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Italian Sacred Monody North of the Alps. From Chiara Margarita Cozzolani's *Scherzi* di sacra melodia (1648) to Daniel Speer's Philomela angelica (1688)

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Abstract

The arrangements of the six solo motets originally composed in the 1640s by Milanese singer and composer Chiara Margarita Cozzolani (1602–1676/1678), which were elaborated by the Silesian composer Daniel Speer (1636–1707), and published in his *Philomela angelica* collection, are specific examples of the intricate ways and various forms of dissemination of Italian music beyond the Alps and its assimilation and adaptation in different periods and places. The article presents the current research on the facts and circumstances which caused Speer's interest in the 40 year old music of the Milanese nun. Some hypotheses for further research are introduced and the procedures applied in the creation of these arrangements are discussed. Speer intentionally wanted to propose a modernised version of the originals reflecting the development of the concertante style of the high-Baroque period.

Keywords

Daniel Speer, Chiara Margarita Cozzolani, solo motet, arrangement, 4-part accompaniment, Milan, Wrocław, Bratislava (Pressburg)

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In its second edition of 2016, the *Musicologica Brunensia* review published my article,¹ presenting the most up-to-date knowledge about the sacral work of the Silesian composer Daniel Speer, based on my research of his *Philomela angelica cantionum sacrarum* collection from 1688. This research uncovered previously unknown relations between Speer's compositions and those of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani, a prolific composer of sacred music in the Milanese musical circle in the 1640s. As a result, Speer's *Philomela angelica* became a privileged source for the investigations of the intricate ways and various forms of the dissemination of Italian music beyond the Alps and on how it was assimilated and adopted in the terms of musical style, sound and function in different periods and cultural areas. But it is also a source, which opens several new questions as a motivation for further research, which was also encouraged by some initiatives in the last two years,² and justified a returning to this theme. Hence, the following two articles will focus on the same object of interest, tracking the various aspects and consequences which emerged from revealing the specific relationship between a composer from the North to the 40-years old music of a "hidden" Milanese composer.

Until recently, Daniel Speer's *Philomela angelica* was one of his almost unknown works. The music historians paid the attention to his relatively extensive and varied *ouvre*, comprised of sacral as well as profane music, music-theoretical treatise and also literary works (books of travels, poetry and even political pamphlets), selectively. They focused primarily on the study of his cycle of epic-dramatic quodlibets and stylized period dances of western and eastern European origin (*Musicalisch-Türkischer Eulen-Spiegel*, Ulm 1688)³ and on the "*Kleeblatt*" – a musical-theoretical compendium in four chapters *Grundrichtiger*, *kurtz*, *leicht und nöthiger Unterricht der musikalischen Kunst*, Ulm 1687, 1697)⁴ with

¹ KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ, Jana. Philomela angelica Daniela Speera – k neznámemu dielu známeho hudobníka [Philomela Angelica by Daniel Speer – an Unknown Work of a Well-known Musician]. *Musicologica Brunensia*, 51 (2016a), no 2, p. 41–53.

² The new volume of the *Philomela angelica* critical edition was issued (*Daniel Speer* (1636–1707): *Philomela angelica cantionum sacrarum* (1688). Jana Kalinayová-Bartová – Peter Zajíček (eds.). Musicalia Istropolitana 7, vol. 7/1 (nos 1–3), Bratislava: Ars Musica, 2016b) as well as two another, since unpublished pieces from the collection (*Quis mihi det bibere* and *Quis consistere posset*) were performed by the early music ensemble Musica Aeterna within the Festival Epoché (1st–15th November 2016) in Bratislava. Besides that, the newly published edition of Speer's collection was presented within the International Winter School, a seminar supported by the University of Padua, organised and led by Marina Toffetti in Milan (20th–24th 2017). In the course of this seminar, dedicated to "*Editing, analysing and performing small-scale motet*", I introduced the problem of how to reconstruct the original bass-line of Cozzolani's motets by de-constructing Speer's arrangement, which was the base for further work together with Marina Toffetti and other participants of the seminar, in obtaining tangible experiences with the possibilities of reconstruction of the two Cozzolani's compositions: *O Jesu meus amor* and *Venite gentes*.

