



WIDOWHOOD AS A SPACE FOR PATRONAGE

Hedevig, Princess of Denmark and Electress of Saxony (1581-1641)¹

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In her article on Saxon marriage contracts in the first half of the seventeenth century, Ute Essegern provides one of the first overviews of Saxon noble women and the legal and material conditions of their widowhood.² One of the prominent figures in her study is Hedevig, Princess of Denmark and Electress of Saxony (1581-1641), and Essegern's investigation is an invaluable source study for Hedevig's context as a princely Saxon widow. My focus on Hedevig, however, contextualizes within the greater scope of female patronage and cultural agency one aspect of her many activities: her role as a singularly important patron of German music during the first half of the seventeenth century. Her patronage of the two leading German musicians, Michael Praetorius and Heinrich Schütz, is situated within her other learned and cultural activities. I examine the Danish court of her birth and the cultural events she experienced there as preparation for her role as wife of one of the leading princes of the Holy Roman Empire, turning then to the court in Dresden and her brief role as Electress which lasted less than a decade (1602-1611), and concluding with her activities at her dowager's residence in Lichtenburg in Saxony. In total, Hedevig spent nearly forty years in Saxony. After Vienna, Dresden was the most prestigious court in the German empire around 1600, and the Dresden and Copenhagen courts consti-

¹ For a much shorter, German version of this paper, see Wade 2007. The present English version is significantly expanded to reflect Hedevig's wide-ranging cultural activities and the Danish context. While the focus is still on music, many other important aspects of Hedevig's patronage are incorporated into this study. These studies are part of a book-length project on Danish-Saxon court festivals with the working title "Splendid Ceremonies: The Great Spectacles of the Early Modern Period in Electoral Saxony and Denmark, 1548-1709".

² For an overview of the widowhood of noble women in early modern Germany, see Essegern 2003; see also Essegern 2007 which appeared after this article was submitted for publication.

*tuted the two most important Lutheran courts in Europe. Owing to the dynastic ties between Denmark and Saxony, Hedevig's widowhood of three decades (1611-1641), which stood largely in the shadow of the Thirty Years' War, provides an ideal window for examining the nexus of female lines of patronage and widowhood.*³

Hedevig, Princess of Denmark

While we are extremely well informed about the education of Hedevig's famous brother, King Christian IV of Denmark (1577-1648), there is a dearth of information about Hedevig's own upbringing.⁴ Until further archival research can be undertaken in Denmark and Mecklenburg to learn more about her childhood and youth, one must extrapolate from the education and circumstances for all of the royal children, especially that of the daughters, to arrive at a composite view of the typical upbringing of the royal siblings at the Danish court in the late sixteenth century. The best source of information about Hedevig remains C. O Bøggild-Andersen's contribution in the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* from the 1980s, which can be read against the entries for her siblings and other sources to arrive at a more complete picture of her early years. Born in 1581, Hedevig was not yet seven years old when her father Frederik II of Denmark died in April 1588. We know that she spent her early childhood at the court of her maternal grandparents, Duke Ulrich (1527-1603) and Duchess Elisabeth (1524-1586) in Mecklenburg.⁵ Both her father King Frederik II (1534-1588) and her mother Queen Sophie (1557-1631) were recognized as educated rulers and both fostered the arts and sciences in Denmark.⁶ Thus scholars can also extrapolate from known circumstances to obtain reasonable conclusions about the intellectual milieu in which all of the children were raised. In this manner, we can begin

³ In a larger published study I have issued the call for a more thorough investigation of female lines of patronage in German-speaking lands and Scandinavia based on an overview of four Danish princesses, respectively Anna Queen of Scotland and England, Hedevig Electress of Saxony, Augusta Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein at Gottorf, and Elisabeth Duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel, suggesting female dynastic relations as important avenues for cultural exchange. See Wade 2003, 49-80.

⁴ See, for example, Heiberg 1988, items 52-57 and 1468.

⁵ Bøggild-Andersen 1980, 126. See also Bøggild-Andersen 1979, 252-253. Elisabeth, Duchess of Mecklenburg was a Dane, daughter of Frederik I (1471-1533) and Sophie of Pomerania (1498-1568). Elisabeth first married Duke Magnus of Mecklenburg and, after his death in 1556, his brother Ulrich.

⁶ Two chapters give an excellent overview of learning in Denmark in the early modern period; see Søndergaard 2006 and Skaftø Jensen 2006. Unfortunately, the usefulness of this volume to scholars has been greatly reduced by the lack of footnotes and a comprehensive bibliography, although mini-bibliographies for each individual chapter can be found at the end of the volume. See also Wade 2003, 51-55.

to create a picture of Hedevig's early years. For example, a French tutor was hired in 1589 to instruct Hedevig's elder sister Anna, then 15 years old, in that language as preparation for her marriage to James VI of Scotland (in 1603 James I of England), and this fact suggests that the other children may also have received tutoring in French. Learning French was a courtly accomplishment, especially for a woman, and we know that Danish noble women continued to learn French for the next century. Charles Ogier, who chronicled his sojourn with the French embassy in Denmark in 1634-1635, writes how Prince Elect Christian (1603-1648) teased his half-sister Leonora Christina (1621-1698) about speaking French with Ogier and other members of the French embassy in attendance at his royal wedding (*det store bilager*) in 1634.⁷ Christian IV's daughter, Leonora Christina, later wrote her memoirs "Souvenirs de Misère", or *Jammers-Minde*, in French during her imprisonment in Copenhagen's "Blue Tower" from 1663-1685.⁸ Queen Sophie Amalie (1628-1685), wife of King Frederik III (1609-1670), was a patron of French ballet at the Danish court, and she and her daughters, the Danish princesses Anna Sophie, Frederike Amalie, Wilhelmine Ernestine, and Ulrike Eleonore, regularly danced in these entertainments themselves.⁹ A series of French entertainments were performed in the Danish queen's honor at the court in Hannover when Sophie Amalie visited her home in 1681.¹⁰

Especially after the Reformation was introduced into Denmark in 1536, there was a renewed focus on establishing appropriate dynastic ties. Since all Danish princesses were educated to enter marriages appropriate to their high station, it can be assumed that like her sister Anna, Hedevig also learned French. Since the Danish court regularly sought German brides, all of the children can be assumed to have learned German from their mothers, their grandparents, and other close relatives, as well as from the many Germans at court. The sixteenth-century historical record confirms that Hedevig was at the Danish court during a cultural flowering during her formative years, roughly from the age of five until she was twenty, when the court musical capella flourished; theatrical works were performed in Danish, German, and Latin; English itinerant players circulated among the Danish and German courts; and mummings, pageants, and allegorical tournaments and fireworks were regular features of court entertainments.¹¹

⁷ See Ogier 1914, 93-94. See also Wade 1996, 80-81.

⁸ For a bilingual imprint, with a facsimile of the original French together with a Danish translation, see Bøggild-Andersen 1958. See also Billeskov Jansen 1971, 199-203.

