

Vita ceu harmonia. Jiří Carolides: A Poet and Composer between the Imperial Court and the New Town of Prague¹

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Abstract: Jiří Carolides was one of the most distinguished Czech Latin humanist poets, and in his works he combines interest in poetry with love for music. Already during his university studies, he wrote a congratulatory polyphonic composition, and he was also active as a composer when he was older. He came from a non-Catholic background, but he still managed to earn the title of poet laureate at the emperor's court. His contacts with court intellectuals did not last long, but he had permanent ties to the society of Prague's Utraquist burghers. While he spent most of his time in Prague, and much of his poetry gives us an account of the people and buildings in Prague's New Town, he maintained contacts with confraternities of literati and with lovers of music and of the arts in Bohemia and Moravia. From Carolides's poetry, we also recognise his enthusiasm for music and singing, especially combined with his profound piety.

Key words: Jiří Carolides, Renaissance polyphony, motet, Neo-Latin poetry, confraternity of literati, New Town of Prague, Rudolphine court

Introduction

Among the diversity of nationalities, religious denominations, cultures, and social strata of society from the era before the defeat of the non-Catholic estates at the Battle of White Mountain (1620), were we to seek a figure whose life and works represented the Czech share in or contribution to the uniqueness of the Rudolphine period in particular, we might choose as our model the story of the humanist, poet, man of letters, and composer Jiří Carolides z Karlsperku (Georg Carolides of Karlsberg, 1569–1612). Already during his lifetime, his talent as a poet and his propensity for using his knowledge of Latin for writing humanist poetry won him fame, and he was respected not only in the circles of the society of domestic

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burgher society, also in the milieu of Prague's imperial court and of the Czech nobility. His cultivated poetry won him admirers at home and abroad, although he probably never went beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Bohemia and was closely associated with Prague's New Town, where he spent nearly his entire life. And his knowledge of the *ars musica*, including both performing and composition, made him one of the figures who helped shape the musical culture of his day.

Alongside Jan Campanus, Jiří Carolides is seen as one of the most important poets from the milieu of the burghers of Rudolphine Bohemia. However, his works as a poet and composer have not received sufficient attention in the scholarly literature, although there is no doubt about his importance.² In the eyes of early researchers, his image was harmed mainly by the fact that he cultivated minor genres of poetry that were regarded as fashionable and superficial such as anagrams or symbola. The present study, which ties in with the authors' efforts to undertake an interdisciplinary examination of important representatives of the musical culture of Bohemian townsfolk during the High Renaissance (Jiří Cropatius, Jan Sixti of Lerchenfels, Jan Campanus, Kašpar Cropatius),³ is an attempt to revise the established evaluation of his work through a re-examination of his literary and musical legacy with an awareness of their being interconnected. Few Bohemian poets and musicians of the High Renaissance met with success at the imperial court. Jiří Carolides was able to do so without losing contact with the burgher society from which he came; he remained firmly grounded in that milieu. His rank as a *poeta laureatus*, a poet to the crown, meant that he was required to take part in the literary and musical activities of the scholars at the imperial court, but at the same time he was respected in the society of Bohemia's non-Catholic intellectual and literate burghers. However, we know much less about his musical activities than about his literary work although he was involved with music – and especially sacred music – from his youth, and his first known independent attempts as a musician date back to his university studies in Prague. His musical activities including composing can be documented all the way to the end of his life.

Carolides's life, contacts, and laureation

Jiří Carolides (Georgius Carolides Pragenus, later Georgius Carolides a Carlsperga, in Czech Jiří Karel or Karolides z Karlsperka) was one of four sons born to Karel Mělnický

2) MARTÍNEK, Jan: *O předních představitelích latinského humanismu v Čechách* (On Leading Representatives of Latin Humanism), *Zprávy Jednoty klasických filologů*, vol. 6, 1964, no. 1, pp. 18–25 (hereinafter MARTÍNEK 1964).

3) *Cropatiana. Verše Kašpara Cropacia s hudebním doprovodem, 1560–1562* (Cropatiana: The Verses of Kašpar Cropatius with Musical Accompaniment), ed. Petr Daněk – Marta Vaculínová, KLP, Praha 2018; VACULÍNOVÁ, Marta – DANĚK, Petr: *Amicus immusicus. A Study on the Tradition of the Idea of Jan Campanus as a Composer*, *Hudební věda*, vol. 56, 2019, no. 2, pp. 165–185 (hereinafter *Amicus immusicus*); VACULÍNOVÁ, Marta – DANĚK, Petr: *Musicus et poeta trilinguis. New Findings about the Life and Work of Jiří Cropatius Těplický / Musicus et poeta trilinguis. Nové poznatky o životě a díle Jiřího Cropatia Těplického*, *Musicalia*, vol. 12, 2020, nos. 1–2, pp. 6–29 (English version), pp. 30–49 (Czech version); VACULÍNOVÁ, Marta – DANĚK, Petr: „*Caesaris olim Musicus ille*“, *Jan Sixti z Lerchenfelsu (ca 1565–1629), zpěvák Rudolfa II. a litoměřický probošt* (“*Caesaris olim Musicus ille*”, *Jan Sixti z Lerchenfelsu [ca. 1565–1629], a singer for Rudolf II and the Litoměřice provost*), *Muzikologické fórum*, vol. X, 2021, nos. 1–2, pp. 161–182.

z Karlsperka (1534–1599) and his first wife Kateřina Benešová.⁴ Carolides's father was a very important figure in his life, and it was he who supported his son's education and activities as a poet. Another indication of the close relationship between father and son is the surname Carolides = Karel's son. Karel Mělnický was a burgher of Prague's New Town and a professional builder who realised such projects as alterations of Prague's Church of St Wenceslas at Zderaz and directed construction of the Šítka's mills and of buildings connected with them. His diary of construction work for the years 1589–1593, the first preserved document of its kind in Czech, is now kept at the Strahov Library.⁵ He also engaged in literary activity writing in Czech, and Jiří Carolides preserved some of his poems in printed editions of his own works. We find Czech rhymed verses forming an acrostic of the name *Carolus Mielnický* in a print celebrating the construction of a church in Litíč in 1596.⁶ He also apparently appears under initials K. M. z K. (Karel Mělnický z Karlsperka) as the author of the rhymed Czech translation



Period portrait of Jiří Carolides / Dobový portrét Jiřího Carolida

In: *Georgii Carolidae a Carlsperga ... liber epigrammatum ad ... Paulum Primum a Zvirzetina, Pragae: typis Ionatae Bohutsky a Hranicz 1609* National Museum Library / Knihovna Národního muzea (CZ-Pn) 49 E 47

4) For clearly presented information about Carolides's live and works, see TRUHLÁŘ, Josef – HRDINA, Karel – HEJNIC, Josef – MARTÍNEK, Jan: *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě 1* (A Handbook of Humanist Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia, hereinafter *Rukověť*), Academia, Praha 1966, pp. 326–346, and most recently KOLÁŘOVÁ, Jana: *Carolides of Carlsperk, Georgius*, in: *Companion to Central and Eastern European Humanism, Vol. 2. The Czech Lands, Part 1*, ed. Lucie Storchová, De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2020, pp. 238–246. For information about Karel Mělnický, see JÁSEK, Jaroslav: *Karel Mělnický z Karlsperka, měšťan a stavitel* (Karel Mělnický of Karlsperk, a Townsman and Builder), in: *Pražské městské elity středověku a raného novověku: jejich proměny, zázemí a kulturní profil. Sborník příspěvků z 21. vědecké konference Archivu hlavního města Prahy, uspořádané ve spolupráci s Institutem mezinárodních studií Fakulty sociálních věd Univerzity Karlovy ve dnech 1. a 2. října v Clam-Gallasově paláci v Praze*, Praha 2004, pp. 125–130 (hereinafter JÁSEK). A brief contemporary biography of his is found in the funeral oration of Samuel Albinus in Jiří Carolides's print *Parentalia ... D. Carolo Mielniczky a Carlsperga* (hereinafter *Parentalia*), Pragae: apud Ioannem Schumanium Ioannis Haeredem [1601], A1a–B4b.

5) Library of the Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians in Strahov (hereinafter the Strahov Library), manuscript DG V 8-10. Edition in: *Šítkovská vodárna a Karel Mělnický (Šítka Water Tower and Karel Mělnický)*, ed. Jaroslav Jásek and Michal Fiala, Scriptorium, Praha 2004.

6) *Fundatio templi Liticensis ... a M. Georgio Carolide a Carlsperga*, Pragae: Anna Schumanniana 1596 (hereinafter *Fundatio*).

of a sermon by Saint Augustine printed by the court poet Hieronymus Arconatus.⁷ Also taking part in the printing of a Latin version was his son (G. C. P. C. = Georgius Carolides Poeta Caesareus). Karel Mělnický and his son Jiří were jointly elevated to the nobility on 29 October 1596. Raised to noble status on 19 October 1604 were the Rakovník townsman Havel Toužil, a blood uncle; Adam Rosacius, a burgher of Sušice,⁸ Adam Chytraeus, a townsman of Brandýs nad Labem, Adam and Jáchym Kršňák from Tábor, friends and blood relatives; Václav, Samuel, Daniel, and Jakub, Carolides's brothers. On 18 August 1611 they were joined by Václav Vodička, first councillor of Německý Brod (today Havlíčkův Brod).⁹

We do not know which Latin school in Prague Jiří Carolides attended. He received his higher education at Prague's academy, becoming a bachelor in 1589 and a master in 1593. As a student, he befriended Sofoniáš Rosacius, later a scribe in Žatec, and that friendship lasted until Carolides's death.¹⁰ After he completed his bachelor's studies, he departed for a teaching position in Písek, where his presence is documented in 1591–1592. He dedicated his first collection of poetry, *Epigrammatum liber primus*, to the Písek town council.¹¹ One of his patrons in Písek was Samuel Ladýř (Ladirius). His son Mikuláš was a student from 1589 to 1594 at the academy in Altdorf under Konrad Rittershausen, and it is probable that through the Ladýř family Carolides met the Altdorf professor.¹² While still teaching in Písek in 1592, he wrote him an epithalamion, which Rittershausen issued in print together with some others.¹³ Through Rittershausen, Carolides established contacts with other Altdorf and Nuremberg apprentices, as is shown by his correspondence and the mutual exchanging of poetry. Among them were Georg Rehm (Remus) and Caspar Schoppe (Scioppius), a student

7) ARCONATUS, Hieronymus: *Oratio S. Patris Augustini in obsessione ab exercitu barbarorum*, Pragae: s. t. [1596]. For more about the author, see KÜHLMANN, Wilhelm: *Arconatus, Hieronymus* [entry], in: Killy Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraums, Band 1, De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston, p. 190. Kühlmann calls *Oratio S. Augustini* a work reflecting the atmosphere of Prague culture. For more about Arconatus, see footnote no. 32.