³ Published under the pseudonym *Dacianischer Simplicissimus in Güntz* (today Közseg in Hungary); however, according to the most recent research of Gerhardt Dünnhaupt, it was published in Matthaeus Wagner's printing house in Ulm. DÜNNHAUPT, Gerhardt, 1993. *Daniel Speer (1636–1707)*. In *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*. Band 6. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1993, col. 3939–3950. 5-volume critical edition of the collection was published by the Opus Publishing House between 1971 and 1992 by the editors Alexander Móži, Ján Albrecht and Ľuba Ballová.

⁴ The treatise was published twice: the first time under the title Grundrichtiger, kurtz, leicht und nöthiger Unterricht der musikalischen Kunst, wie man füglich und in kurtzer Zeit Choral und Figural singen, den General-Βαβ tractiren und componiren lernen soll, and ten years later as an enlarged version under the full title Grundrichtiger

instructions on how to acquire basic skills in the arts of composing, singing, playing various musical instruments and basso continuo implementation, thus comprising thus a unique source of learning about the period musical practice in its diverse forms. In addition to these two musical titles, his novel of travels with autobiographical features (Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus, 1683), which describe experiences from his stay in the centres of Upper Hungary became the source for period reflection of the musical life in this region, and was especially attractive for Slovak musical historiography.⁵ Attention dedicated to Speer's sacral compositions has been much smaller, although this part of his work is also relatively extensive. It includes six or seven printed titles, but not all are available for study, since there are no preserved copies of some of them.⁶ Philomela angelica is the only collection with music composed on exclusively Latin religious texts. 24 compositions comprising its content are based on the tradition of composing the small-scale concertato motet, the genre, which spread from early 17th century from Rome and towns and cities in Northern Italy to other European music centres. But in the course of the century it underwent internal development and various forms of adaptations by non-Italian musicians. Therefore, one of the elementary questions in studying the musical content of this collection was, how this process was projected in the work of Speer. However, the starting point appeared to be more complicated, since the study of this collection revealed the problem of its authorship as the essential problem.

Speer published *Philomela angelica* in 1688 in an unknown printing house, and, like his other works (except for the music-theoretical treatise), he published it under a pseudonym. The German music historian Hans Joachim Moser, who began to study the life and works of Speer in greater detail in the 1960s, was the first to state that the anagram RES PLENA DEI, which appiers on the title page of the collection, conceals the identity of Daniel Speer.⁷ However, this collection offers more riddles than other Speer's publications. From a careful reading of the title page we learn that

"Philomela angelica of the sacred songs (cantiones sacrae) [which] were sung some time ago in Rome, in one voice with basso continuo, by a certain virgin devoted to God by the Order of St. Clare, and the composer herself sang with celestial grace and tenderness to the honour of the Holiness; now, to win the greater favour and honour of God, the final extension – four violae [were] added so that the lovely opus can rise to the right size, 12 ECCE! with three voices (alto, tenor, bass) and two violins with added

Kurtz-Leicht-und Nöthiger jetzt Wol-vermehrter Unterrich der Musicalischen Kunst. Oder Vierfaches Musicalisches Kleeblatt.

⁵ The novel was published by an unknown printing house under the pseudonym *Dacianischer Simplicissimus*. The issue of the authorship of the novel was discussed for a long time, but has been positively concluded. Significant contributions to this problem are contained in the findings of Jozef Vlachovič, the editor of the Slovak translation of the novel, which were published in Vlachovič's epilogue to this modern edition. VLACHOVIČ, Jozef. Simplicissimus na Slovensku. In *Uhorský Simplicissimus*. Jozef Vlachovič (ed.). Bratislava: Tatran, 1975, p. 205–228.

⁶ Musicalisches ABC, oder Auserlesene Sprüche der Heiligen Schrift, 1671, lost; Evangelische Seelengedanken, I.-II., Stuttgart 1681, Ulm 1682; Philomela angelica cantionum sacrarum, 1688; Süsse Jesus-Freund, oder Jubilum S. Bernhardi, Stuttgart 1688, lost; Jubilum coeleste [...] in lateinischen und teutschen Texten, Stuttgart 1692; Echo coelestis (announced in Kleeblatt; it is unknown, whether this collection has been ever issued).