⁹ See, for example, Krogh 1939.

¹⁰ See also Thiel and Rohr 1970, items 39, 417, and 419. For Sophie Amalie at the Danish court, see Hein 1986.

¹¹ See Wade 1996, 15-58.

Court Festivals in Denmark during Hedevig's Childhood

Hedevig resided at the Danish court until she traveled to Dresden for her own wedding in September 1602, and thus we must assume she witnessed, and perhaps even participated in, several of the great court festivals of her youth—the exequies for her father Frederik II in 1588, the weddings of her two sisters Elisabeth (1573-1626) and Anna (1574-1619) with their concomitant celebrations in 1589-1590, and the coronation of Christian IV and the wedding of her sister Augusta (1580-1639) in 1596.¹² The funeral publication for her father shows the tiny figures of Hedevig and her sisters in dark gray dresses with white veils and stoles, taking their positions behind their mother as chief female mourners in the funeral procession. Hedevig was a participant in an occasion of great dynastic significance, and would have personally experienced the solemn ceremonies attendant upon the mourning, funeral, and burial of her royal father.

The winter 1589-1590 saw two royal weddings in Copenhagen. The first event marked the marriage of Hedevig's sister Anna to James VI of Scotland (1566-1625), who succeeded Elisabeth I (1533-1603) of England as James I. In the autumn of 1589 Anna had been wed by proxy to James in Denmark; during her journey to join her new husband, adverse weather forced the new bride ashore in Norway, where James joined her in November. The couple spent the winter in Denmark, as did Anna's grandfather, Duke Ulrich (1527-1603) and his second wife Duchess Anna (†1626) of Mecklenburg.¹³ We know that during these months plays were performed, James visited Tycho Brahe on Hven, and James made a gift of books to the royal library.¹⁴ Owing to the presence of the extended royal family in Denmark, the second wedding—that of Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig (1564-1613) and the Danish princess Elizabeth—was moved forward to April 1590, thus allowing for an even more splendid occasion than originally planned.¹⁵ It is widely assumed that the theater-loving Duke Heinrich Julius, who later wrote and published a series of comedies, first became acquainted with English itinerant troupes in Denmark. Duke Heinrich Julius also had important connections to Dresden. His first wife, Dorothea (1563-1587), whom he had married in 1585, was the daughter of the Saxon Elector

¹² Since splendid printed works commemorate both the royal funeral and the coronation, we are well informed about the shape of these major cultural events. The status of the royal musicians at the time suggests that significant sacred works would have been performed. See Wade 1996.

¹³ For an overview of court culture in Mecklenburg, see Berswordt-Wallrabe 2006.

¹⁴ Anna and James made entries into Duke Ulrich's *stambog*; Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2161, 4^o. See Helk 1980, 43 and Helk 2001, 233. See also Wade 2003, 40.

¹⁵ Lietzmann 1993.

August (1536-1586) and his Danish wife Anna (1532-1585).¹⁶ Heinrich Julius had enjoyed exceedingly good relations with the Elector, who had allowed his court equerry, Georg Engelhart Loehneyss (1552-1622) to travel to Wolfenbüttel for several months in the early 1580s to teach the duke how to ride and perfect himself in the arts of the tournament.¹⁷ Dorothea died in childbirth in 1587, and Heinrich Julius then sought a new bride, Elisabeth, in Denmark.¹⁸ Hedevig would have certainly observed her mother's role as prime negotiator for the marriages of her sisters Anna and Elisabeth.

The acoustic world at the Danish court during that late sixteenth-century winter is becoming increasingly known to the scholarly community from the tireless research of Ole Kongsted, who in recent decades has resurrected these long-forgotten works from oblivion by editing, publishing, performing, and, in some instances, recording them, thereby opening significant new avenues for research into the music of Scandinavian and North German court and civic culture.¹⁹ The composer Bartholomaeus Stockmann's *Musica Nuptialis* (wedding music) consists of nine wedding motets, two of which were composed specifically for the wedding of Heinrich Julius and Elisabeth.²⁰ The two compositions dedicated to the bridal couple for the royal wedding are "Candida lux rediit" (shining light has returned) with a second part entitled "Salve, laeta dies" (welcome, happy day) and "Congratulare Musa" (congratulate, Muse) with a second part entitled "Ades faveque" (come and be gracious). The first work was intended for the entry of Duke Heinrich Julius into Copenhagen, while the second was performed for the wedding itself. Thus, scholars of court culture have increasing access to the ephemeral world of court music, while further details of performances of all kinds are yet to be uncovered from pictorial sources and descriptions of, and texts for, entertainments. The wedding motets offer concrete evidence of the young Hedevig's aural experiences and the kinds of music she experienced firsthand in Denmark, thereby shaping her musical expectations at the court of her marriage in Dresden. Patronage is fundamentally connected to the cultivation of artistic tastes, and the Danish court of Hedevig's birth was a European leader, especially in Protestant circles, in all areas of cultural endeavor.

¹⁶ For a nuanced reading of archival sources concerning Anna as a patron of Saxon clergy and the wide-ranging implications of the role of the consort in the history of Lutheranism, see the article in this volume by Arenfeldt 2008.

¹⁷ Wade 2003b, 165-197. See also Jørgensen 1995 and Jørgensen 1997. See also Spohr 2006.

¹⁸ See Browning 2003, for a description of the bride's welcome into Wolfenbüttel.

¹⁹ See, for example, his studies of the Kronborg motets: Kongsted 1990; Kongsted 1991; and Kongsted, Düring Jørgensen & Dal 1990.

²⁰ Stockmann 2004. See also the recording of these works: da capo CD 8.226024.

Recent finds confirm that music was also an integral part of the intellectual life on Hven, the tiny island where Tycho Brahe had his home and observatory. Manuscript evidence confirms that works by Josquin des Prez, Orlando di Lasso, and Giovanni Perluigi Palestrina, among others, were performed there.²¹ These finds provide compelling testimony about the intersection of science and the arts in Renaissance Denmark. While there is much more to learn about specific entertainments at the Danish court during the winter of 1589-1590, the constellation of persons, events, and the concrete evidence suggest that the young princess Hedevig was a witness to, and perhaps even a participant in, a social schedule that prepared her well for her own career as wife of a leading Protestant ruler and as *Landesmutter* of a significant territory.

