Tessin the younger was commissioned to develop plans for a new palace.²⁰ The north wing, recently completed, had survived fairly intact and served as the starting point of a completely new project. Tessin's role model Bernini has been credited with claiming: "A building is a faithful reflection of the prince, therefore a prince should build large and magnificently or not at all".²¹ This quote highlights a view of a palace as representa-

¹⁹ Bandura (2001), p. 15, has introduced a useful set of concepts regarding both space and social milieu, which I have used to structure my analysis thematically and which serve as headlines: constructed, imposed and selected environment.

²⁰ Recently, a major scholarly project has highlighted Tessin the younger and his work, resulting in a number of publications consisting of catalogues, manuscripts by him, and scholarly studies.

²¹ Ragnar Josephson, *Tessin. Nicodemus Tessin d. y. Tiden, mannen, verket 2* (Stockholm 1931), p. 60. See Dovey (1999), p. 16: "A dominant built mass or volume signifies the control over resources necessary to its production"; thus, size matters. See also Bo Vahlne, "Tessin's *Traité*

tional and therefore symbolic space,²² a view which was shared by Tessin, who strove to realise it in his conceived project.²³ The Royal Palace was to become a permanent visual record of both the king's prominence and his reign in the splendour the architect imagined was required by contemporaries and future generations. In addition, Tessin also laid plans to monumentalise the urban environment surrounding the palace.²⁴

The architect anticipated completing the new palace in six years. In reality it took fifty years, with long interludes of inactivity.²⁵ When it was begun, Sweden was an absolute monarchy and a European great power, but between the times of the palace's conception, construction, and inhabitation, Sweden lost its dominant political position and the role of monarchy was changed.

The first royal couple to take up residency in the palace was King Adolf Frederick and Queen Lovisa Ulrika, along with their children.²⁶ During their reign (1751–1771) the king's power was severely restricted. Absolutism was however the ideal of this couple, and they tried repeatedly with no success to reclaim power.²⁷ The rococo style was also introduced in Sweden, in large measure through Lovisa Ulrika, who was the sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia and well aware of the new stylistic trend.²⁸ Finally, through a *coup*

and the Swedish Royal Court”, in Patricia Waddy (ed.), *Nicodemus Tessin the younger. Sources. Works. Collections. Traicté dela decoration interieure 1717* (Stockholm 2002), pp. 30, 36.

²² Lefebvre (1991), pp. 33, 39, 45.

²³ Josephson (1931), p. 96.

²⁴ Ragnar Josephson, *Tessins slottsomgivning* [facsimile] (Stockholm 2002), passim. See also Mårten Snickare, “Tre kungliga slott”, in Mårten Snickare (ed.), *Tessin. Nicodemus Tessin d.y. Kunglig arkitekt och visionär. En konstbok från Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm 2002), pp. 114–120.

²⁵ Josephson (1931), p. 87.

²⁶ During the erection of the palace, the royals lived in the nearby Wrangel Palace, originally inhabited by a noble family carrying that name. Vahlne (2002), p. 26. The previous royal couple had no descendants and Adolf Frederick, a prince from Holstein-Gottorp, was offered the crown.

²⁷ Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty. Sweden 1719–1772* (Cambridge 1986), passim.

²⁸ Merit Laine, “An eighteenth-century Minerva. Lovisa Ulrika and her collections at Drottningholm Palace 1744–1777”, *Eighteenth-century Studies* 31 (1997–1998), pp. 493–503, by the same author ‘*En Minerva för vår Nord. Lovisa Ulrika som samlare, uppdragsgivare och byggherre*’ (Stockholm 1998). See also Marc Serge Rivière, “‘The Pallas of Stockholm’. Louisa Ulrica of Prussia and the Swedish Crown”, in Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815. The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge 2004), pp. 322–343, who seems to be unaware of the prior works of Merit Laine.

d'état, their son and successor King Gustav III accomplished for a time a temporary reintroduction of absolutism with Louis XIV as his role model; this is evidenced by his introduction of ceremonial bed chambers for the *lever*.²⁹ After the overthrow of his son, Gustav IV Adolf in 1809, the idea of absolutism was abolished.³⁰ This complicated political history is reflected in the final plan and the subsequent fitting out and use of the palace, since its spatial practice in combination with the social practice of its inhabitants continued to echo the spectre of absolutism while at the same time was undergoing an adaptation to new modes of inhabiting a palace.

Compared to Tessin's two projected plans of the ground floor and the first/second floor,³¹ the palace, as built, shows a considerably higher room density on the two lower floors, permitting a larger number of dwellers, while the upper floors are more in keeping with Tessin's ideas of fewer and larger rooms. Nevertheless, upper floors were modified to reflect an important post-tessinian development inspired by French precedence, where the apartment would have, not only a dual³² but a tripartite subdivision into ceremonial, social and personal suites, articulated through the scale, size, and décor of the rooms as well as their types.³³ The idea of a need for personal space was actually promoted already in the mid-seventeenth century by the Précieuses, and even Tessin in his writings mentions the need of supplying plans offering both public and more private space.³⁴ In keeping with this development,

²⁹ Nils G. Wollin, "Den sengustavianska tiden 1785–1810", in Martin Olsson (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia 3. Från Fredrik I till Gustaf V* (Stockholm 1941), pp. 111–115.

³⁰ Mikael Alm, "Royalty, Legitimacy and Imagery. The Struggles for Legitimacy of Gustavian Absolutism, 1772–1809", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28 (2003), pp. 20–23.

³¹ Vahlne (2002), p. 26.

³² Tessin mentions a division into a winter and a summer apartment, as well as state rooms for public occasions and retreat rooms for everyday use in a handwritten manuscript, recently published, *Observationer Angående så wähl Publique som Priuate huus byggnaders Starkheet, beqwämligheet och skiönhet, in rättade, effter wår Swänska Climat och oeconomie* (Stockholm 2002), pp. 40–46. Cf. Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor. The domestic interior 1620–1920* (London 1985), p. 48.