8) Rosacius's acceptance into the Carolides noble family was celebrated by Konrad RITTERSHAUSEN in the print *Insignia et symbola Carlspergiana*, Pragae: typis Schumannianis 1606.

9) JÁSEK, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, p. 129.

10) Carolides dedicated a whole series of poems to Rosacius, and in his will he entrusted him with supervising the education of his son Jan Karel (Prague City Archives, Kniha testamentů, manuscript 2209, fol. 410^r–411^v).

11) *Epigrammatum liber primus ... secundus*, Pragae: Typis Danielis Adami a Weleslavina 1591. *Rukověť'* gives only the title of the print, regarded at the time as lost; a breakdown of the individual poems based on the specimen in Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka 4 O 10/4,5 will be published separately.

12) Heinrich KUNSTMANN, *Nürnberger Universität Altdorf und Böhmen*, Böhlau, Köln 1963, p. 43, regarded it as likely that they met in Prague, but Rittershausen visited Prague in 1586 and did not return until 1596, by which time he already knew Carolides.

13) *Ibid*, p. 43, footnote no. 59. The broadsheet printed by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín has been preserved at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Supellex epistolica, 47, 284, RHB 6, pp. 76–77) and in the print *Amores Conradi Rittershusii* (Altdorf: Lochnerus 1592), where Carolides calls himself "Georgius Carolides Pragenus, Ludi-Rector in inclyta Piska Bohemorum". Carolides also sent Rittershausen congratulations for his second wedding on 20 June 1609; that poem has been preserved only in manuscript (Hamburg, Supellex epistolica 47, 371). It was apparently part of a larger whole. Manuscript epithalamia by Jan Filický, Nicolaus Maius, Adam Rosacius, and Johann Steinmetz were also preserved in the same estate.

in Altdorf in 1594¹⁴ whose later conversion provoked great indignation in non-Catholic circles; and possibly also the Camerarius family, as is shown by Carolides's letter to Joachim Camerarius the Younger dated 1598.¹⁵ Rittershausen remained in contact with Carolides the whole time, inspired him to write poetic works, and exchanged poetry and books with him. Finally, he was the only person who after Carolides's death to issue an edition of his Greek-Latin epicedium as part of a print dedicated to Martin Bacháček.¹⁶ Carolides's contacts with Rittershausen's Altdorf colleague Georg Rehm are from a later date. Rehm contributed to his anthology *Silva carminum* in 1612.¹⁷

While in Písek, Carolides did not break off his connections with Prague, as is shown by, among other things, the content of the second book of *Epigrammata* from 1591, which is dedicated to his Prague patrons and friends. As we noted above, Carolides did not travel much,¹⁸ and apart from the brief episode in Písek, most of his activities were focused in Prague. After returning and finishing his master's studies, he also worked briefly as a teacher at St Martin's in Prague's Old Town, but already in 1594 he gave up a career in pedagogy and married the widow of Vít Selinius Salomena, with whom he had a son named Jiří Karel. For Carolides's wedding and for the birth of his son, friends from Bohemia and a single foreigner (Rittershausen) sent collections of occasional poetry.

14) Schoppe's letter to Carolides has been preserved: *Gasparis Schoppi[i] Fr. Suspectarum Lectionum Libri Quinque*, Noribergae: Paul Kaufmann 1597, V, 15, pp. 358–360, in which he turns to Carolides as a friend of Rittershausen and consults with him about unclear places in the printed edition of Plautus's *Bacchides*. Schoppe also wrote a poem for Carolides against Jizbický titled *In gloriosum Thersiten Carolidomastigen*, in: *Conflagratio Giczinae*, Prague: typis M. Danielis Adami 1597, A6a; he also congratulated him on the birth of his son in Prague in 1597 (*Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, Epigr. 2, 8). The publisher of Schoppe's correspondence JAITNER, Klaus (Hrsg.): *Kaspar Schoppe. Autobiographische Texte und Briefe. Band 2: Briefe*, 5 Teilbände, C. H. Beck, München 2012, is unaware of this letter. Carolides is mentioned only in Schoppe's letter to Konrad Rittershausen from Rome dated 1599, which implies that they were in contact through correspondence (Bd. II/1).

15) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Camerariana 13, 98. We are printing an edition and summary of this letter in Appendix No. 1 to this article. It is, however, possible that Carolides already knew Joachim Camerarius from an earlier time when Daniel Adam of Veleslavín joined with Camerarius and Adam Huber in 1596 in publishing Mattioli's herbarium, to which Carolides contributed introductory and concluding poems.

16) *Memoriae ... M. Martini Bachacii ... epicedia*, Norimbergae: typis Abrahami Wagenmanni 1613, A5b–A6a. *Rukověť 1*, 327 mentions yet another epicedium by Václav Clemens, but that is incorrect; this epicedium involves Jan Carolides of Uboč, a bachelor at Prague's university. In Jiří Hanuš Velimský's manuscript, a copy has been preserved of Carolides's actual epitaph recording the date of his death; see LINDA, Jaromír: *Soupis rukopisů Západočeského muzea v Plzni* (A List of Manuscripts at the Museum of West Bohemia in Pilsen), Západočeské muzeum, Plzeň 2004, p. 9 (shelf mark 503 A 1).

17) In: *Sophonias propheta*, Prague: typis Jonathae Bohutsky 1612 (hereinafter *Sophonias propheta*), fol. H1a–S3a; the foreword is foliated separately as A1a–AS2b.

18) This was already claimed by MARTÍNEK, Jan: *Vztahy předních humanistů v Čechách k pražské univerzitě (Hasištejnský, Collinus, Carolides, Campanus)* (The Relations of Leading Humanists in Bohemia to the Prague University...), in: Martiniana. Studie o latinském humanismu v českých zemích, Academia, Praha 2014, pp. 152–153 (first edition 1974, hereinafter MARTÍNEK 2014), who regarded such remaining in one place as a rare exception among the Czech humanists. Carolides himself tended to ridicule those who were well travelled, as is shown by his epigram *De ambulone* in the collection *Liber epigrammatum ad ... Sigismundum Kozelium*, Prague: typis M. Danielis Adami 1595, C2b.

Among those to congratulate Carolides over the birth of his son was Samuel Radešínský of Radešovice, a *poeta laureatus*, a classmate of Carolides¹⁹ and his predecessor at St Martin's School. His verses already accompanied Carolides's first work *Jonas propheta Dei*, published in 1587. Also undoubtedly contributing to Carolides's popularity as a poet was Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, who had accompanying poems written for his prints, and especially poems based on the coats of arms (*in insignia*) of patrons. With his growing popularity, Carolides became a poet of verses printed at the beginning of occasional anthologies or on the title pages of printed collections. Other than Rittershausen, his literary contacts mainly included Czech intellectuals. That changed slightly after Carolides's laureation.

Carolides's ceremonial coronation as a poet, at which he received a laurel wreath from the imperial almoner Jacob Chimarraeus, followed the publication of a broadsheet with his poems on the Habsburg archdukes and the expanded cycle of poems *Decas augustissimorum imperatorum* based on it.²⁰ In the foreword to the emperor, Carolides entrusts himself and his protection to Rudolf II: "*meque meosque simul placida tutare sub umbra alarum...*" Then in elegiac couplets with connected poems based on their personal mottos (*symbola*) he celebrates ten Habsburg archdukes, kings, and emperors from Rudolf I to Rudolf II. This type of work, referred to in the Austrian literature as *Herrscherreihen* or *Herrschererien*,²¹ often preceded the granting of a poet's laurels. Arnaldo Helio's verses of recommendation are dated "*postridie Cal. Iul. Pragae ... anno 1596*," just a few days before his laureation.

The actual laureation ceremony on 12 July 1596 was accompanied by poetic works by other laureates, as is documented by verses intended for the chief protagonists Carolides and Chimarraeus, which were printed by Salomon Frenzelius.²²

As was customary, after receiving his laurels, Carolides made contributions to the printed collections of laureation poems of poets who were crowned later. These are verses that were recited at the laureation ceremony at which the crowned poets took part. We first learned about many of them from addenda to the *Rukověť humanistického básnictví* (A Handbook of Humanist Poetry) that have been newly discovered. Shortly after his own laureation, he celebrated the laureation of Bartolomaeus Bilovius, for whom he was the promotor,²³ in 1597 he contributed to the collection of laureation poems of Andreas Calagius from Wroclaw

19) Both received their bachelor's degrees in 1589.

20) *Romanorum imperatorum ... domus Austriacae familia*, Prague: typis Georgii Dacziceni 1596, broadsheet; Dobřenského sborník: Strahov Library, shelf mark DR I 21/b, no. 189; *Decas augustissimorum*, Prague: typis Venceslai Marini a Genczic 1596.

21) Johannes AMMAN-BUBENIK unfortunately did not include Carolides as an author in his unpublished dissertation *Kaiserserien und Habsburger-Genealogien. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung poetischer Habsburgerpanegyrik vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Universität Wien 2013.

22) *De actu Poetico, Quando Georg. Carolides Boëmus, fronde Lauri ex horto Caesareo donatus fuerat*, in: *Epigrammatum pars altera*, Helmstedt: Lucius 1599, 124b–125a. Carolides's own specimen ÖNB *35.X.174. Edition of the verses LEITMEIR, Christian Thomas: *Words for music, words about music. Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal's epigrams as source for music history*, in: *Ars musica and its contexts in medieval and early modern culture*, Warszawa 2016, p. 371, 381, no. 11.

23) *Barptolemaei Bilovii Epigrammatum libellus LVI.*, Ienae: s. t. 1604, A 6a–b; *M. Georgius Carolides a Carlspurga ... Barptolemaeo Bilovio Stendalio Semnoni, lauream poeticam 13. Aug. ... 1596 Pragae in Arce Caesarea accipienti, in ipso actu coronationis gratulatur*, see *Rukověť 6*, p. 62; *Bylovii Amores*, *Francofurti Marchionum: In officina*

with the poem *ex tempore* at the coronation,²⁴ in 1599 he contributed to a printed collection celebrating the palatinate of Nicolaus Reusner,²⁵ in 1600 he wrote the laureation poem for Balthasar Exner²⁶ and Ludovicus Laurentius,²⁷ and in 1601 he contributed to the collection of Caspar Cunradus.²⁸ He did not take part in person at laureations outside of Prague. The Silesian Jiří Martinus (Martinius) Baldhofen of Zaháň, Bilovius's protégé, dedicated verses to Carolides on the occasion of his own laureation, which took place in Wrocław,²⁹ as did Tobias Aleutner in 1599³⁰ and Samuel Latochius in 1601.³¹

The two poets from the court circles who most frequently wrote verses for Carolides's prints were the war secretary of Rudolf II, the Silesian Hieronymus Arconatus,³² who stayed in Prague in 1593 and 1597, and Arnoldus Helius Megapolitanus from Flanders, the secretary of Archduke Maximilian. Both wrote accompanying verses for the collection *Decas*, for which Carolides earned his poet's laurels. Not only Carolides, but also his father Karel Mělnický made contributions to Arconatus's occasional prints (*Oratio S. Augustini*, see above). Together they also published a celebratory pamphlet for Rudolf II on the victory at Győr.³³ Arconatus, however, soon returned to Vienna, where he died in 1599, and after his passing, Arnoldus Helius also fell silent.³⁴ Their absence weakened Carolides's ties to the imperial court.

