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**Some sculptures with instruments from the H.M.S.  
Wasa**

***By Carl-Gösta Widstrand***

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# Some sculptures with instruments from the H. M. S. *Wasa*<sup>1</sup>

*By Carl-Gösta Widstrand*

**T**he *Wasa* is in many ways unique. It is not merely that she is almost the sole remaining warship of the period, but also that the money and labour lavished both on her original building, decoration and launching in the late 1620's, and on the salvaging operations of 1956–61 constitute a record difficult to beat.

She had not been sailing for many minutes when she capsized in Stockholm harbour on her maiden voyage. In the press and in quite a few books there have been vivid reconstructions of the "fata minute" on Sunday, August 10th, 1628, when the *Wasa*, with her gun-ports open and "with all sails set, flags flying and all", heeled over and sank, causing general consternation and carrying off the lives of 133 sailors, 300 soldiers "and other parties". The incident itself need not be described again here, but it may be of interest to give some facts about the history of the ship.

The *Wasa* was badly needed when she lay completed on the stocks in 1627.<sup>2</sup> Between 1626 and 1629 Gustavus Adolphus' military operations were concentrated on East Prussia and Poland and he was preparing for his entry on the scene in the German theatre of war in 1630. In the spring of 1628 the navy was divided into two fleets, one blockading the all-important port of Danzig, the other transferring and convoying the troops from Sweden to the southern shore of the Baltic.

In 1625 the King authorized a plan to build two large ships in Stockholm to be ready in 1626 and 1628, and two smaller ships in 1627 och 1629. The

<sup>1</sup> For their kind assistance during the preparation of this paper I should like to convey my thanks to Dr. Ernst Emsheimer of the Musikhistoriska Museet, Stockholm, Dr. Hans Hansson, Sjöhistoriska Museet, Stockholm, amanuens C. O. Cederlund, fotograf G. Bauer and konservator Sam Svensson of the Vasanämnden, Stockholm, intendent Göran Axel-Nilsson, Göteborg, antikvarie Mogens Bencard, Ribe and to Mr Edvin Jönsson-Duf, Bälinge, who took me up on top of the organ in his parish church.

<sup>2</sup> 11 ships were lost during 1625 (and the *Wasa*, the *Riksmackeln*, and the *Kristina* all sank three years later). Cf. Svenska Flottans Historia, I, Malmö 1952, p. 234 and G. Hafström, Örlogsskeppet Wasas undergång 1628, in Tidskrift i Sjöväsendet, 121: 11 (1958), p. 740 f.

first one, the *Tre Kronor*, was duly launched in 1625 and delivered in the following year by its constructors Henrik Hybertsson<sup>3</sup> and his brother Arent Hybertsson de Groot.

In 1626 the construction of the *Wasa* was started on the beds of the Stockholm shipyard after some delay due to Master Henrik's illness. The King took a personal interest in the building and design of the war-ship. He decided on the contracts and approved the constructors' ideas. He was also kept well informed of the progress of the work, even when he was with the army on the continent. After its launching in 1627, the *Wasa* was rigged and tested and was ready for delivery early in the spring of 1628, when the ballast and the guns were taken on board. The disaster followed in August. Why she turned on her side is not fully clear, but she was heavily armed, top-heavy, and a pronounced list had been discovered during the careening test.<sup>4</sup> The lowest gun-ports were also open, and as the ship heeled when the sails started to fill the ports came under the water-line and she took in water in this way.

After quite a few unsuccessful salvaging attempts from the 17th century onwards, she was rediscovered in 1956 and finally brought up in 1961.<sup>5</sup> Many of the statues, sculptures and other decorations have been saved and there are probably more to come when the "site" is carefully searched by the divers. Among the wooden sculptures rescued from the wreck and from the sea-bottom, there are several figures which are playing (or seem to have been playing) some kind of instrument. Some of the instruments appearing as details of these sculptures have also been found.

