Sir Philip Sidney and the Kingdom of Bohemia: the Correspondence and Friendship of Philip Sidney and Thomas Jordanus von Klausenburg

Šárka Dziurová

Abstract

This paper sheds further light on Philip Sidney's intellectual network in East-Central Europe, particularly in the Kingdom of Bohemia. Sidney (1554–1586) is celebrated as one of the greatest poets of the Elizabethan age. His immense contribution to the development of English literary culture is unquestioned. It is perhaps surprising to learn that he never expressed any great desire to pursue a literary career. His aim was to become a statesman, as his early biographies show. His career as a poet started after 1580, when he was forced to spend time in a country away from court and politics. Sidney's personal experiences played a hugely important and formative role in his work. He had packed in a great deal into his life by a very young age, graduating from the most prestigious institutions in England and travelling in continental Europe. During his "grand tour," Sidney established a network of correspondence with some of the leading intellectual figures in Central Europe. This paper will investigate an as-yet-unexplored figure in this network, the epidemiologist Thomas Jordanus von Klausenburg (1539–1585). Jordanus was acquainted with several figures in Sidney's intellectual circle, including Thaddeus Hagecius ab Hayek (the Czech physician and astronomer), Hubert Languet (the French diplomat and Sidney's principal mentor while he was in Europe), Johannes Crato (chief physician at the Viennese and Prague court), and Andreas Dudith (the Polish-based Hungarian nobleman, famous for his conversion from Catholic bishop to devout Lutheran).

Keywords

Philip Sidney, Thomas Jordanus von Klausenburg, Andreas Dudith, Thaddeus Hagecius, Hubert Languet, intellectual and correspondence network, mapping, Renaissance Kingdom of Bohemia

Introduction

On March 2, 1575, Philip Sidney (1554–1586) wrote his first letter to Thomas Jordanus (1539–1585).¹ In this letter he sends his greetings to his newly acquired friend, and thanks him for the kindness that he had showed him and beseeching Jordanus to remember him. A day later, the young Englishman left Prague and set out on his way to his homeland to devote himself fully to his political career.

Sidney is now celebrated as one of the greatest poets of the Elizabethan age, with his immense contribution to the development of English literary culture unquestioned. His volume of literary criticism *The Defence of Poesy* sparked a debate about the positive effects of poetry on morality;² his pastoral romance *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* is considered a forerunner of the English novel;³ *The Lady of May* was the first mask performed for Queen Elizabeth; and his

¹ Philip Sidney to Thomas Jordanus, Prague, March 2, 1575. In Roger Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 402.

² Petr Osolsobě, Umění a ctnost: k teorii umělecké reprezentace (Brno: Barrister and Principal–Masarykova univerzita, 2013), 237.

³ Regina Schneider, Sidney's (Re)writing of the Arcadia (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2008), xiii.

sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella* contributed to the development of the English sonnet.⁴ In this light, it is perhaps surprising to learn that he never expressed any great desire to pursue a literary career, as an analysis of Sidney's poetical work and correspondence shows. Writing in *The Defence of Poesy*, he complains at having to fill his idle hours composing verse amidst the isolation of the countryside: "I will give you a nearer example of myself, who (I know not by what mischance) in these my not old years and idlest times having slipped into the title of a poet [...]"⁵ and writing while captured in a "golden cage."⁶ His correspondence and biography, however, reveal that his poetic genius was undoubtedly the result of many years of hard work and his goal was to create a new poetry⁷ that could be included among disciplines such as philosophy, history, geometry, mathematics, music, law, grammar, botany, medicine, alchemy and astronomy.⁸

Sidney's personal experiences played an important and formative role in his writing. He had packed in a great deal into his life by a very young age, graduating from the most prestigious institutions in England and travelling continental Europe on various diplomatic missions. During his "Grand tour" (1572–1575),⁹ Sidney established a correspondence network with some of the leading intellectual figures in East-Central Europe. This intellectual and correspondence network played an important role in Sidney's development as a politician and poet. As Martina Kastnerová notes, intellectual correspondence along with literary circles, associations, networks, and cultural communities were among the most significant institutions of Renaissance as well as early modern literary culture: they shaped its face most significantly and enabled intellectual discussion.¹⁰ Sidney's intellectual circle is also interesting because of his connection to the Kingdom of Bohemia.¹¹