Carolides recorded a relatively modest exchange of poetry with Silesian crowned poets (Caspar Cunradus, Balthasar Exner), and he also exchanged poems with Alžběta Johanna

typographica Friderici Hartmanni bibliopolae anno 1597, C 1b–2a: *Ad M. Georgium Carolidem a Carlsperga, poetam Caes., promotorem et amicum honorandum.*

24) *M. Andreae Calagii Vratislavien. Laurea*, Vratislaviae: Georgius Bauman 1597, A3b. Also in *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, 41b.

25) REUSNER, Nicolaus: *Imp. Rudolphi II. comitiva Palatina*, Jenae 1599, see *Rukověť 1*, p. 343.

26) *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, F6a.

27) *In lauream Laurentio Ludovico Lignicensi mense Iulio anno 1600 absentem collatam*, ibid, 35a.

28) *Auspicio atque auctoritate divi Rudolphi II. ... laurea M. Caspari Cunrado Vratisl. per ... Iacobum Chimarhaeum Ruremundanum ... collata prid. Non. April. (= 4. 4.) 1601*, Lignicii: typis Sartorianis 1601. *Rukověť 6*, p. 94.

29) *Rukověť 6*, p. 202. MARTINUS, Georgius: *Gelomela Martina*, Francofurti: Eichhorn 1600, *Liber primus*, pp. 105–106: *M. Georgio Carolidi a Carlsperga, P. C. amico.*

30) *Tobiae Aleutneri Silesii P. C. Epigrammatum miscellorum chilias*, Lignicii: Nicolaus Sartorius 1608, p. 273: *Memineris tui. Symb(olum) M. Georgii Carolidae a Carlsperga P. C. et Novae Praegae secret(ario).*

31) *Samuelis Latochii Secundi, Cognomento Sommerheltis Brigensis Silesi, Laurifolia*, Francofurti cis Viadrum: Voltzius 1601, pp. 210–214: *V. Praestantiss. Dn. Georgio Carolidae, Philosophi, ꝑ P. L.*

32) He died in 1599. His father was also a builder. Carolides tried to win his favour; see the invitation to a feast with the incipit *Arconate veni, parata cena est* (*Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, 41ab). Finally he wrote him an epitaph (*Parentalia* 70b–71a). We also find evidence about the friendship of Carolides and Arconatus in Arconatus's letters to the Viennese court librarian Blotius, to whom Arconatus sent, for example, Carolides's book about the Austrian emperors titled *Decas augustissimorum*; see MENČÍK, Ferdinand: *Latinský básník Jeroným Arconatus* (The Latin Poet Hieronymus Arconatus), KČSN, Praha 1896, p. 7. For more about Arconatus, see FLOOD, John R.: *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2011, pp. 78–79.

33) *Taurini in Hungaria ... felicissime recuperati brevis descriptio*, Viennae: Kolbe 1598. Carolides again published his poem in the collection *Sophonias propheta*, op. cit. in footnote no. 17.

34) A propempticon before Helius's departure for the seat of Archduke Maximilian in Tyrol was published by Carolides in *Farrago symbolica sententiosa*, Praegae: typis Danielis Adami 1597, G8a (hereinafter *Farrago*).

Westonia, a contact arranged for him by the New Town physician Matouš Deník (Matthias Denichius or Denikius).³⁵ That otherwise unknown physician also arranged contact between Carolides and Nicolaus Maius.³⁶ Carolides established contact with the Silesian Caspar Cunradus on his own initiative in writing without having known him previously, and his recommendation was his rank as a crowned poet.³⁷ Carolides contributed courtly occasional collective works to a collection of occasional poems for Johann Barvitiuss a year after his laureation and also for Jacob Chimarraeus, as we will discuss in the part of the study about music. The Catholic prelate Jiří Bartholdus Pontanus had a stronger position than Carolides in court circles in part thanks to his denominational affiliation, and imperial poets (Paulus Melissus, Johannes Posthius etc.) were often invited to participate in occasional prints at court, while domestic poets tended to be neglected. This contributed to Carolides's resentment, which surfaced in many poems, in which he expresses his feelings about the powerful position held by Germans at the expense of Czechs. The young Pavel of Jizbice reacted to this in relation to him.³⁸ After 1600 we find no more contributions from Carolides in prints from court circles (with the exception of those for laureations). He remained an acknowledge poet, but more in the provincial community. He dedicated his writings to Bohemian and Moravian aristocrats, and he exchanged poems with his friends and relatives.

In the past, Carolides was often accused of having sought contacts with foreigners at the expense of his compatriots,³⁹ but this accusation can be refuted just using statistics – more than two thirds of his occasional poems were dedicated to domestic intellectuals and aristocrats, and his contacts in court circles were far more modest than those of Pontanus, for example. Also, contacts with Altdorf professors were nothing unusual among Czech non-Catholic intellectuals – quite a few humanists from the university milieu fostered such contacts. Carolides stands out from the norm mostly for his literary contacts, which were related to his rank as a poet laureate.

Although he had to care for property he had acquired by marriage,⁴⁰ Carolides probably sought a position in the town administration, as is shown, for example, by his dedication of the pamphlet *Sacrum amplissimo...* in 1594 to the Old Town city council. Finally, in 1598

35) STORCHOVÁ, Lucie: *Paupertate styloque connecti. Utváření humanistické učenecké komunity v českých zemích* (Paupertate styloque connecti: The Shaping of the Humanist Scholarly Community in the Czech Lands), Scriptorium, Praha 2012, p. 346 (hereinafter STORCHOVÁ). A poem to Deník about Westonia *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, 37ab.

36) *Epigrammatum liber*, in: *Parentalia*, on Elb Maius writes: “Nam tua Denikii quae sunt mihi munere, paucos / Ante dies avide carmina lecta, placent.”

37) STORCHOVÁ, op. cit. in footnote no. 35, p. 306.

38) *Ibid*, p. 285: “In patria fieri nemo...”

39) For the latest concerning his Latin works as proof of extensive foreign contacts and inspiration from foreign sources, see MARTÍNEK 2014, op. cit. in footnote no. 18, pp. 152–153.

40) For example, in 1598 he filed a lawsuit on behalf of his wife for an inheritance that had already been left to her, as is shown by his letter to the court secretary Jan Milner of Milhauz, which has been translated by Dana MARTÍNKOVÁ: *Poselství ducha. Latinská próza českých humanistů* (The Message of the Spirit: Latin Prose of the Czech Humanists), Odeon, Praha 1975, pp. 259–260.

he became the scribe of the New Town of Prague. In 1599, Carolides's father died of injuries suffered at a construction site, and his wife Salomena and her father Pavel Žďárský died as well, probably of plague. Carolides remarried a year later, and his second wife was the widow Dorota Maušvicová from Kostelec nad Labem. He met her at the wedding of her father, the Kostelec primas Martin Říha, for whom he wrote an epithalamium. Thus began Carolides's relations with Kostelec; by the marriage, Bartoloměj Martinides and Jiří Hanuš Velimský became his brothers-in-law.⁴¹ In 1604 Carolides and his wife sold their property in Kostelec, and Martinides also left Kostelec two years later.

In ca. 1609 Carolides became an imperial notary and a member of a minor ten-man investigative bureau. After suffering property losses during the invasion of the Passauer Kriegsvolk, he withdrew from public life and devoted himself to writing poetry.⁴² In 1611 he became gravely ill,⁴³ wrote his own epitaph, and prepared for the publication of his last poetry collection *Sophonias propheta*. In it he bade farewell to his friends,⁴⁴ came to terms with his life, and also printed some older, previously unpublished poems.

Patrons and friends as the recipients of Carolides's dedications

Considering that Jiří Carolides had been a *poeta laureatus*, there are relatively few preserved examples of his printed odes to the ruler and poems connected with him, although that is just the kind of poetry expected of laureates. Besides short versified panegyrics to Rudolf II from about the time of Carolides's laureation and later epicedia in the collection *Sophonias propheta*, one also finds panegyric poems preserved there that are dedicated to Matthias of Habsburg (a Czech song and a Latin poetic composition about his coronation in 1611), along with couplets on a banner and on pictures that the painter Havel gave Matthias (*a Gallo pictore oblatus*).

The intermingling of dedications to aristocrats and to members of the circles of burghers is typical.⁴⁵ The higher nobility to whom he dedicated his works included Jiří of Šternberk, at the suggestion of Jiří Dikast he dedicated three prints to the Trčka of Lípa family (Dikast later served as a tutor for the Trčka family), he compiled an anthology of epicedia on the death of Adam of Hradec for his son Jáchym, and he also wrote verses for the deaths of Jindřich Slavata of Chlum and Johanna of Lobkowitz.

41) HEJNIC, Josef: *Paměti Jiřího Hanuše Velimského a humanistě doby rudolfínské v Kostelci nad Labem* (The Memoirs of Jiří Hanuš Velimský and the Rudolphine Humanist Era in Kostelec nad Labem), *Knihy a dějiny*, vol. 6, 1999, no. 1/2, pp. 1–35, here pp. 8–9.

42) He wrote about this in the foreword to *Silva carminum* (*Sophonias propheta*, op. cit. in footnote no. 17, A1b).

43) He wrote about this in *Sophonias propheta* L3b–L4a: “Morbi mei caussa, quem 9. Decembr. Anno 1611 hausi.” He tells about how after drinking at home with two friends, he had a fit of coughing and shortness of breath (*asthma*). This may have involved pneumonia.

44) To Dikast in *Sophonias propheta* P1a: “...Mihī reliquum nihil est: Novi connubia et novi / Flere homines cassos lumine, disco mori.”

45) See STORCHOVÁ, op. cit. in footnote no. 35, p. 241, who uses the example of Carolides's print *Conflagratio Gitzinae*. Another possible example is the poetry collection *Satellitium animi*, the first part of which is dedicated to Hodějovský of Hodějov, while the second part is dedicated to Carolides's patrons among the townsmen.