### THE FIGURES

Two groups of figures can be distinguished. The first one consists of several soldiers(?), five of whom are playing wind instruments. The other group consists of seven putti, each with an instrument. Two of the players of the first group have hats with wide brims and plumes, one has a kind of helmet and their dress seems to be some kind of Roman uniform with boots.

One of the soldiers only has the mouthpiece left as a round disk in front of

<sup>3</sup> Hagström, op. cit., p. 744.

<sup>4</sup> It is certainly peculiar that nothing was done to correct this fault. Was the method of girdling the ship with thick planks not known in Sweden? Cf. Hagström, op. cit., p. 763 and O. Hasslöf, in *Ale, Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland*, 3 (1962).

<sup>5</sup> The salvage operations were started three days after the disaster. One of the most interesting ventures was that of von Treileben who recovered quite a few of the guns in the 1660's by means of a simple divingbell. Hagström, op. cit., p. 785 f.

his mouth (368; Fig. 9). The soldiers were not in the *Wasa*, but were found on the sea-bottom on the port side astern of the ship.

The second figure (1308, Fig. 8) is playing an instrument which could be a recorder or a cornet (Sw. *sinka*). A cornet would have been held more away from the body but artistic considerations or more probably practical reasons may have influenced the carving. The sculptures decorated the outside of the ship, as is apparent from the curving surface of the backs of them, and it was consequently necessary to keep them as compact as possible without excessively projecting hands or horns. The holes of the instrument are clearly shown and the only remaining hand, the right one, is placed on the lower part of the instrument. The figure with the helmet (1307, Fig. 10) is holding the mouthpiece with his left hand, as well as part of the tubing of a wind instrument into which he is blowing. The instrument is broken immediately below the hand, but it probably extended downward and then looped back to appear with its bell like a Roman *cornu* above the right shoulder, where a piece of the tubing can still be seen. A fourth figure (1446) was brought up from the sea-bottom in May, 1963. He plays a peculiar wind instrument, a kind of serpent, but with only one, rather small bend in the upper part of the tube. The instrument is held by the soldier with the right hand and as if blowing on a beer bottle. As six thousand cubic metres are still to be searched by the divers during the years to come, more figures with instruments belonging to the outside decoration of the ship are likely to appear. A comparison with these figures and the other Roman figures of this group (now under restauration) with various objects in their hands may later perhaps help in the identification of this instrument. A fifth figure was brought up when this paper was in the press in June 1963. He belongs to the same group and plays a kind of horn. In a preliminary study of the sculptural decoration of the *Wasa* Sten Karling has attributed them to Mårten Redtmer, the artist who was probably responsible for the decoration of the ship (cf. below). Roman soldiers fit very well with the plan of the decorations which is discussed below. In this connection it may be recalled that among the musicians in the *carrossel* arranged for December 16th, 1672, when Charles XI took over the government from the regency, there were, among other things, Roman musicians, *Aenatores et Cornicines*, playing *lituus* and *cornu*.<sup>6</sup>

The other group, however, is more interesting. This consists of an ensemble of putti playing various instruments. It may be useful to describe these

<sup>6</sup> These instruments are still preserved at the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm. They are not trumpets, but have double-reed mouthpieces. A picture of the Roman players can be found in T. Norlind, *Från Tyska kyrkans glansdagar*, III, Stockholm 1945, p. 11.

figures in catalogue form before discussing their instruments and a few other questions, connected with them. The author was permitted to see them for the first time early in the spring of 1961 together with Dr. Ernst Emsheimer. During a later visit a few reconstructions were made since some of the instruments which had been broken off were being stored in other conservation tanks. They were then photographed and the photos taken in 1961 when compared with the photos published here reveal a certain deterioration of the surface of the figures probably primarily due to their being moved about for the first exhibition of 1961–62. Thus it may be of interest to make a fairly minute description.

