Noblewomen’s Devotional Song Practice in ‘Patience veinque tout’ (1647–1655), a German Manuscript from the Mid-Seventeenth Century

Hannah Spracklan-Holl

Whether Catholic or Protestant, seventeenth-century devotional songs in the German vernacular constituted a large repertoire: the more than two thousand printed editions of these songs produced between 1601 and 1700 attest to a relatively musically literate public who engaged with the genre.¹ These published collections were the format in which most devotional songs appeared in the seventeenth century and they commonly consisted of a foreword or dedications, other poetry, and songs. The sung melodies of these song texts were usually only referenced by name rather than printed in music, indicating the use of contrafaction.² Devotional songs were one of the most popular forms of religious literature in the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the number of song collections published at that time; however, the number of these publications also indicates that for both Catholics and Protestants, but particularly for the latter, devotional songs in the vernacular formed part of their confessional identity.³ They accompanied all parts of life, from the everyday to significant life events, and the writing and singing of them was a way for people to express their piety in a personal way.

For some German-speaking Protestant female consorts, devotional song practice also provided a means of fulfilling the role of a so-called ‘pillar of prayer’, a model of piety for her family, court, and wider populace.⁴ There is evidence in a number of surviving print and

² Irmgard Scheitler, Das Geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock, Schriften zur Literaturwissenschaft 3 (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1982), 80.
³ Scheitler, Das Geistliche Lied, 80.
manuscript sources of these women engaging in a diverse range of musical activities. This participation included the writing and setting of new devotional song texts to existing hymn melodies. The 1703 publication Glauben-schallende und Himmel-steigende Herzens-Music, for instance, contains 1052 songs, 211 of which have poetry written by women. In this article, however, I focus on several anomalies in a manuscript devotional songbook from the mid-seventeenth century, ‘Patience veinque tout’ (1647–1655), that was compiled by duchess consort Sophie Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1613–1676), speculateing on the nature of the contributions that a number of elite women made to notated music and poetry in the source. In particular, I suggest that at least three songs in the manuscript have poetry and/or music by two other noblewomen, Juliane of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst (1615–1691) and Maria Magdalena of Waldeck-Wildungen (1606–1671). My suggestion is based on two notable features of Sophie Elisabeth’s meticulous recording practices in ‘Patience veinque tout’ that are missing from the songs in question. First, the authorship of these three songs is ambiguous, where the text and music for all other songs in the sources is either clear from Sophie Elisabeth’s own annotations accompanying each song, or is easily traceable. Second, none of the songs include the duchess’s monogram, a date of composition, or other note stating her authorship; one or more of these notations are otherwise included for all songs in ‘Patience veinque tout’ that are of her own creation.

Sophie Elisabeth’s Engagement with Devotional Song and Her Early Musical Education

Sophie Elisabeth made varied and significant contributions to the musical life of the Wolfenbüttel court during her marriage to Duke August ‘the Younger’ of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666): she played an important role in the restructure of the court’s Kapelle following the war using her own knowledge and the expertise of others; she wrote devotional songs and other sacred music, which was used in both public and private devotion in Wolfenbüttel; and she organised, wrote, and performed in court festive events, frequently also composing the music for these occasions. Despite the amount of surviving music composed by Sophie Elisabeth and the recognition that she was afforded for her musical activities, as mentioned above, these activities have been relatively little studied in musicological literature. Karl Wilhelm Geck’s 1992 thesis represents the most comprehensive and significant contribution to knowledge of Sophie Elisabeth and her work. His method involves detailed critical interpretation of source materials and is based on extensive archival research; he provides a complete biography of Sophie Elisabeth, an analysis of her compositional style, an examination of the works to which she contributed, considering issues such as authorship and provenance, and includes incipits of all her surviving music. His contribution to knowledge regarding Sophie Elisabeth as a musician is substantial and comprehensive, and it is the foundation on which parts of my later discussion in this article are built.

Evidence for Sophie Elisabeth’s musical activities and compositional output comes from a variety of printed and manuscript sources (see Table 1). Sophie Elisabeth played a varying role in the organisation, composition, and performance of the twelve theatrical events performed

---


in Braunschweig and Wolfenbüttel between 1642 and 1656, and Geck suggests that those which took place between 1639 and 1646 were conceived by Justus Georg Schottelius as educative Schultheater, for which Sophie Elisabeth provided song compositions. While it is difficult to determine the extent of Sophie Elisabeth’s involvement in the events performed for August’s birthday between 1652 and 1656, she was responsible for their design, performed in a number of them, and composed music for several. Above all, as Geck notes, court festivity at Wolfenbüttel in this period clearly bears her mark. In addition, Sophie Elisabeth contributed to five songbooks, two of which are printed hymn books and three of which are manuscript songbooks. According to Brandanus Daetrius (1607–1688), some of the devotional music to which she contributed was ‘used in both domestic churches and private devotion’ at the time of her death. Two of the manuscript songbooks are entirely in Sophie Elisabeth’s hand; the earliest, which she started during her early life at the court of Güstrow, consists of her arrangements of continuo songs including French airs de cour, while the later book, started in 1647 with the title ‘Patience veinque tout,’ contains devotional songs and sinfonias that she composed, as well as devotional songs that she received as gifts.