⁷ MOSER, Hans Joachim. Daniel Speer als Dichter und Musiker. In *Musik in Zeit und Raum*. Berlin 1960, p. 119–144.

double basso continuo were created under the public law by the author [through an anagram] named RES PLENA DEI. In Venice, 1688."8

The reference to an unknown female singer and composer is also supported by the frontispiece placed in the part of the basso continuo, in which a nun in the habit of the order of St. Clare plays organ and sings. The search for Speer's musical inspirations led to Chiara Margarita Cozzolani (1602–1676/1678), a Milanese musician and composer who had been living in the Benedictine monastery of St. Radegonda since her child-hood. Although Speer's reference was not completely accurate, as she was not a member of the Order of St. Clare and did not live in Rome, there is no doubt that the first six compositions in *Philomela angelica* (O Jesu meus amor, Venite qui esuritis, Venite gentes, Venite ad me omnes, O praeclara dies, Quis mihi det bibere) were taken from Cozzolani's third opus, Scherzi di sacra melodia a voce sola, a collection of solo motets published in 1648 in Venice in the printing house of Alessandro Vincenti, hence just forty years before the publication of Philomela angelica. Venice is introduced as the place of publication of Speer's collection too, but this information seems to be incorrect. In fact, the collection was issued outside Italy, most likely in Augsburg, an important transalpine printing centre situated not far from Göppingen, where Speer was staying at that time.

The borrowing of musical material from the work of another composer, the adoption of someone else's composition and its presentation in the form of a contrafactum, as well as the remaking of a part or an entire composition was nothing unusual in those times. Thus, Speer's procedure is neither unique nor surprising by any means. Yet, questions regarding the circumstances that led him to choose Cozzolani's works and arrange just her solo motets and how he reworked the borrowed music is rather interesting.

⁸ PHILOMELA / ANGELICA / CANTIONUM / SACRARUM, / Quas Roma Virgo quadam DEO dicata Ordinis S. Clarae, / Voce sola, cum Basso Continuo haud multis ab hinc annis con-/ cinnásse, Auctorque ipsamet suavitate ac dulcedine supra quam humana ad cultum sacrum decantâsse traditur; / Nunc vere ad majorem gratiam eisdem conciliandam divi-/ númque honorem ulterius promovendum Violae quatuor ad-/ ditae, usque Opusculum ad justam excrescereae / magnitudinem, / DUODECIM / ECCE! / A tribus Vocibus A. T. B. cum duobus Violinis / & Continuo Basso duplicato adjecta, / publicique Juris facta sunt, / AUTHORE / anagrammatikos [gr.] denominato. / RES PLENA DEI / [part] / VENETIIS, / Anno M DC LXXXVIII.

⁹ See more about this frontispiece and its symbolic context in KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ, Jana. Italian musical inspirations in Daniel Speer's Philomela angelica cantionum sacrarum collection. In *Daniel Speer* (1636–1707): Philomela angelica cantionum sacrarum (1688). Jana Kalinayová-Bartová – Peter Zajíček (eds.), Musicalia Istropolitana 7, Vol. 7/1. Bratislava: Ars Musica, 2016c, p. ix-li.

¹⁰ KENDRICK, Robert L. Cozzolani, Chiara Margarita. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (ed. Stanley Sadie). London: Oxford University Press, ²2001, 6, p. 636–637; KENDRICK, Robert L. *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan*. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1996; KENDRICK, Robert L. *The Sounds of Milan*, *1585–1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Cozzolani's small-scale motets were published in the critical edition: COZZOLANI, Chiara Margarita. *Motets*. Robert L. Kendrick (ed.). Madison: A-R Editions, 1998. A survey of all modern editions see KOLDAU, Linda Maria. Chiara Margarita Cozzolani. In *Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*. Beatrix Borchard (ed.). Hamburg: Hochschule für Musik und Theater [on-line], 2003. [cit. 2018-01-31]. URL: http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/A_lexartikel.php?id=cozz1602

¹¹ BARTOVÁ, Jana. Philomela angelica Daniela Speera ako hudobno-historický, interpretačný a edičný problém [Daniel Speer's Philomela angelica as a subject of the music history, musical performance and the score editing]. In *Quo vadis musica aeterna*? [Proceedings of the musicological conference, 23 September 2013]. Bratislava: Musica Aeterna, 2013, p. 22–28.