³³ See Scott (1995), p. 105, and Mark Girouard, *Life in the French Country House* (New York 2000), pp. 147–152, who both follow Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford 1982), pp. 44–53, whose analysis is based on the ideal representation of the hôtel plan in the *Encyclopedie*. Of course, already in Tessin's day relative status not only between different apartments but also different rooms was signified through the monetary value of their objects and decorative details as well as the character of the art placed there as Vahlne (2002), p. 31, points out.

³⁴ Girouard (2000), pp. 118–127.

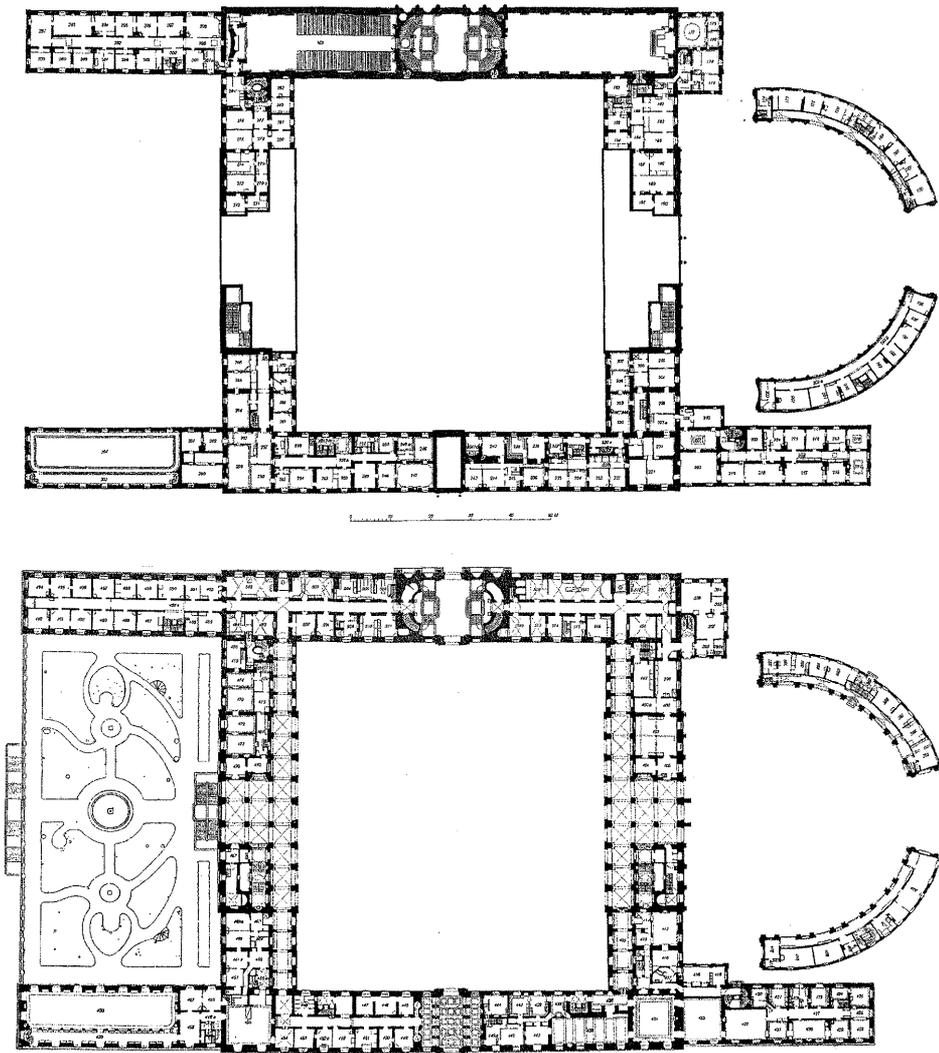
at the Stockholm palace large reception rooms were located along the side that faced the town, while smaller rooms, presumably in imitation of the French concept of private apartments, were formed mainly towards the inner courtyard already in the mid-eighteenth century. The second floor was more or less reserved for ceremonial use as the State Apartment. Eventually, in some lodgings, the so-called private apartment became more distinct and intimate through the aid of entresolling by the end of the eighteenth century.³⁵ After 1785, three such entresols sets were created by the royal brothers, King Gustav III and the dukes Charles and Frederick Adolf, in the innermost parts of their respective apartments.³⁶

The main body of the Palace consists of four wings surrounding a central courtyard, divided into four floor levels that are clearly destined for different purposes. The ground floor and the mezzanine contain many smaller rooms, while the first and second floors contain mainly large apartments, with a few large and some small rooms, as well as two huge spaces with evident representational aspects: the Hall of the Realm (*Rikssalen*) and the Palace Chapel. Within the large apartments all rooms are arranged in interconnecting double rows to facilitate easy movement and grand vistas. Large apartments are placed opposite each other with monumental staircases between them in all three wings. While the apartments do communicate with each other, they are spatially separated by voluminous stairwells. This arrangement ensured a high degree of independence for each separate user and simplified subdivision when necessary.