Table 1. Sources of Sophie Elisabeth’s Musical Activities. Works marked with an asterisk are described in Schottelius, Fruchtbringender Lustgarte (Lüneburg: Cubach, 1647)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Extant notation?</th>
<th>Source location/Exemplar(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1633–?</td>
<td>‘Französische Liedkompositionen’</td>
<td>Manuscript songbook</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D-W, Cod. Guelph 52 Noviss 8°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639</td>
<td>Diana-Ballett *</td>
<td>Stage work</td>
<td>No (texts and descriptions)</td>
<td>D-Gś, 8 P GERM II, 8201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642–1653</td>
<td>‘Partitura AFRB’</td>
<td>Manuscript songbook</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D-W, Cod. Guelph 11a Noviss 2°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642 (perf.)</td>
<td>Neu erfundenes Freuden Spiel genandt Friedens Sieg</td>
<td>Stage work (printed Textbuch) (manuscript organ tablature)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D-W, Lo 6992; D-Wa, 1 Alt. 22 Nr. 227; US-NHub, Zg17 Sc67 649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643/46</td>
<td>WaldGottPan *</td>
<td>Stage work</td>
<td>No (six song texts)</td>
<td>D-Gś, 8 P GERM II, 8201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 353.
8 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 353.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title/Description</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Text Availability</th>
<th>Notes/Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1645</td>
<td>Die Gebuhrt unsers Heylandes *</td>
<td>Stage work</td>
<td>No (five song texts)</td>
<td>D-Gs, 8 P GERM II, 8201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646</td>
<td>Auf die Zeit gerichtetes Ballet *</td>
<td>Stage work</td>
<td>No (texts and descriptions)</td>
<td>D-Gs, 8 P GERM II, 8201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1647–1655</td>
<td>‘Patience veinque tout’</td>
<td>Manuscript songbook</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1651</td>
<td>Vinetum Evangelicum (Wolfenbüttel: Stern, 1651)</td>
<td>Printed songbook</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D-W, Yj 71.8° Helmst. (2); D-W, Th 2979; D-W A: 817.81 Theol.; D-W, M: Ts 225 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1652 (also perf. 1655)</td>
<td>Glückwünschende Freunds darstellung</td>
<td>Stage work (printed Textbuch)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D-W, 1.1.2 Musica 2° (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1653</td>
<td>‘Göttier Bancket’</td>
<td>Stage work (manuscript)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>D-Wa, 1 Alt 25 Nr. 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1654</td>
<td>Der Natur Banquet</td>
<td>Stage work (printed description ['Beschreibung des Freuden Festins'] in Fautorum Clientum &amp; Ministorum Vota (Wolfen-büttel: Stern, 1654)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>D-W, H: N 8.2° Helmst. (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1655</td>
<td>Der Minervae Banquet</td>
<td>Stage work (printed Textbuch)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Musica fol. 1.1.2 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1655</td>
<td>Ballet der Zeit</td>
<td>Stage work (printed Textbuch)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Musica fol. 1.1.2 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656</td>
<td>Glückwünschende Waarsagung und Ankunft der Königin Nicaulae</td>
<td>Stage work (printed Textbuch)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>M: Gn 2° Sammelbd. 3 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656</td>
<td>Vorstellung und Glückwünschung der 7. Planeten</td>
<td>Stage work (printed Textbuch)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>M: Gn 2° Sammelbd. 3 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670</td>
<td>Christ-Fürstliches Davids-Harpfen-Spiel</td>
<td>Printed songbook</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>M: Tl 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For many Protestant noblewomen and consorts, including Sophie Elisabeth, devotional song practice was part of many aspects of their lives; alongside prayer, it accompanied almost every activity they undertook, and played an important role in their acts of intercession with God on behalf of their subjects.¹¹ ‘Patience veinque tout’ is the manuscript songbook in which the duchess’s engagement with sacred music is most evident.¹² The sacred music in the duchess’s

---


¹² Most notably, Sophie Elisabeth organised, performed in, and composed music for birthday celebrations for her husband, Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666), and composed music for a Singspiel that celebrated the signing of the Treaty of Goslar, Neu erfundenes Freuden Spiel genannt Friedens Sieg (1642). The text for this piece was written by Justus Georg Schottelius (1612–1676). The Textbücher for all these events can be found digitised by the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
songbooks form part of a larger body of devotional literature that she wrote throughout her life, amounting to more than 2,600 pages as a whole.\(^{13}\) This literature, which reflects her personal piety but may have also been used in settings beyond her interior expression, contains the duchess’s reflections on all aspects of her life, from her health, birthday, and harvests to political events happening around her.\(^{14}\) Devotional writings—including songs—were an important part of elite women’s lives as a means of personal reflection, consolation, and edification; they also provided ways for these women to converse with God and express their piety to themselves and (sometimes) their court. As a consort, it was important for Sophie Elisabeth to present herself as a model of piety to both court and subjects, as their religious practices ‘played an important role in the well-being of the state.’\(^{15}\)

There are several other reasons why Protestant noblewomen may have been such productive creators of devotional song texts. These songs (like other sacred music genres in the seventeenth century) were chiefly used in a domestic context.\(^{16}\) In the German-speaking lands in the early modern period, there was a growing distinction between public and private life. Greater restrictions were subsequently placed on women’s ability to move in the public sphere, and as a rule they were often prevented and discouraged from expressing themselves in this setting.\(^{17}\) Devotional songs thus provided a means of personal expression within a private domain viewed as appropriate for women to occupy. Furthermore, the skills needed to cultivate devotional song practice were handed down through generations of noblewomen within the space of the home, where many women took some responsibility for the education of their daughters. For instance, in Sophie Elisabeth’s youth at the court of Mecklenburg-Güstrow, ‘patterns of piety were passed on by the central female of the court,’\(^{18}\) a duty she herself took up as August’s consort. Consorts also often played an important role in the general education of their children and stepchildren.