The coronation of Christian IV in 1596 provided yet another grand occasion, this time when Hedevig was of marriageable age herself.²² While the earlier double weddings may have been viewed from the perspective of a young girl experiencing the weddings of her older, more poised sisters, fifteen-year-old Hedevig was a much more sophisticated observer of, and participant in, the coronation spectacles. Representatives from all of Europe attended, or sent representatives to, the coronation festivities in Copenhagen in August 1596, and this event might well be seen as the first of what Helen Watanabe O'Kelly has called the festivals of the Protestant.²³ In addition to the royal coronation with its solemn ceremonies in the Church of Our Lady and its merry-making in the form of banquets, mummings, tournaments, pageants, and fireworks, this gathering of all prominent North German Protestant princes and their representatives also provided the backdrop for a dynastic wedding—that of the Danish Princess Augusta (1580-1639) to Duke Johann Adolf (1575-1616) of Holstein at Gottorf. A final dynastic occasion occurred in 1597 when Christian IV married Anna Catharine of Brandenburg (1575-1612). While an outbreak of the plague prohibited splendid festivals on the order of the coronation spectacles, the Danish court, presumably with Hedevig among the royal *Frauenzimmer*, celebrated this dynastic union at the satellite court in Haderslev in Holstein. As the youngest daughter of Frederik and Sophie of Denmark, Hedevig had personally experienced a royal funeral, four royal weddings on an international scale, and a coronation by the age of sixteen. These splendid political occasions certainly contributed to her socialization at court in a dynastic context; shaped her iden-

²¹ See Kongsted 2006, 123-131. See also Christianson 2000.

²² For a brief introduction to festivals in Scandinavia and to Christian IV's coronation as well as a transcription of the German original with an English translation and pictorial materials, see Wade 2004.

²³ See Watanabe-O'Kelly 2004, 15-34.

tity as a Danish, and therefore staunchly Lutheran, princess; and provided concrete models of female behavior and spheres of activity at court in her widowed mother, three sisters, a royal sister-in-law, and numerous visiting noble women.

Hedevig, Electress of Saxony

Hedevig's own wedding to Elector Christian II of Saxony (1583-1611) was celebrated with great pomp in Dresden in September of 1602 with plays, mummings, allegorical tournaments and fireworks, and an allegorical welcome on the Elbe. Most of the material concerning these celebrations is considered today to have been destroyed in World War II, but we have ample evidence concerning the splendid celebrations for the weddings of Christian's younger brother Johann Georg (1585-1656) in 1604 and again in 1607, together with a series of annual carnival festivities during Christian's brief reign. A small number of printed works describe the Dresden wedding festivities, providing scholars with an overview of the nuptial celebrations.²⁴ The bride, together with her brother Ulrik (1578-1624), Duke of Holstein, and the Dowager Queen Sophie, entered Dresden in a splendid wedding coach draped in red velvet on 10 September 1602. Accompanied by the two highest ranking men—her brother Ulrik and her soon-to-be husband the Elector Christian II—Hedevig was welcomed by an allegorical water pageant on the Elbe in which sirens swam alongside a magnificent chariot in the form of a whale steered by Neptune and drawn by four sea horses. On September 12, the wedding took place in the court chapel. The entire wedding party, the young Electress, her husband, and all of the ladies were dressed in red velvet. Pageants and fireworks were held on the following days, including a tournament for the running at the ring on 14 September, a sport at which her brother, the King of Denmark, excelled.²⁵ The first pageant invention, led by her new husband together with the Duke of Lüneburg, presumably her brother-in-law Heinrich Julius, had a Roman theme, while the second group, led by the brother of the Elector, Johann Georg, appeared as Tartars. Further "inventions", as they were called, were based on themes of gypsies, women (that is, knights dressed in drag as women), monks, miners, Moors, Turks, pilgrims, sailors, wild men, wild women, and hunters with caged animals. The mining pageants were a staple of Saxon tournaments as mines for silver and other precious metals represented the source of Saxon wealth and thus such displays featured prominently at every major dynastic occasion.²⁶ The tournament pageants continued on September 16 with a

²⁴ See, for example, *Kurtzer Bericht* 1602.

²⁵ See Hein 1993, 323.

²⁶ See Watanabe O'Kelly 2002, 100-129.

group in traditional Danish dress, bird catchers, knights without an allegorical disguise or masquerade, and others as wild men and in peasant guise. There was a tilt, or a tournament across a barrier, on September 17. The Elector Christian II and Ulrik, Duke of Holstein and Hedevig's brother, appeared in yet another tournament in their Roman masquerade on September 19.²⁷ This tournament involved indoor riding and featured masquerades in national costumes as Italians and Hungarians. Additional events included a fencing display and pageantry surrounding the departure of the guests leaving Dresden. The Brandenburg Electress Katharina (1549-1602), mother of Christian IV's wife Anna Catharina and wife of Brandenburg Elector Joachim Friedrich (1546 -1608), fell sick on her return to Berlin and died. This detail mentioned in the wedding description underscores the dynastic ties among the courts and Hedevig's involvement in a vast network of social and political relationships that are of crucial importance to cultural exchange. While much detail concerning Hedevig's wedding is considered lost, there is nevertheless sufficient evidence to document splendid celebrations appropriate to the extremely high rank of the bridal pair.

The court preacher in Dresden, Dr. Polycarpus Leyser (1552-1610), held the wedding sermon. In the foreword to his printed sermon Leyser makes the usual modest remarks about his reasons for his initial reluctance, and eventual agreement, to publish the nuptial sermon: others urged him to make his sermon better known; given the high rank of the couple he was eager to preserve the quality of the sermon and therefore wanted to see it through to print himself; and he was given to understand that the young Elector and his new wife would not be adverse to publication.²⁸ The wedding sermon makes dynastic history explicit by positioning this new Danish-Saxon alliance in the flow of history within the context of the wedding, the long and fruitful marriage, and the general prosperity for Saxony during the long reign of the Elector August and his Danish wife Anna during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Anna and August, considered the founding couple of Lutheran Saxony, were long revered as just princes, patrons of the arts and learning, and protectors of the faith.²⁹ These strands of dynastic image construction are crucial to understanding the widowed Electress He-

²⁷ Ulrik, a highly interesting figure in Danish and North German court culture around 1600, deserves more extensive study. See Wade forthcoming.

²⁸ Leyser 1602, sig. Aii[B-AiiiA]. For a nuanced political reading of this wedding sermon, see Pätzold; for an overview of the German Protestant funeral sermon with ample reference to the sermons and career of Leyser in Braunschweig and Dresden and to Leyser's funeral sermons for Christian II, see Moore 2006, 234-240.

²⁹ See Arenfeldt 2008, note 16.

devig's role as a cultural agent,³⁰ while her support of Protestant church music, construction and renovation of Lutheran churches in Saxony,³¹ and maintenance of the church through prayer and deeds during the Thirty Years' War form the very core of her efforts in cultural patronage.³²

Hedevig and Her Royal Siblings

While some young princely brides traveled to their newly wedded homes, never to see their birth families again, these Danish siblings present a remarkable exception to this trend, and there is ample evidence documenting personal visits among the courts of King Christian IV, Queen Anna of Scotland and England, Duchess Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel, Duchess Augusta of Holstein at Gottorf, and Electress Hedevig of Saxony.³³ Excepting perhaps Emperor Charles V, no European ruler traveled more extensively than Christian IV of Denmark. It is therefore especially of considerable interest to the present discussion that his sisters also traveled widely.