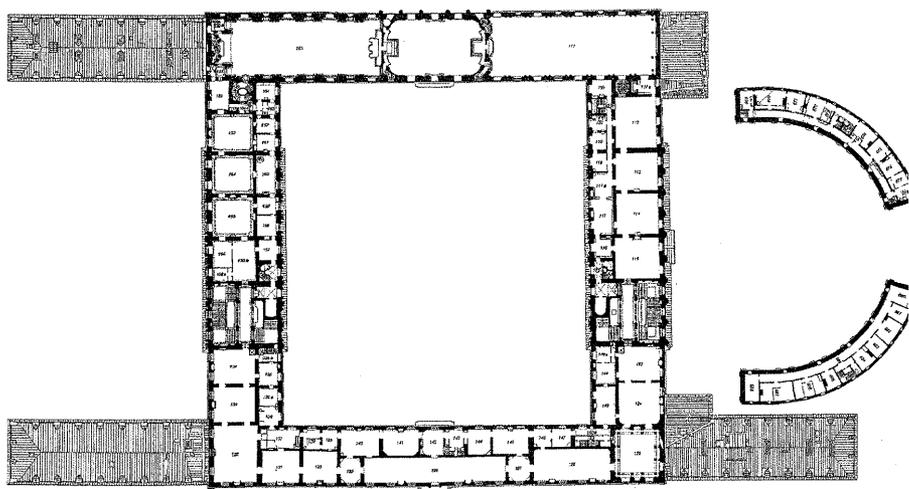
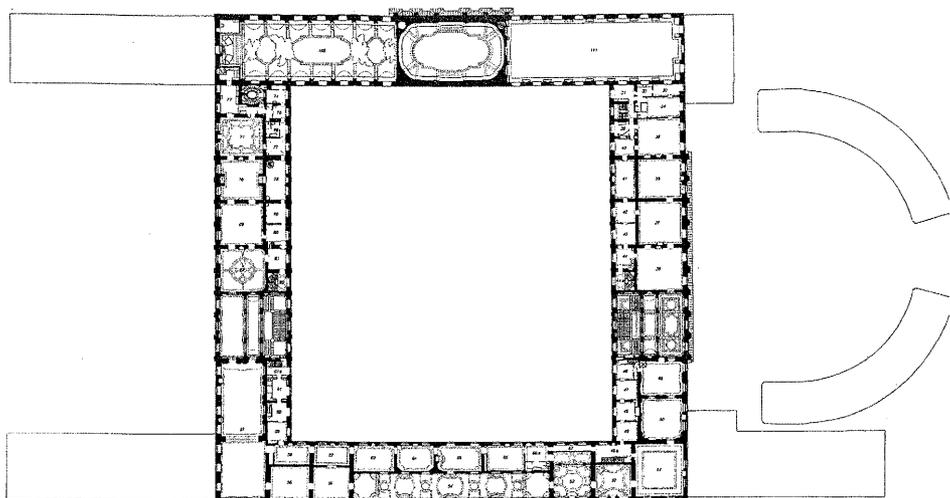
Spatially, one may summarise that social hierarchy is defined through the aid of scale, size, and relative position with a strong vertical emphasis, and a weaker horizontal one. Social inequality or differentiation is conceptually demonstrated through the same means, and the allocation of space to various functionaries and functions corresponded with them, at least until the reign of Charles XIV. Members of the royal family resided mainly on the first floor. The king also had access to the State Apartment on the second floor.

³⁵ In France this practice was promoted early on, see Peter Thornton (1985), p. 97 and Girouard (2000), p. 150. A high-ceilinged room is said to be entresolled when it is divided into two low-ceilinged rooms by an intermediate new floor. Usually this entresol would be positioned at the furthest end of an apartment beyond the state rooms.

³⁶ Wollin (1941), pp. 143 f. (Gustav III), 153–156 (Duke Charles), 177 (Duke Frederick Adolf).



8. The plans show the layout of the mezzanine (top) and ground (bottom) floor of the Royal Palace, where courtiers and servants had their quarters. The kitchens occupied part of the ground floor as well. The drawings are digitally reproduced from Martin Olsson (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia 3. Från Fredrik I till Gustav V* (Stockholm 1941).



9. The plans show the layout of the first (bottom) and second (top) floor of the Royal Palace of Stockholm, which in principle were reserved for the members of the Royal Family. The drawings are digitally reproduced from Martin Olsson (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia 3. Från Fredrik I till Gustav V* (Stockholm 1941).

Courtiers, with some few exceptions, would be allotted one or two rooms each, primarily in the mezzanine and sometimes on the ground floor, signalling the fact that unlike their superiors they were not expected to entertain company while serving their term of attendance.³⁷ The state of repair as well as the furnishings of the courtiers' rooms gave further indication of the relative status of the incumbent.

In other words, the Palace contains a number of separate abodes of varying sizes, so that as many as possible of the members of the royal family, their entourage and servants might be housed as befitted their respective ranks. Likewise, some important public offices were also allocated space, such as the Royal Chancery and various important judiciary and state drafting institutions.³⁸ In fact, the Palace reveals itself to be a dynamic and complex social space, where personal and public, social and official, housing and administration, are intricately entwined.³⁹ This means that there was not only a symbolic element present in the conception of the palace, but also practical, political, social and cultural ones. Therefore, the smallest of changes in the distribution, disposition, access and allocation of space would have had a socially significant meaning for both visitors and inhabitants. Thus, it is not only the visually perceptible parts like façade and interior décor that inform us of ideology, politics and social norms. In fact, subtle changes in spatial and social practice may be of greater importance than the aesthetic field in revealing power relations and social standing within a built environment.⁴⁰

A Crown Prince in his Imposed Environment

On his accession to the throne, Charles XIII initiated a refurbishment of what had been the former king's apartment, so he might move there as befitted his new prominence. The apartment, which he until then had occupied, was to

³⁷ Leijonhufvud (1941), pp. 276 f.

³⁸ Leijonhufvud (1941), pp. 276 f.

³⁹ This particular aspect of court culture has previously been studied in John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500–1750* (London 1999), and Philip Mansel, *The Court of France 1789–1830* (Cambridge 1988). Marianne Jansson, *Kungliga slottet – ett sambälle i miniatyr* (Stockholm 2007), p. 18, draws the same conclusions.

⁴⁰ Kertzer (1988), pp. 30 f., who mentions the importance today of the location of company offices as signs of hierarchical positions.

be turned over to Crown Prince Charles John, and the present queen's, formerly duchess, lodgings below were to be given to his spouse Desideria, after necessary repairs. Until these were done, Charles John lived in the rooms of the deceased crown prince, Charles August, for a few months. Precisely where these lodgings were located is not stated in the letter of the Marshal of the Realm referring to these arrangements, but the room allocation tables in *Stockholms slotts historia* indicate that they may have been on the ground floor facing *Skeppsbron*.⁴¹ Since Charles August was a bachelor it may have been thought suitable, since it was not necessary to arrange an additional apartment for a crown princess until he married.

The king's refurbishment was initiated only after Charles August's demise, when the imminent arrival not only of a crown prince but also of a crown princess and a prince made other arrangements imperative. Thus, from 1811 until 1818, Charles came to occupy the former ducal apartment of Charles XIII on the second floor. There was no established precedent as to where the crown prince ought to be lodged. Still, when Charles XIII turned over his own former apartment he established an observable link between adoptive father and adoptive son, stressing their dynastic relationship while emphasizing Charles's position as king-to-be. Thus, in these early years, we find a clear case of a symbolically confirmed spatial and social continuity between the passing dynasty and the coming one. Charles himself lacked the power to decide over where and how he would be provided with living space within the Palace. For good reasons though, he accepted the space allotted to him since the dynastic spatial implications served to bolster his position as legitimate heir to the throne.

