

Prelude to an abdication

Italian music and musicians at the Swedish court of Queen Christina, 1652–1654

Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt

During the winter and spring of 1653–1654, the English ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–1675) resided in Uppsala and attended the court of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689). On 27 March 1654, he reported in his diary that some members of his entourage had heard the Queen's Italian musicians sing in her chapel, and that later that day they had dined with Whitelocke, performed for him and were rewarded for their effort:

Easter Monday there was great solemnity & excellent musicke in the Q[ueens] chappell, some of her Italians musitians, dined at Wh[itelockes] house, & played & sang to him in the after noon, & lost not their expected reward. (Spadling, ed., 1990, p. 345)

The chapel Whitelocke referred to was situated in the southern wing of Uppsala Castle and was a square church hall of three naves, connected to the large banquet hall, *Rikssalen*. The Italians of the Queen's music comprised a group of about twenty singers and musicians who arrived in Sweden in November 1652, led by the young organist and composer Vincenzo Albrici (1631–1687).

This report is quite remarkable because it shows that the Italian musicians that Christina had recruited to her court did perform sacred music at her court services – something that has been disputed, or at least not accepted, in previous scholarship. In this study we show that this likely happened regularly and that the repertoire can largely be reconstructed. Some of the sacred repertoire was even performed with texts that were otherwise considered improper in Lutheran liturgy. We argue that both the sacred and secular repertoire of the Italian singers and the circumstances around their recruitment should be understood against the background of her astonishing decision to abdicate, leave Sweden, and convert to the Catholic faith.

Christina has gone down in history as a dedicated promoter of science and the arts, both during her reign as sovereign of the Swedish kingdom (1644–1654) and during her years in Rome (1655–1689). Among her better-known acts of patronage was the recruitment to Stockholm of René Descartes (1596–1650), but he was only one of many prominent European intellectuals who visited her court, and one of many with whom she corresponded (Brunner, 1997; Garstein, 1992, pp. 569–587). Apart from her interests in philosophy, moral issues, and matters of faith, Christina also took a deep interest in the performing arts, and not least music (Lucca, 2011; Losleben, 2012).

Roughly, two competing images of Queen Christina's patronage of the arts and letters

have dominated historical research. The first and older one was moralistic and implicitly but indisputably gendered – not to say misogynist. It depicted a young and irresponsible female ruler with an unhealthy weakness for amusements and unnecessary delights, who squandered the meagre post-war resources of the crown on shallow entertainments and swaggering favourites at court (Weibull, 1906; Almquist, 1922; Hildebrand, 1926; Norlind, 1944, p. 75). The other, more recent image is that of a cultivated and rational ruler of a kingdom that she had inherited from her father and that, thanks to success in the Thirty Years' War and the ensuing Peace of Westphalia, had entered the European stage as an important political and military power. Her father had gained this new position by means of wars. Now the task of his daughter was to supply this new empire with suitable state representation by inviting men of letters and arts to her court and by widening the circle of potential state officials by raising competent commoners to nobility (Garstein 1992, pp. 569–587, 679; Lindegren, 1999)

This second interpretation also has much to offer regarding Christina's patronage of music. The burgeoning of cultural and intellectual life at the Royal Court during Christina's brief reign was clearly part of her ambition to establish stately representation appropriate for Sweden's new political position in Europe after the Peace of Westphalia. Part of this project was the expansion and reorganization of the Royal Court according to French models (Persson, 1999, pp. 25–28; Rodén, 2008, pp. 84–85).

Still, the desire for appropriate political representation was only one side of the coin. In this study we will argue that Queen Christina's interest in music at her court and the recruitment of musicians during her final years on the Swedish throne did not form part of official representation and nation building; instead, it was closely related to her decision to abdicate and convert to Catholicism, and processes set in motion by that decision. These were part of Christina's strategies of self-fashioning in connection with the precarious transition from a ruling Queen of a Protestant kingdom to a Catholic Queen without a realm. These processes were marked by a strategy of distancing herself from her former position, politically, culturally, and confessionally, as if preparing for the dramatic detachment and geographical displacement she was planning.

We try to demonstrate how this is revealed in the circumstances of the recruitment of her Italian ensemble in the early 1650s, and also in their repertoire, the reconstruction of which takes up a substantial part of this study. It re-evaluates the process of recruiting the Italian musicians as well as their repertoire and musical practices based both on new source material and on reinterpretations of previously known sources.¹

Music at the Swedish court before the recruitment

The royal court chapel that Christina inherited from her father Gustavus Adolphus comprised Swedish and German musicians, many of whom were recruited to Sweden from northern Germany in connection with her father's wedding to Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg in 1620. Among the 1620 recruits was Anders Düben Sr. (c. 1597–1662),

¹ We would like to thank Stefano Fogelberg Rota, Margaret Murata, Riccardo Pintus, and Peter Sjökvist for valuable comments and suggestions and for help with the translations, and Alina Nachescu at the Christ Church Library, Oxford, for her generous assistance.

born in Saxony and a pupil of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621), appointed royal chapelmaster in 1640 (Kjellberg, 1979, pp. 399–401).

In 1644, when Christina ascended the throne, eighteen named musicians and two boy sopranos were on the payroll of the royal household (Kjellberg, 1979, p. 717).

According to the instructions drafted in 1621, their duties were to supply vocal and instrumental music in the church, at court, and at the table (Kjellberg, 1979, p. 774).

In the 1640s, several additional musicians were recruited to Christina's court. An ensemble of eight French string players arrived in Stockholm in early 1647, recruited in Paris in connection with the 1646 embassy (Kjellberg, 1979, p. 724). They were followed by other French singers and instrumentalists, the most prominent being Anne Chabanceau de La Barre (1628–1688) and her brother Joseph (Lisandro, 2008). At the time of Queen Christina's coronation in October 1650, she had at least fifteen French musicians and singers in her service, and at least thirty-six musicians employed, not counting the fifteen court trumpeters and timpanists.

In the late 1640s, Christina showed an interest in recruiting Italian musicians to her court, in addition to her relatively large combined German–Swedish and French court music establishment. She was particularly interested in Italian singers. On 29 May 1647, she sent instructions to her envoy in Copenhagen, Magnus Nilsson Durell (1617–1677), to open negotiations with the Italian musicians in the service of the Danish King. Durell was instructed to find out how much they were paid yearly and investigate whether it would be possible to engage them to come to Stockholm for a smaller sum.² If not, the Queen was willing to pay them the same as they had received in Denmark, and to reward them with a bonus of 200 Riksdaler on their arrival in Stockholm. These negotiations must have concerned Agostino Fontana and Benedetto Bonaglia, the only Italian musicians on the payroll of the Danish court at that time (Hammerich, 1892, p. 223; Moe, 2010/11, p. 17). Nothing came of the negotiations, however. One of the musicians – probably Fontana – was engaged by Durell as an informant for the Swedish court (Rimborg, 1997, pp. 85, 89–90).

The attempt to 'poach' singers from the Danish court was arguably still part of Christina's early ambitions to establish a court life of high international standard. When in 1651–1652 she started to plan for the larger-scale recruitment of an ensemble of singers and musicians from Italy, the circumstances, and arguably also the incentives, were different.

The recruitment of Queen Christina's Italian musicians

There has previously been little information about the actual process of recruiting the Italian ensemble, often referred to in Swedish research as the 'Albrici troupe' (Sundström, 1961; Bergsagel, 1998).³ The person responsible for recruiting the

²They were referred to as the 'Italian musicians', but their number and names were not specified. Swedish National Archives, Riksregistraturet 29 May 1647, '*Order till Durelium huruwijda han besting och för accordera skall medh the Italianiske Musikanterne*'.

³The designations 'the Italian troupe' and 'the Albrici troupe' have often been used in previous literature, but are consciously avoided here because of their associations with a theatre or opera ensemble. It can

ensemble and negotiating the terms was Alessandro Cecconi (d. 1658). The arrangement was drawn up in Italy on direct order from Christina. This is clear from a document in Cecconi's hand, which shows that the musicians were recruited in Rome and 'other Italian cities':

Note on the musicians whom I, Alessandro Cecconi, on the order and command of my Mistress her Majesty the Queen recruited from Rome, and from other cities in Italy.⁴

Of the recruited musicians, eight were from Rome, three from Florence, and five each from Naples, Orvieto, Viterbo, Genoa, and Bologna. Einar Sundström assumed that this list of cities reflected Cecconi's route when travelling during the recruiting process. It is unlikely, though, that Cecconi travelled to cities such as Naples or Bologna. Most of the musicians seem to have been recruited in Rome, and some in Florence. It is well documented that, at this time, the harpsichord builder Girolamo Zenti had been active in Rome since at least June 1635, even though the payrolls indicate that he was originally from Viterbo (Hammond, 1987, p. 41; Purchiaroni, 2007; Lionnet, [2008]). The castrato Francesco Cantarelli or Cantarello is designated in the document as *napolitano* but was active as a singer in Cappella Giulia in St Peter's in the early 1640s (Lionnet, [2008]).

Cecconi himself originated from Pisa. He was hired as a bass singer at the court of the Medici in Florence in 1641 (Kirkendale, 1993, p. 396). In 1646 he was salaried as a singer at the Jesuit German College in Rome (Culley, 1970, p. 237). Margaret Murata has suggested that Cecconi could be the bass singer Alessandro who sang the parts of Plutone and Momo in the spectacular staging of Luigi Rossi's opera *Orfeo* in Paris in the spring of 1647 (Murata, 2000). Sundström tentatively suggested that Cecconi could be identical to a certain Signor Alessandro whom John Evelyn met in Paris in February 1650, 'one of Cardinal Mazarinis Musicians, and a person of greate name for his knowledge in that Art', who 'sung before divers persons of qualitie in my Chamber' (Evelyn, 1995, p. 71; Sundström, 1961, p. 299).⁵ Cecconi's French connection is supported by a manuscript of Roman arias collected by him that he left behind in Sweden and is preserved in Stockholm. The manuscript volume is of French origin, copied by Cecconi on French paper.⁶ It also contains Euridice's saraband from *Orfeo*, 'All'impero d'Amore'.

There are several possible ways in which Christina could have got in touch with Cecconi. Several scholars have suggested that a possible point of contact could have been through Paris (Grönstedt, 1911, p. 171; Sundström, 1961, p. 299; Snyder, 2012).

also be questioned whether the Italian singers and musicians recruited to Queen Christina's court should be viewed as a homogeneous ensemble. Rather, it was likely a relatively loose assembly of singers and instrumentalists, some of whom departed relatively soon and were replaced by others.

⁴ 'Nota dei Musici che io Alessandro Cecconi per Ordine e comandamento della Maesta della Regina mia Sig.^a hò levato di Roma, e di altre Città d'Italia'. Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Hovkassaräkning 1653. The document was discussed by Sundström (1961, pp. 300–305).

⁵ Alessio Ruffatti suggested that Cecconi could also be the Signor Alessandro who gave Evelyn theorbo lessons in Rome in 1644 (Ruffatti, 2006, pp. 104 and 110).

⁶ National Library of Sweden, S-Sk S 231 'Scelta di Arie'. Watermarks: bunch of grapes.

The French capital had witnessed a major burgeoning of Italian music in connection with the Parisian exile of the Barberini family and Cardinal Mazarin's patronage of Italian music, peaking with the production of Rossi's *Orfeo* in 1647. However, during the period under consideration here, 1651–1652, France was enduring the upheavals of the Second *Fronde* and Paris was a precarious place for Italian musicians, most of whom had left (Prunières, 1913, pp. 148–150). As we will show in the following, Cecconi was hardly recruited from the court circles in Paris as has previously been claimed, but with the help of the Jesuits in Rome.

A letter from Cecconi to Filippo Niccolini,⁷ dated 23 December 1651, finds him on his way from Vienna to Florence in the winter of 1651 (Goudriaan, 2018, pp. 191–192). In this letter, he mentions 'his patroness the Queen' and praises her virtues. This suggests that, at this point, Cecconi was already in Christina's service. It is unclear how he had obtained this position, but there are different possibilities.

In the summer of 1651, the Jesuit Father Antonio Macedo met with Christina in Stockholm as a member of a Portuguese diplomatic mission. He was among the very first people that she informed of her plans to abandon the Lutheran faith, and she asked him to function as her emissary in establishing a contact with the Jesuits in Rome (Garstein, 1992, pp. 625–641). In August 1651, Macedo secretly travelled from Stockholm to Rome on behalf of the Queen. He carried a letter from Christina addressed to the Jesuit General, together with verbal instructions to ask the General to send two Jesuits to Stockholm 'in order to confer with her on religious matters'.⁸ Macedo also delivered a letter from Christina to Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), a renowned professor at the Jesuit University in Rome, Collegium Romanum. In this letter, Christina thanks him for some books she had received from him, and somewhat cryptically predicts that they soon will have the opportunity to communicate more freely.⁹ In the autumn of 1651, the leading Jesuits at the headquarters in Rome were planning for a mission to Stockholm.

As a result of this initiative from Christina, the two Jesuit Fathers Paolo Casati and Francesco Malines left Italy in December 1651 to travel incognito to Stockholm, where they arrived in late February the following year. In March and April 1652, they participated in meetings with Christina, which appear to have resulted in her definitive decision to abdicate and become a Roman Catholic (Garstein, 1992, pp. 659–665; Englund, 2006, pp. 44–46). At the same time they were involved in recruiting the Italian musicians.

On 4 May 1652, the secretary of Goswin Nickel (1582–1664), who was at this point newly appointed Jesuit General, wrote to Malines in Stockholm, in response to three reports from him that had recently reached the Jesuit headquarters. This letter reveals

⁷ Filippo Niccolini (1586–1666) was the chamberlain of Prince Giovan Carlo de' Medici and a patron of the arts.