Predominant among the lower aristocracy to whom he addressed his dedications was the Hodějovský family, and Přeč of Hodějov in particular, to whom Carolides dedicated two large collections of poems, *Satellitium animi* and *Farrago symbolica sententiosa*. In the dedication, he recalls the tradition of patronage of poets in the person of an ancestor of the Hodějovský family, Jan Hodějovský of Hodějov the elder.⁴⁶ The burgher intellectuals to whom Carolides dedicated his poems included e.g. Daniel Adam of Velešlavín and Jan Kocín, and other dedicatees include Václav Radnický of Zhoř, Adam Skála of Zhoř⁴⁷ (Carolides wrote chronological poems for him and his relatives), Václav of Paumberk, Václav Šotnovský of Závoričice, Jiří Funk of Olivět, Zikmund Kozel of Rysenthal, Mikuláš Vodňanský of Čazarov, Jan Kaliště of Ottenfeld, Jan Eliščin of Kralice etc. Also deserving mention is the famous Polish alchemist Michael Sendivogius, to whose son Carolides dedicated fatherly advice in verse.⁴⁸ At the suggestion of Jan Litický of Šonov and using information he had provided, he wrote a poem about the building of a church in Litice.⁴⁹ He addressed Pavel Primus of Zvířetín in the dedication of his collection of epigrams,⁵⁰ apparently at the suggestion of his friend Jiří Dikast, who had recommended him to Primus.

Dikast was one of Carolides's closest friends and a dedicatee of his works, and they exchanged Latin poetry with each other. An exchange of poems is also documented for another of Carolides's friends, Adam Klement; Carolides published verses by both of them in a separate print.⁵¹ One also should not overlook Sofoniáš Rosacius,⁵² who is also the dedicatee of Carolides's last collection of poetry, not coincidentally titled *Sophonias propheta*. Carolides mentioned his friendships with both men in the following epigram:

*“Te penes una Dicaste mei, penes altera pars est
Sophoniam. Et quid ego? Totus ubi inveniar?”⁵³*

Carolides as a translator and poet and his relations with Prague printers and the university

Carolides won the greatest fame for his Latin poetry, which was an outgrowth of domestic roots while also reflecting fashionable trends of the period. Like his friend Bartoloměj Havlík of Varvažov, he translated into Czech. From German he translated Wilibald Pirckheimer's satire *Apologia seu Podagrae laus*,⁵⁴ and he published Czech and German versions of his

46) STORCHOVÁ, op. cit. in footnote no. 35, p. 128.

47) Carolides wrote chronological poems for him and his relatives; *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, 47a–48b.

48) *Praecepta institutionis generosae indolis iambico dimetro conscripta*, s. l.: s. t. [1598].

49) *Fundatio*, op. cit. in footnote no. 6.

50) *Georgii Carolidae ... liber epigrammatum ad ... Paulum Primum a Zvirzetina*, Prague: typis Ionatae Bohutsky a Hranicz 1609 (hereinafter *Liber epigrammatum*).

51) *Anagrammata ex nomine ... Adami Clementis Plseni*, Prague: typis Georgii Hanussii L. 1610.

52) For more about him, see *Rukověť* 4, pp. 362–363.

53) *Liber epigrammatum*, op. cit. in footnote no. 50, C3a.

54) *Knihopis* 7180.

educational writings dedicated to the gentlemen of the Trčka of Lípa family.⁵⁵ At Veleslavín's suggestion, he translated the *Confessio Christiani hominis* from Czech into Latin, and his Latin poems were added to many Czech-language prints and translations from the workshops of various printers. Unlike most of the humanists from the circle of the university, he had a very good mastery of German. His grandmother on his father's side came from Eisenach, and both grandparents lived in Plauen for a long time.⁵⁶ He may also have known some Italian, as is shown by his translations of Italian proverbs in the collection *Sophonias propheta*, designated as "*Ex Italico*".

It is also worth mentioning his relationship with Prague's printers, something in which he was unequalled among poets from the period before the Battle of White Mountain. Carolides's cooperation with Daniel Adam of Veleslavín was of the greatest importance. For his prints, between 1592 and 1598 Carolides wrote Latin accompanying poems and poems based on the insignia and symbols of patrons and benefactors, and these were also reprinted by Veleslavín's heirs. Together with Bartoloměj Havlík of Varvažov, Carolides also compiled a collection of Veleslavín's epicedia.⁵⁷ He also worked with such other printers as Anna Šumanová and Daniel Sedlčanský, and he wrote a poem based on the insignia and epicedium of Jiří Nigrin.⁵⁸ Also certainly playing a role is the fact that Carolides's stepbrother Daniel was also printer. Carolides wrote an epithalamium for Jonata Bohutský, a publisher of his works.⁵⁹ It tells us much about his character that he did not attend Bohutský's wedding in person and sent his poem in place of himself (literally "*loco sui*"). Carolides declared his admiration for the art of book printing in a poem in praise of typography and in an epigram on the same theme, both of which follow in an older tradition.⁶⁰

Jan Martínek has already written a detailed discussion of Carolides's relationship with Prague's university.⁶¹ Based on his research, we can say that Carolides, being sufficiently well off, was not motivated to obtain a university professorship, so his ties to the university were rather loose, and his works are not found very often in the occasional prints of the university circle. In part for this reason, he was rather easily overshadowed in the university milieu by Jan Campanus, whose popularity was growing in part because the university was his home territory. However, according to Martínek, unlike Campanus, Carolides was bringing stimuli

55) *Knihopis* 3784.

56) See *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, introduction A4b.

57) *Lugubria in obitum M. Danielis Adami a Veleslavina*, Prague: typis Haeredum M. Danielis Adami 1599, A2ab; he reprinted his own again in *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, 68ab.

58) Insignia e.g. BOAISTUAU, Pierre: *Theatrum mundi minoris*, Praha: Jiří Nigrin 1605; for more about the epicedium in the print NK Sd 864, adligat 17: *In obitum ... Georgii Nigrini a Nigroponte*, see MARTÍNEK, Jan: *Nová humanistica* (New Humanism), *Listy filologické*, vol. 90, 1967, p. 79.

59) *Oda anagrammatica ad nuptias ... Ionatae Bohutsky de Hranicz*, [Prague 1607].

60) VOIT, Petr: *Knihtisk (chvály a oslavy)* (Book Printing – Praise and Celebration) [entry], in: *Encyklopedie knihy: knihtisk a příbuzné obory v 15. až 19. století*, Libri, Praha 2006, p. 455 (hereinafter VOIT).

61) MARTÍNEK 2014, op. cit. in footnote no. 18; MARTÍNKOVÁ, Dana: *Ohlas vynálezu knihtisku v naší latinsky psané literatuře* (Echoes of the Invention of Book Printing in Our Literate Written in Latin), in: *Knihtisk a kniha v českých zemích od husitství do Bílé hory. Sborník prací věnovaných k 500. výročí knihtisku* (ed. J. Polišenský), Academia, Praha 1970, pp. 153–167, here pp. 163–164.

to the university from abroad and literary contacts with foreign scholars.⁶² It is not possible to agree unreservedly with this assertion. At first Carolides did in fact bring in foreign influences, but he was soon replaced in this capacity by the young poet Pavel of Jizbice, who drew not only from the poetry of German authors, but also from his journeys to universities in the Netherlands. Campanus and, paradoxically, Jizbický (who was in conflict with Prague's university) were regarded as Carolides's greatest rivals in the field of poetry.⁶³

Carolides took a rather superior attitude towards the university poets, as one can tell from the advice on how to write poetry that he gave Jan Campanus and Kryštof Mathebaeus.⁶⁴ His relations with the university masters later on are fittingly illustrated by Carolides's dispute and subsequent fight with Mikuláš Troilus at the Collegium Carolinum in 1608, an account of which has been preserved in Carolides's letter to the rector Bacháček. The argument ended with Troilus taking Carolides's hat, cloak, and collar.⁶⁵ Carolides demanded satisfaction from the academy, which defended itself. Finally, the dispute with the university was settled amicably at the home of the New Town mayor Melichar Šerý.

Carolides undoubtedly welcomed the later reform of the university, as is shown by his poem accompanying the speech of Jan Smil of Michalovice *De maturanda redintegratione antiquae illius Academiae Pragensis* dated 1610.⁶⁶

Carolides was rather conservative, and he maintained long-term, always cordial relationships.⁶⁷ He was deeply religious, and he condemned poetic wordplay (although several of his epigrams could be described as such from a formal viewpoint) and empty versification. Besides occasional poetry, his domains were moralising poems and pedagogical writings. In some ways he is similar to Bohuslaus of Lobkowitz and Hassenstein, whom he probably saw somewhat as a role model. For example, his *Satyra* or praise of book printing—those are both themes that Hassenstein dealt with both before he did. Carolides had more of an affinity for satire than humour. In fact, even in his last collection *Sophonias propheta*, which he compiled while being aware of his approaching death, he included a large number of bitterly satirical comments. Apart from drunkenness, arrogance, and immorality, he also ridiculed a “Czech writer of verses.” This ridicule is directed at one person in particular, Šimon Lomnický of Budeč, and not at poetry written in Czech in general, which Carolides himself cultivated, following his father's footsteps.

62) MARTÍNEK 2014, op. cit. in footnote no. 18, p. 157.

63) He wrote to Remus about Campanus in *Sophonias propheta*, op. cit. in footnote no. 17, R1b nn. Concerning Jizbický, who ridiculed Carolides by calling him Ricodalus, see STORCHOVÁ, op. cit. in footnote no. 35, pp. 293–294, and earlier HRDINA, Karel: *Humanistický básník Pavel z Jizbice* (The Humanist Poet Pavel of Jizbice), *Listy filologické*, vol. 50, 1923, p. 212. Also directed against Jizbický is Carolides's poem *In calumniatorem meum*, *Sophonias propheta* R3b.

64) *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, passim.

65) DVORSKÝ, František: *Paměti o školách českých. Listář školství českého v Čechách a na Moravě od 1598 do 1616 s doklady starší i pozdější školy* (Memoirs about Czech Schools. Archive of Czech Education in Bohemia and Moravia from 1598 to 1616 with Documents of the Older and Later School), Nakl. Fr. A. Urbánek, Praha 1886, p. 435. We are printing a transcript of Carolides's letter to the rector Bacháček in Appendix No. 2.

66) *Rukověť* 3, p. 327.

67) Also see MARTÍNEK 1964, op. cit. in footnote no. 2, p. 38.