The fact that Charles was a newcomer with an initially weak position made it all the more imperative that he accommodate himself to established social practice in order to be accepted and assimilated. To help him adapt and adopt correct performance, he was surrounded, as Mikael Alm demonstrates in a previous chapter of this volume, by potential advisors in the shape of aristocrats of the old regime. This guaranteed a smooth transition. And, to everyone's delight, it turned out that this foreign prince, despite his humble

⁴¹ Slottsarkivet, Riksmarskalksämberets arkiv, B 1:52, p. 303 (December 30 1810). The repairs were entrusted to the architect Gjörwell on the orders of the Marshal of the Realm von Esen, as instructed by the king. Leijonhufvud (1941), p. 292.

origins, was in possession of an unexpected degree of social competence relevant to his new context.⁴² In fact, he appears to have been more socially apt than the aristocrat by birth Charles August, who seems to have been shy to a fault.

Whereas Charles, who had arrived to Sweden ahead of his wife and son, was received with all the pomp and circumstance due a crown prince-elect of Sweden according to earlier scripts, his wife was not received as a crown princess-elect ought to have been when she arrived a few months later.⁴³ Her Chief Court Mistress was not given the title of Excellence as was customary. This and other breaches with established protocol signalled a social distinction made between her and former crown princesses with royal or aristocratic lineage. The retinue sent to conduct her through the country was the smallest possible. Charles became affronted initially by the belittling measures and tried to ensure the customary welcome, but was unable to persuade the king to change his decision. He therefore opted for another strategy: referring to the supposed shyness and inexperience of Desideria, he made sure that she was received by an even fewer number of ladies-in-waiting than the king had intended, attempting to mask a slight as caring concern.⁴⁴

In addition, Desideria was lodged in an apartment which contained a set of entresol rooms. No matter that the Gustavian princes had thought them fashionable, Desideria found them indicative of social inferiority and not commensurate with her new dignity as a crown princess. What most rankled was the fact that the crown princess' bedroom was placed in the entresol suite instead of preceding it.⁴⁵ This did not correspond to French custom, where the bedroom was firmly established as an important social venue due to the custom of receiving people there. For this reason the bedroom should be spacious.⁴⁶ Thus, being given a small bedroom could easily be seen as another affront paid to the crown princess. It most likely implied an assumption that she would not indulge in receptions or take a major role in the social life of

⁴² *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, p. 613, and “Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff”, in *Ur svenska hofuets och aristokratiens lif* 2 (Stockholm 1880), p. 50.

⁴³ For the reception of Charles John, see Alm's essay in this volume.

⁴⁴ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, pp. 613 f.

⁴⁵ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, pp. 638 f.

⁴⁶ Thornton (1985), p. 94, Girouard (2000), pp. 120–127.

the court. In effect, she was seen to be firmly set aside as an insignificant, possibly embarrassing adjunct of the crown prince; to be tolerated, but not much more.

Apparently, after her arrival in Stockholm the crown princess eventually became aware of the import of her treatment and complained, which only led to her becoming alienated from her new adopted family. The queen in her diary suggested that Desideria's conduct in this affair was proof of her low descent and lack of adaptability, deliberately not recognizing it as a very real concern in a society where legitimacy and rank were expressed through privileges, appropriate ceremonies and commensurate spatial and social practice.⁴⁷ The niggardly reception of the crown princess degraded her socially and weakened her position of authority at court; to paraphrase Kertzer, a crown princess becomes a crown princess by being treated like one; "Ritual is used to constitute power, not just reflect power that already exists."⁴⁸ This non-verbal communication sent a strong message both to Desideria and to the other ladies at court as to her status: the latter seem to have taken the situation as a license to disparage her. The ladies assigned to her court also became tarred with the same brush and reacted strongly to their demotion.

Not surprisingly, Crown Princess Desideria found both the social and outdoor climate of Sweden in equal measures unpleasant and returned to Paris after a few months, refusing to return until more than a decade had passed. She left Sweden in June the year of her arrival and did not return until 1823.⁴⁹ After her departure, their son Oskar remained in Stockholm with his father and appears to have been lodged in the former apartment of the deceased elected Crown Prince Charles August vacated by Charles.⁵⁰ Her leaving also meant that a court surrounding her was not necessary, and attending ladies could be dismissed.

The primary sources reveal that Charles lived in the space of the Palace more or less according to expectation for a long time. This was the case during his years as crown prince and for a few years as king. From Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta's diary it is evident that he took great care to appear social

⁴⁷ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, pp. 613 f., 638 f.

⁴⁸ Kertzer (1988), p. 25.

⁴⁹ Gabriel Girod de l'Ain, *Désirée Bernadotte* (Stockholm 1960), pp. 146–208.

⁵⁰ Riksarkivet, Kungl. Maj:ts kansli, Ceremonimästarens arkiv, Journaler 22, p. 167.

and affable, taking part in and even organising large events such as traditional balls and dinners, as well as appearing when the queen's inner circle met.⁵¹ Although court life was somewhat subdued periodically due to the king's weak health, it was livelier than it later became after his demise.⁵²

On the whole, Charles was very conscious of the necessity for legitimacy and authority to be expressed symbolically, to the extent that he was perceived as being somewhat excessive by the members of the Swedish royal household.⁵³ The queen mentions his insistence on the crown prince receiving the same marks of honour as him, and his desire at all times to have the entire royal family present at all public functions.⁵⁴

The *ancien régime* character of the court of Charles XIII is testified by the room allocation at the Royal Palace.⁵⁵ When someone was called upon to serve a member of the royal family, this entailed not only a fee but also free accommodation at the Palace or in some other building belonging to the monarch or the State. Where a person was allowed to live and the number of rooms allotted was influenced partly by that individual's general social status, and partly by royal favour and by his/her rank at court.⁵⁶ With few exceptions, living space in the mezzanine and on the ground floor was occupied by aristocratic ladies-in-waiting and cavaliers. The most prestigious rooms were those that were spatially closest to the members of the royal family or held the largest number of rooms.