⁸ Nickel's formulation reads: 'coi quali possa conferire in materie di religione'; Goswin Nickel to Giovanni Guglielmo Calaverone, 11 November 1651, ARSI Opp. NN. 174–75 fasc B fol 1v. Translation according to Garstein (1992, p. 636).

⁹ APUG 555 f. 172–173 and 556 f. 174; the letters are available online at: <http://archimede.imss.fi.it/kircher>

that the Jesuits in Rome were at this time informed of and involved in Cecconi's activities:

Signor Alessandro Cecconi has not appeared here yet; when he arrives, I will serve him with all regards. But be aware, My Lord, that with similar recommendations, You will discover his [Cecconi's] affinity with Signor Amiano, excellent musician, more than You would perhaps like. Besides, You should feel confident, My Lord, that I will pay much attention to security, and on this matter you can also assure Signor Tarquinio [Christina], for whom I wish all the best [...]. (Boero, 1874, pp. 38–39)¹⁰

This letter shows that the Jesuits at the Roman headquarters were informed of Cecconi and his whereabouts and that they had agreed to assist him. More cryptic is the sentence about Cecconi's close relation to the 'most expert musician' Signor Amiano.

The mission of Malines and Casati to Stockholm had to be kept secret. If their identities and the purpose of their mission were revealed to Swedish authorities, they even risked the death penalty. This would also have put Christina in a very troublesome position and threatened the entire enterprise. They did not travel openly as clerics but in the guise of Italian aristocrats, using fanciful aliases: Casati was called D. Bonifacio Ponginibbio and Malines was D. Lucio Bonanni (Garstein, 1992, p. 638). According to the written instructions from the Jesuit General, they were not allowed to visit any Jesuit colleges on their way through Europe, so as not to arouse any suspicion (Boero, 1874, pp. 28–31). In their correspondence with the Jesuit headquarters, code names were used: Casati was referred to as Signor Ascanio, Macedo was Signor Apollonio, and Malines was Signor Arnoldo. Christina was called Teofilo Tancredo or just Signor Teofilo (Garstein, 1992, p. 639). It appears that in the letter quoted above, the Jesuit secretary mistakenly called Christina 'Signor Tarquinio' instead of the agreed 'Signor Teofilo'.

The pseudonym 'Signor Amiano' used in the letter quoted above does not appear elsewhere in the correspondence. The fact that the Jesuit secretary needed to add the clarifying qualification 'peritissimo musico' to the name suggests that it was not one of the aliases agreed upon, but a person new to the correspondence. It was someone who had a close relation to Cecconi, the knowledge of which was important to Malines, possibly because this could somehow endanger the project. Although this must remain tentative, we suggest that the expert musician referred to could be Giacomo Carissimi, and that the phrase in the letter is somehow related to the circumstance that Christina had asked the Jesuits to have him recruited to her court in Sweden.

When Christina approached the Jesuit General in Rome and asked him to send the Jesuits to Stockholm, the explicit reason was that she wanted to discuss religious matters, expressing a wish to embrace the Catholic faith (Boero, 1874, pp. 22–23). Even though

¹⁰ 'Il Signor Alessandro Cecconi non è comparso qui ancora; quando verrà, gli servirò con tutto l'affetto. Ma avverta V.S. che con simili raccomandazioni lei verrà a scoprire più la sua intrinsechezza col Signor Amiano, peritissimo musico, che forse non vorrebbe. Del resto sia sicura V.S. che avrò ogni riguardo possibile alla segretezza, e di questo può bene assicurare il Signor Tarquinio, al quale voglio in estremo ogni bene'.

this obviously was the most important motivation, Christina appears to have used these contacts also for recruiting musicians.

At the very same time, Christina used another channel to get more information about cultural life in Rome. In 1649, correspondence had been initiated between Christina and Paolo Giordano II Orsini (1591–1656), Duke of Bracciano and a member of the Roman aristocracy (Bildt, 1906). The duke was a man of letters who had published a volume of his own poems, and who presented Christina with two panegyric sonnets. In a letter dated 22 May 1652, Christina interrogated him about the state of painting, sculpture, and poetry in Rome and Italy. She also asked specifically about music: ‘I would also like to know’, she wrote, ‘if you have any composer there greater than Carissimo [sic], or if there is anyone else who could match him’ (Bildt, 1906, p. 25).¹¹ Orsini responded in a letter dated 26 July 1652, explaining the views on literature of some of the Italian academies, and describing the newest works by Pietro da Cortona and Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini. One week later, on 2 August, he followed up this letter with a separate one in which he tried to answer Christina’s question about the leading composers in Rome:

Last week I failed to answer to one of the paragraphs of the royal letter of Your Majesty, in which You showed a desire to know if there was any greater composer of music than Carissimo, who is the maestro di cappella at San Apollinare in Rome, and if there is anyone else, who is close to him [in excellence]. This week, as I have got the exact information about that, I would say to Your Majesty, that Horatio Benevolo, maestro di cappella in St. Peter in the Vatican, also in Rome, is not held any lower in esteem, and it also seems that You can enter in the same category the following, namely: Stefano Fabri, maestro di cappella in San Luigi, Bonifatio Gratiani, maestro di cappella in Il Gesù, Francesco Foggia, maestro di cappella of St. John in the Lateran, Vincenzi Giovanoni, maestro di cappella in San Lorenzo in Damaso, Giovanni Bicilli, maestro di cappella in Chiesa Nuova. (Bildt, 1906, p. 30)¹²

Orsini’s second letter suggests that he was not himself overly familiar with the leading musicians in Rome, but had to check with someone who was better informed. Orsini’s list only includes *maestri da cappella* at the major Roman churches, and is very similar to a list given in Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650), in a passage in which Kircher mentions the most prominent composers in Rome, whom he recommends that

¹¹ ‘Vorrei anche sapere se vi ha miglior compositore di musica del Carissimo, o se ci è qualche d’uno che l’avvicini’. Letter from Queen Christina to the Duke of Bracciano, 22 May 1652; the letter is only preserved in the Italian translation made for the Duke. Christina’s original letters were written in French.

¹² ‘Tralasciai di rispondere la settimana passata ad un capitolo della real lettera di V. M., nel quale ella mostrava di desiderar di sapere se ci fussi miglior compositor di musica del Carissimo il quale è maestro di cappella in Roma di S. Apollinare, e se ci sono altri, che se gli avvicinano. Questa settimana che ne ho havuto di là esatta informatione posso significare alla M. V. che Horatio Benevolo, maestro di cappella pure in roma di S. Pietro in Vaticano, non è stimato niente meno, e che pare anco che possino entrare nella medesima classe gl’infrascritti, cioè: Stefano Fabri, maestro di cappella di S. Luigi, Bonifatio Gratiani, maestro di cappella del Gesù, Francesco Foggia, maestro di cappella di S. Giovanni in Laterano, Vincenzo Giovanoni, maestro di cappella di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Giovanni Bicilli, maestro di cappella della Chiesa Nova’.

others emulate: Benevoli, Graziani, Foggia, Fabri, and Domenico Cecchelli (Kircher, 1650, p. 614).¹³

Christina was acquainted with Kircher's work. In 1650, the year of its publication, she had received a copy of the book from Kircher himself, mediated by the physician Johannes Munkthelius (nob. Lagercrona, 1618–1674), who had visited Kircher in Rome.¹⁴ According to a contemporary report, the book was 'very well received' by the Queen.¹⁵ It was probably this book that she referred to when thanking Kircher in the letter brought by Macedo.

The high estimation of Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) implied in Christina's letter to Orsini most likely reflects her readings in Kircher's treatise, in which Carissimi is praised as the most excellent composer of his time, 'prevailing above others in his genius and success of composition'.¹⁶ The fact that she used the name form 'Carissimo' suggests that she was acquainted with his name in Latin rather than in Italian; in Kircher's treatise, the composer is referred to as 'Iacobus Carissimus'. Her correspondence with Paolo Orsini shows that she was specifically interested in Roman musical life, and particularly in Carissimi. At that point she was also in contact with Casati in Stockholm, and could have got additional information from him.

Judging from Christina's ambitions in connection with other recruits to her court, such as Descartes, she would always reach for the top. A qualified guess is that her intention was to try to recruit Carissimi himself to her court. Our hypothesis is supported by the fact that one of Christina's first actions when she had settled in Rome in the spring of 1656 was to appoint Carissimi as her *Maestro di cappella del concerto di camera* (Culley, 1970, pp. 178–179).

If Christina wanted to engage Carissimi, it made sense to investigate the possibility either through the Jesuit headquarters or through Kircher. Carissimi is, however, known to have turned down all attempts to recruit him for positions outside Rome. In 1643, he was offered the position of *Maestro di cappella* at St Mark's in Venice, after the death of Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643). In 1647, the governor of the Habsburg Netherlands,

¹³ Kircher must arguably have meant *Carlo* Cecchelli, and not his son *Domenico*, who was only a young boy at this time, as he was sixteen when he entered the German College in 1657 (Culley, 1970, pp. 221–222.). In September 1651, however, Carlo Cecchelli had moved from Rome for a position in Loreto (Roche, 2001). This could explain why he is missing from Orsini's list, suggesting that Orsini had checked this carefully and that his 'exact information' was not merely a quotation of the list found in Kircher's *Musurgia universalis*.

¹⁴ The book printer Louis Elzevier saw the book in Amsterdam on its way to Sweden, according to his letter to Kircher of 4 November 1650: 'Ayant veu icy un exemplaire de vostre Misurgia dont faisiez present a la Royne de Suede'. APUG 568 f. 238r-v.

¹⁵ 'Althu *Italien* är een *Doctor Medicinæ* b:de *Johannes Munthelius* heem kommen, medh hwilcken een *Jesuiti* Rom b:de *Athanasius Kirckerus* een bok hafwer förskickat H. K. Mt tillhanda som af honom kallas *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni ex [recte: et] dissoni*: hwilken bok, såsom hon i sigh sielf skall wara rar och kosteligh, äre uthaf H. K. Mt mycket well optagen'. National Library of Sweden, Autografsamlingen, Letter from Johan Wassenius (Lagermarck) to Duke Adolf Johan of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, 20 July 1650.

¹⁶ 'Iacobus Carissimus excellentissimus, et Celebris famae symphoneta, Ecclesiae Sancti Apollinaris Collegij Germanici multorum annorum spatio Musicae Praefectus dignissimus, prae alijs ingenio pollet et felicitate compositionis [...]' (Kircher 1650, p. 603).

Archduke Leopold William (1614–1662), unsuccessfully tried to recruit him to his court in Brussels (Culley, 1970, p. 188–193).

If Christina had a mediator contact Carissimi, and he turned down her offer, this would explain why Christina contacted Orsini in late May 1652 to ask whether there were any composers greater than or equal to Carissimi. It would also fit well in time with the letter from the Jesuit secretary to Francesco Malines of 4 May cited above, in which he refers to the mysterious ‘Signor Amiano, peritissimo musico’ who was friendly with Cecconi, if we assume that this refers to Carissimi. The assumption that Christina negotiated with the Jesuits in Rome regarding the recruitment of Italian musicians is supported by the fact that the two most important members of the ensemble both had strong affiliations with Jesuit circles in Rome: Alessandro Cecconi, who assembled it, and Vincenzo Albrici, who was its *maestro di cappella*. Cecconi was salaried as a singer at the German College in 1646, and doubtless knew Carissimi (Culley, 1970, p. 237). Albrici had been trained at the German College by Carissimi from 1641 and was later employed there as an organist. More recently, he came from a position as an organist at Il Gesù, the Jesuit mother church in Rome; Albrici was on the payroll of Il Gesù from December 1649 until April 1651 (Berglund, 2010, p. 198).

Cecconi was already in Italy in December 1651 and was expected in Rome in the spring, and the Jesuit headquarters were informed of his whereabouts. It is unclear whether the Jesuits were actively involved in recruiting Cecconi, or whether he had already been in contact with Christina before this. Considering his affiliation with Carissimi and the German College, it does not seem unlikely that the contact with Cecconi also came via Jesuit circles.

In May the first musicians were recruited by Cecconi in Rome. The specification established by Cecconi on his arrival in Stockholm reveals that the musicians were offered full payment from the first day of their engagement in Italy.¹⁷ At the settlement of accounts on the last day of November, the musicians had already been in the service of the Queen for between three and seven months, long before they arrived in Sweden. Vincenzo Albrici, his brother Bartolomeo, and their father Domenico, as well as the singers Domenico Melani and Pietro Pavolo Ricciardi, received payment for the period from 1 May until 30 November. Cecconi thus contracted them in Rome in May, and offered them full payment for the entire month.

On 27 June, Christina’s French physician Pierre Bourdelot (1610–1685) mentioned the Italian musicians in a letter to his friend Claude Saumaise (1588–1653) sent from the residence of Christina’s mother in Nyköping:

The Italian musicians have arrived in Marseille, six of them, and they are waiting there for the others with Alexandre, to go to Stockholm. (Pirro, 1913, p. 27)¹⁸

Taking into account the time it took for this information to reach Bourdelot in Sweden – probably some two to three weeks – the Italians must have been in Marseille since

¹⁷ Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Hovkassaräkning 1653; see footnote 4.

¹⁸ ‘Les musiciens italiens sont arrivés à Marseille au nombre de six, on en attend d’autres avec Alexandre pour Stokolm’.

early June at the latest. It seems likely that Bourdelot's remark refers to the Albrici family together with Melani and Ricciardi.