The dynastic relations of Hedevig's large royal family demonstrate complex patterns of political alliance as well as artistic exchange and patronage. While the focus of scholarly research is frequently the ruling monarch and, therefore, centers on the eldest son, the extensive fabric of these connections provides researchers with a much broader basis for the study of patronage. In the case of the Danish royal siblings, a pivotal figure who moved easily among these dynastically related, powerful courts was the second-born son Ulrik, Duke of Holstein, who can be seen as a personal agent of cultural transfer among the courts of Northern Europe.³⁴ In addition to the extremely high mobility of Hedevig and her royal Danish siblings, other key figures, whose travels underscore the enormous capacity for cultural exchange dur-

³⁰ For an excellent critical inquiry into the literature and history of creating the princely image, see Smart 2005, 89-144. Her case study of Dresden focuses on the court poet David Schirmer and the court of Christian II's successor Johann Georg I.

³¹ Dr. Mario Titze, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, has investigated the Saxon castles of Lichtenburg, Annaburg, and Prettin, and is kindly thanked here for allowing me to read his unpublished manuscripts concerning these buildings as well as for generously providing me with copies of published sources, cited below.

³² See Bepler 2002, 249-264. Here Bepler examines the role of the princely women's prayer at German Protestant courts, beginning with Anna of Saxony, and with special focus on Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Calenberg and Sophie Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel.

³³ Their youngest brother Hans (1583-1602) died 28 September 1602, shortly before his planned wedding in Moscow. This dynastic occasion was to run parallel to Hedevig's Saxon wedding and represented Christian IV's plan for alliances around the Baltic.

³⁴ See Wade forthcoming.

ing this period, are the court musicians and artists, who accompanied their rulers to occasions of dynastic import and also traveled to foreign lands on behalf of their sovereigns.³⁵

The notable assemblage of the royal siblings and their representatives at Hamburg in 1603 for that city's swearing of the oath of allegiance to King Christian IV of Denmark and their brother-in-law, Duke Johann Adolf of Holstein at Gottorf, marks a dynastically critical event in the life of the crown.³⁶ Their appearance in their roles as leaders of the Protestant North marks a first tentative gathering of the princes of the Protestant Union in Northern Germany. In 1603 Hedevig traveled to Hamburg, as did her sister Elisabeth from Wolfenbüttel, to represent her territory at that city's swearing of the oath of allegiance to their brother King Christian IV of Denmark and their brother-in-law, Johann Adolf of Schleswig-Holstein, husband of their sister Augusta, who was also present.³⁷ Owing to the imperial prohibition of this event, the Hamburg homage to Christian IV offers a prime example of the critical significance of princely women in political gatherings.

A small selection of letters preserved today in the State Archives of Denmark document the cordial relationship between Hedevig and Christian IV.³⁸ They exchanged letters concerning the death of their brother Ulrik in 1624, when Hedevig was hoping to see her extended Danish relatives at his funeral in Schwerin, and also at the death of their mother Sophie in 1631. Hedevig had been with her mother at Nykøbing, Falster, during the dowager queen's final illness, but at her mother's urging had begun her return trip to Saxony, only to have been recalled by her mother's death. She wrote that she would return to Nykøbing and accompany their deceased mother from there to Roskilde for the funeral.³⁹ These few letters are important documents confirming the importance of sibling relationships and the role of the widowed Electress for cultural transfer.

Hedevig as Widow

Christian II of Saxony died after a tournament on 23 June 1611. Thus, Hedevig spent a little more than eight years as Electress in a childless marriage, and then relocated to her widow's residence at Lichtenburg in Saxony, where she was to spend the next thirty years. The years in Denmark

³⁵ See Spohr 2006, 9-35.

³⁶ See Loncius 1603.

³⁷ See Wade 2004, 165-197. See also Spohr 2006, note 18.

³⁸ Rigsarkiv Danmark, TKUA, 1223-1770 Topografisk henlagte sager, A1, Sachsen, Brevveksling mellem Fyrstuserne, pk=1596-1639, 40-12, contains several letters between the two, dating from 1603-1639.

³⁹ Hedevig's letters dated 24 April 1624, 30 April 1624, and 21 October 1631. On Ulrik's death, see Wade forthcoming.

and as Electress created the dynastic and cultural networks appropriate to a very high level of cultural patronage. Her princely widowhood in Saxony created the space for her cultural agency.

Hedevig of Denmark's patronage spanned several areas of endeavor: she collected coins and established the largest such collection of any Saxon Electress;⁴⁰ she was noted for her piety, religious devotion, and support of the churches—both financially and spiritually—in Saxony; she had a central role in the marriage negotiations for her three Saxon nieces Sophie Eleonore (1609-1671), Marie Elisabeth (1610-1684) and Magdalena Sibylle (1617-1668); and she raised at her court in Lichtenburg the orphaned Duchess Anna Maria of Mecklenburg (1627-1669), who later became the wife of the Saxon Duke August (1614-1680) at Weissenfels.⁴¹

Hedevig and Glücksburg

Hedevig and King Christian IV often exchanged gifts of animals. In 1623 Hedevig sent Christian a hunting dog and a master of the dog, whom she recommended that he should employ.⁴² In 1629 Christian IV made his sister a truly princely gift, presumably for a menagerie. He sent her a lion, a lioness, and a tiger (“Tigerthier”) for which Hedevig thanked him and indicated that if he would send the animals to Rostock, she would arrange further care and shipment from there.⁴³ The royal gift of exotic animals for her menagerie is consistent with the architectural history of the small residence at Glücksburg in Saxony that the Elector August had built as a hunting residence and that had been used as garden for pheasants and other animals. The combination of a princely residence with agricultural economy seems to have been typical for the administration of lands under August⁴⁴ and was

⁴⁰ Tetzl 1981, 361-376. According to Jørgen Steen Jensen, Assistant Keeper, Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Denmark, there are no traces of Hedevig's coin collection in Denmark. I am pursuing this strand of research in Dresden. I would like to thank Michael Andersen, Curator of Danish Medieval and Renaissance Collections, and Jørgen Steen Jensen for their kind help in answering my queries.

⁴¹ See Essegern 2003, 119, who states that there is documentary evidence that during her trip to Denmark in 1629 Hedevig negotiated the marriages of Maria Elisabeth to Friedrich of Gottorf (1630) and Magdalena Sibylle to Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark (1634). Her suggestion that Hedevig was also involved of the double marriage of the Saxon dukes Christian and Moritz to the two sisters of Schleswig-Holstein Glücksburg (1650) and of Magdalena Sibylle to Friedrich Wilhelm II of Saxony-Altenburg (1652) is untenable. Owing to the fact that Hedevig was long deceased by the time of these marriages and to evidence I have presented elsewhere, we can surmise that Magdalena Sibylla was instrumental in the marriage of her brothers Christian and Moritz and indeed in negotiating on her own behalf in 1652.

⁴² Hedevig's letter dated 20 April 1623.

⁴³ Hedevig's letter dated 14 April 1629.