(bb = port; sb = starboard; öb = upper battery deck; the figures refer to cm from a point o in the stem. The first figures refer to the height of the carved part of the figure. As the fillets on the back of the figures are in various states of disintegration overall height is given in brackets. The numbers of the sculptures refer to the numbers in the specimen catalogue of the *Wasa* Museum.)

5421. *putto*, without arms, 75 (90) cm. Right knee bent, head straight forward. In bad condition and badly worn away. Found by the divers before the ship was taken up, öb 3700–3900. [Cf. No. 6878 below.]

6060. *putto*, with *cornet*, 75 (89) cm. Left knee bent and head turned slightly left. Right hand on the upper part and left hand on the lower part of the instrument. Traces of gold in the hair. Upper part of the instrument destroyed after exhibition in 1962. Öb, bb, between 3720 and 4000.

6725. *putto* with *bagpipe*, 70 (82) cm. Right knee bent, head turned sharply to the left. The instrument is held with the bag under the left arm but above the right knee, left hand held above the right on the chanter. Difficult to see where drone could have been attached. The sharp bending of the head makes it impossible for it to have been fastened between mouthpiece and the left arm. On top of the chanter is a kind of knob. It seems as if there were traces of a piece of wood bored into the bag. This could be the fastening point of the drone which must then have pointed up towards the right. The figure is a corner piece and a pendant to no. 6883. Öb, sb, before 3720.

6726. *putto* without arms, 78 (92) cm. Left knee bent, head straight forward. In bad condition. Öb, bb, between 3720 and 4000. [Cf. No. 7073 below.]

6800. *putto* with *stringed instrument* (viol?), 75 (85) cm. Right knee bent, head straight forward. The instrument is held with the left hand and against the knee, the right arm is lost. The instrument, 40 cm, has quite distinct f-shaped sound-holes, impossible to see traces of strings. Öb, bb, between 3720 and 4000.

6878. *stringed instrument* of viol type, 50 cm. A hand left on the fingerboard, two discernible sound-holes. Not possible to see strings. Fits with number 5421 and has been attached to that figure. Öb, bb, 4000–4270.

6883. *putto* with *instrument*, 70 (83) cm. Right knee bent, head sharply bent to the right. The instrument is held clasped to the breast with the right hand. The left hand supports the instrument from behind and the two hands almost meet on

each side of the instrument. The instrument is broken. Öb, bb, 4000–4270. Pendant figure to number 6725.

6922. *putto* with *lute*, 75 (85) cm. Right knee bent, head straight forward. The instrument is held with the left hand and is played with the right with the thumb on the sound-board and the fingers on the strings. On the instrument, a bridge is discernible on the belly, the strings still appear as an elevated ribbon along the instrument. The body is pear-shaped but the top of the instrument is broken. A peg-box (bent backwards?) was probably inserted in the slitlike hole still existing at the top of the finger-board. In good condition with traces of colour and gold. Öb, bb, between 3720 and 4000.

7073. *instrument of lute type*, with two hands. Öb, bb, between 3720 and 4000. Fits together with number 6726 and has been attached to it.

The main question is now to try to find out what kind of instruments the putti are playing. Furthermore, it may be of interest to know whether the ensemble was modelled on an existing one or not. One important but difficult question must then be taken into consideration: who is the artist? If he is an instrumentalist himself, it may be postulated that the instruments were modelled accurately and with a certain sense of detail. The question of why a musical ensemble was chosen as a motif is also of interest. Finally, the question of the arrangement of the ensemble and its place in the ship is not only interesting from the marine archaeologist's point of view, but may also play a role in the identification of the instruments.

We shall start with the final question, the arrangement of the ensemble and its place in the ship. Examining the upper parts of the sculptures it is soon clear that they slant more or less pronouncedly. The sloping upper parts are most pronounced in Nos. 6725 and 6883, which may be presumed to be the end-figures, since their upper parts slant in opposite directions. It is indeed almost possible to arrange the figures in a series according to this distinctive feature. This implies that they were placed athwartships and not along the side. The gradual slant of the upper parts would thus be taken to follow the curve of the deck.