What Speer pretends in the title page, that is to say, his fascination with the singing of this nun, is not entirely credible. According to historical documents, there are no reasons to assume that Speer visited Milan, although the convent of St. Radegonda and particularly the music performed by convent's residents at public masses and vespers were tourist attractions for the visitors of the city, including German tourists. 12 Cozzolani was a famous singer and composer, although her publications were limited to 4 collections issued in the short span of one decade (1640–1650). But her work enjoyed an unusually favourable response, which testifies to the fact that her printed collections remained on the Italian music market even two decades later.¹³ Moreover, her music circulated in printed copies as well as manuscripts in the countries beyond the Alps, (even in Latin America), sometimes with attributions to other composers. 14 The interest in the music of the Milanese composer showed particularly musicians in Wrocław. Ambrosius Profius, the editor of popular German anthologies with modern Italian music at the time, and the organist at St. Elisabeth church from 1633 to 1649, must have known her second opus Sacrae cantiones (Venice, 1642), because he included the motet O dulce Jesu for two sopranos and basso continuo from this collection in one of his anthologies, published under the title Corollarium geistlicher Collectaneorum in 1649. 15 The extensive collection of Daniel Sartorius, who was active from 1647 to 1670 as a teacher at St. Elisabeth's Gymnasium and as a music print collector, 16 also contains Cozzolani's second, third and fourth opuses. Wrocław was Speer's hometown, and in 1644, as an eight-year old he entered another educational institution - Maria-Magdalena Gymnasium.¹⁷ It is not known, when the prints actually came to Wrocław; if it was the third opus acquired extremely quickly immediately after its issue, it could theoretically have gotten into Speer's hands. It is also not known how long Speer stayed in Wrocław; yet, if we believe what he stated in his autobiographical novel Ungarischer oder dacianischer Simplicissimus, he left that town no later than the end of the 1640s and moved to what was then called Upper Hungary, where he traveled and studied at Latin schools in the towns of the Spiš and Sariš regions. Samuel Capricornus was another musician who showed special interest in Cozzolani's music. During his stay in Bratislava (Pressburg at the time), where he held the post of music director of the Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity, he acquired Cozzolani's last collection of psalms for from two to eight voices and basso continuo (Salmi à otto [...] motetti et dialoghi, Venice, 1650) for the music library. 18 If we consider all that,

¹² KENDRICK 1996, op. cit., p. 102.

¹³ With the exeption of the first opus, her prints appeared in Vincenti's printed music catalogues in the 1660s. See KENDRICK 1996, op. cit., p. 302.

¹⁴ Ibid.; KOLDAU, op. cit.

¹⁵ KENDRICK, Robert L. Introduction. In COZZOLANI, op. cit., p. XV; JEŻ, Tomasz. *Danielis Sartorii Musicalia Wratislaviensia*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo naukowe Sub lupa, 2017, p. 75–76.

¹⁶ JEŻ, op. cit., p. 80, 167-168, 344-345, 412-413.

¹⁷ Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], Akta Miasta Wrocławia, shelf mark 5175 / olim P 141,1: Aufnahmebücher (Matricularie) des Mariae Magdalenae Gymnasium 1617–1666, p. 278.

¹⁸ KALINAYOVÁ, Jana und Autorenkollektiv. Musikinventare und das Repertoire der mehrstimmigen Musik in der Slowakei im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Bratislava: SNM – Musikmuseum, 1995, p. 68.