⁴⁴ Titze 2002, 369.

apparently also a model for Hedevig. The mayor of Jüterbog, Carl Gottlieb Ettmüller, mentioned the “Chur Fürstl. Sächs. Lustschloss” in Glücksburg in his chronicle from circa 1800.⁴⁵ The Danish letter suggests that Hedevig continued to visit there and supervised the landscape and maintenance of Glücksburg and its zoo—even during the Thirty Years’ War.

During the years 1618-1623 Hedevig apparently visited Glücksburg regularly, especially during Lent, and expanded it with the construction of a chapel, whose baptismal font is now located in the church at Mügelin.⁴⁶ Hedevig’s chapel was dedicated on 8 September 1622. On the balcony there were seats covered in velvet and the church was decorated with paintings and carvings throughout. A painting for the altar was by Lucas Cranach.⁴⁷

Ettmüller describes the church at length, thereby documenting Hedevig’s central role in its renovation and maintenance during the war years:

Von der Kirche zu Glücksburg

Glücksburg ist ein Chur. Fürstl. Sächs. Lust-Schloss, so der Churfürst August zu Sachsen Ao. 1576 als ein Jagd-Schloß erbauen lassen. Die Churfürstin Hedwig, Christians des 2ten Gemahlin, eine Tochter des Königs in Dennemark Fridrichs des 2ten hat es 1618 renoviren lassen und auch eine Kirche daselbst bauen lassen, und einen Gang aus dem Schlosse über die Strasse nach der Kirche. Es liegt in einem Fichten Walde, 2 Meilen von Jüterbog, und ist rings herum mit einern steinern Mauer umgeben, darinne ein Thiergarten.⁴⁸

Concerning the church in Glücksburg

Glücksburg is a manor house in electoral Saxony that the Elector August of Saxony had built as a hunting palace in the year 1576. The Electress Hedevig, Christian II’s wife, a daughter of the Danish king Frederick II had it restored in 1618 and also had a church built there and a passage made from the manor house across the road to the

⁴⁵ Pratsch 2002, 51.

⁴⁶ Kleinschmidt & Titze 1993. See also Mario Titze, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archeologie Sachsen-Anhalt—Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte, Erfassungsnummer 093 35168 000 (internal document and personal communication).

⁴⁷ Christina Arndt, “Geschichte des Glücksburger Jagdhauses”, Dipl.-Arbiet Dresden 2005. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Mario Titze for providing me with a copy of the pertinent information about Hedevig from this unpublished study.

⁴⁸ See Pratsch 2002 concerning the Ettmüller manuscript (291-294) from which this information was taken. I am indebted to Dr. Mario Titze for providing me with a copy of the email exchange (21 October 2002) between himself and Stefan Pratsch containing the information on Hedevig and Glücksburg. All information in the following paragraph comes from this source.

church. It is situated in a pine forest two miles from Jüterbog and is totally encircled by a stonewall inside which there is a zoo.

Hedevig also commissioned the painting for the main altar depicting the Cross with the Electress kneeling at its foot “mit fliegenden Haaren und erhobenen Angesicht” (with flying hair and uplifted face). An inscription on her gown read: “Von Gottes Gnaden Hedwig, geböhren aus Königl. Stam[m] zu Dennemarck, Churfürstin und Hertzogin zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Witwe” (By the grace of God Hedevig, born of the royal stem of Denmark, electress and duchess of Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve and Berg, widow). The ligature “HC” (Hedwig Churfürstin / Hedevig Electress) and the year 1622 further identified the work. Presumably, she also commissioned other paintings in the church, including two at the altar of the church—one treating the theme of the Circumcision of Christ, the other the Adoration of the Three Wise Men. A third painting depicted Moses and the tablets of the law. (From other sources we know, however, that one painting in the church was by Lucas Cranach; it is impossible to make any identification based on present knowledge about the contents of the church.) The pulpit was built in 1621, and the ceiling revealed the Electress’s numerical cipher of “3” and “8”, the letters of the alphabet for “CH” (Churfürstin Hedwig). Two pews were built in 1623. Hedevig endowed the church with an octagonal baptismal font bearing the inscription: “Von Gottes Gnaden Hedwig, geböhren aus Königl. Stamm zu Dennemarck, Churfürstin und Hertzogin zu Sachsen, J[ülich] C[leve und] B[erg], Witbe. C. H.”. In 1623 Hedevig also built a private chamber (“Betstübgen”) for her own devotions there which had glass windows, on which were located her cipher “3” and the “8” as well as her motto “Hoheit und Ehre habe ich von Gott” (highness and honour I have from God).

Johann Kunckel, who had been mandated by the Elector Johann Georg to produce gold alchemically there in 1677, invented instead the famous Saxon ruby-colored glass (“Rubinglas”) at Glücksburg, where it was produced for about 75 years.⁴⁹ Apparently, this glass was even etched in Copenhagen, thereby completing the dynastic circle that began with Hedevig.⁵⁰ The Elector August the Strong later gave Glücksburg to Countess Aurora von Königsmark. In the nineteenth century the former “Thiergarten” at Glücksburg was incorporated into the Saxon stud farms for the military.⁵¹

⁴⁹ <http://www.jessen.de/muegeln.htm>

⁵⁰ Haase 1989.

⁵¹ Titze 1998, 53, note 14.

Hedevig and Prettin

Hedevig generously supported the church in nearby Prettin and those in surrounding areas with an annual donation totaling the truly princely sum of 2,000 gulden. According to this “kurfürstliches Legatum” (electoral fund), the so-called “Hedwigstiftung”, she promised to support the church in Prettin and Lichtenberg financially until her death, and, if possible, afterwards, and she gave bi-annual gifts of money from the interest on her income for good works. In 1611, when she became widowed and relocated to Lichtenburg, she gave the church vestments (“Kirchenornat”) there to the church at Prettin. And in their place she used the religious vestments commissioned by her aunt, the former Electress of Saxony, Anna, wife of August and sister to Hedevig’s father, Frederik II of Denmark. By using her deceased aunt’s sacred objects, Hedevig clearly organized the church at her widow’s residence and her daily devotions around dynastic memory, maintaining a physical connection to the land of her birth and family lineage. Her charitable donations included books for poor schoolboys who showed an inclination to learning; bread and wine for churches throughout the region; money to support local persons who became impoverished through no fault of their own as well as money to support honest persons from outside the area (“Frembde”) who happened to fall ill there during their travels; an annual gift of clothes for six poor school boys and the village teacher which were to be worn for the first time on St. Hedevig’s day; and last, an annual payment to the senior pastor in Prettin for managing these funds and seeing to it that her donations were enacted in accordance with her will.⁵²

Relying on Jill Bepler’s concept of the “Fürstin als Betsäule” (princess as a support for prayers), I propose here that widowhood and its expectations of prayer, good works, and piety created a particular space for female cultural agency. Immediately upon her widowhood, Hedevig, ever conscious of her royal birth and dynastic connections, introduced the “Kirchenornat” of the former Electress Anna from Denmark (1532-1585) into her court chapel at Lichtenburg. In a display of devotional and familial piety, Hedevig showcased female dynastic ties, underscoring her heritage from “Mutter Anna” as a protector of Lutheranism, caregiver to her people, and stalwart supporter of the dynasty. Hedevig placed herself publicly in this line of female patrons and clearly intended to fulfill the expectations of her position. Her perpetual endowment of the church in Prettin and those institutions in the environs of her widow’s residence allowed her to build and maintain churches and schools, directly determine the future of her subjects, and manage her wealth and property according to her own vision.