The after-part of the *Wasa* was badly destroyed by tons of mud accidentally dropped by a mud-lighter on top of the after-cabin. The sculptures were found in the remains of the "steage roome"<sup>7</sup> but can of course not have been situated in this very narrow room, which only allowed space for the steersman and the whip-staff.<sup>8</sup> They almost certainly decorated the bulkhead

<sup>7</sup> John Smith, *A Sea Grammar*, London 1627, edition of 1907, II, p. 233: "The steage roome is before the great Cabin, where he that steareth the ship doth alwaies stand."

<sup>8</sup> H. Mainwaring, *The Seaman's Dictionary* (written between 1620 and 1623), ed. E. Mainwaring and W. G. Perrin in *Publications of the Navy Records Society* 56 (1922), p. 255: "... conveniently there can stand but one man at the whip." "Whip-staffe is that



of the Admiral's cabin or "the great cabin", situated immediately behind the steerage room. This bulkhead is not a symmetrical wall. The mizzen mast goes through the cabin, passing immediately in front of the wall. It is not yet known whether the part of the mast in the cabin was covered by panelling. From the beams of the deck it may be gathered that the entrance to the cabin was on the port side, where there are holes, probably for door-posts. It is not yet possible to discover the precise details. The sculptures were fastened with bolts or huge nails through the rear part of the top and the bottom and the wood is cut to take some kind of edging or beam to cover the fastening. The beams and planks of this part of the ship are now being treated so that they can be preserved and when they are fitted together and replaced it may be possible to have a better idea of this very important part of the ship.

### THE INSTRUMENTS

The most easily identifiable are the wind instruments. No. 6725 is a bagpipe (Fig. 1). The way the figure is holding the instrument with the bag pressed against the stomach probably does not refer to the actual way of holding the pipe, but is due to artistic considerations. It is, however, interesting that the instrument lacks a drone. The drone ought to be or is generally placed between the chanter and the mouth-piece, but there is no trace of it at all here on the sculpture. It is possible that the drone was inserted into the top of the pipe where it bends over into the chanter, but it is impossible to say with certainty before the figures have been restored. Perhaps the artist considered the kind of instrument to be clearly indicated even without the drone and did not bother to make one. The bagpipe has quite a long history in Sweden from the 15th century onwards. It appears in church paintings by Albertus Pictor in Härkeberga, Täby, Husby-Sjutolft and other places, and it is mentioned in one of the earliest Swedish-Latin dictionaries.<sup>9</sup> It was probably not very much used by the upper classes until its revival as a fashionable bucolic instrument during the 17th century. It survived until recent times as a folk

peece of wood like a strong staffe the Steersman or Helmesman hath alwaies in his hand going through the Rowle and their made fast to the Tiller with a Ring." (Smith, op. cit., p. 23.)

<sup>9</sup> S. Walin, in *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning* 30 (1948), p. 15 and 31 (1949), p. 18 f. A certain *Lasse bell pipare* from Arboga is mentioned in 1488, cf. E. Noreen, *Bidrag till fornsvensk lexikografi*, in *Mejerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning* 3, Göteborg 1941, p. 10.



Fig. 1. 6725, bagpipe.



Fig. 2. 6060, cornet player.



Fig. 3. 5421, viol player.



Fig. 4. 6800, viol player.



Fig. 5. 6726, lutenist.



Fig. 6. 6922, lutenist.



Fig. 7. 6883, harpist.



Fig 8. 1308, Roman musician,  
flute(?) player.



Fig. 9. 368, Roman musician. Later  
restored with a torch in left hand.