In Sophie Elisabeth’s family there was a history of women’s music-making. After the death of his wife Margarete Elisabeth, Sophie Elisabeth’s father Johann Albrecht married Elisabeth of Hesse-Kassel (1596–1625), the daughter of Moritz ‘the Learned’ of Hesse-Kassel (1572–1632), a landgrave now well known for the flourishing intellectual and artistic life of his court during his reign. Elisabeth was a lutenist; she studied music at the Collegium Mauritianum—founded by her father—where she was a classmate of Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672).\(^{19}\) As Linda Maria Koldau

---


\(^{14}\) Bepler, ‘The Use of Prayer Books at Court,’ 57.


\(^{16}\) Kendrick, ‘Devotion, Piety, and Commemoration,’ 326.


\(^{18}\) Bepler, ‘The Use of Prayer Books at Court,’ 55.

\(^{19}\) Linda Maria Koldau, ‘Frauen in der deutschen Musikkultur der Frühen Neuzeit,’ Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 62 (2005): 224. Schütz was a close contact of Sophie Elisabeth; he was employed at Wolfenbüttel as Kapellmeister ‘von Haus aus,’ or in absentia from 1655 until 1666 (an appointment for which Sophie Elisabeth was at least partially responsible) and he provided the duchess with helpful and friendly criticism on some of her musical compositions. The two were in close contact between 1635 and 1666; letters between them can be found in English translation in Gregory S. Johnston, A Heinrich Schütz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation (Oxford: OUP, 2014).
explains, Elisabeth’s musical education may have surpassed the usual standard for Lutheran noblewomen of the time; however, certain aspects of her education are indicative of the kind of musical education some noblewomen received, and are similarly indicative of the musical upbringing that her stepdaughter, Sophie Elisabeth, experienced.\textsuperscript{20} During her childhood at the court of Mecklenburg-Güstrow, Sophie Elisabeth was introduced to the lute and the viol by Elisabeth, as well as by a group of English musicians who worked at the court in the 1620s.\textsuperscript{21} Elisabeth brought John Stanley to Güstrow to provide musical instruction to Sophie Elisabeth and her younger sister, Christine Margarete, and Geck suggests that the musicians Wilhelm Westphal and Michael Rode may have also influenced Sophie Elisabeth’s early musical development.\textsuperscript{22} Koldau also notes that English influence may have come from Elisabeth herself, as her home court of Kassel hosted John Dowland and other English musicians and actors in her youth.\textsuperscript{23}

Sophie Elisabeth’s second stepmother, Eleonore Marie of Anhalt-Bernburg (1600–1657), may also have played an active role in her early musical education by sourcing songs for her to arrange with a new bass part in the duchess’s earliest manuscript songbook, ‘Französische Liedkompositionen’ (1633–??). This manuscript consists of Sophie Elisabeth’s first attempts at musical composition in staff notation: arrangements of French airs de cour, in which she took each air’s existing lute tablature and rearranged it onto a single bass stave. While most of the songs in this manuscript are in Sophie Elisabeth’s hand, songs 10 and 11 are in another hand, probably that of her stepmother, Eleonore Marie (see Figure 1).

Eleonore Marie was educated in Latin, French, and Italian, as well as in vocal and instrumental music. In addition, she was a member of two seventeenth-century societies of learned women, the Tugendliche Gesellschaft (Virtuous Society) and the Académie des Loyales/Güldene Palm-Orden (Order of the Golden Palm). Her connection to both societies was stronger than mere membership, however; her aunt, Anna Sophia of Anhalt, was the leader of the Tugendliche Gesellschaft, and her mother, Anna of Anhalt-Bernburg, was the founder of the Académie des Loyales. In 1627 Eleonore Marie herself became leader of the Académie after her mother’s death in 1624.\textsuperscript{24} Sophie Elisabeth became a member of both societies, joining the Académie in 1629 and the Tugendliche Gesellschaft in 1630. Both societies placed emphasis on linguistic and literary interests, alongside the pursuit of a virtuous Christian life.\textsuperscript{25}

Eleonore Marie’s position in the Académie and her duties as consort suggest that she presided over Sophie Elisabeth’s compositional practice as a way of both furthering her stepdaughter’s education and nurturing her creative output within the space of women’s societies. While Eleonore Marie was a trained musician, she is not known to have been a composer of musical notation.\textsuperscript{26} It is possible, therefore, that Sophie Elisabeth initially learnt

\begin{footnotes}
\item[21] Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 25.
\item[22] Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 25.
\item[23] Koldau, Frauen-Musik-Kultur, 190.
\item[26] Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 100.
\end{footnotes}
composition from her first stepmother, Elisabeth of Hesse-Kassel (1596–1625), who reportedly was a singer, instrumentalist, and composer. Eleonore Marie’s hand in ‘Französische Liedkompositionen’ thus does not suggest that she taught her stepdaughter how to write music. Instead, her role in Sophie Elisabeth’s musical development may have been to assign poetry for which music was to be found and arranged, as indicated by the fact that she wrote texts in the manuscript, but not musical notation. This practice would not have been the sole source of Sophie Elisabeth’s early musical education; rather, it may have complemented the instruction she received from Elisabeth of Hesse-Kassel and the English musicians who were present at Güstrow, as well as later guidance from Heinrich Schütz.