The next group of five singers received payment for five months on their arrival in Stockholm, which means they must have been recruited in July. Judging from their earnings, they had prominent positions in the ensemble. It is not unlikely that they were recruited as a group. Their specialties suggest a four-part vocal ensemble with an accompanist:

Vincenzo Cenni, Bassa (Orvieto)
Francesco Cantarelli, Castrato (Napolitano)
Antonio Piermarini, Castrato (Romano)
Tommaso Gabrini, Tenore (Romano)
Costanzo Piccardi, Sonator de viola e violino (Fiorentino)

It was possibly Costanzo Piccardi who brought with him and performed on a double bass made by Giovanni Paolo Maggini in 1597, an instrument that is still used today by the Swedish Royal Orchestra (Kjellberg, 1979, p. 114; Ljungkvist, 2007).

Simultaneously with Cecconi's activities, the Dutch scholar Nicolaes Heinsius (1620–1681) was in Italy on Queen Christina's behalf, engaged in acquiring rare books, manuscripts, coins, and medals.¹⁹ Judging from Heinsius' letters, it is clear that he had been in Rome since late January or early February 1652, arriving from Venice. On 11 July, Cecconi invited Heinsius to dinner at his lodging in Rome.

I am convinced that My Lord will appreciate the invitation that I make, to come and honour me with having a plain dinner at my lodgings, that will be richer for the presence of a number of virtuosi, who will be there, than for the lavishness of the food, that will be [served], not worthy of your Person, so that I do not risk to seem too bold. I hope you will not deny me this favour, that I would have come to ask personally, but I think that My Lord is well acquainted with the fact that I am not allowed to go out in daytime, therefore towards the night I will wait for You at the Fiammenga [with] true heart and all ceremonies.²⁰

Some of his remarks in that letter are of great interest to us. When Cecconi mentioned 'alcuni virtuosi' who will be present at the dinner, it must refer to the Italian musicians he had recently contracted. They could be identical to the five musicians recruited in July. The fact that Heinsius was supposed to know that Cecconi could not go out in

¹⁹ Letters on this matter published in (Burman, ed., 1727), V, nos. 656, 658–664, 666–668, 680, 681. *Sylloges* is available online at < http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/cera/autoren/burman_cera.html >

²⁰ 'Mi persuado che V. S. habbia da gradire l'invito, ch'io li faccio, che è di honorarmi con venire à pigliare al mio alloggio una povera cena che sarà piú piú richa per la presenza di alcuni virtuosi, che vi si troveranno, che per la lautezza delle vivande, che vi saranno, no[n] degne della sua Persona, perciò gli lo significo accio acciò no[n] habbia da incorrere appresso di V.S. in concetto di troppo ardito. Spero, che no[n] mi de negherà [questa] gratia, che di presenza sarei venuta a dimandarghila, mà a lei credo che sia ben' noto, che non mi è permesso escire di giorno, perciò verso la notte l'attendo alla Fiammenga cor' sincero con il Bando delle Ceremonie'. Leiden University Library, Brieven van Alessandro Cecconi aan Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–1681), BUR Q 16.

daytime suggests that they had already been in contact. The reason for this situation is unclear. Two days later, on 13 July, Heinsius wrote to Christina and reported to her about Cecconi's upcoming journey to Sweden:

Cecconi is on his way to you. Among other gifts from princely men, he will bring you a Pescennius in copper (the only one among the Gottfriedian coins known to be missing), as I have heard, from the Marquis Nicholinus. (Burman, ed., 1727, vol. 5, p. 753)²¹

Just one week after Cecconi's letter, on 18 July, Heinsius and Cecconi were in Florence. Several months later, Heinsius recalled this Italian musician in a letter to his colleague in Leiden, Isaac Vossius (1618-1689):

Much more fortunate than I was the Italian lute-singer, coming from very low birth here in Tuscany, who came here in great glory, and left royal letters to the great prince. He was nevertheless looked upon with contempt, because he had known the man. But this between us. For also the lute-singer is a friend of mine, and besides I consider him a good man. (Burman, ed., 1727, vol. 3, p. 657)²²

Most likely it was Cecconi who was referred as 'citharoedus' ('lute-singer'). The letter reports an incident at the Biblioteca Laurenziana when the lute-singer tried to acquire a very rare and controversial heretical manuscript, Porphyrius' *Adversus Christianos*, for the Queen's library. Unaware of the delicacy of the situation, Cecconi just walked in there and asked for it, and thus, according to Heinsius, destroyed the possibility of obtaining it (Burman, ed., 1727, vol. 3, p. 657).

Possibly Cecconi also recruited some of the musicians during the trip to Florence. The theorbist Angelo Michele Bartolotti (d. after 1682; Benoit, 1971, p. 80) and the castrato singer Francesco Pierozzi were salaried from August, and the bass singer Pietro Francesco Reggio (1632-1685) and the harpsichord builder Girolamo Zenti (b. 1609-11?, d. 1666/7) from September. Soon after that, the ensemble must have embarked on their journey from Marseille to Stockholm. Their journey went via Copenhagen, where they were accommodated by the Swedish resident Magnus Durell (Rimborg, 1997, p. 44).

Apparently, Christina was impatient to hear Italian singers at her court. In the summer of 1652, she managed to briefly engage two Italian singers from Warsaw to come to her court temporarily: the prominent castrato Baldassare Ferri (1610-1680) and the tenor singer Francesco Basile (Żórawska-Witkowska, 2006). They arrived in connection with a diplomatic mission led by the consul Henri de Canasilles and travelled to Stockholm on one of the Queen's ships (Szweykowska, 1968, p. 43).²³ They

²¹ 'Iter ad te parat Cecconius, is inter alia munuscula virorum Principum, Pescennium (quem unum inter Gottfriediana numismata desiderari notum) ad te feret aeneum, ut audio, a Marchione Nicolino'.

²² 'Longe me felicior fuit Citharoedus ille Italus, ex infima plebe ortus hinc in Hetruria, qui magno cum splendore huc venit, et regias literas magno Duci obtulit. Contemptim tamen est habitus, quod hominem novisset. Sed hoc inter nos. nam et citharoedus mihi amicus est, et caetera virum bonum existimo'.

²³ Ferri and Basile are also mentioned in a letter from Hieronim Radziejowski in Stockholm to Adam Brachowski in Poland on 20 July 1652 (Kersten, 1988, p. 315). According to Giovanni Andrea Bontempi's

arrived in June and stayed until August.²⁴ On their departure, they received thirty cans of Rhenish wine and one-hundred and fifty-nine cans of strong beer from the royal wine cellar.²⁵ According to Peder Juel (1623–1656), the Danish envoy in Stockholm, 1647–1655, they were also rewarded with the remarkable sum of 1000 Riksdaler each and a golden chain worth 170 Riksdaler (Molbeck, 1844, p. 334). All these are signs of Christina’s high estimation of proficient singers and musicians. This was likely the first visit of a castrato singer at the Swedish court, and the first time Christina experienced a singer of this kind.

The arrival in Sweden

On 17 November 1652, the Swedish nobleman Johan Ekeblad (1629–1697) reported in a letter to his father that the ensemble was approaching Stockholm:²⁶

At court, everybody is working on the ballet that will be danced on the birthday [of the Queen]. Since time is short, they work even more diligently. Some twenty Italians are expected here from Denmark today or tomorrow, some of which are comedians, most of them however musicians and singers. (Ekeblad 1911, p. 193)²⁷

On 1 December, Ekeblad mentioned the Italian musicians at the court; his last comment must refer to Baldassare Ferri:

Right now there is so much to do with the [birthday] ballet and the tournament that will take place, that nothing of importance is undertaken. The Italian musicians, who sing very well, cause no less distraction. Six of them are cut capons, not counting the one we had here before. (Ekeblad, 1911, p. 198)²⁸

Ekeblad had already had the opportunity to hear the Italians sing, probably on St Andrew’s day, 30 November, the debut of the Italian ensemble at court. On that

Historia musica, 1695, Ferri was ‘fetched in a special ship by Christina Queen of Sweden’ (‘mantato a prendere con Naue particolare da Christina Regina di Suetia’ (Bontempi, 1695, p. 110).

²⁴ According to the drafts of letters of 12 June 1652 and 14 August 1652. (Danish National Archives, Tyske Kancelli, Udenrigske Afdeling, Sverige: Resident og gesandt Peder Juels gesandtskabsarkiv: Brevregister med kort angivelse af brevenes indhold 1649–54). In previous lexica and literature, Ferri’s stay in Stockholm has been placed in 1654 (see, e.g., Ciliberti, 2001). This is probably based on a misunderstanding of a passage in Conestabile (1846), but correctly referred to by François-Joseph Fétis: ‘M. Conestabile remarque avec raison que le voyage de Ferri à la cour de Suède a du précéder l’année 1654, ou Christine abdiqua en faveur de Charles-Gustave’ [‘M. Conestabile rightly remarks that Ferri’s trip to the Swedish court must have preceded the year 1654, when Christine abdicated in favour of Charles-Gustavus’] (Fétis, 1866, p. 219).

²⁵ Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Vinkällarräkenskaper, 12 August 1652. One can was ca. 2.6 litres.

²⁶ The Danish resident Peder Juel also noted in his weekly report for 21–27 November that the Italian musicians had arrived (Fryxell, ed., 1836, p. 94).

²⁷ ‘Ut i hofvet arbete nu alla på denna balletten, på födelsedagen dansas skall. Efter tiden är kort, arbete desto flitigare. En tjugo stycken italienare äro på vägen från Dannemark idag eller i morgon hit förväntandes, ibland hvilka några comedianter äro, dock mestadelen musicanter och sångare’.

²⁸ ‘Förty nu är så mycket att göra med baletten och de ringrännande, som ske skola, att intet något af importance förhandlas. De italienska musicanterna, hvilka sjunga tämelig väl, förorsaka ock intet mindre tidsfördrif. Där äro 6 stycken utskurna caponer under, förutan en vi hade här tillföre’.

occasion, they performed in the large square hall in the northwest tower of the old Royal Castle (*Västra kyrkanten*), that Christina at this time used as her audience room.²⁹ After that they were engaged in preparing a large ballet at the court, celebrating Christina's twenty-fourth birthday on 18 December. The ensemble would stay in Sweden until the summer of 1654, with some of the members leaving and being replaced by others (see Appendix).

The fact that all the remaining Italian musicians left Sweden at the same time as the Queen, directly after her abdication, supports our contention that they were not recruited for the Swedish court, but for Christina herself. Their stay in Sweden was rather connected with Christina's plans for the abdication. Alessandro Cecconi stayed with Christina as her secretary until his death in Rome 1658.

That Christina's interest in the Italian musicians was not only restricted to hearing them perform was reported by Lucas Holstenius, curator of the Vatican Library at the time. He was in contact with the singer Tommaso, a singer at Cappella Giulia at St Peter's, who had been one of the singers at the Queen's court. This clearly refers to the tenor Tommaso Gabrini. He told Holstenius that Christina secretly read Catholic books and hierologies, telling her Lutheran priests that it was poetry, and also that she was always very eager to get information from the Italians about what happened in Rome (Pastor, 1929, pp. 337–338).

Performances of music by the Italian ensemble: secular music

The question concerning what musical repertoire was actually performed in Sweden by the Italian ensemble, and for what occasions and functions, has been addressed by several scholars, albeit tentatively (Moberg, 1942, p. 41; Norlind, 1944, p. 75; Sundström, 1961, pp. 305–308; Webber, 1993). There are three kinds of sources that can help address the questions of when, where, and what the Italian singers and musicians performed at Queen Christina's court: first, official dispatches, diplomatic reports, and eyewitness descriptions found in diaries and letters; second, archival documents such as financial accounts; and third and arguably most important, the surviving music performance material, a source not fully investigated until now.

On 9 January, the Italian musicians were offered wine for their performance of a *comedia* in the Western Square Hall of the Royal Castle.³⁰ This is the first evidence of a number of such performances by the Italians in Stockholm during the winter and spring of 1653. On 26 January, Ekeblad had already reported in a letter that the Italian musicians several times had presented theatrical performances both at the castle and for Christina's mother, the Queen Dowager (Ekeblad, 1911, p. 223).³¹

²⁹ They were served Rhenish and French wine on the occasion, more precisely 16 *kannor* (41.6 litres) of Rhenish and three *kannor* (7.8 litres) of French wine. Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Vinkällarräkenskaperna, 30 November 1652.

³⁰ Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Vinkällarräkenskaper 1652–54, Extraordinarie expenser, 9 January 1653.

³¹ 'De italienska musikanter hafva nu åtskilliga spelt comedier både på slottet så väl som hos änkedrottningen'.

The Queen's personal physician, Johannes Munkthelius, reported that 'the Italian musicians played a *comedia*' for the Queen in the early hours of 16 and 17 February.³² Munkthelius also reported that the Queen had the Italian musicians sing for her on 26 February.³³ Peder Juel reported home about similar events. On 26 March, he told of a 'sodomitic theatre play' (*Sodomitisk comedie*) that had been performed a few days before, probably at Jacobsdahl Castle (Fryxell, ed., 1836, p. 95).³⁴ Juel also reported about a stage performance in Italian at Jacobsdahl on Good Friday, 8 April.³⁵ In the week of 18–25 May, two plays in Italian were performed at the castle (Ekeblad, 1911, p. 260).³⁶ These performances took place within an exclusive and narrow circle around the Queen, presumably for only a few specially invited guests.³⁷

Several of the performances were staged in the Queen's audience room in the Western Square Hall. Stage decor and machinery seem to have been built in the hall on such occasions. An undated record in the court accounts tells us that the Italian chapelmaster Albrici was granted permission to take with him two curtains of *bleu-mourent* taffeta that had been used 'for machines in the Western Square Hall when the Italian musicians performed a *comedia* there on order by the Queen' (Kjellberg, 1979, p. 552).³⁸ The man responsible for such stage machinery was the Italian *macchinista* Antonio Brunati, who had arrived at Queen Christina's court in 1647 and stayed until at least 1659 (Fogelberg Rota, 2018, p. 91).