Carolides and music

Although Carolides was a well-known figure in Rudolphine Bohemia, neither in his literary works nor in reflections of his peers do we find any clear, significant mention of him having been an active musician or have himself been a composer. However, if we immerse ourselves more deeply into the study of period sources, we find that he had a very intense relationship with music and that he cultivated music in practice.⁶⁸ At the same time, it is clear that for Carolides, the art of music was primarily connected with profound piety. From his poetry, we know that he had personal contacts with confraternities of literati in several Czech towns. Those associations were the main standard-bearers of the musical culture of townspeople in the period after the Battle of White Mountain. For example, he dedicated his collection of 56 versified *sententiae* to the literati in Klatovy,⁶⁹ and to the literati in Domažlice he dedicated a collection of 22 *sententiae* that same year.⁷⁰ He was probably also in contact with the confraternity of literati at Prague's Church of Our Lady before Týn.⁷¹ Among Carolides's numerous epigrams, epitaphs, poems in insignia, funeralia, and *symbola* dedicated to his contemporaries, we also find poems that were intended for Czech composers and musicians. These were leading representatives of the musical life of townsfolk at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries: Pavel Spongopaeus Jistebnický,⁷² Jiří Tachovský,⁷³ Jakub Romanides Bydžovský,⁷⁴ and Václav and Jiří Rychnovský.⁷⁵ In 1609 Carolides also arranged a collection of *epicedia* by Jan Audax, a teacher at the school at the Church of St Wenceslas at Zderaz and a superb singer.⁷⁶

68) BRANBERGER, Jan: *Hudební úvahy o české humanistické poesii* (Musical Reflections on Czech Humanist Poetry), *Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk, Třída filosoficko-historicko-filologická*, Praha 1948. This study also mentions Carolides as a composer of polyphonic music who, at the same time, is not one of the “composers of Czech metrical music” (p. 12). DANĚK, Petr: *Rukopisná část konvolutu Se 1337* (The Manuscript Part of the Convolute Se 1337), thesis, Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Karlova, Praha 1981; DANĚK, Petr: *Málo známý pramen vokální polyfonie rudolfínské éry* (A Little-Known Source of Vocal Polyphony of the Rudolphine Era), *Hudební věda*, vol. 20, 1983, no. 3, pp. 257–265, here p. 264 (hereinafter DANĚK 1983); *Dvojsborová moteta rudolfínské Prahy. Antologie osmihlasých motet z českých rukopisů a tisků* (Double-Choir Motets of Rudolphine Prague: An Anthology of Eight-Voice Motets from Bohemian Manuscripts and Prints), ed. Petr Daněk – Martin Horyna, KLP, Praha 2020 (hereinafter *Dvojsborová moteta*), where there is a critical edition of most of the compositions from the convolute in CZ-Pu Se 1337 that are connected with Jiří Carolides. Also cf. VACULÍNOVÁ, Marta – DANĚK, Petr: *Jiří Carolides (1569–1612). The Poet and Composer Who Travelled Little*, *Czech Music Quarterly*, no. 3, 2020, pp. 31–37.

69) *Sententiae LVI salubria et vitae humanae ... continentes*, Pragae: typis M. Danielis Adami 1597.

70) *Aureae XXII sententiae*, Pragae: typis M. Danielis Adami 1597.

71) Carolides was the author of the following inscription in the choir loft of the Týn Church dated 1599: “Inscriptio chori musici in templo B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis] ante Laetam curiam, renovati ab Ioh. Albino a Greyffenberg”, in: *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, no. 55 (numbering taken from *Rukověť*).

72) *Farrago*, op. cit. in footnote no. 34, K3a: *Symbol. Pauli Spongopaei Gistebnic. Pietatem sequitur gratia.*

73) *Ibid.*, K8b: *De Catharina filia Georg. Tach.*

74) Epigrams in the collection *Parentalia*, *Epigr.* I nos. 89, 117, 269, op. cit. in footnote no. 4.

75) *Liber epigrammatum*, op. cit. in footnote no. 50, *Venceslaus Richnovsky Chrudimenus, Geor. Rich(novsky) musici filius*, KNM (CZ-Pn) 49 E 47, fol. C5b.

76) *Iusta exsequialia ... Iohanni Audaci*, Pragae: typis Pauli Sessii 1609, NK (CZ-Pu) 50 F 60, adligate 11. For more about him, see *Rukověť* 1, 110.

Besides those honorific poetic activities intended as tributes to Czech literati, there are also compositions preserved in musical manuscripts of domestic provenience that identify Carolides by name as the author. An anthology of the Rokycany literati⁷⁷ contains the motet *Pane králi všech národů* and the two-part motet *Veselte se křesťané / Protož každý člověče* and their attribution to Carolides. A unique anthology of motets owned by the literati in Rakovník⁷⁸ contains the two-part funeral motet for eight voices *Cantio funebris / Rozžehnejme se s tímto tělem*, of which Jiří Carolides was also the composer (and possibly the author of the text). A set of partbooks constituting extraordinary documentation of Carolides's active involvement with music has been preserved at the National Library in Prague, and according to the bookplates, the partbooks come from Carolides's book collection.⁷⁹ The convolute of two prints contains notation of 18 Latin and Czech motets.⁸⁰ The prints are from the Nuremberg workshop of Katharina Gerlach, and they represent an anthology that was very popular in its day and was widely distributed. The collection contains of motets for the entire liturgical year by leading, mostly contemporary Italy composers (Palestrina, Claudio Merula, Severin Cornet, Jacobus Corfinus, Andrea Gabrieli, Giovanni Gabrieli, Luca Marenzio, Tiburzio Massaini etc.). Known by the title *Sacrae cantiones cum quinque, sex et pluribus vocibus de festis praecipuis totius anni* (1585, 1588),⁸¹ the anthology was prepared for printing by the German Protestant composer and publisher Friedrich Lindner (1542–1597), and it was one of the popular collections that was in demand among performers in central Europe. Carolides was apparently the first owner of these Nuremberg prints because he inscribed his name in his own hand on the title page (Geor: Carolides). At the same time, he had loose leaves bound together with it. These had musical staves on which notation of more polyphonic compositions was added later based on the selection and possibilities available to the user of the convolute.

77) Archive of the deanery in Rokycany, shelf mark A V 24a (alt), A V 24b (tenor); no. 36 *Veselte se křesťané* in the alto and tenor volumes; no. 39 *Pane králi všech národů* only in the tenor volume. Interestingly, the author of the first motet is designated only by the name Carolides, while the second gives the author's name as an abbreviation with his epithet (GCaC), and that might document that the composition was not written until after his elevation to the nobility.

78) Rakovník: Muzeum T.G.M., manuscript, acquisition no. 94, 95/2002, no shelf mark, alto and tenor. Two voices are preserved from the original polyphonic collection; Carolides's motet notated only in the alto part under no. 29, fol. 101r–102r. Also cf. TROLDA, Emilián: *Kališnická hudba v Rakovnicích* (Utraquist Music in Rakovník), *Věstník Musejního spolku královského města Rakovníka*, vol. XXII, 1932, pp. 34–39; MUSIL, Aleš: *Hlasové knihy z Rakovníka* (Part Books from Rakovník), bachelor's thesis, Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, Ústav hudební vědy, Brno 2016, p. 47 nn. Vagans volume is also preserved fragmentarily; see NM-ČMH (CZ-Pnm) XXIX D 139a. See ŠTEFANCOVÁ, Dagmar: *Zlomky českých renesančních skladeb* (Fragments of Czech Renaissance Compositions), *Hudební věda*, vol. 47, 2010, nos. 2–3, pp. 117–130. The fragment does not contain Carolides's motet.

79) Praha: Národní knihovna České republiky, CZ-Pu Se 1337.

80) DANĚK, Petr: *Historické tisky vokální polyfonie, rané monodie, hudební teorie a instrumentální hudby v českých zemích do roku 1630* (Historical Prints of Vocal Polyphony, Early Monody, Music Theory, and Instrumental Music in the Bohemian Lands before 1630), KLP, Praha 2015, p. 109–112 (hereinafter DANĚK 2015).

81) RISM B/I 1585¹ and 1588². This is still plentifully preserved in many European and American libraries.



Beginning of notation of a motet *Veselte se křesťané / Protož každý člověče*

Začátek zápisu moteta *Veselte se křesťané / Protož každý člověče*

Library of the Roman Catholic Parish in Rokycany / Knihovna římskokatolické farnosti v Rokycanech (CZ-ROK), shelf mark AV 24a (altus), no. / č. 36

Although most of these compositions in manuscript lack any designation of their authorship,⁸² further comparisons with period European sources reveal that the owner and user, who was for a definite period of time undoubtedly Jiří Carolides,⁸³ chose works that were interesting and, in a sense, representative, and that he was not lacking in the ability to recognise music of high quality and an exceptional nature. It is clear that he gave preference to compositions for double choir and for eight voices, which were popular or even fashionable at the end of the 16th century.⁸⁴ In this varied selection we find works by Charles Luython, Giovanni Croce, Ruggiero Giovanelli, Orlando di Lasso, Domenico Phinot, and Christopher Clavius.⁸⁵ Among the composers of foreign origin whose works are recorded with a Latin text

82) DANĚK 1983, op. cit. in footnote no. 68.

83) His name is crossed out on the title pages of the first print of the convolute, and that indicates a later change of user.

84) *Dvojsborová moteta*, op. cit. in footnote no. 68, p. VIII ff.

85) For a precise overview of the compositions in the manuscript part of the convolute including the determination of authorship, see *Dvojsborová moteta*, op. cit. in footnote no. 68, pp. VIII, XII.



that is supplemented somewhere in the copy with a new text in Czech, the manuscript part of the convolute also contains two eight-voice motets, which bear Carolides's name. These are successful compositions, and Carolides's name again undoubtedly appears with them to attribute the composing of the music to him, because the very first of these is a musical setting of verses 30 and 31 from Psalm 109, *Confitebor Domino nimis in ore meo*, which was a widely used text.⁸⁶

In the case of the second motet, however, it is very likely that Carolides wrote not only the music, but also the text. This is a wedding motet consisting of two parts and written for eight voices, titled *Augustine sacros thalami / Tu quoque Elissa*,⁸⁷ which was written in ca. 1598 for the wedding of Jan Augustin Malinovský of Hlaváčov and Alžběta Písecká (Elysabetha Piscena), who lived in Rakovník.⁸⁸ The manuscript adligate also contains other motets of Czech

86) Ibid, pp. 2–9.

87) Ibid, pp. 18–31.

88) *Rukověť 3*, p. 249.

provenience with texts that document the longevity of the tradition of Jan Hus in Rudolphine Bohemia. This involves the anonymous motets *Salve sancte cinis*, *V naději Boží Mistr Hus Jan*, and *Jubila felix Boemia*, which confirms that the owner of the convolute belonged to the Utraquist denomination. In the case of the composition *V naději Boží Mistr Hus Jan*, in view of the style, the manner of composition, and the voice leading, one can also hypothesise Jiří Carolides's authorship, although he is not directly identified in the manuscript by name.⁸⁹ The motet is an interesting polyphonic setting of four stanzas of a song apparently written shortly after the death of Jan Hus at the turn of 1415/1416, and that was in circulation in Czech-speaking territory until the beginning of the 17th century.⁹⁰ During the introduction, two voices of the motet also quote the beginning of the original melody of a monophonic song.