Bratislava appears to be the second probable place where Speer could have become acquainted with Cozzolani's music. Although Speer does not explicitly mention "Pressburg" in his novel, he stated that he travelled back to the north from Hungary through Austria, thus, it is hard to imagine that he would bypass the capital of Royal Hungary. 19 His visit to this city is even more probable because of the fact that Capricornus, 8-years his senior, and schoolmate from Maria-Magdalena Gymnasium in Wrocław,²⁰ worked there. Hence, Capricornus was another musician, who shared Speer's admiration for Cozzolani's work, and their common interest could have been stimulated by the musical life in Wrocław. However, Capricornus stayed in the town only short time, at most two years (1644-1646), before he was hired as a teacher in Reutlingen near Stuttgart.²¹ The hypothesis that it was Capricornus, the older and more experienced composer,22 who directed Speer's attention to the music of Cozzolani is supported by another piece of circumstantial evidence: the 1686 inventory of the music collection of the court chapel in Ansbach²³ included the manuscripts of two motets (Venite gentes and Quis mihi det) from Cozzolani's Scherzi di sacra melodia, the compositions, which Speer selected for his Philomela angelica. It is known that the Capricornus's son, Samuel Capricornus junior, and brother-in-law Paul Kellner were members of the court chapel in Ansbach;²⁴ for this reason, the origin of these manuscripts could be related to these persons as heirs of Capricornus's manuscripts.

Speer's reworking of Cozzolani's original motets can be studied by comparing his versions with the vocal part of *Scherzi di sacra melodia*, which is preserved in two copies (in the Wrocław and Bologna libraries),²⁵ but lacking the part with basso continuo (according to Eitner printed in the form of a *partitura*).²⁶ At first sight, Speer's interventions in

¹⁹ One copy of Speer's *Philomela angelica* was available in the music library of the new Lutheran church in Bratislava, as testified by the music inventory (1718) from this institution and it is possible that also the record "*Vesperae a 3 Voc: Sper*", introduced in the music inventory from Bratislava St. Martin church (1700) refers to his works. Ibid., p. 159, 168.

²⁰ Capricornus entered Maria-Magdalena Gymnasium in the same year as Speer. Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], Akta Miasta Wrocławia, shelf mark 5175 / olim P 141,1: Aufnahmebücher (Matricularie) des Mariae Magdalenae Gymnasium 1617–1666, p. 281.

²¹ BLAICH, Doris. Samuel Friedrich Capricornus: Untersuchungen zu seinem vokal-instrumentalen geistlichen Konzerten und Verzeichnis seiner Werke, Band 1: Texteil. Diss., Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2010, p. 16 (with the references to the archival documents from Reutlingen).

²² According to the *Index operum musicorum Samuelis Capricorni* his *ouvre* during the work in Bratislava contained 112 works. This document is published in the transcription in KALINAYOVÁ und Autorenkollektiv, op. cit., 72–73. There are secondary documents testifying that Speer followed Capricornus's music examples (e.g., in the composing of so-called joco-series, in looking for the inspiration in the medieval poetry attributed to Bernard Clairvaux at the time).

²³ SCHAAL, Richard. Die Musikhandschriften des Ansbacher Inventars von 1686. Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1966, p. 42.

²⁴ BLAICH, Doris. Samuel Friedrich Capricornus: Untersuchungen zu seinem vokal-instrumentalen geistlichen Konzerten und Verzeichnis seiner Werke, Band 1: Texteil. Diss., Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2010, p. 35–36.

^{25~} Wrocław, Bibliotheka Uniwersytecka and Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. RISM A/I/2 C 4361.

²⁶ EITNER, Robert. Biographisch Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon, 3. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900, p. 91–92. He stated here that the issue contains "Part. in fol. und die Stimme in 4º".