³² '[...] spelte Italienske musicanterne een comedie'; National Library of Sweden, Autografsamlingen, Letter from Johannes Munkthelius to Johan Adolf von Pfalz-Zweibrücken 26 February 1653. The musicians who had performed in the Western Square Hall on this occasion were offered Rhenish and French wine; Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Vinkällarräkenskaper 1652–54, Extraordinarie expenser, 19 February 1653.

³³ National Library of Sweden, Autografsamlingen, Letter from Johannes Munkthelius to Johan Adolf von Pfalz-Zweibrücken 26 February 1653.

³⁴ Although Fryxell's transcriptions include some mistakes, this and the other entries cited here have been proofread to confirm correct transcription when compared to the originals in the Danish National Archives, Tyske Kancelli, Udenrigske Afdeling, Sverige: Resident og gesandt Peder Juels gesandtskabsarkiv: Brevregister med kort angivelse af brevenes indhold 1649–1654.

³⁵ The court accounts from the late winter and spring on several occasions record wine, beer, and food offered to the musicians as well as litters to bear them to and from Jacobsdahl. Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Vinkällarräkenskaper 1653, Hovstaträkenskaper 1653.

³⁶ For one of these performances, there is a record of a supply of oil ('olja till Italiensk comedie') in the account books. Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Hovstatsräkenskaper 1653, 22 May.

³⁷ Ekeblad reported such an exclusive occasion in connection with a parallel case, the staging of a ballet at Jacobsdahl on 23 March 1653: 'Her Majesty now journeys almost every day to Jacobsdaal, where she always remains, enjoying herself until late night. And tonight a small ballet will be performed there, to which no other people may come other than those listed by the Queen herself' ('Hennes majestät reser nu mest hvar dag ut till Jacobsdaal där hon alltid förbifver till att roa sig långt in på nätterna. Och i afton blifver där en liten ballet dansad, till hvilken inga flera personer komma må, än de dronningen själf upptecknat hafver' (Ekeblad, 1911, p. 241).

³⁸ 'Italienske capellmästaren hafver effter tillståndh medh sig borttagit som effter hennes Kongl May:tz nådigste befallningh förfärdigas till Machiner uti wästra Fyrkanten, då dhe Italienske Musicanter dersammastädes speelte Commodia 2 st gardiner af blemeurant [Bleu-mourent] Tafft'; Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Husgerådskammarräkningar 1650–55 [sine dato], p. 93.

In coeval Swedish documents, *comedia* usually refers to the performance of a spoken play.³⁹ The constant reference in the citations above to the Italian musicians suggests that these performances included song and music.

Several Swedish scholars have claimed that the Italian ensemble was mainly an opera troupe and that the staged performances in Stockholm were opera performances (Norlind, 1944, pp. 75, 80–82; Moberg, 1942, p. 41; Sundström, 1961). These claims have been and still are uncritically restated in the literature.

There is evidence that speaks against this assumption. To begin with, most of the Italian singers and musicians recruited in 1652 had no previous experience of opera performance, at least not as far as we know.⁴⁰ In Rome, where most of them had been active, very few operas were staged after the end of the Barberini papacy in 1644. None of the singers in the ensemble had any known affiliation with the Barberini operas of the 1630s or 1640s, nor with the opera houses of Venice, the centre of public opera since the late 1630s. Moreover, opera performances in Stockholm would certainly have amazed people and generated more comments and reports from the court.

If the staged performances in Stockholm in the spring of 1653 were not operas, the question arises: What kind of performances were they, and with which theatrical genres should they be associated? It seems reasonable to assume that the Italian singers and musicians who arrived in Sweden were hired to perform a repertoire with which they were already well acquainted. Considering the composition of the ensemble, the performances would have involved a substantial portion of music and singing. Johan Ekeblad claimed before their arrival that some of the Italians were reportedly actors (*comedianter*), though most of them were singers and musicians. It would not make sense to bring six qualified castratos from Italy at huge expense and not have them sing in these spectacles. This would suggest some kind of stage play with many musical elements.

Judging from what is known of the background of the Italian musicians, they were primarily associated with ecclesiastical music making. Albrici had served as an organist in Il Gesù and, like Cecconi, had a background at the German College. Moreover, their affiliation with the Society of Jesus seems to have been important for the entire recruitment process. Several of the other musicians had ecclesiastical engagements, both before and after their visit to Sweden.⁴¹ All these circumstances put together point to a

³⁹ This is shown by key studies of Swedish seventeenth-century theatre such as those by Dahlberg (1976, 1992) and Beijer (1955). Titles in printed programmes of seventeenth-century stage productions confirm this assumption. See the bibliography by Klemming (1863–1879). Other common types of stage productions performed in seventeenth-century Sweden were *Wirtschafts* (referred to by Ekeblad as *Iustspeel*), *Sing-Spiel*, and ballets in different forms (e.g., *Sing-Ballett*), mostly referred to as *ballets*.

⁴⁰ The only exceptions to this are Alessandro Cecconi, who may have participated in the staging of Rossi's *Orfeo* in Paris, and Giuseppe Amadei, who sang in Giovanni Felice Sances' *Erniona* in Padua in 1636 (Sartori, 1990–1994, vol. 3, p. 55).

⁴¹ With some exceptions, there is scant information on the whereabouts of the other members of the ensemble. Bartolomeo Albrici was a singer in the Cappella Giulia in 1650 and Cantarelli in 1643. Cenni was in la Cappella della Santissima Casa in Loreto in the 1660s. Piemarini was referred to as *sacerdote* in archival documents. Several documents testify to the ecclesiastical engagement of Gabrini. Bartolotti was engaged in the Cappella Sistina in the 1620s. Most of these records are provided by Lionnet [2008].

possibility not previously suggested in connection with Queen Christina's Italian musicians: that the staged performances in Stockholm in the spring of 1653 consisted of theatrical forms connected to ecclesiastical music making and to Jesuit circles – either staged performances of oratorios, or something similar to the kind of theatrical performances commonly staged at Jesuit colleges.

Oratorios appear to have been performed in various theatrical stagings in Rome, especially at Jesuit institutions. On 25 February 1656, the last Tuesday of Carnival, Christina attended the performance of Giacomo Carissimi's biblical play *Il sacrificio d'Isacco*, performed at the German College (Gualdo Priorato, 1656, pp. 301–302). Carissimi's oratorio was later repeated once more before the Pope, when it was said to have been performed 'without platform and costumes' ('senza palcho, e habito'), indicating that the first performance at the German College had been staged (Culley, 1970, p. 179).⁴²

Apart from oratorios, another assumption is that these performances were theatrical dramas of the kind fostered at Jesuit institutions. They were recited, but often with an abundance of sung elements. Such stagings were a common feature at the Jesuit colleges in Rome. For example, in 1648, the students at the German college performed a 'commedietta in musica', in a secluded setting ('intra domesticos parietes'; Casimiri, 1943, p. 1). The assumption must remain tentative, but there are arguments that support it, some of which have just been mentioned: several of the singers recruited to Christina's court had a background in the Jesuit circles in Rome and had received their training at a Jesuit college; the combination of spoken and sung performances makes sense in relation to the composition of the Italian ensemble; moreover, the performances seem to have included elaborate stage settings and stage machinery – all traits typical of the Jesuit dramas and their *intermedi*.⁴³

Queen Christina is known to have taken an interest in the tradition of Jesuit drama. After her abdication, on her way through Europe as well as immediately on her arrival in Rome, she attended performances of Jesuit plays. In 1654, having reached Antwerp, 'Her Majestie went often to see the house of the Professed, and the Colledge of the Jesuits' and she also attended the play *Thyestes* ('as she had desired') and *Manasses* (Gualdo Priorato, 1656, 1658; McCabe, 1983, pp. 64–66). After reaching Rome, the Pope paid 20,000 taler to the Jesuits to perform comedies for Queen Christina (Arckenholtz, 1751, p. 530).

The school plays performed at Jesuit colleges all over Europe thus accord with many of the observations that can be made from the sparse accounts of the performances of comedies in Stockholm in the first half of 1653. Jesuit plays could be in either Latin or the vernacular; they were usually based on biblical or religious topics; they typically alternated spoken acts with *intermedi* incorporating dance and music (e.g., vocal arias).

⁴² This was reported by Padre Compagnoni in his manuscript chronicle of the German College, cited by Culley (1970).

⁴³ A detailed description of the elaborate *intermedi* of a Jesuit play in Parma is found in the report from the journey of Archduke Ferdinand Karl, his spouse Anna von Medici, and his brother Archduke Siegmund Franz in 1652 (Senn, 1954, pp. 347–360).

They were also known for their spectacular stage machinery, as well as their lavish costumes and stage sets. There was a strong tradition of performing such plays for dignitaries such as royal and princely persons and other and high-ranking officials (McCabe, 1983, p. 17; Park, 2010, p. 36).

The peculiar reference to a 'sodomitic theatre play' made by Peder Juel can be explained by the use of cross-dressing, with male actors performing female characters. This feature was very common in Jesuit theatre in the mid-seventeenth century, despite the fact that it had been officially prohibited in the first decades of the century (Chappuzeau, 1674; McCabe, 1983, pp. 178–197; Harris, 2005, pp. 43–47; Park, 2010, p. 37).

An obvious question is whether such plays really were performed in strictly Lutheran Stockholm. In the German-speaking lands, Jesuit dramas and Jesuit colleges were, however, not exclusively for Catholics. Protestant boys attended these schools, benefiting from their outstanding didactic quality, and also participated in their theatrical performances (McCabe, 1983, p. 10; Park, 2010, p. 35). In towns with divided confessions, the audience for Jesuit dramas consisted of both Catholics and Protestants.

Both options – staged oratorios or Jesuit dramas – would explain enigmas relating to the accounts of these theatrical performances. As mentioned above, Juel reported a staged performance in Italian on Good Friday in 1653. The performance of plays or operas on secular or erotic topics on Good Friday does not appear likely or even possible, not even considering Christina's libertine leanings; however, a biblical drama of the kind characteristic of oratorios and Jesuit theatre would arguably not be out of the question.

Surviving secular music

There are no traces of preserved music material for these theatrical performances, but another type of the Italians' secular music has survived. In 1993 Geoffrey Webber showed that a manuscript volume, Mus. 377, in the library of Christ Church College in Oxford originated from Queen Christina's Italian musicians (Webber, 1993, pp. 47–50). Webber also suggested that another similar manuscript in the same library's collections, Mus. 996, could also be connected to Christina's Italian ensemble, although no details in the manuscript confirm this. They were both copied by the same hand, likely Angelo Michele Bartolotti, the theorbo player of the Albrici ensemble.

The title page of the first volume, Mus. 377, reads: 'Musica del Signor Angelo Micheli, uno de Musici della Capella de Reyna di Swecia'. The flyleaf gives the following additional information: 'A gift from signor Angelo Micheli, one of the musicians of the chapel of the Queen of Sweden'.⁴⁴ It is dated in Uppsala, 21 March.⁴⁵

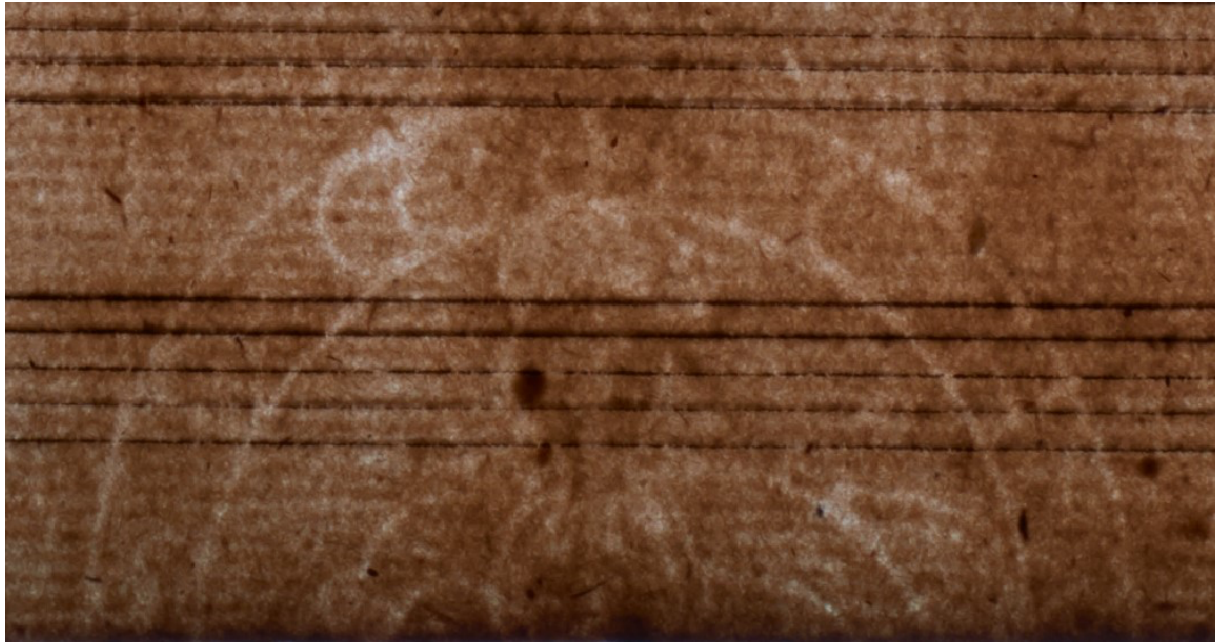
For the second volume in Oxford, Mus. 966, Webber could only tentatively suggest a link between this manuscript and the residence of the Italian musicians in Sweden.