Both ‘Französische Liedkompositionen’ and ‘Patience veinque tout’ contain secular songs; however, after her first efforts in ‘Französische Liedkompositionen,’ Sophie Elisabeth’s songbooks demonstrate her otherwise intense involvement in the creation of sacred music (in the context of her manuscript songbooks), while her efforts in secular music were concentrated on celebratory events at court. Her participation in this practice, as well as that of other elite women, is reflective of what has been called the ‘feminisation of piety’ in the seventeenth century. The turn towards interiority in religious experience at this time was accompanied by non-scholastic or mystical theology, which is evident in many devotional songs authored by women. As noblewomen generally had less access to formal education than their male counterparts, it may have been most appropriate for them to engage with a musical-literary genre that relied primarily on the expression of the author’s own piety, rather than on

their learned mastery of form and content. This is not to say that women’s devotional song compositions demonstrated less skill than those of their male counterparts. Often, song texts authored by women display highly competent knowledge of poetic forms and also, importantly, evidence of a spectrum of musical literacy. However, women may have chosen to engage with devotional song practices because expressions of piety were more important in this genre—particularly for noblewomen, who were expected to convey their relationship with God to their court and subjects—than the musical and literary construction of the song itself.

Further evidence for the exemplary nature of Sophie Elisabeth’s engagement with devotional songwriting comes from biblical comparisons drawn by Daetrius in his funeral sermon for Sophie Elisabeth. When describing her musical accomplishments, he makes particular note of the fact that the duchess ‘always had a passion for devotional songs,’ and draws attention to her songs for *ChristFürstliches Davids-Harpfen-Spiel*, a printed songbook that contains her settings of her stepson Anton Ulrich’s (1633–1714) verse adaptations of the Psalms. Daetrius’s sermon also points to a tradition of women’s participation in devotional song practice, comparing Sophie Elisabeth’s involvement in the genre with that of the biblical figures Deborah and Hannah. Daetrius writes that, like Sophie Elisabeth, Hannah, ‘in a joyful manner, played and sang songs of triumph and thanks to the Lord,’ and he describes Deborah as a ‘spirited princess,’ but does not specifically reference her musical expression (which is demonstrated in the victory hymn she and Barak sing in Judges 5:2–31, detailing Deborah’s assistance in the military victory of Israelite tribes over Canaanite adversaries). The biblical women that Daetrius uses as examples in *Königes-Davids Herzens-Lust* are figures held in high regard, whose singing is an expression of their piety. According to Daetrius, Sophie Elisabeth’s musical activity was similarly pious, and throughout her life she expressed her praise with ‘singing and playing.’ By linking Sophie Elisabeth with biblical women who used singing as a way of displaying their piety, Daetrius conferred upon Sophie Elisabeth the same high regard as her biblical counterparts, and also legitimised her musical practice as a means by which she fulfilled her role at court as a ‘pillar of prayer’ during her life as duchess consort. It is also noteworthy that, in his sermon, Daetrius draws on the example of David, who believed that music and instruments ‘encouraged the soul to the enthusiastic praise of God.’

---

30 On women’s writing see, for example, Mara Wade, ‘Women’s Networks of Knowledge: The Emblem Book as Stammbuch,’ *Daphnis* 45 (2017): 468 and Cornelia Niekus Moore, *The Maiden’s Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987). Many women were, for example, familiar with the poetic reforms pioneered by Martin Opitz.


33 Daetrius, *Königes-Davids Herzens-Lust*, 42.

34 Daetrius, *Königes-Davids Herzens-Lust*, 42. ‘Der vormaligen Geistreiche Fürstin Debora / und der Mutter des Samuels / der Hanne / die also auf freudige Weise dem Herrn mit Triumph- und Danck-Liedern / Lob gesungen und gespielt.’ Sophie Elisabeth played both lute and keyboard, and her compositions include music for multiple instrumental and vocal parts.

35 Daetrius, *Königes-Davids Herzens-Lust*, 43.


only with Deborah and Hannah, strengthening the connection between the piety of women and its expression through devotional songs and singing.38

‘Patience veinque tout,’ Devotion, and Dynasty

Between 1647 and 1655, Sophie Elisabeth compiled her third manuscript songbook, titled ‘Patience veinque tout.’39 The volume is in folio format, measuring 33 x 19 centimetres and comprising 166 pages, of which folios 60v to 162v, as well as the whole of 166, are empty. It comprises sixty-seven songs and sinfonias, including devotional songs, French airs de cour, and Italian arias, over fifty of which have music composed by Sophie Elisabeth, as evidenced by the presence of the annotations ‘Componiret den’ and her monogram.40 Several texts are also of her own composition. Seven songs are paired with instrumental sinfonias, bringing the manuscript’s total number of musical items to seventy-five. ‘Patience veinque tout’ is yet another example of the duchess’s expression of her piety. As Daetrius’s sermon demonstrates, Sophie Elisabeth’s faith (as expressed through music-making) was known and praised beyond the realm of her household. ‘Patience veinque tout’ thus also represents an aspect of the duchess’s responsibility as a Landesmutter, or ‘mother of the country’, and a reinforcement of her husband’s pious virtue through her display of her own piety as his spouse.41