Fig. 10. 1307, Roman musician,  
*cornu*(?) player.

instrument in Dalarna, Gotland and the Baltic provinces.<sup>10</sup> M. Rehnberg mentions that during his stay in Sweden from 1653 to 1654, the British Ambassador B. Whitelocke was twice entertained by bagpipe music, first in Skara and later by the musicians of the cathedral in Uppsala. This is a mistake, as the English original only mentions sackbuts, not bagpipes.<sup>11</sup>

The other wind instrument is a curved cornet, in treble size (Fig. 2). Its curved form and the conical tubing show that it cannot be a recorder or a flute and also the way the putto blows it shows that it is a trumpet instrument with a cup mouth-piece.<sup>12</sup> It is not peculiar that the left hand should grip the lower part of the instrument, since the normal modern grip with the left hand above the right was not established until the middle of the 18th century.<sup>13</sup>

Although the string instruments were the most important orchestral instruments of the Royal Orchestra at the beginning of the 17th century, the trumpets and timpanists being organized in a special group, the cornet seems to have been important and its players are specially mentioned with *cornetista* as their title in the account-books.<sup>14</sup> *Cornetista* could also be used as a title for any kind of wind instrumentalist.<sup>15</sup>

The string instruments are more difficult to identify. No. 6922 (Fig. 6) plays an instrument that may be identified as a small lute. The instrument has a distinctly pear-shaped body and the strings are fastened to a stringholder on the belly. The upper part probably held a peg-box which bent backwards. It has not been theorized, but the peg-box may have been sickle-shaped to give the instrument a mandola-shape.

The right hand is held with the fingers spread over the strings and with

<sup>10</sup> Cf., *i.a.*, A. Baines, Bagpipes. Occasional Papers on Technology, The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford 1960, p. 90 f.

<sup>11</sup> M. Rehnberg, Säckpipan i Sverige, in Nordiska Museets handlingar 18, Stockholm 1943, p. 16; B. Whitelocke, A journal of the Swedish Embassy ... entries Dec. 5, 1653 and Jan. 24, 1653 (1654), in the edition of 1772, vol. 1, pp. 190 and 377.

<sup>12</sup> A putto with cornet, holding the instrument as if blowing on a beer bottle, is found in the Brahe church on Visingsö. The position of the hands is also peculiar. Antikvarisk-Topografiska Arkivet, 253: 38.

<sup>13</sup> The duplicate keys for the little finger on the right and left hand on the oboe disappear around 1760. Cf. *i.a.* A. Baines, Woodwind Instruments and their History, London 1957, p. 278; P. Bate, The Oboe, London 1956, p. 41; A. Carse, Musical Wind Instruments, London 1939, p. 134.

<sup>14</sup> Although C.-A. Moberg (Drag i Östersjöområdets musikliv på Buxtehudes tid, in Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning 39 (1957), p. 33) rightly places the cornet among the *Stadimuskanten* instruments, it played an important role in the orchestra as well and was in Sweden one of the most commonly used melody instruments, cf. T. Norlind and E. Trobäck, Kungl. Hovkapellet historia, Stockholm 1926, p. 12 and 34; C. Thrane, Fra Hof-violonernes Tid, Copenhagen 1908, p. 11; S. Wallin, *op. cit.* in Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning 31 (1949), p. 70.

<sup>15</sup> *Sinka* may, for example, also mean *Krummborn*. S. Wallin, *ibid.*



the thumb on the bass-string. In paintings and in more easily worked materials than wood, the hand is mostly supported by the little finger on the belly and the other fingers are kept well together.<sup>16</sup>

The other lute instrument, 7073, joining on to 6726 (Fig. 5) is badly destroyed and does not allow any more specific identification. It is, however, bigger than the preceding lute, and it would seem as if it had had a flatter body. It is also supported on the left knee of the putto.