Cozzolani's originals are not radical; in general; he maintained the original range of the solo voice and the original melodic, rhythmic and harmonic course of her pieces. The changes in the vocal part are minimal and they sometimes involve minor details in the rhythm, in the articulation (e.g., a different distribution of syllables in diminutions), and in the text, which slightly shifted the meaning of the expression or replaced some of the words with similar expressions. Speer's greatest modification was his extension of the instrumental accompaniment by a group of four obligatory string instruments - violae, as he called them in the title page of the collection. As a result, the original monodic texture of the work was transformed into a five-voice setting. The four-part instrumental accompaniment was a modern solution which was adopted with growing frequency in the second half of the 17th century, thus replacing the older accompaniment entrusted to two violins. This solution in setting was particularly popular in German concertante church music and several composers started to use it instead of the two-violin accompaniment, still frequently applied in the Italian small-scale motet at the time. This process of "modernization" of the accompaniment can be seen, for example, in the work of Samuel Capricornus, who, during his stay at the Württemberg court chapel in Stuttgart, reworked his *Jubilus Bernhardi* cycle from the earlier version, which he composed in Bratislava for the accompaniment of two violins, to the new version with the accompaniment of four strings - violae, as stated on the title page of the issue of this collection.²⁷ Speer used the same setting of four strings in *Philomela angelica* as well as in his secular solo cantatas included in the Musikalisch-türkischer Eulenspiegel collection, which was published in the same year as Philomela angelica.28 Hence, Speer was experienced with the four-part instrumental accompaniment, whose "modernity" could be most effectively manifested by the reworking of pure monodies. Maybe this was one of the reasons behind his decision to arrange only Cozzolani's solo motets (and not her motets with a different original setting); however, he was not the only one to adjust the work of an Italian composer in terms of instrumentation.²⁹

The addition of the group of obligatory musical instruments to the original monodic texture brought about a change in the sound, but it also represented an intervention in the overall conception of the work, in which the instrumental parts took on a certain role in the creation of the architecture of the composition. In general, the added instrumental group has a triple role in Speer's arrangements:

1) Introductory and anticipative, featured by the instrumental "sonatas" placed at the beginning of all of Speer's arrangements and by other longer instrumental interludes,

²⁷ Jubilus Bernhardi (Stuttgart, 1660), RISM A/I/2 C 932. During Stuttgart period Capricornus composed several compositions with four-part string accompaniment: Laudate pueri from the second volume of the collection Theatrum musicum (Würzburg, 1669, RISM A/I/2 C 938) for solo bass voice and a 4-viola accompaniment, and Salvum me fac Deus with the group of violas enlarged by two trombones. And all 12 compositions from the first volume of his Theatrum musicum (Würzburg, 1669, RISM A/I/2 C 937) feature the possibility of adding a 4-voice instrumental group to the vocal tercet.

²⁸ He stated on the title page that the two violae accompanying two violins can be played ad libitum.

²⁹ For example, Balthasar Erben modified a motet by Giacomo Carissimi by adding a group of four violas to the original six voices. *Sustinuimus pacem a 10 C. C. A. T. T. B e 4 viol. di Baltasar Erben.* RISM ID no.: 190008286. KALIANYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ 2016c, op. cit., p. xxv.

which he inserted before the next vocal episodes. Sonatas always fulfil an anticipative function, using the same motifs from the first vocal episode to announce it, but some of the instrumental interludes, placed before other vocal passages, bring more independent music material (e.g., *Venite qui esuritis*, bars 55–66,³⁰ inserted at the beginning of the recitative vocal episode).

- 2) Repetitive and dividing, manifested by inserting instrumental ripieni (as e.g., in Ex. 1, Venite gentes, bars 32–37) or longer episodes between motifs and thus creating a vocal-instrumental and solo-ripieni contrast effect, which has a parallel in the Baroque instrumental concerts coming into development at that time.
- 3) Accompanying the solo voice in a more or less independent instrumental voice leading manner, which is used frequently to increase the sound and emotional gradation of the passage after a solo-ripieni exchange (Ex. 1, *Venite gentes*, bars 41–43).