⁵² All information in this section derives from Pallas 1908, 43-45.

Hedevig and the *Tugendliche Gesellschaft*

Hedevig apparently also had a strong interest in literature, although we have extremely limited information about her activities in this area. On 9 July 1630 Hedevig became member sixty-five of the *Tugendliche Gesellschaft* (virtuous society) that was a female counterpart to the prestigious German literary society, *die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (the fruit-producing society). The names of the women in such societies, which were dedicated to furthering the German language and literature, were always carefully deliberated and chosen with great attention to their appropriateness. Her societal name, “die Großtätige” (the one who performs magnificent deeds), suggests considerable cultural ambitions, although Hedevig left behind no known literary or poetic works. We must assume, however, that she also had noteworthy literary ambitions and that contemporaries perceived this name as suiting her character and qualities. In view of the arguments made above, her name must also be interpreted in light of her considerable activities on behalf of the Lutheran church in Saxony, especially Lichtenburg and Prettin.

In order to contextualize Hedevig’s membership in this organization, it can be noted that several of the Saxon princely women became members during the year 1630. The Electress Magdalena Sibylle (1587-1659) as number sixty-six, “Die Milde” (the gentle one), and her daughter Magdalena Sibylle (1617-1668) as number sixty-seven, “die Gütige” (the good-hearted one), became members on 11 July 1630. The younger Magdalena Sibylle later wed Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark (1603-1647) and was known to have compiled and published devotional works, which underscores the fact that these memberships were not merely honorary.⁵³ Sophie of Pomerania (1587-1635), sister of Christian II, entered the society as number sixty-three, “die Verständige” (the one who understands), on 5 May 1630.⁵⁴ The year 1630 suggests a possible relationship to a number of cultural activities centered on the nuptial celebrations for Marie Elisabeth of Saxony (daughter, sister, and niece to these other Saxon women) and Friedrich III of Holstein at Gottorf (1596-1660), but there is at present no compelling reason to connect these events as the wedding took place in March and these initiations into the *Tugendliche Gesellschaft* in May and July, respectively. The membership in this society of a clearly defined cohort of Saxon women across two generations strongly suggests that there was a powerful network of fe-

⁵³ See Wade 1998, 41-69. I have completed a study of Magdalena Sibylle’s (1617-1668) literary achievements to be published in the select proceedings from the conference „Enduring Loss,” *Frühe Neuzeit Interdisziplinär*, Duke University, 2008.

⁵⁴ See Conermann 1988, 622.

male cultural activity in Dresden during Hedevig's widowhood.⁵⁵ This evidence further indicates that the women of Hedevig's generation were instrumental in training and encouraging the next generation of princely women in their roles as cultural agents.

Hedevig as a Patron of Music

Among Hedevig's many spheres of activity, one area of patronage—music—stands out in particular and provides the focus of the remainder of this study. In the aftermath of the royal Danish weddings from 1589-1602 and their concomitant festivities, a spate of musical works were published by various Danish, German, and English composers, singers, and *Kapellmeister*, the various part books of which were dedicated not only to the musicians' own rulers, but also to their relatives by marriage.⁵⁶ The circular and reciprocal dedications among King Christian IV, King James VI and I, Elector Christian II, and Duke Heinrich Julius suggest that music played a very important role at their courts during the last decade of the sixteenth century and in some cases confirms that musicians traveled to the dynastically related courts in the entourages of their princes. These dedications, which continued into the seventeenth century, demonstrate that the musicians believed that these rulers appreciated and supported music at their courts, and that the composers sought financial and professional gain through their dedications.⁵⁷ Christian IV also visited his sisters' courts in Wolfenbüttel in 1595 and in London in 1606 and 1614, continuing and providing impetus for extensive cultural exchange in Northern Europe. As a gift to Christian IV from his sister Elisabeth, the Compenius organ at Frederiksborg bears eloquent testimony to the siblings as agents of cultural exchange. There is also concrete evidence that Christian IV played string, wind, and keyboard instruments, which suggests that Hedevig may have also been capable of playing music herself.

Among these many dedications of important musical works—many of them now recognized as milestones in the canon of the contemporary Northern European repertoire—Michael Praetorius' (1571/1572-1621) dedication of his *Musæ Sionia* (Muses of Zion) to two of the Danish princesses is noteworthy. Part I was dedicated to Duchess Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel, while Part II was dedicated to her sister

⁵⁵ For an incisive study regarding networks of Saxon women poets among high-ranking burghers, see Carrus 2004. Carrus frames the work of these women poets in the context of the writings in the previous generation by Duchess Magdalena Sibylle of Altenburg (widow of Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark).

⁵⁶ See Spohr 2006, note 18.

⁵⁷ See Wade 2003, 62-63; see Heiberg 1988, items 472-498 and 134-138.

Hedevig, Electress of Saxony. Part I with the dedication to Elisabeth is dated 6 January 1605; Part II with the dedication to Hedevig is dated Wolfenbüttel 25 March 1606, with the comment:

Wann nun Gnedigste Churfürstin vnd Frau/ ich mich E. Churf. G. sonderbaren Gnade vnd aller Gutt hat/ so von E. Churf. G. mir unwirdigen etliche Jahr daher gnedigst erzeiget vnd bewiesen worden...⁵⁸

When now, most gracious Electress and lady, I have felt your electoral grace's special grace and goodness that by your electoral grace during some years most graciously has been allotted and given to my unworthy person...

Here Praetorius clearly alludes to some past favor he received from Hedevig's hand, perhaps even before her marriage. In the dedication of Part 9 at "Wolfenbüttel, Ostertag 1610" (Easter Sunday 1610) to the Elector Christian II and his brothers Johann Georg and August (1589-1615), whom he addresses as patrons of music and protectors of the church in their lands, Praetorius alludes to his own presence in Dresden, where he performed during court visits:

Nach dem notorium vnd kundbar/ Ich auch zu unterschiedenen mahlen/ do meiner gnedigen Herrschafft **zu Dreßden** in E. Churf. Gn. Hofflager Ich unterthenigst auffgewartet/ durch E. Churf. Gn. mir bezeugten grossen Gnade/ auch beschehenen ahnsehnlichen Verehrung... gnugsam in der That selbst erfahren/ Welcher Gestalt E. Churf. vnd FFl. GGGn. Nicht allein die edle Music lieb und werth halten/ Sondern auch das jenige/ was zur Ehre Gottes/ auch erhaltung [der] Kirchen vnd Schulen gereichen mag/ deroselben hochlöblichen Voreltern Hoch: vnd Christseliger Gedechtnüs/ Fürstlichen Art vnd Gebrauch zur nachfolge/ rühm: vnd mildiglich befördern.⁵⁹

As is well known and widely recognized, on various occasions I most humbly served my gracious lords at your gracious electoral court **in Dresden**. Indeed I myself also experienced personally the amply demonstrated great grace and considerable honour from your electoral grace, [and] to what degree you three electoral and princely graces not only love and appreciate the noble art of music, but also laudably and generously promote that which redounds to the glory of God and also to the maintenance of the churches and schools, according to the princely manner and custom in pious memory of your highly praiseworthy grandparents.