The two other string instruments also present difficulties (Figs. 3 and 4). Both have f-shaped sound-holes and rather narrow necks, but on both the peg-box is lost. They are certainly to be identified as viols, despite the f-shaped sound-holes. As the other instrumentalists are all playing their instruments it is not likely that the putto with the small viol instrument should be an exception; he is presumably also playing. The position of the instrument, which is being played against the knee, would thus suggest a viol. I will take us too far to discuss here the instruments that the Polish and Italian fiddlers in Sweden had and their names.<sup>17</sup> However, it is quite clear from Stig Walin's investigations and other sources that the instruments of the violin group predominant in Sweden at the beginning of the 17th century were viols (*viola da gamba*). The musicians Gustavus Adolphus brought from Brandenburg most certainly played viols and not violins; the latter were despised as dance band instruments and did not appear in Swedish musical life until 1647 when Queen Christina brought six French violinists from Paris.<sup>18</sup> The violoncello had great difficulty in replacing the viol as a bass instrument and the viol was used for quite a time even together with the violin.<sup>19</sup>

The remaining instrument is very badly destroyed and it is almost impossible to say what it is (Fig. 7). The position of the head eliminates the suggestion that it is a panflute, for the panflute is never held in this awkward position which does not allow the rapid lateral movement necessary in playing. According to the proposed arrangement of the figures along the bulkhead according to their tops, they would be from port to starboard: bagpipe, cornet [door to the cabin], big viol [mizzen-mast], small viol, big lute, small lute, and this instrument. It therefore probably belongs among the string in-

struments. It could be a harp or some kind of psaltery or dulcimer. Psalteries are usually not held vertically but instead horizontally. The position of the figure's hand also suggests that it is a harp, where the strings are plucked from both sides. The remains of the instrument have furthermore a pronounced triangular form.

## THE ENSEMBLE

The ensemble is certainly not modelled on an existing one but the artist has made a choice of instruments and modelled them. The bagpipe also gives the ensemble a certain Renaissance flavour.<sup>20</sup> Its role in the orchestra during the early 17th century is not quite clear but must have been a minor one. Its inclusion in the present ensemble would therefore support the theory that the ensemble does not represent an existing one. The royal or noble instruments, trumpets and timpani, are not present but during this time the privileged guild musicians, the Royal Trumpeters, are never mixed with the rest of the royal orchestra. The question of why a musical ensemble should be chosen as a motif for the decoration of the great cabin intimately linked up with the artistic-symbolic programme behind the decorations. Such a programme is a typical baroque trait. Considering that the *Wasa* was a ship of state it is natural to presume the existence of such a programme, as Sten Karling has shown.<sup>21</sup> The details of the programme are of course not yet clear, but it certainly had a didactic and moralizing purpose and a certain "magic" function. The embellishments and the works of art should glorify the owner, the King, his position, his qualities and his character, and they should also remind the spectator of certain dangers, e.g. death, sin, etc. The artist had to conceive his sculptures in terms of this world of symbols and ideas, and in most cases depended heavily on traditional material, e.g. humanistic traditions of classical mythology and philosophy and probably more directly on iconographic and ornamental handbooks where these ideas were given visually personified form with the appropriate symbolic attributes. Here we think of such names as Cornelis Bos and Pieter Cocke, but above all Cornelis Flores and Jan Vredeman de Vries.

<sup>16</sup> A similar putto in Länna church holding its lute in very much the same way is reproduced in G. Axel-Nilsson, *Dekorativ stenhuggarkonst från yngre Vasatid*, Stockholm 1950, pl. 20.

<sup>17</sup> S. Walin, *op. cit.* above, p. 35 ff.

<sup>18</sup> S. Walin, *op. cit.* above, p. 43; Moberg in *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning* 39 (1957), p. 42; T. Norlind and E. Trobäck, *Kungl. Hovkapellet historia*, Stockholm 1926, p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> X. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, London 1932, p. 93 f.

<sup>20</sup> The orchestra of Queen Elizabeth of England, whose court was visited by hertig Johan, later Johan III in 1553 and 1559/60, contained a bagpiper, W. J. v. Wasielewski, *Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1878, p. 99. So did the Danish Royal Orchestra about the same time, cf. C. Thrane, *Fra Hofviolonernes Tid*, Copenhagen 1908, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> S. Karling, *Skulpturerna från regalskeppet Wasa*, in *Meddelanden från Statens Sjöhistoriska Museum* 7 (1959), p. 5 ff.