Consorts were also given the responsibility of maintaining dynastic relationships as part of their marriage duties, which they did, in part, through cultivating networks of communication with other women at neighbouring courts. ‘Patience veinque tout’ shows how the sharing and transmission of musical pieces could contribute to these networks. The manuscript includes nine songs given to Sophie Elisabeth by other women (shown in Table 2). All these songs bear the inscription ‘mir zu kommen von,’ indicating that Sophie Elisabeth received the song from the woman whose initials are noted. Five of the nine songs were given to the duchess by her stepdaughters, Clara Augusta and Sibylle Ursula.42 The songs from Clara Augusta are all Italian-language arias, and have been attributed by Geck to Italian composers Luigi Rossi (1597–1653) and Marco Marazzoli (1602–1662). The songs from Sibylle Ursula most probably, though not certainly, use her own poetry along with music by Sophie Elisabeth.43

Four other songs were given to Sophie Elisabeth by women who were not of her immediate family: numbers 34, 53, 54 and 55. Numbers 53, 54, and 55 were given to Sophie Elisabeth by Maria Magdalena of Waldeck-Wildungen, a member of the Tugendliche Gesellschaft, whereas number 34 came from another member of the same society, Juliane of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst.44

38 Daetrius, Königes-Davids Herzens-Lust, 44. ‘Und ihre Seele in ihres Erlösers Hände nach Davids Exempel überlassen.’
39 Her other manuscript songbooks are, Sophie Elisabeth, ‘Französische Liedkompositionen’ and Sophie Elisabeth, Partitura AFRB, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelph 11a Noviss 2°.
40 For a detailed breakdown of the pieces in the manuscript, including the identification of the composers of their text and/or music, see Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 177–97. Sophie Elisabeth’s own compositions are discussed in detail at 177–88, and incipits of all pieces are at 492–503.
41 Bepler, ‘The Use of Prayer Books at Court,’ 49.
42 While both Clara Augusta and Sibylle Ursula were, in fact, Sophie Elisabeth’s stepdaughters, she refers to Sibylle Ursula as her ‘Tochter’ in ‘Weltliche alltägliche Einfälle Etc.’ (1674–1671), 10.1 Noviss 2°, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. On 23 December 1671 Sophie Elisabeth wrote a poem to mark Sibylle Ursula’s death titled ‘Über den todt meiner tochter hertzogin von holstein’ (fo. 23v).
43 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 173.
44 Conermann, ‘Die Tugendliche Gesellschaft,’ 619. Maria Magdalena’s husband, Simon VII zur Lippe, was a member of another well-known literary society, the Fruchtbriingende Gesellschaft.
All four songs point to the use of ‘Patience veinque tout’ as a kind of musical *Stammbuch*, an album used by people in the early modern period to collect autographs and messages from others they encountered. While men, to whom university study was open, often used a *Stammbuch* to record their travels, as well as messages from teachers and fellow students, women’s *Stammbücher*—which were not as common—usually contained entries from family members and others in the dynastic network, thus forming a ‘locus of dynastic memory and devotions.’

In this respect, women’s *Stammbücher* also attest to networks of knowledge. In her study of Dorothea of Anhalt’s (1607–1634) *Stammbücher*, which were customised devotional emblem books, Mara Wade notes that ‘the twin strands of faith and family,’ which were the foundation of knowledge for early modern noblewomen, are particularly evident in Dorothea’s books. The maintenance of networks of knowledge was also part of the responsibility of a consort in early modern Germany. While this was often done through letter writing, *Stammbücher* also reflect this practice.

Devotional practice and dynastic ties are both evident in the songs in ‘Patience veinque tout’ that were circulated among women. The three songs given to Sophie Elisabeth by her stepdaughters, Sibylle Ursula and Clara Augusta, aged approximately 18 and 19 when their songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song number</th>
<th>Received from</th>
<th>Date received</th>
<th>Date composed</th>
<th>Composer/Poet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15: ‘D’una bella Infedele’ (15v–16r)</td>
<td>C.A.F (Clara Augusta Fräulein)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Luigi Rossi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38: <em>Ermunterung der Seele</em> (31v–32r)</td>
<td>S.V.H.Z.B.V.L (Sibylle Ursula Herzogin zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>7/10/1650</td>
<td>Sophie Elisabeth / Sibylle Ursula (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Songs transmitted by women in ‘Patience veinque tout.’ Titles of songs are given in italics, while songs without titles have their first line in quotation marks.