⁵⁸ Part I, Regensburg: Gräf 1605; Part II, Jena: Lippold, 1607, sig.)(i)A.

⁵⁹ Praetorius 1610. My emphasis.

Praetorius refers to several trips to Dresden which presumably must have occurred when Hedevig was Electress, strongly suggesting that Hedevig knew the musician and his works personally. While Hedevig's acquaintance with Praetorius quite possibly originated before her marriage and certainly continued during her time as Electress of Saxony, only more research can determine the scope of this patronage relationship. Often, the activities of married women patrons are difficult to separate out from those of the men. Hedevig's patronage relationship to Praetorius reveals, however, early patterns for the support of Protestant church music that endured and became increasingly visible during her widowhood.

The leading German composer of the seventeenth century, Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), was court *Kapellmeister* in Dresden from 1615 until his death in 1672. Hedevig, who at that time no longer resided in Dresden, but rather at her widow's seat in Lichtenburg, became a significant patron of the composer Schütz, although we at present know very little about how that relationship started, developed, and was sustained. Nonetheless, Hedevig's patronage of Heinrich Schütz was essential to that composer's musical survival during the Thirty Years' War. In 1627 Schütz dedicated his paraphrase of the Becker Psalter to Hedevig, and his letter of dedication articulates several aspects of her patronage.⁶⁰ Most striking are his thanks to the Dowager Electress for having helped him buy the house on the Dresden Neumarkt where Schütz lived for nearly thirty years. These events—the purchase of the house and the dedication—suggest a further connection: Schütz composed the first German opera *Dafne* to a text by Martin Opitz (1597-1639) for the wedding of Hedevig's niece Sophie Eleonore (1609-1671) to Landgraf Georg of Hessen (1605-1661) earlier that year on 27 April at Torgau near Lichtenburg. In his dedication of the Becker Psalter, which is tellingly dated September 6, 1627, the second anniversary of his wife Magdalena's death, Schütz acknowledges the role of his work on the Psalter as what is now called *Trauerarbeit*, or coming to terms with her death. He writes that:

... dieses [Werk] auch noch wol lenger ersitzen blieben were/ So hat es doch Gott dem Allmechtigen/ nach seinem alleine weisen Rath/ vnd gnedigen willen gefallen/ durch ein sonderliches HaußCreutz/ vnd durch den vnverhofften Todesfall/ meines weiland lieben Weibes Magdalenen Wildeckin/ mir solche fürhabene andre Arbeit zu erleiden/ vnd dieses Psalterbüchlein/ als aus welchen ich in meinem Betrübniß mehr Trost schöpfen künfte/ gleichsam in die Hände zugeben. Dahero ich dann ohne fernere Erinnerung für mich selbst an diese Arbeit/ als eine Trösterin meiner Trawrigkeit allerwilligst gangen bin/

⁶⁰ Schütz 1931, 79-82.

vnd endlichen dieses Wercklein/ wie es hier für Augen ist/ durch Gottes hülffe verfertiget habe.⁶¹

... this work would have taken longer, had it not however pleased Almighty God, according his sovereign wise counsel and gracious will, to cause me to bear a particular domestic cross through the unexpected death of my late beloved wife Magdalene Wildeckin and to free me of such other planned work and place into my hands this little book of psalms, from which I can derive more comfort in my sorrow. Therefore I have, without further thought of myself, undertook this work with the utmost willingness as a comfort in my grief and finally completed this small work, as it is here before us, with God's help.

In the next paragraph of this long dedication, Schütz then addresses Hedevig directly, saying this work could not have been more appropriately addressed to anyone else, praising her devotions in the court chapel, her singing of the psalms, and her generosity to him when he purchased his house. What has been overlooked until now is that Schütz dedicated his work to Hedevig as a widower to a widow, a bereaved composer to his bereaved patron.⁶² Their widowhood respectively shaped the German master's creative process, defined his choice of composition, and determined his dedication to the widowed Electress, while her widowhood provided the opportunity for her to become the patron of the man who was to become Germany's leading composer of the seventeenth century.

Hedevig's support of Heinrich Schütz did not end in 1627. During the early 1630s, when Saxony was hit particularly hard by the events of the war—Magdeburg was sacked in May 1631—Hedevig provided Schütz with a crucial connection to the Danish court and thus a critical new sphere for creativity. In March and April of 1631 her nephew Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark spent approximately six weeks in Saxony, in part at her residence in Lichtenburg, where he sought the hand of the younger Magdalena Sibylle, Elector Johann Georg I's daughter (and Hedevig's niece). During this time Prince-Elect Christian met Elector Johann Georg I, probably at the convening of the imperial electors in Leipzig (the so-called Leipziger Konvent), where Schütz and the entire Dresden *capella* attended their prince.⁶³ While it cannot be conclusively proved precisely where the Danish prince and the German composer met, Schütz' letters document without a doubt that Prince Christian of Denmark met Schütz and heard his music performed

⁶¹ Schütz 1931, 81.

⁶² Neither Schütz nor Hedevig ever remarried. Schütz was a widower from 1625 until 1672; Hedevig from 1611 until 1641.

⁶³ The evidence for this argument is laid out in detail in Wade 1999, 49-61; here 52.

in Saxony in 1631. In a letter dated Dresden, 6/16 February 1633, Schütz writes explicitly:

... [daß] der H[err] [Friedrich Lebzelter] data occasione bey höchst mehr gedachter F[ürstlicher] Durchl[aucht] mich vntterthenigst recommendiren vndt meine vntterthenigste Begierde Deroselben aufzuwarten mit gebührender Rev[er]entz berichten wolle, Ihrer hochf[ürstlicher] Durchl[aucht] [Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark] besondere Inclination, auch Liebe zu der Profession der Music habe **in Dero Anwesen alhier bey Anstellung meiner damals in Warheit schlechten Musik**, ich genugsamb selbst verspüret, habe auch ohne des Herrn Bericht dessen gewisse Nachrichtung.⁶⁴

... that the gentleman [Friedrich Lebzelter] would, on that occasion, humbly recommend me to your most respected princely highness and tell him with the appropriate deference of my humble desire to serve him. Of his princely highness' special inclination, especially his love for the profession of music, I have myself learned in his presence at the performance here [in Saxony] of my—in all honesty—modest music. Of this I have definite confirmation even without the gentleman's (Lebezelter's) report.