However, it should be noted that Speer's treatment of the added instrumental group in this new musical structure is not mechanical and he sensitively searched for the most appropriate way to use the new instrumental element with respect to the content of the text and its music expression. For example, in the motet Venite gentes (on the Eucharistic theme), which in Cozzolani's original version starts with the appeal to the entire community to come and be fed by heavenly nourishment,³¹ stressed by rhythmical patterns that resembles the operatic stile concitato, Speer's addition of the introductory sonata and the subsequent instrumental repetitions accentuate this emotional frame of mind even more. However, in the culmination of the text, which is set to music by a special "oriental" intonation in order to emphasize the feeling of intoxication from drinking the transubstantiated wine, Speer did not introduced any instrumental episode, as this would have weakened the dramatic effect, he only limited himself to support the harmony and sound effect by adding chords in long rhythmic values (Ex. 2, Venite gentes, bars 95-101). In Venite qui esuritis, another motet celebrating the Eucharist, he solved a similar situation in a differently. The repetition of the motif in the word "inebriamini" ("drunkenness"), leading to the extremely extensive melisma as a closure for the whole phrase, 32 is supplemented by an instrumental accompaniment in a more independent polyrhythmic style framed by descending scale in the first violin and basso continuo part, which emphasizes the state of the "euphorically" tuned soul (Ex. 3, Venite qui esuritis, bars 42-49). In the motet O Jesu meus amor, which set to music a text characterized by a very intimate and affective profession of the soul, the culminating passage expresses the highest desire for the beloved, unreachable, disappearing Jesus. However, in this case Speer left the original monodic texture, without any intervention (O Jesu meus amor, bars 81-95).

Cozzolani often created melodic phrases by repeating the same motifs in the sequences. Speer usually divided them by instrumental episodes, but in some cases he added new repetitive passages with the same motifs, which he introduced in the vocal line in the transposition and instrumental accompaniment, as it occurs in *O Jesu meus amor* (see

³⁰ All music examples and the music references refer to the *Philomela angelica cantiorum sacrarum* ciritical edition, Musicalia Istropolita 7/1, 2016b, op. cit. The frames in the music example 1 indicate Speer's additions.

³¹ Compare KENDRICK 1996, op. cit., p. 371, 379, 380-381.

³² Compare KENDRICK 1996, op. cit., p. 379.

Ex. 4, bars 59–61 and 65–68); or he replaced it with the new vocal-instrumental repetitive episode (as in *Venite gentes*, bars 39–43, see Ex. 1). An intervention in the motet *Venite gentes* deserves special attention, as Speer omitted here the vocal line and introduced a new instrumental episode with the function to anticipate the following new vocal section (Ex. 1, *Venite gentes*, bars 49–56). As will be discussed in the next article (Ex. 2a and 2b), this place is crucial in the attempt to reconstruct Cozzolani's basso continuo part starting from Speer's arrangements, because the situation could offer different equally acceptable solutions.

From the analysis of Speer's arrangements of Cozzolani's motets it seems that he was well aware of the development of the genre of the small-scale motet and the concertante style at the time, and that he intentionally wanted to propose a modernised version of the compositions created 40 years ago. In fact, the addition of a greater instrumental group and its various musical functions, developed the principles of concertante style. While, in general, the instrumental additions and repetitions of the motifs already present in the vocal part on the one hand made Speer's adaptations of the individual contrasting sections longer and created more separate units; on the other hand, his re-workings with the regular fluent rhythm of the accompanied vocal and above all, of instrumental sections reduce the emotional tension of the original versions. Construction based on the longer and more separated sections in lesser number was a general trend in concertante music by the end of the 17th century and it was what Speer probably had in mind when, on the title page, he justified his adaptation with the words: "[...] the lovely opus can rise to the right size".

Among the 24 motets published in *Philomela angelica*, the first six compositions, the reworking of Cozzolani's solo motets from her Scherzi di sacra melodia collection, are followed by another 6 motets, which, in terms of expression, and by the nature of the text and the musical structure, share certain common features with the previous six pieces. Although these compositions are not included in Cozzolani's Scherzi di sacra melodia and, except for two motets for solo soprano (Quis consistere posset and Sine arcu et sagitta), are composed either for solo alto (Jesu spes mea, Salve milies Jesu me and O Deus clementissime) - or, in one case, for the quite unusual alto duet (O anima mea).³³ With respect to the aforementioned similar features, I have assumed that these works can be adaptations of the compositions of another composer as well. This assumption was recently confirmed when four pieces were identified as arrangements by two other composers.³⁴ Also, until now, the last two unidentified compositions from the first dozen motets published in the Philomela angelica collection are most probably the arrangements of other composer(s). Apropos of this, if we carefully read the title page of *Philomela angelica*, we can see that, of the 24 compositions published in the collection, Speer only took full credit for the second half - the 12 Ecce-motets, which have a unified setting of three voices (alto, tenor,

³³ About the contents and the context of this text see more in KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ, Jana. Medieval poetry as the inspiration for the composers of the 17th century. In *Musikalische und literarische Kontexte des Barocks in Mitteleuropa / in der Slowakei*. Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2015, p. 27–41.