All of Carolides's preserved compositions, and especially those that are notated with relatively complete voices in the convolute in the collection of the National Library in Prague (Se 1337), document the composer's true inventiveness and skill. One therefore wonders why Carolides did not have them published in print in view of his long-term personal relations with Prague printers. Apparently, a role was played by the tradition of passing on and preserving the musical repertoire of the Utraquist literati by making copies, and this was also based on the limited quantity of potential recipients and users. At the same time, for Prague's best known music printer, the Catholic Jiří Nigrin, who could conceivably have published Carolides's music in terms of the equipping of his workshop and the character of his production, it would have been problematic to print motets on subject matter involving Jan Hus.⁹¹ In any case, it is surprising that Carolides's musical works were not preserved in any other sources from before the Battle of White Mountain, and especially in the manuscripts of the literati, and that he was not, for example, also called (and celebrated as) a *musicus*. The quality of preserved works that he composed would have made this possible. Carolides's fame as a poet undoubtedly played a role in this. Society saw him mostly as a leading author of Latin poetry of the day.

As with other composers who were townsmen during the period before the Battle of White Mountain, one wonders where and why Carolides learned to compose so skilfully. We will not find any definite answer. He was not a trained composer like the court musicians, but like other composers from the milieu of the Czech literati, he was motivated to make attempts at composing by his innate musicality enhanced by the almost daily singing that teaching at a school entailed, and probably also by personal involvement in the life of one of Prague's confraternities of literati. For us today, it is difficult to imagine the importance, frequency, and even to a certain degree the self-evident standing of music, which also performed communicational, educational, and socialising functions in the society of that

89) *Dvojsborová moteta*, op. cit. in footnote no. 68, pp. VIII., XII, 61–79.

90) *Ibid*, p. 79; for details, see FOJTÍKOVÁ, Jana: *Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století. Příspěvek ke studiu husitské tradice v době předbělohorské* (Musical Documentation of the Hus Cult of the 15th and 16th Centuries: A Contribution to the Study of the Hussite Tradition in the Period before the Battle of White Mountain), *Miscellanea musicologica*, tomus XXIX, Univerzita Karlova, Praha 1981, pp. 69–70, 86–87, 98, 105–108.

91) DANĚK 2015, op. cit. in footnote no. 80, pp. 23–42.

time. The way that Carolides became a composer was similar to how he found the path to literary expression. He quite definitely had talent, he was perceptive of period trends in the arts, and he acquired technique and skill by imitating chosen models on the basis of the fundamentals of the art of music, which the system of education of that time offered him.

Among the manuscript compositions in Carolides's convolute, the motet *Dies est laetitiae*⁹² has a special standing, including when taking into consideration Carolides's temporary connection with the imperial court. The motet is recorded anonymously, but by comparison with other sources, the composer can be identified as the imperial court organist and composer Charles Luython (1557–1620). Carolides's manuscript records what is the oldest and probably also the original version of the composition. Luython's motet has been preserved down to the present in two (or three) variants and in six different sources, including a relatively late printed edition (1629).⁹³ Its popularity is documented not only by the relatively wide geographic dispersion of the preserved sources (Praha, Přeštice, Ljubljana, Innsbruck, Dresden – in this case, the specimen in question belongs to the Jesuits from the Klementinum in Prague), but also by the use of this motet with the Czech text *Nastal nám den veselý* in the milieu of the literati. Carolides probably got Luython's motet directly at court because the dating of the notation corresponds to the estimated time when the work was composed. Other compositions of the manuscript section come either from the user, from the milieu of the Czech Utraquist literati, or were copied from available prints of foreign provenience.⁹⁴

The manuscript addendum to Carolides's convolute is unique in terms of the kinds of motets it contains when compared with other Czech manuscripts of vocal polyphony from before the Battle of White Mountain. It is not lengthy, but it was still made in several stages, as can be seen from the typology of the scribes' handwriting and, in a sense, from the character of selected compositions. Although one does not find in it any clear interconnecting intent, it clearly reflects various preferences of the compiler or user. Above all, this applies to the required vocal forces. Most of the compositions, including those attributed to Carolides, are for eight voices or at least for double choir. All of the compositions are sacred (or moralist), including those that cannot be understood as liturgical because they were written for the occasion of a wedding or funeral. There are also numerous compositions with Czech texts that concern Jan Hus. Several of the compositions are unique and could be performed only once per year or on specific occasions. The manuscript thus could be used not only at worship services, but also on other religious or social occasions, probably by some community of educated persons such as a confraternity of literati or a group of people brought together by their religious denomination, location, or social status.

The convolute is also one of the artefacts documenting the existence of Carolides's library, which he remembered in his will, including the existence of an inventory of the library.⁹⁵

92) *Dvojsborová moteta*, op. cit. in footnote no. 68, pp. 80–109.

93) *Ibid*, p. 106.

94) Collective of authors: *Konvolut NK ČR Se 1337* (The Convolute NK ČR Se 1337), term paper, supervisors: Petr Daněk – Jan Baťa, Ústav hudební vědy, Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Karlova, Praha 2012.

95) Prague City Archives, *Knihy testamentů*, manuscript 2209, fol. 410a–411b.

He labelled his books with manuscript ex-libris or also with a supralibros consisting of his initials M.G.K.A.K. (Magister Georgius Karolides a Karlsperka). However, the library was dispersed over time. We encounter individual, rare specimens at the National Library in Prague,⁹⁶ the Strahov Library of the Premonstratensians,⁹⁷ or the Austrian National Library.⁹⁸

Jiří Carolides has been cited in the musicology literature, and in connection with music he continues to be cited as the author of an introductory poem to a posthumous collection of *Moralia*⁹⁹ by an important composer of the High Renaissance, Jacobus Handl Gallus (1550–1591). The title of the foreword is *Ad cantorem modularum Handellii*.¹⁰⁰ No contacts between them have been documented, however. This may have simply been a posthumous tribute to a respected musician, or it may have been commissioned by the publisher. Carolides wrote *Ad cantorem* before his laureation and elevation to the nobility (although he was already using the predicate “a Karlsperka” here). It is printed before the foreword to the printed edition of Handl’s *Moralia*, which was prepared for publication by the Olomouc printer Jiří Handl, the brother of the deceased composer. For publication, Handl chose the Nuremberg printing workshop of Alexander Philipp Dietrich. That printing workshop was continuing with the work begun by the printers Berg (Montanus) and Neuber, which had been taken over by Berg’s widow Katharina Gerlach. This continuity is documented, for example, by Michael Weiß’s cantionals for the Unity of the Brethren.

96) 9 B 126 (*Guilelmi Paradini Epigrammata*), 10 F 89: the supralibros of Jiří Carolides, M.G.K. A.K. 1595; the specimen of *Parentalia* with the supralibros G.C.A. K., 52 G 22 bears a dedication to Carolides’s son Jan Jiří. Written on the front end sheet (perhaps by Carolides) is the couplet: “Pieridas puro venerato corde Sorores / Angusta ad Musas currere perge Via”; To Petr Saucupiades he dedicated by postscript the print 52 C 18, adligate 16; for information about the convolute Se 1337, see below, 9 I 275 adligate (1) donated by Carolides to C. Rittershausen.

97) HAMANOVA, Pavlína: *Z dějin knižní vazby: od nejstarších dob do konce 19. stol.* (From the History of Bookbinding: From the Most Ancient Times until the End of the 19th Century), Orbis, Praha 1959, p. 114 mentions the print CF V 74 – (MELANDER: *Jocorum atque seriorum cum novorum selectorum*) with words around the symbol that read: “Girzy Karolides z Karlsperka – sobie a diediczum swym 1596 – Pomni na sebe” (Jiří Carolides of Karlsperk – to himself and his heirs in 1596 – Remember Thyself), with the initials GKAK; LIFKA, Bohumír: *Exlibris a supralibros v českých korunních zemích v letech 1000 až 1900* (The Ex-Libris and Supralibros in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown from the Year 1000 through 1900), Spolek sběratelů a přátel exlibris, Praha 1982, p. 92 also mentions AD IX 123/1 (BARLANDUS: *Jocorum veterum ac recentium libri tres*, Coloniae 1529). We find Carolides’s dedication to Jan Pithopaeus in printed specimens of his own works AA XIV 25, adligate 36 and FK V 10, adligate 40.

98) A printed edition of Martialis at the ÖNB Wien, 22.P.40. Inscription on the title page: “Geor. Carolides a Carlsperka, munus accipi a Dn. Alex. Dworsky a Ruprstorff 1604”; also a specimen of *Epigrammatum pars altera* by Salomon Frenzelius, Helmstedt 1599, shelf mark *35.X.174 with the manuscript ex-libris “Geor. Carolides a Carlsperga”.

99) Nuremberg, Alexander Philipp Dietrich, 1596. RISM A/I H 1989. *Gallusovi predgovori in drugi dokumenti* (Gallus’s Forewords and Other Documents), ed. Edo Škulj, Družina, Ljubljana 1991, pp. 102–106, 170–171. Modern editions: *The Moralia of 1596*, Part I./II., ed. Allen B. Skej, Medison: A-R Editions, 1970, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 7, 8; *Moralia*, ed. Edo Škulj, Ljubljana 1995, Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae XXI.

100) CVETKO, Dragotin: *Iacobus Hándl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana 1991, p. 38 (hereinafter CVETKO); MOTNIK, Marko: *Jacob Handl-Gallus. Werk – Überlieferung – Rezeption*, Hans Schneider, Tutzing 2012, pp. 45, 49 (hereinafter MOTNIK).

So far, we know of no connection between Carolides and Jiří Handl or the printer Dietrich, and we can only speculate about the contacts through which Carolides's poem was ordered for printing. It is certain that at the time he already had a reputation as a good Latin poet, and he had already enjoyed success with publishing the collection *Satellitia* (1593), in which he recast the poetry of very popular *moralia* (sententiae with moral lessons) by Johannes Lodovicus Vives. At the time, the genre of prose and especially poetic sententiae of a religious and educational character was very popular, and Carolides was one of the leading representatives of the genre in this country. It may have been for this reason that the publisher Jiří Handl chose him to write the introductory verses for a print that contained musical settings of *moralia* by various composers. Jacob Handl Gallus used the term *moralia* for his small-scale compositions (we do not encounter this term with other composers). In the foreword, they are defined as inventive and humorous sententiae that are intended to please people's souls in their times of sorrow.¹⁰¹ A certain role in their publication may have been played by a dedication to the town council of Prague's Old Town, to whom Carolides had dedicated a panegyric tract two years earlier for the town council's renewal.¹⁰² It is possible that Jiří Handl wanted to settle in Prague, but he was not sufficiently supported by the Old Town municipal council, and ultimately he moved that same year to Olomouc, where he established a printing business.¹⁰³

In addition, Carolides is persistently but erroneously identified as the author of the text of a composition by Jacob Handl-Gallus titled *Chimarrahae tibi io*,¹⁰⁴ which was actually a gift for the name day of the imperial court chaplain Jacobus Chimarrahaeus (1542–1614), whom we mentioned in the introduction to our text.¹⁰⁵ The speculation of Carolides's authorship originated with Josef Mantuani, who expressed the opinion in 1899 that the composition was written in ca. 1588,¹⁰⁶ when Chimarrahaeus established the Confraternity

101) Fol. A2a: "... vix aliquid ex moralibus (quemadmodum eas ipse adpellari voluit) in lucem emitit, cum ecce ex diversis provinciis a familiaribus, viris eruditis, compluria ingeniose et facete dicta, gravesque ac iucundae sententiae transmittuntur, ut per ipsum numeris Musicis ad exemplum praemissarum adplicarentur. Et illis itaque satisfacere exoptans, rem prompte adgressus, multas iam Musicis coloribus exornavit, absolvissetque, omnes, nisi Mors immatura homini vitalem spiritum praecidisset."