⁴⁴ 'D'al dono del signor Angelo Micheli uno de li musici della capella di Reyna di Suecia'.

⁴⁵ The manuscript is dated 'Upsaliae Martij 21 / 1653'. The year is according to the English calendar, which had New Year on 25 March instead of 1 January. This means that 21 March 1653 in the English calendar refers to 21 March 1654 according to the Swedish calendar.

However, the watermarks unquestionably show that this too derives from Queen Christina's court. It contains two sorts of paper: one has the watermark Fleur-de-lis in a crowned shield/4WR with the countermark IHS surmounted by a cross.⁴⁶ As we shall see, this is a type of watermark found in other manuscripts associated with Christina's Italian musicians. The other type of paper was manufactured in Sweden, at the paper mill Uddby south of Stockholm. It contains a watermark that in fact depicts Queen Christina herself (Figure 1).⁴⁷

Figure 1. The watermark Christina D.G., in Christ Church, Mus. 996.



The two manuscripts present a similar repertoire. Both contain arias and duets by Roman composers such as Giacomo Carissimi and Luigi Rossi. Eight of the nineteen pieces in Mus. 377 have concordances in the more comprehensive volume, Mus. 996. One of these manuscripts is undoubtedly the 'book of their songs' presented to Whitelocke by the Italian musicians, as he reported in the printed version of his journal (Whitelocke, 1772, vol. 2, p. 3). It was probably prepared with a title and dedication in Uppsala before that occasion. Although only one book of songs was mentioned by Whitelocke, it seems safe to assume that both Mus. 377 and Mus. 996 were brought to England with Whitelocke and his entourage.

A song from Mus. 996 is found in the Düben Collection in a manuscript headed 'Aria et Istr[omen]ti'.⁴⁸ It consists of an instrumental *Giga* in four parts, apparently used as an introduction to a vocal aria. Then follow three vocal phrases with suggested ornamented cadences. The text underlay reveals this to be an aria by Giacomo Carissimi, *E pur vuole il cielo e amore*. This piece is in fact included in one of the two music manuscripts in Christ Church College, Mus 966. The handwriting has striking

⁴⁶ Ruffatti, 2006, p. 115.

⁴⁷ On this type of paper, see Rudén (1968, p. 191 and Bil. II appendix A6)

⁴⁸ S-Uu Imhs 134:50; for more details about the Düben Collection, see below.

similarities to that of the Italian copyist whom we suggest is likely to be Vincenzo Albrici.⁴⁹ The embellishments work to liven up three similar cadences.

In 1967 Gunnar Larsson called attention to a musical manuscript in the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm, S 231 (Larsson, 1967, p. 135–136). Larsson pointed it out as a good example of the Italian music that was likely performed at Christina's court.⁵⁰ This volume contains the very same type of repertory as the two manuscripts in Oxford, i.e., mainly arias for one or two voices. It has one concordance with Mus. 996 in Oxford, *Udite amanti* by Luigi Rossi. The volume is an elaborately copied manuscript in calligraphic *lettere* and was compiled by Cecconi, as the title reads: 'Scelta di Arie à Voce sola di diversi Autori Raccolte da mè Alessandro Cecconi'.

Cecconi's volume comprises twenty-two compositions attributed to Marc'Antonio Pasqualini (1614–1691), Giacomo Carissimi and Luigi Rossi, in addition to a few unattributed songs.⁵¹ The manuscript is difficult to date, but the saraband from Rossi's *Orfeo* at the end of the manuscript must have been copied some time after the first Paris performance in March 1647. The manuscript was copied on paper that is typically French,⁵² suggesting that Cecconi compiled it in France some time between 1647 and 1651.

The arias and duets contained in these three collections constitute secular repertoire performed by the Italian singers in Christina's bedchamber in Stockholm and Uppsala. It represents a kind of refined entertainment music for intimate chamber settings. Text and music in combination present emotionally charged, yet playful themes of unrequited love and passion in a sophisticated play on constantly varied erotic themes that seem to have been an abiding source of fascination and amusement to their aristocratic audiences.⁵³ It is a kind of repertoire that would later be a recurring feature in Christina's academies and court life in Rome (Morelli, 1998).

Performances in church: the Düben Collection revisited

The only accounts of the Italian musicians performing sacred music derive from the Queen's residence in Uppsala. This was when Whitelocke commented on the music performed in the Queen's chapel, in his diary entry from 27 March 1654, quoted in the introduction. Judging from the large amount of sacred music presented below, this cannot have been an isolated occasion. This strongly suggests that the Italian ensemble regularly performed sacred music for Christina.

⁴⁹ For a comparison, see S-Uu Imhs 11:25, Imhs 11:25a and the end of the organo [1] part in Vmhs 47:7.

⁵⁰ Like Carl-Allan Moberg, Tobias Norlind, and others, Larsson referred to the ensemble as an 'opera troupe'.

⁵¹ Four of the works lacking attributions in the Stockholm manuscript have concordances in a manuscript presently in Evanston, IL, USA (US-Eu MS 1) with further attributions to Giacomo Carissimi, Carlo Caprioli and Pietro Paolo Vannini.

⁵² Bunch of grapes/S [three-leaf clover] G with no countermark, similar to Gaudriault no. 950 (Gaudriault, 1995).

⁵³ On the closely related cantata repertoire, see Freitas (2001).

Apart from the surviving manuscripts containing secular music, Webber noted some manuscripts in the Düben Collection containing music by, among others, Carissimi, Francesco Foggia (1603–1688) and Orazio Benevoli (1605–1672) in connection with Queen Christina’s court music. Still, Webber claimed that the Italian ensemble was ‘employed primarily for secular music’, remarking that ‘it is unlikely that any of the Italian musicians took part in the performance of sacred music at Court’. Instead, he suggested that the Italians just supplied the Swedish-German Royal Court Chapel with sacred music to perform (Webber 1993, pp. 50–53).

In the following, we will reconsider some of the sources identified by Webber and highlight a number of additional sources that can be connected to Christina’s Italian musicians. More than fifty sacred compositions have been identified. We will refute the claims made by previous scholars and argue that the Italians did indeed perform sacred music for Christina, and that this was even one of the main purposes for which they were recruited.

The obvious place to look for music connected with the seventeenth-century Swedish court is the Düben Collection.⁵⁴ This collection was mainly assembled by Gustav Düben Sr. (c. 1629–1690), royal chapelmaster 1663–1690, and added to by his sons and successors Gustav Jr. (1660–1726) and Anders Jr. (1673–1738), the last of whom donated it to Uppsala University in 1732. The collection constitutes the music library of the Swedish court musicians from the time of these three royal chapelmasters (Schildt, 2014). Most of the music was acquired by Gustav Düben Sr. after he took up his position in 1663, but there is also some additional material in the collection that he obtained before that.

An examination of the pre-1663 material in the Düben Collection reveals three more substantial groups of manuscripts: first, music that Gustav Düben likely brought home from his educational journey through France and Germany, c. 1645–1648; second, a considerable amount of French dance music reflecting the repertoire of the Queen’s French violin band (Schildt, 2014, pp. 86–109); and, third, the music that we will consider more closely in the following, i.e., manuscripts and prints emanating from musical activities at Christina’s court between 1652 and 1654 and linked to the Italian ensemble.

After Christina’s abdication and departure, the ordinary court chapel consisting of Swedish-German musicians, reinforced by French violinists, carried on their activities as usual, now serving King Charles X Gustav and the new dynasty of Pfalz-Zweibrücken. From the summer of 1654, when Christina left Sweden together with the remaining Italian musicians, and until 1663, when Gustav Düben was appointed royal chapelmaster, there are very few surviving sources in the Düben Collection. This situation is in stark contrast to the large number of manuscripts in the collection from the years 1652–1654. The question is why Gustav copied and retained so much music during this particular period.

⁵⁴ The collection is at Uppsala University Library. A database catalogue of the entire collection with scanned images is available online: <<http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php>>

A clue to understanding this is the organization of the court music during those years and what appears as a clear-cut division between the Italian ensemble and the ordinary Swedish-German court musical ensemble. This is particularly clear starting from November 1653, when the Queen moved to Uppsala. According to the accounts, there is no doubt that the Italian ensemble and her French musicians followed the Queen to Uppsala. There is, however, no documentary evidence suggesting the presence of the entire Swedish-German court chapel at Queen Christina's court in Uppsala.⁵⁵ A few members of the regular court chapel seem, however, to have accompanied the Queen to Uppsala. On 13 December, wine was offered to 'the German and French musicians'.⁵⁶ Reporting from his residence in Uppsala on 17 April 1654, Whitelocke referred to some of the Queen's 'musicians, Italians, and Germans' (Whitelocke, 1772, vol. 2, p. 78). It is documented that the court violinist Friederich Scharle (1625–1673) stayed in Uppsala during this period (Kjellberg, 1979, pp. 481, 670).⁵⁷ This fits the fact that Scharle is one of the identified copyists who copied the music manuscripts dating from 1652–1654 (Kjellberg, 1990). Gustav Düben and Scharle, together with Gustav's younger brother Peter (c. 1633–1694) and the viola da gamba player Hans Heinrich Tauscher (d. 1680), also a German, were distinguished from the rest of the court chapel in the court accounts, as they were placed at the highest level of payment during this period (Kjellberg, 1979, pp. 403, 408, 480, 493). Since the Italians were primarily a vocal ensemble, supposedly the young Gustav Düben, Scharle, and a few additional members of the ordinary court chapel—perhaps Peter Düben and Tauscher—were set apart to collaborate with the Italian ensemble as instrumentalists. In December 1653 they were joined by the violinist Natanael Schnittelbach (b. 1633), who was even grouped together with the Italians in the account books (Kjellberg, 1979, pp. 113, 487). Gustav Düben and a few musicians of a similar age were possibly selected to work with the Italian musicians as part of their training and education, taking this opportunity to ensure the growth and up-to-date competence of Swedish court music. As a result of this collaboration, Gustav Düben came into possession of a relatively large amount of music deriving from the Italians. This music is today part of the Düben Collection.

In the following, we will describe the Italian musicians' sacred music repertoire using this surviving music material. The manuscripts with sacred music in the Düben Collection associated with the Italian ensemble are of two kinds. First, musical manuscripts copied in Sweden, c. 1652–1654, including thirty-five works, and, second, manuscripts of Italian origin, containing fourteen works in total. We proceed methodologically by traditional codicological principles, mainly the examination and comparison of types of paper, watermarks, and copyists. We have considered it valuable to present clear, comprehensive, and transparent arguments regarding the provenance and dating of this material, so the survey will necessarily be relatively detailed. In

⁵⁵ For example, Andreas Düben signed a payment in Stockholm on 17 October 1653. Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Hovstatsräkenskaper. 1653 I:45, p. 692.

⁵⁶ Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Hovkällarräkenskaperna, 8 December 1653.

⁵⁷ The widow of Lüdert Menschewer in Uppsala claimed 248 daler kopparmynt on 9 February 1654 from Friederich Scharle, probably as payment for his accommodation.

addition to the manuscripts, the collection holds about ten printed Italian editions that could also have been brought to Sweden by the Italian musicians.

Manuscripts copied in Sweden 1652–1654

Thirty-five compositions of church music copied in Sweden from 1652 to 1654 have survived in the Düben Collection. A first group contains six compositions by Vincenzo Albrici himself:

Table 1. Works by Vincenzo Albrici. Sources in the Düben Collection copied in Sweden, c. 1652–1654.

Title	Watermark(s)	Copyist	S-Uu
<i>Fader vår</i>	Foolscap/7 - LP	Düben	Vmhs 1:6
<i>Laboravi clamans rauce</i>	Foolscap/7 - LP	Düben	Vmhs 1:11
	Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield/4WR - Cross/IHS		
<i>In convertendo</i>	Foolscap/5 - ICO type 01	Düben,	Vmhs 1:10
	Lamb with standard in crowned shield - IB	Albrici	
	Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield/4WR - Cross/IHS		
<i>Laudate pueri</i>	Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield/4WR - Cross/IHS	Düben,	Vmhs 47:7
		Albrici	
<i>O quam terribilis</i>	Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield/4W	Düben	Vmhs 11:16
<i>Sinfonia à 6</i>	Foolscap/7 - LP	Düben	Imhs 1:1

Of these six compositions, *Fader vår* must have been composed during Albrici's stay in Sweden. It is a setting of the Lord's Prayer and is the earliest surviving elaborate polyphonic composition in the Swedish language. It is copied on the same type of paper as his *Sinfonia à 6*, which bears the date 1654, suggesting that both pieces were copied for performances in Uppsala.⁵⁸ The type of paper is rare in the Düben Collection and is almost exclusively found in the sources connected to the Italian ensemble.

Carl Allan Moberg suggested that Albrici's *Fader vår* could have been performed during the solemn abdication ceremony at Uppsala Castle on 6 June 1654 (Moberg, 1942, p. 62). This is dubious. According to preserved descriptions, there was no music during the function, which was comparatively short and not liturgical.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Rudén identified the watermark Foolscap/7 - LP in a document in the Royal Chancellery, dated 1654, and in Albrici's *Sinfonia à 6*, which is explicitly dated 1654. Foolscap/5 - ICO type 01 is found in three documents dated 1654 in the Uppsala County Council. The watermark Lamb with standard in crowned shield - IB has no dated concordance within the Düben Collection (Rudén, 1968, App. I, pp. 13–14, 139–140).