³⁴ I express my gratitude to Candace Smith for the mediations of her current investigations and the findings of Robert Kendrick.

bass) and an obligatory 2-violin accompaniment. Hence, the content of the collection creates a deliberate balance between the reworked and Speer's original music and the differences between the first and the second halves of the collection are obvious not only in terms of authorship and instrumentation. In the second half, standard biblical texts (instead of the original texts full of subjective emotional expressions and images of the first dozen of compositions of the Philomela angelica) are set to music, in a simpler, less dramatic and less virtuosic style, which by bringing in refrains, tends to create the binary form, more often used in German basso continuo song and aria. Yet the vivid, inventive and dance type melody of Speer's Ecce-motets resemble a melodic invention of Cozzolani's pieces.³⁵ Speer's own compositions were more suitable for performances by students of the Latin school and for occasions connected with this social milieu, but maybe at the school in Göppingen they were at the disposal of some well-trained "choralists", who were also able to sing Speer's arrangements of Cozzolani's motets.³⁶ It is noteworthy that Philomela angelica received the best response on the territory of Slovakia; its copies are documented in the inventories of the music collections of several Lutheran (Bratislava) and Catholic centres (Svätý Jur, Pruské, Podolínec), and a copy coming from Podolínec includes some annotations testifying that these compositions had been included in the musical practice of this centre.³⁷

It is known that Speer spent his entire professional life as a music teacher and considered the "rewriting of the works of other good composers in scores" to be one of the ways of learning the secrets of composing, "because one can learn many methods of work from them".38 Perhaps Speer's words reveal the true reason for publishing the collection as a kind of pedagogical music compendium, which had to demonstrate changes in the style of concertante music during 40 years. Revealing the identity of the unidentified composer in the person of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani offers an answer to the question of which composers Speer considered to be worth imitating and which music was worthy of attention. In the second edition of his treatise Grundrichtiger, kurtz, leicht und nöthiger Unterricht, he stated that melodic invention was an important prequalification for a musician to become a good composer. It seems that this was the quality which he mostly appreciated in Cozzolani's music and which inspired him even four decades after its creation. However, his arrangements of Cozzolani's motets lead to another question, namely if and how the original part of the basso continuo can be re-constructed by deconstructing Speer's successive re-elaborations, which will be discussed in the following article.

³⁵ See pieces 13, 14 and 15. In Daniel Speer (1636-1707): Philomela angelica cantionum sacrarum (1688). Jana Kalinayová-Bartová – Peter Zajíček (eds.). Musicalia Istropolitana 7, vol. 7/5 (nos 13–15). Bratislava: Ars Musica 2014.

³⁶ Maybe it could be Speer's sons, because according to Moser one of them, Georg Daniel, was in the adulthood a professional musician in Göppingen. MOSER, op. cit., p. 141; KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ 2016a, op. cit., p. 50.

³⁷ KALINAYOVÁ-BARTOVÁ 2016c, op. cit., p. xxxviii-xl.

³⁸ SPEER, Daniel. Grundrichtiger, kurtz, leicht und nöthiger Unterricht der musikalischen Kunst... Ulm: Georg Wilhelm Kühne, 1687, p. 69–70.

Appendix:



Music example 1: Daniel Speer: Venite gentes, bars 32-56.











Music example 2: Daniel Speer: Venite gentes, bars 95-101.



Music example 3: Daniel Speer: Venite qui esuritis, bars 42-49.



Music example 4: Daniel Speer: O Jesu meus amor, bars 59-61 and 65-68.

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