102) *Sacrum amplissimo ... Antique Pragae senatui*, Pragae: Jan Othmar 1594.

103) VOIT, Jiří Handl [entry], op. cit. in footnote no. 60, pp. 341–342.

104) CVETKO, op. cit. in footnote no. 100, pp. 33, 38, 50; MOTNIK, op. cit. in footnote no. 100, p. 112. Most recently EDWARDS, Scott Lee: *Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570–1630*, dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 2012, p. 60, footnote no. 148 (hereinafter EDWARDS).

105) The composition is part of the printed anthology of panegyric motets *Odae suavissimae in gratiam et honorem admodum reverendi ac Illustris Domini D. Jacobi Chimarrahaei Ruremundani S. C. M. supremi eleemosynarii ... a diversis excellentissimis musicis partim V, partim VI vocibus decantatae*, for which neither the printer nor the year of publication is identified. Cf. RISM B/I [ca. 1610]¹.

106) It is in fact to that year that Cvetko dates the composition's printing: *Jacobus Gallus Carniolus and His Music*, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 31, No. 77 (June 1953), pp. 495–502, here p. 499. However, it is likely that the entire print was not made until after 1600; see NIEMÖLLER, Klaus: *Die musikalische Festschrift für den Direktor der Prager Hofkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1602*, in: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlich Kongress Bonn 1970, Kassel 1971, p. 521; hereinafter BAJEROVÁ, Jana: *Jacobus Chimarrahaeus a sbírka motet Odae Suavissimae* (Jacobus Chimarrahaeus and the Anthology of Motets *Odae Suavissimae*), term paper, Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Karlova, Praha 2001; JAKOUBKOVÁ, Petra:

of the Blessed Sacrament (*Confraternitas venerabilis eucharistiae sacramenti*) at court.¹⁰⁷ According to Mantuani, the occasional poems in honour of Chimarraeus in Carolides's collection *Farrago symbolica sententiosa* were grounds for postulating Carolides's authorship of the text. However, that collection was not published until 1597, and the poems in it for Chimarraeus were undoubtedly written in connection with Carolides's laureation in July 1596. In 1588, the year to which Mantuani dates Handl's composition, Carolides was not yet even a bachelor, and he had thus far written only a few occasional poems and his first work, *Ionas propheta*. We might seek the real author of *Chimarraeae tibi io* among the literati who had already begun their careers as poets, such as Salomon Frenelius, whose texts Gallus set to music,¹⁰⁸ or a different poet with ties to the imperial almoner (Hieronymus Arconatus or one of the many Silesian laureates, or even Georgius Bartholdus Pontanus, who wrote very similar congratulations for Chimarraeus's name day).¹⁰⁹ Carolides did not pay poetic tribute to Chimarraeus until later, including a panegyric poem about his coat-of-arms titled *In insignia R. D. Iacobi Chimarraei*, which was printed at the Prague printing workshop of Jiří Nigrin in 1598 in the introduction to an anthology dedicated to him, containing Marian motets by Francisco di Sale (1543–1599), a singer at the imperial court. The anthology is titled *Salutationes ad beatissimam dei genitricem ac Virginem Mariam*.¹¹⁰ The aristocratic composer Kryštof Harant (1564–1621) also asked Carolides for the poem for printing in connection with the publishing of his *Putování aneb Cesta z Království českého do Benátek a odtud do země Svaté* (Journey from Bohemia to the Holy Land, by way of Venice and the Sea, Praha: dědicové Adama z Veleslavína 1608).¹¹¹

Besides panegyric poems by Jiří Carolides serving to bolster the prestige of the author or of the addressee of the dedication of a particular print, there are also preserved texts that clearly were intended to be set to music. Apparently, the oldest documentation of Carolides's

Typografie hudebních tisků Jiřího Nigrina (The Typography of Music Printed by Jiří Nigrin), master's thesis, Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Karlova, Praha 2014, esp. pp. 46–48.

107) The year of the establishment of the court's Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament is stated as 1580 in *Rukověť 2*, p. 384, but the correct date should be 1588. Chimarraeus described the creation of the confraternity in the foreword to the treatise that also contains its bylaws, *Sacrum gazophylacium* (Pragae: G. Nigrinus 1588); see LINDELL, Robert: *Music and patronage at the court of Rudolf II., Part III Churches, Orders, Guilds, Confraternities: Change and continuity in the Reformation period: church music in north German towns, 1500–1600*, in: *Institutions and Patronage in Renaissance Music*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste, Routledge, London 2019, pp. 261–262. In the foreword, Chimarraeus also lists some of the members of the confraternity who were musicians and members of the choir: the Italian Sinibaldi, the Spaniard Martin de Cuenca, from Germany the servant of the court chancellor Johann Pauseck, and from Belgium the court merchant Rulandus de Hollanda. Pavel Sixt Trautson became the patron of the confraternity.

108) DESMET, Marc: *Jacob Handl Gallus i Śląsk. Między danymi biograficznymi a kwestiami stylokrtycznymi* (Jacobus Handl Gallus and Silesia: Between Biographical Data and Questions of Stylistic Criticism), *Muzyka*, vol. 53, 2008, no. 4, pp. 39–66.

109) We find them under the initials G. P. in Jacobus Vivarius's print *Carmen gratulatorium in honorem ... D. Iacobi Chimarraei, Coloniae Agrippinae*: apud Gerhardum Greuenbruch 1595, E1ab.

110) DANĚK, Petr: *Dum pulsantur organa. Znovunalezený tisk Francisca Saleho z dílny Jiřího Nigrina (1598)* (Dum pulsantur organa. A Rediscovered Printing of Franciscus Sales from the Workshop of Jiří Nigrin – 1598), in: DANĚK 2015, op. cit. in footnote no. 80, pp. 43–54.

111) *Knihopis 2903*, RISM A/I H 2010.

activity as a poet and simultaneously as a composer is a five-voice composition in honour of the memory of the master Jacobus Codicillus.¹¹² It was created during Carolides's studies at Prague's university. The fact that music never abandoned Carolides even near the end of his life is shown by the text *De S. Remigio ad Harmoniam musicam* in his last collection of poetry *Sophonias propheta* (1612).¹¹³ However, there is now no preserved notation for any of them.

Other poems by Carolides reveal his active involvement in musical life as a choir member, and he also wrote an epigram titled *Musica*, in which he extols music as an art that ought to serve God and pious thoughts, and not Bacchus and Venus.¹¹⁴ In another poem titled *Vita ceu harmonia*, he compares the order of human life to a perfect consonance of voices. He defends cantors from critics, calling them artistic creators and saying he would be glad to support them.¹¹⁵ Elsewhere he praises Czech sacred songs that were copied from an ancient manuscript and notated by a graduate of Prague's university Jan Makovinus of Kolín.¹¹⁶ Makovinus, who also wrote an epicedium for Carolides's father and received verses from Carolides,¹¹⁷ was undoubtedly a music lover. In 1608 he donated a Nuremberg edition of the motets of Orlando di Lasso to the Collegium Carolinum.¹¹⁸ He dedicated an epigram to the Sušice townsman Jan Cautus for his name day.¹¹⁹ In it, he describes the choir of the Sušice literati, with whom they both sang for the celebration of the Feast of St John the Baptist.

Conclusion

Carolides's career at the beginning of the 17th century would have turned out differently if he had converted to Catholicism, but that was out of the question in view of his profound piety inherited from his father and his firm grounding in the Utraquist milieu. As a non-Catholic, he was long unable to find success at court although he was unquestionably an excellent poet. Therefore, after a brief period surrounding his laureation and the popularity of his works that came with it, he returned to the environment of townsmen from which he came. Similarly, his original musical compositions are also anchored in the Czech milieu. At the same time, however, as a member of a group of literati and an active musician, he was interested in music imported from abroad and in what was being composed in the circles

112) DANĚK 1983, op. cit. in footnote no. 68, p. 264.

113) In those days, the only church dedicated to Saint Remigius was in Prague-Čakovice.

114) *Farrago*, op. cit. in footnote no. 34, H4a.

115) *Epigrammatum liber secundus*, op. cit. in footnote no. 11, D1a: *In cantores*, see Appendix No. 3.

116) *Liber epigrammatum*, op. cit. in footnote no. 50, C6b: *In cantiones Bohemicas descriptas ab Ioh. Mak. Colon.*

117) *Parentalia*, op. cit. in footnote no. 4, 11a. Carolides's epigrams about a wedding dedicated to Makovinus; *ibid*, p. 34a.

118) Probably in his will because he died that year; see *Rukověť 3*, p. 246, and WINTER, Zikmund: *O životě na vysokých školách pražských; kulturní obraz XV. a XVI. století* (About Life at Prague's Universities: A Cultural Picture of the 15th and 16th Centuries), *Matice česká*, Praha 1899, p. 182; EDWARDS, op. cit. in footnote no. 104, p. 39 identifies the print as *Selectissimae cantiones*, Nuremberg: Gerlach 1587.

119) We know nothing more about Cautus. *Rukověť* only mentions Jan Cautus of Vyškov, a student at the Jesuit academy in Olomouc.

of the Rudolphine composers. Throughout his active lifetime, Carolides cultivated contacts with confraternities of literati in Bohemia and Moravia, and it was especially for that milieu that he wrote occasional texts and set them to music in the form of polyphonic motets. For this reason, music and musicians have a permanent place in his poetry. From the perspective of his works and preserved documents, Jiří Carolides is now seen as an intellectual firmly connected with Prague and Prague's New Town, an admirer of the art of book printing and a friend of Prague's printers, and the author of several versified inscriptions on buildings in Prague owned by the church and privately and in their interiors. His relationship with Prague's university was marked by a grudge provoked by his competition with his younger colleague Jan Campanus and by the disrespect he received from some students (Jizbický) and professors (Troilus). However, he also enjoyed the favour of non-Catholic aristocrats, to whom he dedicated a whole series of his poetic works. Other significant recipient of his dedications were his friends of many years, especially Sofoniáš Rosacius and Jiří Dikast as well as Konrad Rittershausen from abroad. After the change of political, religious, and cultural circumstances in the 1620s, his literary works and especially his music fell into oblivion. A comparison with Jan Campanus shows how they competed during Carolides's lifetime for popularity and recognition, but during the 20th century, Carolides did not find his own Zikmund Winter, who would secure his revival in the consciousness of modern Czech society by means of a popular historical novel.¹²⁰

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120) WINTER, Zikmund: *Mistr Kampanus. Historický obraz* (The Master Campanus: A Historical Picture), Zvon, Praha 1906 a 1907. Campanus was even incorrectly called a Renaissance composer in the Czech cultural milieu of the latter half of the 20th century. Cf. *Amicus immusicus*, op. cit. in footnote no. 3.