This article will analyse an as-yet-unexplored figure in this network, the epidemiologist Thomas Jordanus von Klausenburg. Jordanus was acquainted with several figures in Sidney's intellectual circle, including Thaddeus Hagecius ab Hayek (the Czech physician and astronomer), Hubert Languet (the French diplomat and Sidney's mentor while in Europe), Johannes Crato (physician at the Emperor's court) and Andreas Dudithius (the Hungarian nobleman and diplomat who spent most of his life in Cracow and Wroclaw, Poland). As the surviving correspondence

⁴ Martin Hilský, Shakespeare a jeviště svět (Praha: Academia, 2019), 776.

⁵ Philip Sidney, "The Defence of Poesy," in *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 212.

⁶ Sidney refers to his stay in the country as living in a "golden cage" in his Astrophil and Stella: "But rather judges judge ambition rage, / Scourge of itself, still climbing slippery place, / Holds my young brain captived in golden cage." In Philip Sidney, "Astrophil and Stella," Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 162

⁷ Guy Fitch Lytle, and Stephen Orgel, Patronage in the Renaissance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 203-204.

⁸ Sidney, "The Defence of Poesy," 215-216.

⁹ Duncan-Jones naming of Sidney's journey to continent is used here. See Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1991).

¹⁰ Martina Kastnerová, "Viatori in continens: Intelektuální kruh rodiny Sidney a střední Evropa (Andreas Dudith, Johannes Sambucus)," Ostium 12, no. 4 (2019): 1.

¹¹ The main destination of the Renaissance cavalier's travels was usually Italy, France or Germany, but not Czech lands. See Smolka, Josef, "Hájkův přítel a korespondent Andreas Dudith (1533–1589)," in *Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku*, ed. Pavel Drábek, (Praha: Společnost pro dějiny věd a techniky, 2000), 143–145. For more general context about renaissance grand tours see Ferencová, Hana, Čechy a Morava očima anglických cestovatelů 1570-1800 (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2018). And Chaney, Edward, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000). More specific sources dealing with Sidney's connection to central Europe are articles and book from Martina Kastnerová.

reveals, these individuals were all connected with each other. It should be noted that Renaissance correspondence is an important source for research, as at this time it was not only a means of communication, but also a means of self-presentation and a form of identification with a certain group,¹² as we can see in Sidney's correspondence.

Sidney's surviving correspondence is not enormous, especially in comparison with the surviving correspondence of other Renaissance scholars such as Erasmus of Rotterdam and is generally associated with Sidney's "grand tour." It is interesting that we do not find anything in his correspondence that speaks of his future poetic concepts, and he writes about his poetry only twice in his surviving correspondence.¹³ It is also surprising that his correspondence is dominated by personalities dealing with medicine or botany (such as Charles de l'Ecluse, Joachim Camerarius, Thaddeus Hagecius, Johannes Sambucus).¹⁴ The most prominent component of the less than four hundred letters we have is undoubtedly his correspondence with Hubert Languet, who usually seeks to educate Sidney in his communications. He is always referring to Sidney's natural virtues, intelligence, determination to do good, and his potential greatness:¹⁵ "Languet considered Sidney a potential leader of the Protestant cause in Europe and devoted much of his effort to providing him with the knowledge, skills, and contacts necessary to such a role."¹⁶ He provides Sidney with information regarding the current political situation and presents him to important Catholic and Protestant personalities. It was Languet who introduced the young cavalier to Thomas Jordanus of Klausenburg.

The aim of this study is to analyse the relationship between Thomas Jordanus and Philip Sidney and thus contribute to the mapping of Sidney's contacts with scholars in the Kingdom of Bohemia. The main source for this research is Sidney's surviving correspondence.¹⁷ Although there are no records that document a specific meeting in detail, the few surviving letters that refer to Jordanus reveal that the two did meet more than once and had a mutual regard for one another. An analysis of these letters will be the subject of the final chapter. First, Sidney's "grand tour" will be described in brief with an emphasis on his stay in the Czech lands. This chapter also present Sidney's journey to Cracow, which is important for my analysis of the correspondence of Jordan and Sidney.