The fact that the royal personages had separate households affected social practice in various ways. Nauckhoff relates how Charles and his small male entourage would be served dinner at 5 pm, and then between 8 and 9 pm would join Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, in whose apartment the evening's socializing normally would take place, followed by a light supper. The king would also make an appearance there at 8 pm, presumably after having had dinner with his closest retinue.⁵⁷ The male members of the royal

⁵¹ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, pp. 612 f., 639–641, “Memoarer af hofmarskalcken Nauckhoff” (1880), p. 50.

⁵² *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, p. 693.

⁵³ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, pp. 692–694.

⁵⁴ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, p. 689.

⁵⁵ Leijonhufvud (1941), pp. 274–294.

⁵⁶ Cf. Kertzer's discussion on “Investing and Divesting of Power”, pp. 24–29.

⁵⁷ “Memoarer af hofmarskalcken Nauckhoff” (1880), pp. 48 f.

10. *Charles XIV in his chosen inner sanctum at the Stockholm Royal Palace. The king is comfortably seated, and is dictating to Count Erik Lewenhaupt. This unusual image has the character of a snapshot; Charles XIV is portrayed as a private person. The painting presents a relaxed atmosphere and has rarely been published. Most likely, the painting was only intended for the family. The painter was originally a member of Princess Sofia Albertina's court, and when she passed away, he was probably transferred to the king's court. (Oil painting by Carl Stephan Bennet, unknown date. Owner: King Carl XVI Gustaf. Photo: Svenska Porträttarkivet, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)*

family were thus not expected to entertain the members of the court in their own chambers. This was clearly a gendered division of duties, although it also reflected the hierarchy of the place, since the queen was the only woman at the Palace who entertained. The small size of the lodgings of the ladies-in-waiting precluded the possibility of them ever being able to receive guests in their rooms in the same way they could have done in their own homes. The social life of the court thus revolved around the queen during the reign of Charles XIII.

Since embarrassing altercations concerning rank occurred during some of the receptions held to greet Charles upon his arrival,⁵⁸ he took great care to ensure that the spatial expression of rank was carefully upheld at least at the formal dinners he gave, to avoid unpleasant incidents which assuredly would have reflected negatively on him.⁵⁹ When arranging for the celebration of the king's name day in 1811, Charles was allowed the use of the State Apartment on the second floor due to the large number of guests.

Life at the court of Charles XIII was not immune to change despite its reliance on established precedence. In France a round table with chairs in the middle of the salon became *de rigueur* in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁰ In his memoirs Nauckhoff carefully describes how the entourage of Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta would normally be socializing in a similar fashionable way at a round table in her salon where Charles John excelled as a fascinating storyteller. It is obvious from the description that Nauckhoff found this practice far too plain for a royal household.⁶¹

Kertzer remarks on the fact that the "stability of hierarchical political systems, paradoxically, depends on the investment of authority in particular individuals at the same time that it depends on being able to replace them".⁶² The changing of power from one king to the next is, as he also states, a fraught situation;⁶³ "When a political leader has become an important symbol of organizational unity, the leader's death can threaten this unity. One solution is to keep the symbolism connected with the leader alive even after

⁵⁸ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, pp. 639 f.

⁵⁹ *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok* (1902–42) 8, p. 695.

⁶⁰ Thornton (1985), p. 149.

⁶¹ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), p. 49.

⁶² Kertzer (1988), p. 25.

⁶³ Kertzer (1988), pp. 26 f.

his demise.”⁶⁴ Through symbols and rituals, legitimacy and transference of power to a new incumbent is made visible. In the case of Charles, it became even more important to stress his legitimacy by keeping the link to the past alive since he was not, as the saying goes, born to the purple. He also acted swiftly when the old king died in 1818. Within a few hours of this event which occurred late in the evening, he secured oaths of allegiance from important power holders before the break of dawn.⁶⁵ Nauckhoff intimates in his memoirs that this haste was unseemly, whereas in reality it was customary to deal with the transference of power rapidly to avoid destabilizing a country.⁶⁶

Spatially, Charles also clarified the continuity of kingship by refurbishing the former king’s apartment at the Palace and moving in there as soon as possible, just as Charles XIII had done before him. The bedroom of the old king though, was kept intact to honour his memory and to maintain a visible link between the two. Charles’s former apartment was turned over to his son Oskar, just as he had been instated in the apartment of his foster father a decade earlier. Their switching lodgings was a reenactment of what took place when they arrived in Sweden, and functioned as an induction ritual in a period of transition affirming their right to their respective roles. By living in the king’s apartment Charles XIV became the king, and by living in what was now perceived as the crown prince’s apartment his son Oskar became in effect crown prince. These two apartments had become charged with royal charisma.

On becoming queen dowager, Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta’s previous position was becoming symbolically circumscribed to divest her somewhat of her previous power. Most notably was the dismissal of several of her former ladies-in-waiting, so that her court became reduced in size. One consequence of this was that those who had to leave also needed to vacate their rooms at the Palace, and some had to give up their stipends. Charles allowed this process to take its time as the ledgers of the Marshal of the Realm show, not robbing people of their privileges too quickly. This was probably wise, since these ladies would have been related to the King-Makers we met in the previous essay by Mikael Alm.

⁶⁴ Kertzer (1988), p. 18.

⁶⁵ “Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff” (1880), pp. 74 f.

⁶⁶ Kertzer (1988), pp. 26 f.

The queen dowager was not dispossessed of her apartment as used to be the tradition, since the new queen, Desideria, remained in Paris for some years to come. There was a more pertinent reason for not being overly hasty in moving the old queen from her chambers than mere kindness. The physical proximity of Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta's apartment and the king's may have worked as a dynastic reassurance, as she was his adoptive queen mother. This was consonant with Charles's practice of using the elderly Princess Sofia Albertina as a symbolic consort at public appearances.⁶⁷ In that case it went so far that when the princess due to ill health was unable to join the royal family on an outing, her carriage would be brought along as a sign of her invisible presence and support.⁶⁸

The new regime was accepted and settled in. Life at court under the new king continued much as before, with Charles dining with a select few, joining the queen dowager at night for the few months she survived her husband. After catching cold she later died in 1818, and her whole court and most of her servants were dismissed soon after.