⁵⁹ The ceremony is described in this way for example by Pierre Chanut (Chanut, 1675, pp. 418–423).

The second group of manuscripts copied in Sweden comprises twenty-six compositions included in a set of partbooks with the shelf mark Vmhs 53:10.⁶⁰ All composers represented in these partbooks are known to have been active in Rome. The presence of the only surviving composition by Cecconi, the recruiter of the Italian ensemble, establishes the direct connection with the Italian musicians.

Jan Olof Rudén has shown that the paper type of Vmhs 53:10, named by him as Foolschap/5 type 01, belongs to the first half of the 1650s (Rudén, 1968, App. I, pp. 1–2).⁶¹ This suggests not only that the repertoire included in the partbooks was mediated by the Italian ensemble, but also that the partbooks were most likely copied and used during the period when the Italians were in Sweden, probably during their residence in Uppsala.

The music in the partbooks has been copied by at least four different hands. The impression is that the copyists worked closely together. Among them we find Gustav Düben and Scharle, as well as two other not-yet-identified copyists. We have already suggested that Düben and Scharle were sent to Uppsala to collaborate with the Italian musicians. It seems that these young musicians also assisted in copying music for the Italian singers. This early sample of Gustav Düben's handwriting also has features from an Italianate style of handwriting, suggesting the close relationship between the young Swedish musician and his Italian models.

Table 2. Compositions included in the partbooks S-Uu Vmhs 53:10. Concordances in printed Italian anthologies with a year of publication before 1652.

Composer and text	Concordances in Italian editions, published before 1652
1. Carissimi: <i>Omnes gentes gaudete</i>	
2. Carissimi: <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	
3. Carissimi: <i>Confitebor tibi Domine</i>	Motetti d'autori eccellentissimi (ed. Pace), Loreto 1646 (RISM 1646/2)
4. Benevoli: <i>O beatum N. [virum]</i>	
5. Benevoli: <i>Quam bonus panis</i>	Sacrarum modulationum (ed. Blanci), Roma 1642 (RISM 1642/1)
6. Carissimi: <i>Salve Regina</i>	
7. Carissimi: <i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	Floridus (ed. Silvestris), Roma 1647 (RISM 1647/2)
8. Benevoli: <i>Super muros tuos</i>	Scelta di motetti (ed. Berretti), Roma 1643 (RISM 1643/2)
9. Foggia: <i>Exultantes et laetantes</i>	Floridus (ed. Silvestris), Roma 1643 (RISM 1643/1)
10. Foggia: <i>Quare suspiras</i>	Foggia: <i>Concentus ecclesiastici</i> , Roma 1645 (RISM F1440)

⁶⁰ The set includes only three of an original set of four partbooks. Gustav Düben must still have had access to the now lost partbook in the 1680s, as he copied works from it into other manuscripts.

⁶¹ Bruno Grusnick mistakenly dated the partbooks to c. 1657 (Grusnick, 1966, p. 71).

Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt

11. Carissimi: *Cum reverteretur David*
12. Carissimi: *Simile est regnum*
13. Carissimi: *Viderunt te Domine* Floridus (ed. Silvestris), Roma 1647 (RISM 1647/2)
14. Carissimi: *Audite sancti* Floridus (ed. Silvestris), Roma 1645 (RISM 1645/2)
Floridus (ed. Silvestris), Roma 1651 (Not in RISM)
15. Capponi: *Iam hiems transit*
16. Cifra: *Ego sum panis vitae* Cifra: Sacrae cantiones, Roma 1638 (RISM C2211)
17. Cifra: *Nos autem gloriamur* Cifra: Sacrae cantiones, Roma 1638 (RISM C2211)
18. Tozzi: *Cantate Domino*
19. Carissimi: *Emendemus in melius* Scelta di motetti (ed. Berretti), Roma 1643
(RISM 1643/2)
20. Carissimi: *Insurrexerunt* Sacrarum modulationum (ed. Blanci), Roma 1642
(RISM 1642/1)
Teatro musicale (ed. Rolla), Milano 1649
(RISM 1649/1)
Floridus (ed. Silvestris), Roma 1651 (Not in RISM)
21. Carissimi: *Veni sponsa Christi*
22. Cecconi: *Laudate pueri*
23. Carissimi: *Paratum cor meum*
24. Foggia: *Laetatus sum*
25. Carissimi: *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia*
26. Carissimi: *Desiderata nobis*

Twelve of the twenty-six compositions are contained in anthologies and collections printed in Italy in 1638–1651, as shown in Table 2. All of them were printed in Rome, except one that was printed in Loreto, with its close connection to Roman music circles through the Santa Casa.

A last group of manuscripts, copied in Sweden and connected with the Italian musicians, comprises compositions attributed to Carissimi. These were copied as separate sets of parts by Gustav Düben.⁶²

Table 3. Music attributed to Carissimi copied by Gustav Düben, 1652–1654, in other sources than S-Uu Vmhs 53:10.

Text	Watermark(s)	S-Uu
<i>Vanitas vanitatum</i>	Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield/4WR – Cross/HIS	Vmhs 70:16
<i>Salve Regina</i>	Foolscap/5 type 01	Vmhs 11:19
<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	Foolscap/5 type 01	Vmhs 11:8
	Foolscap/5/LC – CIK	

⁶² Among these manuscripts is also the piece *Arde fillis/Isti sunt*, which was erroneously attributed to Carissimi (see Berglund, 2020).

The double-choir settings of *Salve Regina* and *Dixit Dominus* were attributed to Carissimi by Gustav Düben, but these attributions were added much later, in the 1660s or even later, and must thus be regarded with some reservations (Berglund, ed., forthcoming).

These manuscripts can in several ways be connected to those treated above. The parts for Carissimi's *Vanitas vanitatum* were copied on the same types of paper as used for the five compositions by Albrici and the partbooks in Vmhs 53:10. Both Albrici's *Laboravi clamans* and Carissimi's *Vanitas vanitatum* have organ parts in which the vocal solo passages were added. Similarly, vocal parts were included in the basso continuo partbook in Vmhs 53:10. This practice of notation is characteristic of the manuscripts connected with the Italian ensemble and is not found elsewhere in the Düben Collection.

Manuscripts of Italian provenance

All in all, there are about twenty-five manuscripts in the Düben Collection for which both the papers and copyists are clearly Italian. Fourteen of these manuscripts can be linked to the Italian ensemble (Table 4). This group of manuscripts is relatively homogeneous, with recurring copyists and paper types. The watermarks occurring in these sources are: a praying saint in shield, in all of the Foggia pieces and the two unattributed sinfonias, and the letter 'F' on three mounts in shield in Carissimi's *Super flumina Babylonis*. Both are typically Roman watermarks. These manuscripts can be dated to the 1652–1654 period through an intricate web of overlapping types of paper and copyists.⁶³ There are also additional parts included that were copied in Sweden (see Table 4). The purpose of these extra continuo parts and tablatures was probably to reinforce the continuo section, as they were mainly added to compositions with a large scoring. The same sort of paper was, for example, used for both a duplicate continuo part added to the otherwise Italian set of parts of Francesco Foggia's *Dixit Dominus* and for parts to Vincenzo Albrici's *Sinfonia à 6* (Rudén 1968, pp. 132–134).

Table 4. Italian sources from before 1652 in the Düben Collection and additional parts, added later.

Composer, text	S-Uu	Added parts: Watermarks	Added parts: Copyist(s)
Foggia: <i>Laudate Dominum</i>	Vmhs 23:8	Bc[2]: Letters IHS Tab: Ornate shield with trefoils	Bc[2]: Italian Tab: B-Sthlm
Foggia: <i>Dixit Dominus</i>	Vmhs 23:4	Bc[2–4]: Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield/4W	Italian

⁶³ Gustav Düben continued to use the music he acquired from the Italians during his remaining tenure. Additional parts were also copied considerably later, in the 1660–1690 period; these parts are not considered here.

Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt

Foggia: <i>Beatus vir</i>	Vmhs 23:1	Bc[2]: Sphere with cross	Bc: Italian
	Vmhs 86:14 (tab)	Tab: Foolschap/5 type 01, Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield/LC	Tab: B-Sthlm, Gustav Düben
Foggia: <i>Confitebor tibi</i>	Vmhs 23:3	Bc[2]: Horn in crowned shield/4WR	Italian
Foggia: <i>Magnificat</i>	Vmhs 23:11	Bc[2]: Horn in crowned shield/4WR	Italian
Foggia: <i>Laudate pueri</i>	Vmhs 23:9 Vmhs 47:7		
Foggia: <i>Celebrate o fideles</i>	Vmhs 23:2		
Foggia: <i>Egredimini</i>	Vmhs 23:5		
Foggia: <i>Excelsi [...]</i> <i>cultores</i>	Vmhs 23:6		
Foggia: <i>Laetantes canite</i>	Vmhs 23:10		
Foggia: <i>Laeta nobis</i>	Vmhs 43:1		
Carissimi: <i>Super flumina Babylonis</i>	Vmhs 12:3	Bc[2]: Horn in crowned shield	Italian
[Albrici?]: <i>Sinfonia à 5</i> [C major]	Imhs 11:25		
[Albrici?]: <i>Sinfonia à 5</i> [A major]	Imhs 11:25a		

The two last compositions in the table, the two unattributed sinfonias, have the same original instrumentation: two violins, lute, theorbo, spinetta, and basso continuo. While the sinfonia in C major has survived in a complete state, only one theorbo part has survived for the second sinfonia in A major. All parts were copied by the same hand on the same Italian paper type. The calligraphy has the typical features of an Italian copyist. There are several reasons to believe that it was Albrici himself who copied these parts. The same copyist has copied parts for Albrici's *Sinfonia à 6* (chitarra/spinetta), the one dated 1654, on one of the types of paper that were used in Sweden during this period.⁶⁴ The same hand has also copied parts for Albrici's two compositions *In convertendo* (Vmhs 1:10, continuo part) and *Laboravi clamans* (Vmhs 1:11, continuo part). The first of these has a signature added at the end (Figure 2). Signatures or monograms in this position were often added by the composer. Comparison between the musical sources and a receipt in the Stockholm archives signed by Albrici (Figure 3) reveals that the handwriting is Albrici's.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The watermark is Fleur-de-lis in a crowned shield/4WR with countermark IHS surmounted with a cross.

⁶⁵ The identity of Albrici's hand was suggested by Jan Olof Rudén (1968, p. 139). Since there are no known preserved musical autographs by Albrici and Rudén had no samples of Albrici's handwriting, he was unable to establish the authenticity with certainty.

Figure 2. Albrici's *In convertendo* (vmhs 1:10), organo part (detail), most likely copied by Albrici.

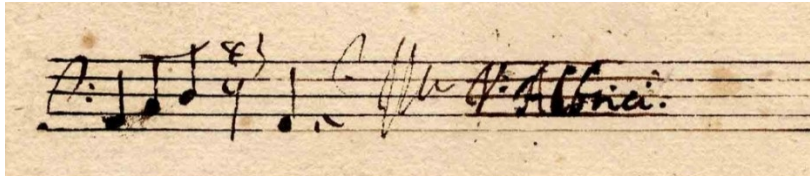
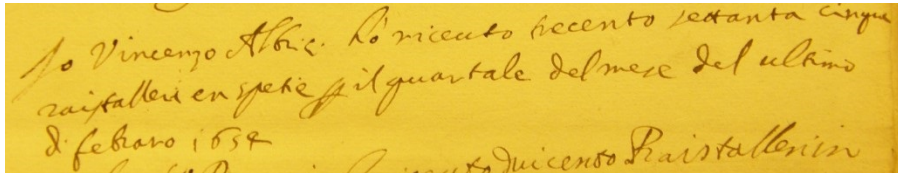


Figure 3. Detail from receipt signed by Albrici in Royal Court archives, Kassaräkning 1653.



The six-part *sinfonia* attributed to Albrici and the two unattributed *sinfonias* largely share the same formal disposition, with tutti sections alternating with short solo sections. In the solo sections, only the basso continuo part is notated, and the instrumental solos are intended to be improvised (Figure 4). This kind of improvised solos found in the *sinfonias* was typical of Roman *sinfonias* (Allsop 1992, p. 194). Considering the many similarities between the three pieces and the similar handwriting, there is much to suggest that the two unattributed five-part *sinfonias* were also composed by Albrici. An additional stylistic feature supporting the attribution is the fact that the fragmentary *Sinfonia à 5* (Imhs 11:25a) is notated with three sharps. Multiple-sharp notation was highly unusual in the mid-seventeenth century, but can be found in several works by Albrici.⁶⁶

The music related to the Italian encounter that Gustav Düben managed to keep in his music library yields interesting insights not only into the repertoire performed by the Italian ensemble at Christina's court, but also more generally into sacred vocal repertoire in Rome in this period.⁶⁷ The repertoire in both these groups of manuscripts, Swedish and Italian, includes a variety of genres: motets, dialogues, psalm settings and three instrumental *sinfonias*. A remarkable group of works is the nineteen sacred vocal compositions by Carissimi. This music provides an especially interesting case since it

⁶⁶ The compositions attributed to Albrici in the Düben Collection are set in minor keys on c and d-a-e-b and in major keys on B^b-F-C-G-D-A and they go as far as three sharps in seven compositions. This can be compared to, for example, music by Peranda in the Düben Collection. These are set in minor keys on d-a-e, and in major keys on B^b-F-C-G-D. None of Peranda's compositions goes further sharpwards than two sharps, and then only in two cases. The only exception is *Si vivo mi Jesu*, which is set in E major with four sharps and attributed to Peranda in the source; this attribution can, however, be questioned (Schildt, 2014, pp. 192-195).