In their work they have not shown any putti with musical instruments, although this decorations is quite usual especially in the frames and borders on the title pages of books on music.<sup>22</sup> Sculptural representations occur more rarely.<sup>23</sup>

The representation of a musical ensemble fits very well with the general principles for the artistic programme of the ship as they have been described above.

The Royal Orchestra came into being as a regular organization for the first time in 1526 during the reign of Gustavus Vasa I, and it was reorganized by Gustavus Adolphus II. The recreation of the Royal Orchestra by the king for his wedding in 1620, when musicians were brought to Sweden from Germany, was of decisive importance for Swedish music during the 17th century. The string-group now became the central part of the orchestra and the singers and the Royal trumpeters played a secondary role.<sup>24</sup> It is not necessary here to discuss the King's reasons for creating a new Royal Orchestra; the main thing is that he did so.<sup>25</sup>

The orders for the decorations and for the programme certainly came from above, and it may be recalled that the Admiral-in-Chief Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm was also an able musician and composer of psalms. The ensemble thus certainly symbolizes the King's interest in music and perhaps also his

<sup>22</sup> C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (1643), shows *Scandale* with a big lute, p. 168; *Iactance* with some kind of wind instrument, p. 158 and *harmonie d'amour* with a viol, p. 101. In order eventually to find a pattern on which the ensemble might have been modelled, the author has gone through a considerable number of the 17th-century artists book of reference e.g. by Vredeman de Vries and others without finding anything but the just mentioned references.

Putti playing various instruments are found on the title pages of, for instance, G. Boni, *Sonette von P. de Ronsard*, Paris 1579 (only viols); J. de Castr, *Cantiones Sacrae*, Frankfurt 1591 (various kinds of instrument, three different lutes etc.); I. Paix, *Orgel-Tabulaturbuch*, Lauzingen 1583, similar frame in B. Schmid, *Neue künstliche Tabulatur*, Strassburg 1577 (harp, guitar, viol, recorder and cithara with Apollo-figure) and in B. Schmid, *Tabulaturbuch*, Strassburg 1607; Schadeus, *Promptuarium Musicum*, Strassburg 1611 (in T. Norlind, *Från Tyska Kyrkans glansdagar*, II, Stockholm 1944, p. 11); C. T. Walliser, *Ecclesiologiae*, Strassburg 1614 (also in Norlind, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

<sup>23</sup> E.g. on a carved box from the Gudewerth workshop in Eckernförde, cf. C. A. Jensen, *Danmarks Snedkere og Billedsnidere*, Copenhagen 1911, p. 101. Putti playing instruments are found on some ships as decorations on the outside, i.e. on the Dutch ship the *Utrecht*, ca. 1670 (cf. R. and R. C. Anderson, *The Sailing Ship, s.a.*, p. 152), and the German ship *Wappen von Hamburg*, built in Hamburg by a Dutch constructor in 1669. The putti were situated between the windows of the great cabin (*Schiffsrisse zur Schiffbaugeschichte*, Vol. 1, *Holländische und deutsche Schiffe 1597-1680*, Magdeburg 1958).

<sup>24</sup> C.-A. Moberg, *op. cit.*, in *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikkforskning* 39 (1957), p. 33 and C.-A. Moberg, *Från kyrko- och hovmusik till offentlig konsert. Studier i Stormaktstidens svenska musikhistoria*, in *Uppsala universitets årsskrift*, 1942: 5, p. 38 f.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. C.-A. Moberg, *op. cit.* 1942, p. 38 and J. Nordström, *De yverbornes ö*, Stockholm 1934, p. 69.

endeavours *claris majorum exemplis* to recreate the Royal Orchestra. The bag-piper may have been included to show that the King's antiquarian interest embraced all kinds of musical expression, the humble as well as the courtly, or in order to represent all kinds of music in the decoration (inclusive folk-music). The trumpeters representing another kind of music appear on the outside of the ship.