45 Wade, ‘Women’s Networks of Knowledge,’ 493.
46 Wade, ‘Women’s Networks of Knowledge,’ 493.
were entered into the manuscript, are clear examples of how dynastic memory was recorded in ‘Patience veinque tout.’ These songs also attest to the two girls’ involvement in musical practice at court, undoubtedly with the support of Sophie Elisabeth, just as the duchess had received similar encouragement from her own stepmothers. On the other hand, Juliane and Maria Magdalena were not members of Sophie Elisabeth’s immediate family. They both, however, had ties to the Guelph dynasty, of which Sophie Elisabeth was a member through marriage to her husband, August. Juliane was the eleventh child of Anton II of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst (1550–1619) and Sibylle Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Dannenberg (1576–1630), the latter of whom was August’s sister.\textsuperscript{47} Juliane was also the second wife of Manfred of Württemberg-Weiltingen (1626–1662). Dynastic ties between the Guelph dynasty and the house of Württemberg are also evident from Clara Augusta’s marriage in 1653 to Friedrich of Württemberg-Neustadt (1615–1682). Maria Magdalena’s ties to the Guelph dynasty are more difficult to trace. She was born Maria Magdalena of Waldeck-Wildungen and married Simon VII of Lippe-Detmold in 1623. While there is little documentation to suggest that there were close dynastic ties between the house of Lippe and the Guelph dynasty, from the thirteenth until the fifteenth centuries there were several marriages between the houses of Lippe and Braunschweig, and Maria Magdalena’s great aunt was also married to the father of Sophie Elisabeth’s stepmother, Elisabeth of Hesse-Kassel. These links are tenuous in the context of ‘Patience veinque tout’; however, they nevertheless demonstrate that the houses of Guelph, Lippe, and Oldenburg were connected throughout the seventeenth century, and Sophie Elisabeth’s manuscript is evidence of her personal efforts, within the boundaries of her role as consort, to establish and maintain inter-dynastic relationships. The involvement of Juliane and Maria Magdalena in the creation of ‘Patience veinque tout’ may also provide evidence of collaborative creative practice within the context of women’s literary societies, suggesting that the links between these elite women both reinforced and ran alongside familial and dynastic networks.

The possible function of ‘Patience veinque tout’ as a musical Stammbuch is further attested to by the dates recorded on the songs Sophie Elisabeth received from Juliane and Maria Magdalena in this volume. Number 34 was received by Sophie Elisabeth on 4 January 1649, and while numbers 54 and 55 are not given a composition date, they were recorded into Manuscript 2 between 5 and 12 January 1654.\textsuperscript{48} It is thus possible that numbers 34, 53, 54, and 55 were all gifts to celebrate the New Year, as this was an auspicious time in early modern gift-giving culture. This tradition indicates that, considering Sophie Elisabeth’s own interest and skill in music, the songs were perhaps given to the duchess as an indication of respect and reverence and as a means of maintaining inter-dynastic relationships. Although all the songs in ‘Patience veinque tout’ are in Sophie Elisabeth’s hand, she carefully recorded the initials of the person from whom she received each one. While this is true of the songs she received from both men and women, the songs transmitted by women bear particular witness to women’s networks of knowledge and, in some cases, their musical compositional ability.

\textsuperscript{47} Two granddaughters of Sibylle Elisabeth, Christiane Elisabeth von Barby-Mühlingen and Antonia Sibylle von Barby-Mühlingen, lived at Wolfenbüttel in the 1650s and appeared in the festive event Der Minervae Banquet in 1656. See Sophie Elisabeth, Der Minervae Banquet / welches zu sonderbaren Ehren / auff den LXXVII Geburtstag des Durchläuchtigen Hochgeboren Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Augusti ... gestellet worden (Wolfenbüttel: Stern, 1655).

\textsuperscript{48} Sophie Elisabeth, ‘Patience veinque tout’ (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 1 Noviss 2°), fo. 46r.
Songs with Ambiguous Authorship in ‘Patience veinque tout’

Unlike the musical compositions in Sophie Elisabeth’s earlier manuscript songbooks, many of those in ‘Patience veinque tout’ can be easily attributed, as the duchess was fastidious in her inclusion of headings or marginalia that provide information about a song’s composer and, often, its poet. In cases where she composed the music for a piece herself, the note often reads ‘Componiret den’ followed by the date on which she composed it (see Figure 2). Sophie Elisabeth’s monogram is also often annotated as part of the heading of pieces she composed, as can be seen in Figure 2; of the seventy-five in ‘Patience veinque tout,’ fifty-two of them bear either the annotation ‘Componiret den’ or the duchess’s monogram. While most of the pieces in ‘Patience veinque tout’ have music and poetry that are attributable to Sophie Elisabeth or others, the composer and/or poet for numbers 34, 37, 39a, 39, 54, and 55 is more difficult to identify. Here, I will focus on song 34—given to Sophie Elisabeth by Juliane of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst—and songs 54 and 55—given to her by Maria Magdalena of Waldeck-Wildungen, as these are the three of the above-mentioned devotional pieces in ‘Patience veinque tout’ that were transmitted by women.

The authorship of none of these three songs can be easily attributed to either Sophie Elisabeth or another person. The first reason for this is that the duchess’s monogram is absent from them (see Figure 4), raising the question of whether she ‘simply forgot [it] or a corresponding note on the composition or, for certain reasons, considered it unnecessary.’ Similarly, none of the three songs include a date of composition. Sophie Elisabeth’s usually careful and assiduous recording of the source of the pieces in ‘Patience veinque tout’ and the date on which she composed or received them suggests that, in the case of numbers 34, 54, and 55, the date and her monograph were unnecessary. As one or both of these two annotations are present on all the other songs composed by Sophie Elisabeth in ‘Patience veinque tout,’ their absence raises the question of who their composer was. Secondly, the music for numbers 34, 54, and 55 is difficult to attribute because the texts for all three are also not easy to trace. While number 53, also given to Sophie Elisabeth by Maria Magdalena, uses a text by the theologian and devotional songwriter Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676), numbers 54 and 55 do not. In her annotations to song 53, Sophie Elisabeth makes clear that she was the piece’s composer, making the absence of information for numbers 54 and 55 more striking.