A King in his Selected Environment

For five years Charles xiv lived "as a rich private person, having dinner at 5 pm with Count Brahe and his duty officers, at times inviting an outsider, only to return to his inner chambers, giving audiences, then the day was concluded. Ladies were visible at court in the town only when formal dinners or the occasional ball were given, when Princess Sofia Albertina used to be invited".⁶⁹ From this quote and archival source material it is apparent that socializing at court became a rare occurrence indeed, and that the once-teeming Palace became a more or less depopulated bachelor den when only Charles xiv and Crown Prince Oskar resided there. Apparently, the new king felt that the lack of a hostess precluded a regular social life at court and only those functions were held that could not be omitted without causing scandal. In this we see the social importance Charles ascribed to the royal spouse; presumably he may even have considered it being morally dubious to issue invitations to

⁶⁷ *Årstadagboken* (1985) 2, p. 258.

⁶⁸ *Årstadagboken* (1985) 2, p. 454; 3, pp. 50, 87.

⁶⁹ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), p. 108.

ladies without her presence. The point here is that Charles was only aware of how the court functioned under his adoptive father, but not how it had functioned previously when the social life of the court revolved around the king, Gustav III, instead. Princess Sofia Albertina served as society hostess on formal occasions, but could not be expected to chaperone everyday affairs.

The large number of vacated rooms opened up new possibilities of allocation previously not thought of, and eventually changes were introduced that altered the social geography of the Palace beyond recognition. From the room allocation it is clear that the king took the opportunity to make the space previously used for members of the court available to favoured domestics and other persons who catered to his welfare, as well as giving over space to administrative staff close to his own apartment.⁷⁰ “Ritual is not only used to communicate that a person is to be exalted above others; it is also used to calibrate degrees of power”.⁷¹ Room allocation had its own established rituals reflecting this, but they were transformed step-by-step during Charles XIV’s reign.

A few examples may suffice to indicate some notable changes in the social geography of the Palace. Charles XIV’s Private Office⁷² and its staff were installed on the first floor next door to the royal apartment, in rooms formerly occupied by his adoptive father’s library and a guardroom. The king’s Coffee Maker was given a room on the mezzanine floor where previously the king’s physician had his offices. The number of physicians-in-waiting increased, and were allocated space elsewhere in the mezzanine where the ladies-in-waiting had formerly lived. The king’s cook eventually became the next door neighbour of the cavalier of the crown prince’s sons. The apartment of Countess Taube in the mezzanine, given to her as a sign of royal grace, was turned over to Charles’s head physician, thus enhancing his social status spatially. This would all be in keeping with the king’s ambition to reward people according to ability and loyalty.

Count Magnus Brahe, later Marshal of the Realm, and Charles’s right-hand man, was allocated the spacious apartment of Queen Dowager Sofia

⁷⁰ Leijonhufvud (1941), pp. 274–294.

⁷¹ Kertzer (1988), p. 30.

⁷² *Enskilda byrån*, which functioned as the king’s intelligence bureau. See Cecilia Rosengren’s essay in this volume.

Magdalena in the mezzanine after she had passed away and he had become in essence the head of the army.⁷³ The former apartment of the Marshal of the Realm became his offices. It appears to have been perceived as unprecedented, that someone who was not a member of the royal family should occupy so much space. It was a clear sign that a new epoch had begun. On acquiring a larger apartment, Count Brahe might arrange his own formal dinners, soirées and audiences with the king's tacit approval. This became an intermediate level which, according to Nauckhoff, made it possible for the king to dispense with his own audiences to a certain degree, and for the supplicants to be able to convey their errand without the aid of an interpreter, since the king never learnt Swedish.

Apparently, such a turning over of royal privilege and duty was a novelty, and Nauckhoff's own feelings concerning it are ambiguous, to say the least, apart from the practical side of it. Brahe's position became an object of envy to other courtiers since it disturbed the previous balance of power.⁷⁴ The old apartment of the Marshal of the Realm had in fact been half the size of the new one, and it furthermore had bordered on the kitchens. There is no doubt that this combined change of social and spatial practice served to elevate Count Brahe and strengthen his position in comparison to that of the other courtiers.

A major impetus to another rehaul of space allocation appeared when the queen, Desirée, or as she now became known, Desideria, finally consented to settle down by the king's side in Sweden in 1823. Until then, she had lived on her own in Paris, ostensibly due to ill health.⁷⁵ The immediate reason for the queen's return was the marriage of her only son Oskar to Princess Josephine (Josefina in Swedish) of Leuchtenberg, whom she was accompanying. Even though the arrival of the new crown princess eclipsed the queen's return, two new high-ranking female inhabitants at the Palace required some effort to create a suitable environment for them.

The queen and crown princess each required a separate court with aristocratic ladies-in-waiting, even though the number of them was significantly reduced compared to the gustavian era, signalling a new practice at court.

⁷³ *Generaladjutant för armén*.

⁷⁴ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), pp. 94 f.

⁷⁵ Girod de l'Ain (1960), pp. 133–209.

The number of courtiers present traditionally might be compared to the practice of clientage where the number of clients was a sign of rank: the more clients, the more important the patron. During Charles's five years of grass widowhood, some lesser-ranked individuals had, as we have seen, been introduced in quarters which, with few exceptions, had been previously occupied by courtiers. According to the allocation tables, courtiers and ladies-in-waiting seemingly were sprinkled out among the domestics and other employees connected to the king, which resulted in a socially more mixed environment: the king's Coffe Maker, for instance, became the neighbour of higher-born ladies-in waiting. Spatially then, social differentiation seems to have become more dependent on the king's favour and needs than on established precedence: some were exalted, some were demoted.