⁶⁷ The source of Carissimi's *Super flumina Babylonis* (Vmhs 12:3) has been copied on Italian papers by an Italian hand, seemingly not by one of the professional copyists. There are no known surviving autograph music manuscripts by Carissimi. When compared to the very few surviving documents by Carissimi's hand, the copyist of the parts of *Super flumina Babylonis* displays a very similar handwriting. These parts constitute a rare example of Carissimi's music probably copied in the close circles of the composer (Bianchi, 1974).

Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt

came into Düben's possession very early and directly from Rome, via Albrici who was Carissimi's pupil, i.e., from the close circles around Carissimi. Six are included in contemporary printed anthologies published in Rome, with a printing year prior to 1652, when the Italian ensemble left Rome for Sweden. The other music must have been part of a dissemination in manuscript. Three of these compositions are unica. These manuscripts belong to the oldest preserved manuscripts with sacred music by Carissimi (Berglund, ed., forthcoming).

Figure 4. *Sinfonia à 5* (Imhs 11:25), organo part, likely copied by Albrici's hand.



A general trait of the repertoire preserved from the stay of the Italian ensemble is the distinct Roman Catholic character of the music and texts. When Gustav Düben later used and recycled this repertoire, he was obliged to modify the texts in line with the Lutheran confession, for example, replacing references to Maria or to the veneration of saints with Christological wordings (Schildt, 2020). These modifications were made by Düben in the 1660s and 1670s, long after the departure of Christina and the Italian musicians. This strongly suggests that these works were performed before Christina in their original Roman Catholic versions.

The scoring of the preserved works clearly reflects the composition of the ensemble, with six castrato singers. An unusually large share of the pieces is scored for three high voices. A particularly interesting manuscript in this context is the set of partbooks Vmhs 53:11. Among the motets in this manuscript are some motets with extraordinarily virtuosic vocal parts with long coloratura passages. In some cases they include ornaments and *passaggi* not found in the printed versions of the compositions, and which most likely reflect the local performance traditions of the Roman castrati; see, for example, Carissimi's *Viderunt te* compared with its concordant version included in Silvestri's *Floridus* printed in Rome 1647 (RISM 1647/2).

Postlude

In this text we have tried to build a coherent narrative out of a number of rather fragmentary and disparate traces, such as letters, diaries, account books, other archival documents, and, not least, musical manuscripts and prints. To conclude, we will try to sum up some of the more general observations of the story of a young Queen preparing for an extraordinarily radical change.

A first observation is that, contrary to claims in previous literature, the recruitment of Queen Christina's Italian musicians was probably not conducted through the court in Paris. As we have tried to demonstrate, it is more likely that contact was established directly with Rome, through the headquarters of the Society of Jesus. Possibly, Kircher could have been involved in these negotiations, considering his early contacts with Christina, his well-established position in the Roman Jesuit community, and his close contacts with several of the leading musicians in the city, including Carissimi. It has also been suggested, although tentatively, that Christina's first choice of a *maestro di cappella* could have been Carissimi himself, and that Carissimi turned down the offer. He could still have been involved in recruiting his former pupil, Albrici.

The Italian ensemble was not, as has recurrently been stated, an opera troupe. The singers had church backgrounds, and perhaps some experience in vocal chamber music, and it is that kind of repertoire that can be found in the preserved performance material. We have also suggested that the Italian comedies performed in Christina's presence in Stockholm in the first half of 1653 could have been oratorios or theatrical performances modelled on Jesuit theatre, featuring plays on religious and moral themes with many musical elements and lavish stage sets and stage machinery. This was a tradition of which leading individuals of the ensemble had direct experience, thanks to their background in the Jesuit circles.

The recruitment of a large ensemble of Italian musicians and singers was likely closely linked to Christina's self-fashioning strategies and related to the precarious negotiations she was about to embark on as a result of her extraordinary decisions to abdicate, leave the country, convert to Catholicism, and settle in Papal Rome. The Italian ensemble was in this sense not the official royal chapel of a ruler. Instead, it was linked to Christina's person and used as a tool in her strategy of gradually distancing herself from her position as a ruling Queen of Sweden. Their performances during their final stay in Uppsala served both as a disassociation from the present and a preparation for the future.

This idea is strengthened by the fact that the remaining Italians left Sweden with her. The recruitment was also related to her increasing interest in the Catholic faith and rituals and in life in Rome, as reported by the singer Tommaso Gabrini.

The relatively large stock of musical performance material connected with the Italian musicians that we have been able to identify in this article, mainly from the Düben Collection, comprises remnants of Gustav Düben's collaboration with the Italians in his days as a young court musician, ten years before he was appointed royal chapelmaster. It is apparent that he carefully kept this material, but also that he used and reused the repertoire in different contexts for several decades. It is also clear that this encounter with up-to-date Italian music coloured Düben's tastes regarding repertoires and styles for much of his tenure. The stay of Christina's Italian musicians was brief – about one and a half years – but nevertheless left a lasting imprint on the music at the Swedish court.

For Christina, the encounter with the Italian music ensemble marked not the end of her previous life as a Lutheran ruler in the North as much as the beginning of her new life as Catholic royalty without a kingdom, living in Rome. The Italian musicians can actually be said to reflect two important motives behind Christina's highly remarkable decision to abdicate and leave her inherited kingdom: on one hand, her embrace of the Catholic faith and, on the other, her heartfelt interest in and urge to participate in the superior and refined artistic and intellectual culture of southern Europe.

As soon as she was settled in Rome, she continued this musical patronage. In July 1656, she appointed Carissimi her *maestro di cappella del concerto di camera*. At her Roman academies, music had a place side by side with poetry and rhetoric, and in the 1670s she was deeply involved in establishing the first public opera house in Rome. She would later also add leading composers such as Alessandro Stradella (1643–1682) and Archangelo Corelli (1653–1713) to her network of clients. This close involvement with Roman music started with Albrici and his musicians arriving in Stockholm in the autumn of 1652.

References

Archival sources

Swedish National Archives

Riksregistraturet 1647

Slottsarkivet, Vinkällarräkenskaper 1652–54

Slottsarkivet, Hovkassaräkning 1653

Slottsarkivet, Hovstatsräkenskaper, 1652–54

Slottsarkivet, Husgerådskammarräkningar 1650–55

National Library of Sweden

S-Sk S 231, 'Scelta di Arie [...]'

Autografsamlingen

Uppsala University Library

Instrumentalmusik i handskrift (Imhs)

Vokalmusik i handskrift (Vmhs)

Utländsk vokalmusik i tryck (UVMTR)

Utländsk instrumentalmusik i tryck (UIMTR)

Danish National Archives, Tyske Kancelli, Udenrigske Afdeling, Sverige

Resident og gesandt Peder Juels gesandtskabsarkiv: Brevregister med kort angivelse af brevenes indhold
1649–54

Christ Church Library, Oxford

Mus. 377

Mus. 996

Leiden University Library

BUR Q 16, Brieven van Alessandro Cecconi aan Nicolaas Heinsius

Archives of the Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome

APUG 555–568

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome

ARSI Opp. NN. 174–75

Literature

Almquist, Helge, 1922. *Svenska folkets historia*, vol. 2, *Reformationstidens och stormaktstidens förra skede*. Lund: Gleerup.

Allsop, Peter, 1992. *The Italian 'trio' sonata: from its origins until Corelli*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Arckenholtz, Johan, 1751. *Memoires concernant Christine Reine de Suede [...]*. Tome II, Amsterdam and Leipzig: Pierre Mortier.

Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt

- Beijer, Agne, 1955. Den teaterhistoriska bakgrunden till spelet om Herculis wägewal. In: Agne Beijer and Elias Wessén, eds. *Columbus, Samuel, and Stiernhielm, Georg, Spel om Herculis Wägewal*. Skrifter utgivna av föreningen Drottningholmsteaterns vänner, 11. Stockholm: Bonnier, pp. 67–126.
- Benoit, Marcelle 1971. *Musiques de cour, 1661-1733: chapelle - chambre - écurie*. PhD diss. Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris: Editions A. et. J. Picard.
- Berglund, Lars, 2010. The Roman connection: dissemination and reception of Roman music in the North. In: Erik Kjellberg, ed. *The dissemination of music in seventeenth-century Europe*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 193–218.
- Berglund, Lars, 2020. *Arde Fillis / Isti sunt*: a *contrafactum* by Gustav Düben based on a madrigal by Stefano Landi, and previously attributed to Giacomo Carissimi. In: Marina Toffetti and Gabriele Taschetti, eds. *Contrafacta.: modes of music re-textualization in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century*. Krakow: Musica Iagellonica, pp. 187–208.
- Berglund, Lars, ed., forthcoming. *Giacomo Carissimi: composizioni sacre nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Uppsala*. Rome: Istituto italiano per la storia della musica.
- Bergsagel, John, 1998. Music at the Swedish court of Queen Christina. In: *Convegno internazionale: Cristina di Svezia e la musica*. Atti dei convegni Lincei, 138. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, pp. 9–20.
- Bianchi, Lino, 1974. Giacomo Carissimi: nuovi documenti nell'archivio del collegio germanico ungarico di Roma. *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 8 (1), pp. 107–124.
- Bildt, Carl, 1906. *Cristina di Svezia e Paolo Giordano II, duca di Bracciano*. Estratto dall'Archivio della R. Società Romana di storia patria, 29. Roma: Società Romana di storia patria.
- Boero, Giuseppe, 1874. *Conversioni alla fede cattolica di Cristina regina di Svezia, di Carlo II d'Inghilterra e di Federico Augusto duca ed elettore di Sassonia, cavate da documenti autentici ed originali*. Modena: Pontificia ed Arcivescovile dell'Imm. Concezione.
- Bontempi, Giovanni Andrea Angelini, 1695. *Historia mvsica, nelle quale si ha piena cognitione della teorica, e della pratica antica della mvsica harmonica [...]*. Perugia: Constantini.
- Brummer, Hans Henrik, 1997. Minerva of the North. In: Marie-Louise Rodén, ed. *Politics and culture in the age of Christina*. Suecoromania IV. Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Rom, pp. 77–92.
- Burman, Pieter, ed., 1727. *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum*, vols. 1–5, Leiden: Luchtmans. The contents available online at http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/cera/autoren/burman_cera.html
- Casimiri, Rafaele, 1943. 'Disciplina musicae' e 'mastri di capella' dopo il Concilio di Trento nei maggiori Istituti Ecclesiastici di Roma. Seminario Romano - Collegio Germanico - Collegio Inglese (sec. XVI-XVIII). *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, 20, pp. 1–17.
- Chanut, Pierre, 1675. *Mémoires de ce qui s'est passé en Suede et aux provinces voisines [...]* Tirez des depesches de monsieur Chanut, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Suede. Par P. Linage de Vauciennes [...]. Tome III. Paris: Louis Billaine.
- Chappuzeau, Samuel, 1674. *Le Théâtre françois divisé en trois Livres, où il est traité I. De L'Usage de la Comédie. II. Des Auteurs qui soutiennent le Theatre. III. De la Conduite des Comédiens*. Lyon: Michel Mayer.
- Ciliberti, Galliano, 2001. Ferri, Baldassare. In: *Grove Music Online*. Retrieved 22 May 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09539>

- Conestabile, Giancarlo, 1846. *Notizie biografiche di Baldassarre Ferri, musico celebratissimo*. Perugia: Bartelli, 1846.
- Culley, Thomas D., 1970. *Jesuits and music: I. A study of the musicians connected with the German college in Rome during the 17th century and of their activities in Northern Europe*. Sources and studies for the history of the Jesuits 2. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute.
- Dahlberg, Gunilla, 1976. *Dän Swänska Theatren: studier kring vår första fasta teater-trupp, dess scen och repertoar*. PhD diss. Göteborgs universitet.
- Dahlberg, Gunilla, 1992. *Komediantteatern i 1600-talets Stockholm*. Stockholm: Komm. för Stockholmsforskning.
- Ekeblad, Johan, 1911. *Johan Ekeblads bref. 1. Från Kristinas och Cromwells hof*. Nils Sjöberg, ed. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Englund, Peter, 2006. *Silvermasken.: en kort biografi över drottning Kristina*. Stockholm: Bonnier.
- Evelyn, John, 1995. *The diary of John Evelyn*. Guy de la Bédoyère, ed. Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Fétis, François-Joseph, 1866. *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, vol. 3, 2nd ed. Paris: Didot Libraire et fils.
- Fogelberg Rota, Stefano, 2018. *The Queen danced alone: court ballet in Sweden during the reign of Queen Christina (1638-1654)*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Freitas, Roger, 2001. Singing and playing: the Italian cantata and the rage for wit. *Music and Letters*, 82, pp. 509–542.
- Fryxell, Anders, ed., 1836. *Handlingar rörande Sverges historia ur utrikes arkiver samlade och utgifna*, vol. 1. Stockholm: Hierta.
- Garstein, Oskar, 1992. *Rome and the Counter-reformation in Scandinavia. The age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden 1622–1656*. Leiden: Brill.
- Gaudriault, Raymond, 1995. *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- Goudriaan, Elisa, 2018. *Florentine patricians and their networks: structures behind the cultural success and the political representation of the Medici court (1600–1660)*. Rulers & Elites, 14. Leiden: Brill.
- Grönstedt, Johan, 1911. *Svenska hoffester. 1. Baletter, idyller, kostymbaler, spektakler och upptåg uppförda vid drottning Christinas hof, åren 1638–1654*. Stockholm: Kungl. Hofboktr. Iduns Tryckeri AB.
- Gualdo Priorato, Galeazzo, 1656. *Historia della sacra real maestà di Christina Alessandra regina di Svetia, &c*. Modena: Bartolomeo Soliani.
- Gualdo Priorato, Galeazzo, 1658. *The history of the sacred and Royal Majesty of Christina Alessandra Queen of Swedland, with the reasons of her late conversion to the Roman catholique religion.: as also a relation of the several entertainments given her by divers princes in her journey to Rome, with her magnificent reception into that city*. Translation by John Burbery. London: T.W.
- Hammerich, Angul, 1892. *Musiken ved Christian den fjerdes Hof: et Bidrag til dansk Musikhistorie*. Kjøbenhavn: W. Hansen.
- Hammond, Frederick, 1987. Some notes on Giovanni Battista Boni da Cortona, Girolamo Zenti, and others. *The Galpin Society Journal*, 40, pp. 37–47.

Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt

- Harris, Joseph, 2005. *Hidden agendas: cross-dressing in 17th-century France*. Biblio 17, no. 156. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Hildebrand, Erik, 1926. *Sveriges historia till våra dagar*, vol. 7, *Kristina*. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Kersten, Adam, 1988. *Hieronim Radziejowski: studium władzy i opozycji*. Warszawa: PIW.
- Kircher, Athanasius, 1650. *Mvsrgia vniuersalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta [...]*. Roma: Corbelletti.
- Kirkendale, Warren, 1993. *The court musicians in Florence during the principate of the Medici: with a reconstruction of the artistic establishment*. *Historiae musicae cultores*. Biblioteca, 61. Firenze: Olschki.
- Kjellberg, Erik, 1979. *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden: studier kring deras organisation, verksamheter och status ca 1620–ca 1720*. PhD diss. Uppsala University.
- Kjellberg, Erik, 1990. Über Inhalt und Bedeutung der Instrumentalmusik in der Dübensammlung: zur Geschichte der schwedischen Hofkapelle in Buxtehudes Zeit. In: Arnfried Edler and Friedhelm Krummacher, eds. *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit: Bericht über das Lübecker Symposium 1987*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, pp. 162–182.
- Klemming, Gustav Edvard, 1863–1879. *Sveriges dramatiska litteratur till och med 1875, bibliografi*. Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, serie 1, Svenska skrifter. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Larsson, Gunnar, 1967. Stockholm stormaktstidens musikcentrum. In: Stellan Dahlgren, ed. *Kultur och samhälle i stormaktstidens Stockholm*. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, pp. 125–148, 162–168.
- Lindegren, Jan, 1999. 'Om detta continuerar ett eller tu år till, må vi säga att vi har vunnit land av androm och därutöver ruinerat vårt eget'. Expansionspolitik i 1600-talets Sverige. *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, Årsbok 1999*. Uppsala: Kungl. Humanistiska vetenskaps-samfundet i Uppsala, pp. 5–39.
- Lionnet, Jean, [2008]. *Musiciens à Rome de 1570 à 1750*. Livia Lionnet Pulcinelli and Barbara Nestola, eds. Versailles : Centre baroque de Versailles. Retrieved 24 May 2023 from <https://philidor.cmbv.fr/Publications/Bases-prosopographiques/Musiciens-a-Rome-de-1570-a-1750>
- Lisandro, Abadie, 2008. Anne de La Barre (1628–1688). Biographie d'une chanteuse de cour. *Revue de Musicologie*, 94 (1), pp. 5–44.
- Ljungkvist, Börje, 2007. *Drottning Cherstes stora bass-viol*. Borås: Recito.
- Losleben, Katrin, 2012. *Musik - Macht - Patronage: Kulturförderung als politisches Handeln im Rom der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel der Christina von Schweden (1626–1689)*. PhD diss. Universität zu Köln.
- Lucca, Valeria de, 2011. Strategies of women patrons of music and theatre in early-modern Rome: Maria Mancini Colonna, Queen Christina of Sweden, and women of their circle. *Renaissance Studies*, 25, pp. 374–392.
- McCabe, William H., 1983. *An introduction to the Jesuit theater: a posthumous work*. Louis J. Oldani, ed. Original studies, composed in English, 6. St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources.
- Moberg, Carl-Allan, 1942. *Från kyrko- och hovmusik till offentlig konsert: studier i stormaktstidens svenska musikhistoria*. Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1942:5. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Moe, Bjarke, 2010/11. Italian music at the Danish court during the reign of Christian IV. *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 38, pp. 15–32.

- Molbech, Christian, 1844. Bidrag til Dronning Christinas, det svenske Hof's og Corfitz Ulfeldts Historie, i Aarene 1651–55, af Peder Juul's utryckte Breve till Charisius. *Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1 (5), pp. 269–408.
- Morelli, Arnaldo, 1998. Il mecenatismo musicale di Cristina di Svezia: una riconsiderazione. In: *Convegno internazionale: Cristina di Svezia e la musica*. Atti dei convegni Lincei 138. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, pp. 321–346.
- Murata, Margaret, 2000. Obscure musicians: Alessandro Cecconi. *17th Century Music SSCM Newsletter*, 10 (1), p. 11.
- Norlind, Tobias, 1944. *Från Tyska kyrkans glansdagar: bilder ur svenska musikens historia från Vasaregenterna till karolinska tidens slut*, vol. 2, *Stormaktstidevarvets begynnelse 1600–1660*. Stockholm: Musikhistoriska museet.
- Park, Joohee, 2010. Not just a university theatre: the significance of Jesuit school drama in continental Europe, 1540–1773. In: Kevin J. Wetmore, ed. *Catholic theatre and drama: critical essays*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, pp. 29–44.
- Pastor, Ludwig von, 1929. *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters: mit Benutzung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archives und vieler anderer Archive [...]*, vol. 14:1. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.
- Persson, Fabian, 1999. *Servants of fortune: the Swedish court between 1598 and 1721*. PhD diss, Lunds universitet.
- Pirro, André, 1913. *Dietrich Buxtehude*. Paris: Fischbacher.
- Prunières, Henry, 1913. *L'opéra italien en France avant Lulli*. Publications de l'Institut français de Florence, 1:3. Paris: Champion.
- Purchiaroni, Luca, 2007. Girolamo Zenti and Giovanni Battista Boni da Cortona: an unsuspected relationship. *The Galpin Society Journal*, 60, pp. 63–69.
- Rimborg, Bertil, 1997. *Magnus Durell och Danmark: studier i information*. Avhandlingar från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg, 15. PhD diss. Göteborgs universitet.
- Roche, Jerome, 2001. Cecchelli, Carlo. In: *Grove Music Online*. Retrieved 22 May 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05238>
- Rodén, Marie-Louise, 2008. *Drottning Christina: en biografi*. Stockholm: Prisma.
- Rudén, Jan Olof, 1968. *Vattenmärken och musikforskning: presentation och tillämpning av en dateringsmetod på musikaler i handskrift i Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks Dübensamling*. Diss. Licentiatavhandling. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet.
- Ruffatti, Alessio, 2006. *Les cantates de Luigi Rossi (1597–1653) en France: diffusion et réception dans le contexte européen*. PhD diss. Università degli studi di Padova / Université de Paris IV.
- Sartori, Claudio, 1990–1994. *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*. Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli.
- Schildt, Maria, 2014. *Gustav Düben at work: musical repertory and practice of Swedish court musicians, 1663–1690*. PhD diss. Uppsala universitet.
- Schildt, Maria, 2020. Re-using pre-existing music with new texts: repertoire for court and church in seventeenth-century Sweden. In: Marina Toffetti and Gabriele Taschetti, eds. *Contrafacta: modes of music re-textualization in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century*. Krakow: Musica Iagellonica, pp. 209–245.

- Senn, Walter, 1954. *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zum deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748*. Innsbruck: Österr. Verlag-Anst.
- Snyder, Kerala J., 2012. Queen Christina and Roman music in Northern Europe: a tale of two cities. In: Armando Carideo, ed. *Atti Pasquini symposium 2010: convegno internazionale, Smarano 27-30 maggio 2010*. Trento: Giunta della Provincia Autonoma, pp. 108-127.
- Spadling, Ruth, ed., 1990. *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675*. Records of social and economic history, new series, 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press / The British Academy.
- Sundström, Einar, 1961. Notiser om drottning Kristinas italienska musiker. *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning*, 43, pp. 297-311.
- Szweykowska, Anna, 1968. Kapela królewska Jana Kazimierza w latach 1649-1652. *Muzyka*, 8 (4), pp. 40-48.
- Webber, Geoffrey, 1993. Italian music at the court of Queen Christina: Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. MS 377 and the visit of Vincenzo Albrici's Italian ensemble, 1652-54. *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning*, 75 (2), pp. 47-50.
- Weibull, Martin, 1906. *Sveriges historia intill tjugonde seklet*, vol. 5, *Stormaktstiden: förra skedet 1611-1660*. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Whitelocke, Bulstrode, 1772. *A journal of the Swedish embassy, in the years 1653 and 1654* [...]. London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt.
- Żórawska-Witkowska, Alina, 2006. *Dramma per musica* at the court of Ladislaus IV Vasa (1627-1648). In: Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy and Reinhard Strohm, eds. *Italian opera in central Europe*, vol. 1, *Institutions and ceremonies*. Musical life in Europe 1600-1900: circulation, institutions, representation, 4. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, pp. 21-49.

Appendix

The Italian ensemble according to the specification written in connection with their arrival, Swedish National Archives, Slottsarkivet, Hovkassaräkning 1653

1. Vincenzo Albrici	Organista e compositore	Romano
2. Bartolomeo Albrici	Soprano non castrato	Romano
3. Domenico Melani	Castrato	Fiorentino
4. Domenico Albrici	Contralto	Romano
5. Pietro Paulo Ricciardi	Tenor, copiator	Romano
6. Vincenzo Cenni	Basso [tenor]	Oruieto
7. Francesco Cantarelli	Castrato [alt]	Napolitano
8. Antonio Pie[r]marini	Castrato	Romano
9. Tommaso Gabrini	Tenore	Romano
10. Costanzo Piccardi	Sonator di viola e violino	Fiorentino
11. Angiol Michele Bartolotti	Sonator di tiorba	Bolognese
12. Pietro Francesco Reggio	Basso	Genouese
13. Francesco Pierozzi	Castrato	Romano
14. Niccolao Milani	Castrato	Liuorno
15. Girolamo Zenti	Maestro di clavicembali ed organi	Viterbo
16. Ilario Suares	Castrato piccinino	Fiorentino

Additional members of the ensemble, on the payroll from December 1652

Giuseppe Amadei ⁶⁸	[tenor]
Andrea Festa	[assistant to Girolamo Zenti]

Additional members of the ensemble, on the payroll from September 1653

Banino Bandini ⁶⁹	Castrato
Stephano Costelli	Castrato
Giacomo Grandi	Castrato

Additional members of the ensemble, on the payroll from December 1653

Nathanael Schnittelbach	Violinist
-------------------------	-----------

⁶⁸ Amadei was called in from Germany by the royal chapelmaster in Copenhagen, Agostino Fontana. Amadei seemingly joined the Italians in Copenhagen on their way to Stockholm. This information was earlier published by Bjarke Moe in 'Italian musicians in Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' on the website www.bjarkemoe.dk, which was later taken down; Moe refers there to documents in the Danish National Archives, Rentemesterregnskaberne, Indtaegts- og udgiftsregnskaber, udgifter 1651-1652 fol. 8r. and fol. 146r.

⁶⁹ Juell mentioned on 14 May 1653 that Bandini was already in Stockholm (Fryxell, ed., 1836, p. 96). Bandini was in Copenhagen in 1651 together with Amadei (see previous footnote).

Abstract

From November 1652 until June 1654, an ensemble of Italian singers and musicians resided at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden, first in Stockholm and thereafter in Uppsala. They performed both secular music at her chambers and sacred music in the church, and also staged theatrical plays at the royal castle. This article presents new information about the recruitment process and the incentives behind it, and a reconstruction of the repertoire of the ensemble and the performance contexts for that repertoire. The ensemble was not an opera troupe, as has repeatedly been asserted in the literature. Instead they were arguably primarily recruited to perform sacred music in a Catholic tradition. The headquarters of the Jesuit Society in Rome was even directly involved in the recruitment of the singers. Thus, the recruitment process went hand in hand with Christina's plans to abdicate, convert to Catholicism and move to Rome, and must be interpreted as part of that process.

Keywords: Queen Christina, Vincenzo Albrici, Giacomo Carissimi, seventeenth-century music, Swedish court, court culture, baroque music

The authors

Lars Berglund is Professor of Musicology at Uppsala university and primarily a historical musicologist. His research is mainly focussed on early modern Europe, and the seventeenth century in particular. He typically combines approaches from intellectual and cultural history with historically contextualised music analysis and aesthetics. His early studies mainly concerned music in the Baltic area, such as the doctoral dissertation on Christian Geist and studies pertaining to Kaspar Förster and Dieterich Buxtehude. More recently he has focussed more on Italy, particularly Rome, and on the reception of Italian music north of the Alps, and also produced a number of critical editions. He has also published studies on Swedish modernism in the 1950s and 1960s and articles on the methodology and history of the discipline of musicology. Berglund is a member of the Royal Academy of Letters (Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien) and the Royal Academy of Music (Kungl. Musikaliska akademien).

Maria Schildt is Associate Professor of Musicology and Senior Lecturer at the Department of Musicology at Uppsala University. She finished her PhD in 2014 with a dissertation primarily focussed on the Düben collection, one of the largest surviving music collections from seventeenth-century Europe. She has been researching in different projects, with aims such as cataloguing and digitising French stage music in the Uppsala University Library and also other eighteenth-century music collections preserved in Sweden. Her research includes issues of circulation and adaptation of Italian and French music in early modern Northern Europe as well as the history of church music in Sweden.