Numbers 54 and 55 contain some musical characteristics that are atypical of Sophie Elisabeth’s compositions in the context of ‘Patience veinque tout’ as a whole, such as melodies derived from dance forms. Despite this, however, Geck observes some similarities to the music for number 53, which he attributes to Sophie Elisabeth, and thus suggests that the empty bass staves indicate that she may have planned an accompaniment but did not have an opportunity to add it to the manuscript. Song 34 is similarly missing both a date of composition and the duchess’s monogram. This song contains some musical characteristics that suggest it was composed by Sophie Elisabeth, such as expressive use of chromaticism and treatment of lines

49 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 176.
50 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 176.
51 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 188.
52 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 190.
53 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 190.
of different syllabic lengths as individual melodic units (see Figure 3); however, Geck concludes that these features are not enough to make up for the missing annotations, considering the level of detail Sophie Elisabeth otherwise gives in the manuscript regarding the authorship of its songs and the people from whom she received them.\textsuperscript{54} He concludes that it cannot be attributed to Sophie Elisabeth with certainty; however, he offers no suggestion of an alternative composer or poet.

**Evidence for Alternative Authorship**

One possible reason for the unusual characteristics of songs 34, 54, and 55 is that they were composed by Juliane and Maria Magdalena respectively, not Sophie Elisabeth. Both number 54 and number 55, the songs that Sophie Elisabeth received from Maria Magdalena, were entered into ‘Patience veinue tout’ without bass lines; however, a staff was ruled for this

\textsuperscript{54} Geck, *Sophie Elisabeth*, 190.
Figure 3. Sophie Elisabeth, ‘Patience veinque tout,’ fo. 28v, inset. Note that there is no annotation next to the title of song 34, while song 35 includes both Sophie Elisabeth’s monogram and a date of composition.

Figure 4. Sophie Elisabeth, ‘Patience veinque tout,’ ‘Ein gesprech der Seelen mit Christo,’ fo. 46v. Note the ruled but empty bass staves.

part (Figure 4). As these songs are not the final ones entered into the manuscript, this seems to suggest either that Maria Magdalena had written the tune only and given this to Sophie Elisabeth, who was then planning to compose a bass part, or that Sophie Elisabeth had received a complete song from Maria Magdalena but intended to arrange it with a new bass
line. This hypothesis could be supported by the fact that Sophie Elisabeth used this process in her re-composition of existing lute tablature for French airs de cour onto a single bass staff in her first manuscript songbook, ‘Französische Liedkompositionen.’ She may also have used this process in ‘Patience veinque tout.’ It is also possible that Maria Magdalena gave to Sophie Elisabeth only the poetry for the songs, which she may or may not have written; however, this does not explain the absence of bass parts to songs 54 and 55. As mentioned above, another song given to the duchess by Maria Magdalena, song 53, contains an annotation that makes it clear that Sophie Elisabeth composed its music; the absence of such an annotation on songs 54 and 55 further suggests that Maria Magdalena may have not only given the songs to the duchess as gifts but played a role in their composition.

Song 54, titled ‘Ein gesprech der Seelen mit Christo,’ is noteworthy; it is contained in volume 2 of Johannes Zahn’s Die melodien die deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder (1890) as number 3,719. According to Zahn, the first appearance of the song was in 1679 in Johann Quirsfeld’s songbook Geistlicher Harffen-Klang, and he attributes it to Magdalena Sybille of Württemberg (1652–1712), additionally citing Johann Crüger’s Praxis pietas melica, in which the song appeared in 1674. As Geck observes, Zahn’s reproduction of the song contains essentially the same words and melody as those that appear at the beginning of the song in ‘Patience veinque tout,’ with only a few variances; however, the version in ‘Patience veinque tout’ contains a section in 3, which is missing from Zahn’s version. ‘Ein gesprech der Seelen mit Christo,’ however, appears in ‘Patience veinque tout’ at least twenty-five years before it appeared in Geistlicher Harffen-Klang and twenty years before Praxis pietas melica. This renders Zahn’s attribution to Magdalena Sybille erroneous. As Geck ironically notes, even if she did write ‘Ein gesprech der Seelen mit Christo’ and it had found its way to Sophie Elisabeth, she would have had to be two years old when she did so.

The other song that Sophie Elisabeth received from Maria Magdalena that may have poetry and music written by the latter is number 55, the first line of which is ‘solches nehmet doch zu Herzen.’ Both this number and number 34, which Sophie Elisabeth received from Juliane of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst, are difficult to attribute with certainty. The concordance between ‘Ein gesprech der Seelen mit Christo’ and its counterpart in Praxis pietatis melica provides evidence only for an earlier date of the tune, but not necessarily for Maria Magdalena’s composition of it, which in turn makes it difficult to attribute the authorship of song 55 to Maria Magdalena. Similarly, there is no other extant evidence—aside from Sophie Elisabeth’s annotation—that Juliane composed music. Yet, as previously mentioned, songs 34 and 55 were likely written by other people as neither song bears a date nor Sophie Elisabeth’s monogram. Number 34 is the only one of the three songs discussed here that includes a bass part; another song whose authorship cannot be determined—song 37—also contains a bass part, but both the text for this song and the name of the person who gave it to Sophie Elisabeth have been redacted. Geck considers these two songs together, as neither of them can be attributed to