## THE ARTIST

The name of the artist of the putti is not known. G. Hafström has given us a relatively small choice in his scholarly paper on the *Wasa* disaster<sup>26</sup> and has shown that in 1626 six sculptors were working at the *Skeppsgården* (the Royal ship-yard): Mäster Mårten bildsnidare (picture-carver), mästern Hans bildsnidare, Johan Thesson bildsnidare, Gert bildsnidare, Petter bildsnidare and a certain Marcus Ledens.

Furthermore, it is known that the chief constructor, Henry Hybertsson, was no mean sculptor.

Mäster Mårten must be Mårten Redtmer, who was still working for the Admiralty in 1645 and who died in 1655. Mäster Hans appears in the *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker* as sculptor for the Admiralty in 1623.<sup>27</sup> Johan Tijssen is a pupil of Aros Claesson who executed a baptismal font in Länna church in Uppland with three putti playing the harp, the cornet and the lute. According to S. Karling, Tijssen probably carved a herm pilaster on the *Wasa*. He worked in the style of Cornelis Bos. Mårten Redtmer is the most important of the sculptors. He made the male effigy, *Kopparmatte*, placed in 1647 on the whipping-post in the Old Square of Stockholm. He also executed a few angels with instruments, crowning the organ of the Storkyrkan. This organ is now replaced but a part of it can still be seen in Bälunge church outside Uppsala. It was finished in 1647 and the angels were probably carved some years earlier. In the picture that A. A. Hülphers has left us of the original organ in the Storkyrkan the angels are playing the bass viol, lute, harp, an unidentified instrument and the trumpet.<sup>28</sup> The harp and the lute are now in

<sup>26</sup> G. Hafström, *op. cit.*, above in *Tidskrift i Sjöväsendet*, 121: 11 (1958).

<sup>27</sup> *Stockholms Stads tänkeböcker*, 1620-23, Stadsarkivet, Stockholm, p. 324 f., 7.7.1623. Hans is here accused by Niels Persson, a former customs official in Gävle, of not having paid for planks bought from him for the construction and carving of a gallery in S:t Clara church in Stockholm.

<sup>28</sup> A. A. Hülphers, *Historisk Afhandling om Musik och Instrumenter, särdeles om Orgwerks-Inrättningen i allmänhet jemte kort Beskrifning öfver Orgwerken i Sverige, Wästerås 1773*, *Tabula 1*. Cf. also B. Wester, *Orgelverket i Bälunge*, in *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikkforskning* 14 (1932), p. 74 and C. A. Klingenspor, *Bälunge*, in *Uplands fornminnes-förenings tidskrift*, vol. 2, p. 223.

Bälunge and the organ is crowned by a figure which probably did not have an instrument.<sup>29</sup>

As S. Karling has already mentioned, the Roman musicians of the first group were probably carved by Mårten Redtmer. But even when taking into account the reasons referred to above for making the figures compact, their instruments and the way the figures hold them show that the artist was not acquainted with musical instruments. On the other hand, Redtmer's angels on the organ in Bälunge are well made in this respect. They differ in shape from the putti but they are meant to be seen from quite a distance far away up on the top of the organ and have thus bigger instruments and more sweeping gestures.

The position of the putti in the great cabin certainly means that they were not made by one of the minor artists. As many sculptured putti of the time they are made to pattern, but with a keen eye for the movement of the figures and their instruments. If the most prominent of the artists Mårten Redtmer executed both groups, he may have furnished the Roman group with some kind of decorative "Roman" instruments. Or they are made by somebody else. For the time being it may be better to leave the question of the name of the artist open until we have a more complete collection of sculptures from the ship. In later discussions, however, the name of another prominent artist working in the Dutch tradition should not be left out—Johan Thijssen.

<sup>29</sup> In Hülphers' sketch the harpist stands on top of the organ.