Appendix No. 1:

Carolides to Joachim Camerarius the Younger, from Prague, 31 August 1598

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 10 363, No. 98.

“Salutem et felicitatem precor:

Litterae tuae, mihi gratissimae, Nobilissime domine Camerari, redditae sunt a Gabriele Clemente, Iuvene optimo: eas tui nominis amore, quoad vivam, diligenter servabo. Dolet autem mihi plurimum, quod ex iis intellexi, te, Reipublicae ornandae et promovendae natum, educatum et comparatum, tam difficili et diuturno morbo, ea praesertim aetate, quae jucundum otium placidamque quietem requirit, teneri: cumque opera mederi tibi tuisque? malis non possim, peritus DEUM oro, uti te meliori valetudini restitutum, nobis et rei literariae diu incolumem conservet. Magnam enim et periculosam mutationem rerum in patria secuturam intelligo, si magnis et bonis viris sublatis, ad juvenes imperitos gubernacula devolventur. Quod malum nostra Bohemia jam nuper persentiscit, ab eo potissimum tempore, quo e Primoribus Rosenbergium Vilhelmum et Republica Civium optimos quosque amisit. DEUM tamen adfuturum ad extremum speramus. Pro Tabula illa Geographica, nomini tuo dicata, magnas tibi ago gratias, etiam referam, quam primum commodior occasio sese obtulerit: nam haec in Cancellaria nostrae Reipublicae scribo, ubi rerum mearum privatarum nihil est. Te interim, Vir optime et amplissime, feliciter valere ac diu superesse cupio. Scribebam pridie Calendarum Septembrium, Anni 1598. Praga.

*Tui nominis studiosissimus**Geor. Carolides a Carlsperga*

Ad Arconatum scripsi et quae voluisti significavi. Cognovi quoque ex literis ipsius, pestem iterum Viennaepere, sed vix vires sumpturam, calorem aestivo declinante et Autumnno appropinquante.”

Carolides wrote this letter as a response to a letter from Camerarius, which has not been preserved. The young Gabriel Clemens brought Carolides the letter. He regrets that Camerarius has long been seriously ill and is suffering from the complaints of old age.¹²¹ He complains about the turnover of generations in the Kingdom of Bohemia, when great and good men are departing, and their places are being taken by inexperienced youths. This began with the death of William of Rosenberg,¹²² followed by the departure of other leading men of the kingdom. He thanks Camerarius for some kind of map that was given to him. He will write more when he has time because he is now busy with the official duties of a scribe. In the postscript, he remarks that he has written to Hieronymus Arconatus and told him what Camerarius wanted. From his letter, he learned that the plague was again approaching Vienna, and he was gathering strength with the end of summer and the arrival of autumn.

121) Camerarius died that year on 11 November 1598.

122) 31. 8. 1592.

Appendix No. 2

Letter from Carolides to Professor Martin Bacháček dated 4 October 1608

Ed. František Dvorský, in: *Paměti o školách českých. Listář školství českého v Čechách a na Moravě od 1598 do 1616 s doklady starší i pozdější školy* (Memoirs about Czech Schools. Archive of Czech Education in Bohemia and Moravia from 1598 to 1616 with Documents of the Older and Later School), Praha 1886, p. 435

“My services etc. Your Grace, I by no means deny that last Friday on the 3rd of October 1608, I was present at the College of Emperor Charles IV in the room of Mr. Mikuláš Troilus Hagiochoranus (where, Your Grace, I had gone for a certain reason), and from that Mr. M. Troilus, contrary to my hopes and quite undeservedly, I was first insulted by his improper words, then I was violently beaten and finally robbed of my cloak, hat, and collar, all of which he took from me rapaciously, and even after having been reprimanded by the good and honest people who are his colleagues, he continues to delay their return. Being that it is neither possible nor proper that I should suffer such a wrong: Your Grace, as the superior authority over him, I request by this writing that you grant me decent redress, whereupon I would be able to cease with my complaint. Or should I go elsewhere to seek action? I would not gladly have this matter aired in such places, as it would bring no credit or benefit to Prague’s academia. I request a certain, clear, and prompt response hereto. Therewith [I wish all the best] etc. Dated Prague on the Monday after the Feast of St Francis of the year 1608.”

Appendix No. 3

Selected poems by Carolides on the topic of music in chronological order

1591	<i>Epigrammatum liber primus</i> , Pragae: Typis Danielis Adami a Weleslavina
B1b	<p>“Pro natali D. Iohannis Cauti Festa dies rediit, Baptistae sacra Iohanni; Hac Domino laudes, musica turba damus. Tu quoque Iohannis pulchro qui nomine gaudes, Nobiscum celebres voce sonante Deum.”</p>
B2ab	<p>“Vitus Kazatelik Hostoninus. Vita Ceu Harmonia. Vita hominum vana est, certo tamen ordine debet Ire, velut junctis vocibus harmonia. Id quoties tremula summum cano voce Iehovam Expendo, ut doctam Musicus harmoniam.”</p>

1591	<i>Epigrammatum liber secundus</i> , Pragae: Typis Danielis Adami a Weleslavina
D1a	<p>“In cantores Quidam rudes ridere Cantores solent, Cum sint inertes, quod tamen artem venditent: His me Patronum non rogatus offero; Vitam fovere nomine artis desidem Quod censeant, quam latrocinii, pulchrius, Et laude dignos et favore iudico.”</p>

1595	Liber epigrammatum ad Sigismundum Kozel , Praga: Danielis Adami a Weleslavina
C6b	<p>“In cantiones Bohemicas descriptas ab Ioh. Mak. Colon. <i>Aevi simplicitas haec Cantica sacra prioris Condidit in laudes officiosa DEI. Iohannes pulcro transcripta Colonius ausu, Nunc nova et illa magis cantibus apta facit. Sanctus uterque labor: qui novisti, utere felix, Utque DEO placeas, pectus in ore loca.”</i></p>
1596	Jacobus Handl Gallus, Moralia , Noribergae: In officina typographica Alexandri Theodorici
A1b	<p>“AD CANTOREM MODULORUM HANDELI <i>Rumor HANDELIUM perisse dixit Quum putre acciperet cadaver urna: Sed falso HANDELIUM perisse dixit Rumor funera nulla sentientem. Quod mortale fuit satumque terra, Mors terrae, invida, reddidit parenti. Vivit HANDELIUS superstes astris, Vivit HANDELIUS superstes orbi, Illic mente pia, sed hic perenni Laborum genio integer suorum. Viventem adspice, quisquis occinendo Vel mores sapiens honestiores, Vel Musas facies politiores, Vel motus animi quietiores. Hic iunctim omnia praestat (hunc prehende Qui Musas colis elegantiores) Victurus genio LIBER perenni. M. Georgius Carolides a Karlsperga, civis novae Praga¹²³</i></p>
1597	Farrago symbolica sententiosa , Praga: typis Danielis Adami
K4a	<p>“Anagrammatismi. Iacobus Chimarrheus <i>Ubi Chorus, hic ars mea. Musarum est ubicunque chorus, mea panditur hic ars Ut tantum ad Musas me rear esse satum. Viderat hoc Caesar ter maximus ille Rodolphus, Aulae cum voluit me comitem esse suae: Qui stabili imperio Musisque choroque praeessem, Ingenio facili, dulcisono ore Pater.”</i></p>
1597	Farrago symbolica sententiosa , Praga: Danielis Adami a Weleslavina
H4a	<p>“Musica <i>Musica divinis si serviat usibus, ars est Grata Deo et menti dulcis amica piae. Si Bacchi aut Veneris turpes vertatur in usus, Cum strepitu Sathanæ clamor inanis erit.”</i></p>

123) The introductory poem to the collection *Moralia* by Jacobus Gallus Handl, CVETKO, op. cit. in footnote no. 100, p. 141.

1606	Georg Lauterbeck, Politia historica. O vrchnostech a správcích světských , Praha: u dědiců Daniele Adama z Veleslavína
A1b	<p>“Gallus, Haranteae gentis decus exprimit. Ales: <i>Tempora definit voce, vigilque cubat.</i> CHRISTOPHORUS magno dum servit adestque RUDOLPHO, <i>Advigilat et reliquo tempore Carmen amat.</i> <i>Geor. Carol. a Carlsperga, Poeta Caesareus</i>⁹¹²⁴</p>
1608	Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdržic, Putování, aneb cesta z království českého do města Benátek , Praha: u dědice Daniele Adama z Veleslavína
(*)4a	<p>“Epigramma de insignibus et studiis generosi Baronis ac Domini, D. Christophori Harant de Polzicz et Bedruzicz etc. S. C. M. Consilarii et Cubicularii. GALLUS, Haranteae gentis decus exprimit, Ales, <i>Prae reliquis uno in nomine CHRISTOPHORI.</i> <i>Dux generis Gallus, canere et pugnare peritus</i> <i>Tempora definit voce, vigilque cubat:</i> <i>Nocturnos abigit lemures, vanosque timores,</i> <i>Vastaque in angustum corda Leonis agit.</i> <i>Sic et Harantaeus, dum servit, adestque RUDOLPHO,</i> <i>(Quo melior nullus Caesare Caesar erat)</i> <i>Militat et vigilat, consultaque sana ministrat,</i> <i>Tota metus nullum norit ut Aula locum.</i> <i>Quod superest, laetis dat tempus amabile Musis,</i> <i>Dulce melos sacris provenit unde Choris.</i> <i>Cantica miramur, paucis imitanda, Melodi,</i> <i>Quae Baro Marte potens, nobilis arte facit.</i> <i>M. Geor. Carol. a Calsperga [!] P. C.”</i></p>
1612	Sophonias propheta, Praegae: typis Jonathae Bohutsky ab Hranicz
K2b	<p>“De S. Remigio ad Harmoniam musicam <i>Remigius vita, doctrina et morte beatus</i> <i>Ad pia nos sacra gaudia luce vocat.</i> <i>Ille Deo Regem Francum gentemque lucratus,</i> <i>Rhemensis Templi Praesul et auctor erat.</i> <i>Sanavit laesos, inopes ditavit, et aevi</i> <i>Plenus, caelo animam, corpus humoque dedit.</i> <i>Pro 2 Parte.</i> <i>Tu quoque Remigii Sancto qui nomine gaudes,</i> <i>Alme Pater, sanctum santi imitere decus.</i> <i>Dirige commissam divino remige navem,</i> <i>Sana aegros, inopes pasce piosque fove.</i> <i>Sic tua decurso mortalis tramite vitae</i> <i>Magna solo stabit gloria, summa polo.”</i></p>

124) Verses on the coat of arms of Kryštof Harant of Polžice and Bezdržice.