---

55 Johannes Zahn, Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder, vol. 2 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1890), 482.
56 Zahn, Die Melodien, 482; Johann Quirsfeld, Geistlicher Harffen-Klang auff Zehen Seyten (Leipzig: Klinger, 1679); Johann Crüger, Johannis Crugari Praxis Pietatis Melica (Berlin: Runge, 1674).
57 Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 189.
58 Sophie Elisabeth, ‘Patience veinque tout,’ fo. 47v.
Sophie Elisabeth despite some stylistic characteristics (discussed above) that they share with the duchess’s music.⁵⁹

At present, no research has been undertaken that focuses specifically on the musical practices of Maria Magdalena or Juliane. This is likely due to a lack of source material; I have found little information on the role music played in the life of either woman, although there is more material on Maria Magdalena than on Juliane, including a number of funeral books for the countess, as well as a study by Gerhard Rödding on her relationship with Paul Gerhardt, some of whose texts appear in ‘Patience veinue tout.’⁶⁰ Maria Magdalena offered Gerhardt a position at Lippe-Detmold in 1666, which he refused, yet her correspondence with Gerhardt and desire to employ him at Lippe-Detmold indicates her interest in devotional literature and, more specifically, devotional songs. Above all, the best evidence for Juliane and Maria Magdalena’s interest in and engagement with devotional songs comes from Sophie Elisabeth’s third manuscript songbook. Further research is needed to determine the extent to which the two women received musical training; however, as I have demonstrated in this article, music formed part of the education of noble girls, and devotional song practice including the writing of contrafacta—which was inherently musical—was particularly important in the lives of Protestant noblewomen. Furthermore, both Maria Magdalena and Juliane were members of the Tugendliche Gesellschaft, in which artistic and intellectual activities such as devotional songwriting were encouraged, particularly if they were underpinned by religious expression. These factors, combined with Sophie Elisabeth’s usually meticulous recording practices in ‘Patience veinue tout’ and the difficulty of attributing songs 34, 54, and 55 to her, are the strongest indication that these songs have poetry and/or music written by Juliane and Maria Magdalena. Evidence for this hypothesis is admittedly scarce; however, should further information regarding the authorship and provenance of the songs in ‘Patience veinue tout’ (or the musical activities of Juliane or Maria Magdalena) come to light, their contributions to the manuscript could be further investigated.

Conclusion

Sophie Elisabeth’s songbooks attest to a number of aspects of devotional songwriting practice in early modern Germany. The way in which Sophie Elisabeth appears to have learnt the basics of music composition, with the supervision and guidance of her successive stepmothers, suggests that other young noblewomen may have learnt composition in a similar manner. The involvement of other women in the lives of young noble girls also appears to have been key to them receiving an education, whether musical or otherwise. Just as Eleonore Marie of Anhalt-Bernberg complemented the early musical education that Sophie Elisabeth received from instrumentalists at her home court of Mecklenburg-Güstrow, she in turn made a contribution to the education of her own children and stepchildren. ‘Patience veinue tout,’ which contains songs received by Sophie Elisabeth from a number of women and men, may have functioned as a kind of musical Stammbuch in which dynastic relationships and networks of knowledge were recorded via the transmission of devotional songs. This function possibly contributed to

⁵⁹ Geck, Sophie Elisabeth, 190.
Sophie Elisabeth’s fulfilment of her role as consort, one of the responsibilities of which was to maintain relationships that may have served her family’s dynastic interests. Sophie Elisabeth’s devotional song output as a whole also demonstrates how authoring, composing, and using these songs was a way for her, as a consort, to demonstrate that she was a ‘pillar of prayer’ who displayed her own piety and elevated the piety of her children, her court, and the public.

‘Patience veinque tout’ also attests to the wider involvement of Protestant noblewomen in devotional song practice. The music for three of its songs—numbers 34, 54, and 55—is not attributable to Sophie Elisabeth, and the texts for these are similarly difficult to attribute. However, the role that Juliane of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst and Maria Magdalena of Lippe played in the composition of these songs is unclear, as there is, unfortunately, no evidence that either woman composed music. It is also difficult to determine from where numbers 34, 54, and 55 originated, as the entirety of ‘Patience veinque tout’ is in Sophie Elisabeth’s hand. Furthermore, the fact that these songs appear to have existed for a number of years, or, only in manuscript form, makes their musical and sometimes textual authorship difficult to trace. The apparently collaborative way in which several of the songs in ‘Patience veinque tout’ were created—including, perhaps, songs 34, 54, and 55—further complicates questions of attribution, but may reveal methods of creative practice within the women’s societies of the Tugendliche Gesellschaft and Académie des Loyales, of which the duchess and other noblewomen whose names appear in the manuscript were members. Despite these challenges, the absence of Sophie Elisabeth’s monogram, a date of composition, and the fact that the poetry for all three songs cannot be easily attributed indicates that Juliane and Maria Magdalena may have played a role in the composition of these songs that they gave to Sophie Elisabeth as gifts; however, this hypothesis requires further investigation. Regardless of the extent to which Juliane and Maria Magdalena composed these songs, or whether they simply gave them to Sophie Elisabeth, they undoubtedly attest to women’s involvement in devotional song practice, and may also indicate that women composed both the music and poetry for these pieces.

About the Author
Hannah Spracklan-Holl is a musicologist based in Melbourne, Australia. While completing her doctorate at the University of Melbourne, she was a research fellow at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Her primary areas of research interest are music at early modern German courts, noblewomen’s networks of knowledge in the early modern period, and multimedia events, politics, and diplomacy. She has published on the music of Duchess Sophie Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and music and ideas of German nationalism after the Thirty Years’ War.