This levelling of distinctions below the royal apartments may have devalued the office of courtier as such. During the old regime, aristocratic ladies-in-waiting were not seen or treated as employees despite the stipends paid to them. The situation under Charles XIV may spatially have hinted at another viewpoint where anyone engaged at court, irrespective of their social standing elsewhere, at least as far as lodging was concerned seems to have been set more or less on an equal footing. The king's main physician may be cited as an example, since the incumbent of this position for the first time in the history of the Palace occupied larger quarters than any of the aristocratic courtiers, excepting Count Brahe.

Charles XIV took the opportunity to make significant alterations in his own mode of living at the Palace, which further disrupted not only the prevalent social practice, but also the spatial order. His adoptive father Charles XIII had shared the first floor with Queen Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, with her occupying the eastern part and he the western. The eastern part of the royal couple's apartment had been left vacant after the demise of the queen dowager, as Charles XIV had taken over Charles XIII's side of it, and the expected move would have been to assign it to Queen Desideria. Instead, Charles XIV moved upstairs into the State Apartment on the second floor, which had previously been used mainly for formal entertaining; but did not in effect occupy the representative parts of the suite. But, he chose to reside in a couple of smaller rooms that once upon a time had been part of Princess Sofia Albertina's apartment.

The queen was given the entire first floor below, which included both

the king's former apartment as well as the apartment of her predecessor.⁷⁶ As far as she was concerned, the arrangement gives an impression of a compensatory gesture to redress the wrongs done her regarding the way she was treated on her first sojourn. The size of her new apartment exceeded that of any queen before her. There was no real precedent for this new arrangement, discounting the original late seventeenth century intention that King Charles XII should inhabit the future State Apartment on the second floor and his eventual spouse the first floor apartment. Since Charles XII died unwed, and the Palace remained inhabited until the mid-eighteenth century, it is doubtful that Charles XIV was cognizant of this former intent.

As outward appearances go, the king's exalting himself to the prestigious State Apartment can only have enhanced his own stature, since it was strongly aligned to notions of grandeur with its firm link to ceremonial use. Aside from those few courtiers who previously lived at the Palace and were aware of the old regime's arrangements, most of those who attended formal dinners and gala balls already regarded this as the true residence of the monarch, since that was where he occasionally appeared in public to them. The State Apartment must have been imbued with royal charisma to a larger extent than his former apartment, with wider majestic connotations of authority. By appropriating this heavily symbolically laced environment, he reaffirmed his dominating position as rightful king.

Crown Prince Oskar remained in his apartment, and Desideria's former apartment below his was turned over to the new crown princess. This allocation reinforced the spatial dynastic aspect.⁷⁷ Interestingly enough, care was taken to give Crown Princess Josefina, unlike Desideria originally, a full-sized bed chamber in her suite next to the audience chamber, as tradition prescribed. The crown prince's bedroom was much smaller although fashionable according to Bo Vahlne, who has written an exhaustive account of both apartments' fittings and furnishings.⁷⁸

Subsequently, their sons were given the apartment on the ground floor

⁷⁶ Georg Svensson, "Slottet under den bernadotteska dynastien", in Martin Olsson (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia 3. Från Fredrik I till Gustaf V* (Stockholm 1941), pp. 209 f.

⁷⁷ Bo Vahlne, "Kring en kunglig bosättning", in Barbro Hovstadius (ed.), *Karl Johan. Konst, inredningar och teknik i empirens Sverige* (Stockholm 1991), p. 90.

⁷⁸ Vahlne (1991), p. 91.

where I have presumed the former Crown Prince Charles August, and for a brief period Charles, resided. There were other alternatives but it seems that apartments formerly occupied by royalty served as important physical links to the past. As we have seen, Charles appears to have perceived some of the implications of the social geography of the palace when it concerned himself, his family or his most trusted men, while in other cases he flouted established convention in a manner that surprised or grieved his contemporaries.⁷⁹

In the former State Apartment, Charles XIV designated a pair of smaller cabinets as his personal interior; a privileged enclave accessible only to a limited number of persons. This claim to privacy had not been exercised by any of his predecessors.⁸⁰ According to Nauckhoff, he even spent most of his waking hours working in the bed chamber.⁸¹ The sense of privacy was enhanced by the elaborate evening ritual of the closing and locking of the doors which intervened between the king's interior and the rest of the apartment. This ceremony was performed by the king's attendants. Nauckhoff regarded this as an example of a suspicious mindset, but seen from another perspective it may be interpreted differently as a ritual demarcation of the king's own territory. The officers of the guard were also positioned quite a distance from the king, according to Nauckhoff in a former State Bedchamber, and had to traverse several rooms in order to reach him.⁸² Although previous regents were available to servants and visitors at all times, Charles XIV in this and other ways limited the access to his own person and to his chambers. Locks clearly signify the power of exclusion, signalling the king's personal suite as forbidden space and distancing him from other inhabitants in the Palace.⁸³

With a queen in residence, a more traditional court life was resumed for a few years in a way which resembled that of Charles XIII and Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, but also offered new features. King Charles XIV initially dined with the queen and select members of the court at 5 pm in her apartment on ordinary days, while formal dinners on special occasions were held in his apartment. While his dinner retinue was kept to a minimum, mainly requir-

⁷⁹ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), p. 135, specifically mentions the suffering which departures from court etiquette caused the Marshal of the Realm Claes Fleming.

⁸⁰ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), pp. 107 f.

⁸¹ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), p. 136.

⁸² "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), p. 108.

⁸³ Dovey (1999), pp. 42 f.

II. *This painting gives a more dramatic impression due to the king's vivid movement, raising his arm in an accentuated orator's gesture. The officers surrounding him listen attentively. This painting has been frequently published as a visual testimony to the king's predilection of beginning the day's work in bed. It was also used as a model for the reconstruction of the king's bedchamber later made at Rosendal. Due to its compelling nature, it has also re-enforced the view of Charles XIV as an eccentric. (Oil painting by Carl Stephan Bennet. Owner: King Carl XVI Gustaf. Photo: Svenska Porträttarkivet, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)*

ing the presence of his Lord-Chamberlain-in-waiting, his Aide-de-camp, the Ordonnance Officer and Count Brahe, the queen's company was considerably larger and consisted of the Lady of State, two Ladies-in-waiting, some Maids-of-honour and the queen's Lord Chamberlain.