Prince-Elect Christian later succeeded in winning Schütz' services for the royal wedding in Copenhagen in 1634. The German composer was the royal Danish *Kapellmeister* from December 1633 until May 1635 and served again in this capacity in 1642-1644, which thereby gave direct and durable impetus to his musical compositions. In addition to organizing the wedding festivities,⁶⁵ Schütz created and left behind in Denmark compositions that he himself called "meine besten musicalischen Sachen" (my best musical things)⁶⁶ Most notably, he had presented Prince-Elect Christian with a manuscript of his *Symphoniæ Sacrae* (sacred symphonies) during his second trip in 1642-1644 while still in Denmark and later gave him the published version during the prince's fateful trip to Dresden in 1647. (Prince-Elect Christian died shortly thereafter outside of Dresden en route to the spa in Carlsbad.) Schütz also dedicated his *Kleine Geistliche Concerte* (small spiritual concerts) (1639) to the Danish Duke Frederik (1609-1670), later King Frederik III of Denmark.⁶⁷

It is noteworthy that Schütz' dedication to Hedevig as well as those to her nephews, the royal princes of the next generation, focused exclusively on sacred music. Hedevig's support of the church in Saxony, clearly embodied

⁶⁴ My emphasis. See Wade 1999, 53. See Schütz 1931, 125.

⁶⁵ See Wade 1996, 221-278.

⁶⁶ See Schütz 1931, item 46, 137-138, memorial dated Dresden 1637.

⁶⁷ See Wade 1999, 59.

in the composer's dedications of his setting of the psalms to her, illuminates the practice of singing the psalms as part of daily devotions in the court chapels. As the widowed Electress, Hedevig's duties in Lichtenburg and her lands encompassed regular prayer and the religious well-being of her subjects. The dedication of the Becker Psalter to her confirms that she took this role seriously both as an individual and as a princely woman in charge of her court. At the time of Schütz' dedication of his *Kleine Geistliche Concerte* (SWV 306-337), Duke Frederik was archbishop of Bremen and Verden, and hence an ecclesiastical force in Northern German territories. This dedication reflects Duke Frederik's station as a prince-bishop in a war-torn world. The concertos are largely without instrumentation, and composed for a limited number of voices. These compact settings of German texts demonstrate Schütz' ability to face harsh reality by composing works appropriate to the times with the dedication to a prince whose ability to have them performed was severely constrained. As the future king of Denmark and thus one of the leading Lutheran princes in Europe, Prince-Elect Christian was an ideal dedicatee for Schütz' work. Moreover, the compositions in Part II of his *Symphoniae Sacrae* (SWV 341-367) reflect Schütz' mature style—he was sixty-years old at the time—and had remained unpublished for many years because the Italianate style was not well known in Germany. The dedication to the prince-elect, who was known for his discerning musical taste, suggests that, in contrast to German-speaking lands, musical taste at the Danish court was more advanced, probably since the court had largely been spared the ravages of war. Moreover, this dedication indicates that Schütz believed his compositions could be performed in Denmark as he intended, underscoring the competency of the Danish *capella* at a time when German courts, especially that in Dresden, acutely felt the effects of many years of war. The standardization of the instrumentation as well as the greater distinction between aria and recitative highlight the musical advances in these compositions. It is evident that Schütz chose his dedicatees judiciously. This cluster of dedications (1627, 1639, and 1647) of major musical works makes tangible Schütz' long connection to the Danish royal family, beginning with Hedevig. Thus, Schütz' assumption of the role as Royal Danish *Kapellmeister*, made possible by Hedevig, can be said to have altered the course of German music in the seventeenth century, since the composer wrote important new musical works, dedicating some of his most innovative compositions to members of the Danish royal family.

From her widow's residence in Lichtenburg, Hedevig co-ordinated both her Danish nephew's match to her Saxon niece and his meeting with the Elector, which resulted in the prince-elect's exposure to Schütz' music in Saxony. As evidenced by the prince-elect's letters to her, Hedevig tirelessly

worked to bring Schütz to Denmark.⁶⁸ By the time of the composer's second trip to Denmark, Hedevig herself was no longer alive, having died 26 November 1641 at Lichtenburg.

Hedevig as a Model for Patronage

It is no small irony that another Danish royal widow created yet another opportunity for Schütz. When Prince-Elect Christian's widow, the younger Magdalena Sibylle, returned to Saxony for a second marriage in 1652, Schütz composed a *Lied*, "Wie wenn der Adler sich aus seiner Klippe schwingt..." (as when the eagle swings itself from its rock) (SWV 434), to a text by the Dresden court poet David Schirmer (1623-1686/87), for her nuptial celebrations. This work and his *Gesang der Venuskinder* (song of Venus' children) (SWV 278), composed for her Danish wedding in 1634, are the only two surviving compositions for court festivals from this German master.

One aspect of Hedevig's patronage of Michael Praetorius and Heinrich Schütz is particularly striking: she promoted the most innovative and staunchly Lutheran composers of her lifetime. Praetorius' nine-part *Musæ Sionia* represents widely differing experiments in coming to terms with the problem of aligning Lutheran hymnody with new impulses from Italy. Praetorius' dedication to Hedevig makes visible her patronage of the church on a critically important level. By supporting one of the composers most clearly identified with orthodox Lutheranism, Hedevig embarked on a highly political and theological strategy for shaping the religious confession of her territories. Her later support of Heinrich Schütz continues her patronage of the leading Lutheran composers of the day—one who survived her by over thirty years. Her patronage of Lutheran court musicians can be seen as interventions in German music history with broad theological connotations.

Hedevig, Princess of Denmark and Electress of Saxony, was a considerable patron of German music as confirmed by the dedications of the greatest musicians of the age—Michael Praetorius and Heinrich Schütz. She was not, however, a passive object of these musicians' bids for positions and prestige. As attested by the composer's dedication of the Becker Psalter to her, Hedevig diligently supported Schütz in his bereavement, helping him to purchase the house in Dresden and serving as a model of comportment and religious devotion in the face of adversity. She promoted Schütz' career in concrete ways by providing direct contact with her nephew Prince-Elect Christian of Denmark during his sojourn in Saxony and by writing letters to

⁶⁸ After the royal wedding the Prince's first letter of thanks was addressed not to the Elector, but to Hedevig. See Marquard 1952; here Vol. I, 192-193.

the Elector to help secure Schütz' employment in Denmark, where the normally reserved and modest composer openly stated he had left "his best musical compositions." Strikingly, her activities on behalf of the churches in her widow's lands at Lichtenburg and its environs demonstrate the same clear focus also evidenced in her patronage of music: securing the Lutheran church in German-speaking lands. Hedevig's activities reveal a space—widowhood—for female autonomy that resulted in her shaping German musical culture, maintaining the Lutheran church during the Thirty Years' War, and ensuring the dynastic succession. Her accomplishments demonstrate that female lines of patronage were extremely important avenues for cultural exchange. Thus, a close reading of the historical and textual record informed by gender perspectives of patronage both confirms important networks of cultural transfer and documents the prominent role of female lines of the dynasty in these processes.

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