The seating spatially reflected court status, with the queen and king seated in the middle, Count Brahe opposite the king, and the others according to rank. After dinner some polite conversation would take place over a cup of coffee and an after-dinner liqueur before the king excused himself for a few hours, only to return to the queen's apartment at a later time for some continued socialising as she continued to hold court. On occasion the queen might visit the king without her attendants before retiring for the night. Those visits were, in contrast to all the pomp and circumstance of the dinners, very informal according to Nauckhoff.⁸⁴

Some years later, the king decided to more or less dispense with these formal ordinary dinners to resume the practice previously mentioned from his grass widower period of dining by himself in his own apartment, in select company. Nauckhoff recounts:

During the latter part of my service, particularly in the winter, he became more inclined to so called chamber dining, that is, he would dine privately in his parlour in the company of Count Brahe and at the outmost a few guests of select quality. These private dinners were deliciously arranged, 12–14 dishes apart from dessert; only exquisite wines served.⁸⁵

The contrast of this restricted small-scale living in the midst of a huge state apartment appears to have created a strange impression coupled with the door locking ritual, while it also promoted a certain mystical aura. By secluding himself in a world of his own making, and limiting access to it, he emphasised and increased the psychological distance between himself as king and his subjects, no matter their social standing. Being invited to a small-scale dinner in the king's apartment was a sign of royal grace appreciated by the chosen few, and presumably regarded with envious eyes by the excluded ones.⁸⁶ This was an effective way of establishing power relations through the

⁸⁴ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), pp. 108 f.

⁸⁵ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), pp. 144 f.

⁸⁶ "Memoarer af hofmarskalken Nauckhoff" (1880), pp. 144 f. Cf. Thornton (1985), pp. 49, 51.

use of space interacting with architecture without having to rely on impressive visual cues. The fashionable and yet comparatively simple and intimate arrangements in the king's private rooms must have underscored the sense of conferred royal grace. Furthermore, electing to live this space in an atypical manner highlighted the issue of continuity and change. There was continuity in the fact that he continued residing in the Palace, but change as to how he resided there compared to his predecessors.

The French Connection

Charles XIV was of bourgeois origin, the son of a small town solicitor. He was in the military most of his adult life, he was a revolutionary Jacobin, and he was French. As a high-ranking officer, for military and preferential reasons, Charles embraced a social culture within the army which was traditionally influenced but not ruled by aristocratic norms.⁸⁷ He also made his first unsuccessful appearance in a royal environment as French ambassador in Vienna for a brief spell in the 1790s, which taught him an object lesson. As a successful military commander, and married to the sister-in-law of Napoleon, he was encouraged to socially adopt a role compatible with his prominence. The emperor even provided him with a sumptuous town house in Paris. As a Frenchman of high standing and a member of Parisian high society in the Napoleonic era, he was well cognizant of the established social norms and ideas concerning expected upper-class life styles. Charles must have literally embodied his entire social history as his schema expanded through his exposure to new social practices at every successive level he reached. This gave the opportunity for him to acquire new schemas step by step, most likely in a haphazard and fragmentary way.

He was middle-aged when he came to Sweden, and had lived with French social and spatial practices for most of his adult life. Would it be surprising if he, when possible, partially resumed a social practice by which he had been imbued during his years in France? Most likely, he pounced on the possibility with relief, since he had a personal dislike for ostentatious living, testified

⁸⁷ During the revolutionary years this was commented upon unfavourably by his brothers-in-arms.

by the correspondence between him and his wife already when they lived in France.⁸⁸ One example will be mentioned here.

Social practice changed radically in upper-class circles in France during the eighteenth century, and this was immediately embodied in spatial practice. Already well before the revolution the absolutist ceremonial life was considered inimical to comfortable living.⁸⁹ Furthermore, as the so-called salon culture was established, there came a shift in responsibilities within the household, where the task of entertaining company became the main concern of the wife.⁹⁰ The husband could lead a public life outside the home, a possibility which became even more pronounced during revolutionary years, whereas the wife was restricted to the residence.

This change in social practice in its turn influenced spatial practice. A married woman's apartment would be larger than her husband's, since social entertainment would take place mainly there; while the husband would reside in a smaller apartment, furnished and organised more to support his personal comforts than to house public functions.⁹¹ This spatial and social practice appears to have been upheld and perhaps even strengthened during the Napoleonic era. Furthermore, it coincided with court life during Charles XIII's reign in Sweden. Therefore previous expectations were conflated with Charles XIV's own experience in Sweden as we have seen, leading to him adopt a court practice centred on the women of the household. His retreat into a small personal set of rooms would most likely not have been regarded as strange at all in a French context.

Swedish kings before him had evidently upheld a less comfortable life style, influenced by conservative royal absolutist patterns. This was especially the case when in residence in the prestigious Royal Palace of Stockholm. A more relaxed life was only lived in the country residencies. Charles, who was used to another way of life, managed to transplant the French customs he was used to, partially at any rate, into the Swedish context. It is not surprising that as he grew older he would cling even more tenaciously to the practices of

⁸⁸ Girod de L'Ain (1960), pp. 88, 106.

⁸⁹ Scott (2005), p. 110.

⁹⁰ Girouard (2000), pp. 137, 144.

⁹¹ Thornton (1985), p. 94. By the end of the century this custom had become well-established (p. 145).

younger days, since that is common enough among the elderly. His chamber dinners, for instance, would also find a parallel with the dinners held with his closest military staff.

Spatial practice cannot be entirely ignored when a building is used, but as we have seen, it may be negotiated in various ways in actual social practice. Reproduction of social custom and norms may at times be modified or set aside when people with different backgrounds engage in new forms of social practice in another physical environment. I suspect that this more often takes the expression of a transfer of practices from another sphere, with other customs and norms made possible through personal agency. Frequently, when such a displacement occurs, an interpretation based on perceived idiosyncrasy may be created to explain the anomaly. The contemporaries of Charles XIV did just that, as testified by diaries and other written records; they were puzzled, and voiced it. This viewpoint has later been reproduced by scholars who have interpreted his life style solely as excentric behaviour instead of seeing it in a larger structural context, that is, the spatial and social practice of his country of origin and his social milieu.