¹² For more see Toon Van Houdt, and Jan Papy, "Introduction," in *Self-presentation and social identification: the rhetoric and pragmatics of letter writing in early modern times*, ed. Toon Van Houdt (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 1–18.

¹³ Gavin Alexander, Writing after Sidney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxi.

¹⁴ See Martina Kastnerová, Poezie jako vyprávění příběhů: intelektuální kruh Philipa Sidneyho (Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart, 2018).

¹⁵ Edward Berry, "Hubert Languet and the 'Making' of Philip Sidney," Studies in Philology 85, no. 3 (1988): 307.

¹⁶ Berry, "Hubert Languet and the 'Making' of Philip Sidney," 307.

¹⁷ The Corrrespondence of Sir Philip Sidney edited by Roger Kuin and The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet edited by Pears, Steuart will be used. The letters to Jordan date to a later time when Sidney no longer kept such lively correspondence (see Andreas Dudith, *Epistulae:1577–1588*, ed. Nicholaus Szymanski [Budapest: Akadémiai Kaidó, 2002]).

Sir Philip Sidney and his visits to the Kingdom of Bohemia

At the age of seventeen, Sidney was given a Queen's passport "to go out of England, into Parts beyond the Seas, with three Servants and four Horses [...] for his Attaining the Knowledge of foreign Languages."¹⁸ Sidney set out on his travels on May 25, 1572 with the intention of spending two years on the continent. One day later Earl of Leicester (Sidney's uncle and an important figure at the court)¹⁹ wrote to Francis Walsingham (the Queen's ambassador in Paris and future Sidney's father-in-law) commending the young traveller to his care.²⁰ After an eventful three years which saw him witness the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris in 1572 at the very beginning of his journey, Sidney would eventually leave for home in 1575.

Sidney arrived in Paris six days before the Massacre to celebrate the nuptials of the Hugenot prince Henry de Navarre to the Catholic King's sister Marguerite de Valois. He was enjoying ceremonies, weddings, and following entertainments such as masques, dances, and animal baiting. The Massacre must have come as a complete surprise. Fortunately, Sir Walsingham offered Sidney refuge at the Embassy, where Sidney stayed until his departure for Germany²¹ with his guide, mentor, teacher and "surrogate father"²² Hubert Languet. Sidney visited several countries, including Hungary,²³ the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Kingdom of Poland.

The journey to Cracowt

Based on a letter written by Wolfgang Zündelin to Sidney on November 5, 1574, the young diplomat is likely to have arrived in Poland at some point at the end of October or the beginning of November of that year:

So I was flooded with joy when you added that you were recovered, and so well recovered indeed that [...] you did not fear to set out on a journey and travel as far as Poland. I sincerely hope soon to learn in a letter from you [...] that this voyage has succeeded to your satisfaction, and that you have returned safe and sound to Vienna.²⁴

From this letter we can assume that Sidney accepted an invitation from Marcin Leźniowolsky to visit Cracow. Leźniowolsky, a Polish nobleman and "one of the country's rising diplomatic stars,"²⁵ was heavily involved in an important political event, the election of the new King of Poland²⁶

¹⁸ Quoted in John Buxton, and Bent Juel-Jensen, "Sir Philip Sidney's First Passport Rediscovered," The Library, 42.

¹⁹ Alois Bejblík, "Astrofel a Stella," in Astrofel a Stella, by Philip Sidney (Praha: Odeon, 1987), 148.

²⁰ Berry, "Hubert Languet and the 'Making' of Philip Sidney," 305.

²¹ Kathryn DeZur, Gender, Interpretation, and Political Rule in Sidney's Arcadia (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013), xi-xii.

²² Berry, "Hubert Languet and the 'Making' of Philip Sidney," 306.

²³ Sidney visited Hungary with Charles l'Ecluse (Carolus Clusius) between late August and late October 1573. Gál, István, "Sir Philip Sidney's Guidebook to Hungary," Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok / Hungarian Studies in English 4 (1969): 54.

²⁴ Letter from Wolfgang Zündelin to Sidney, Venice, November 5, 1574. In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 334.

²⁵ George Gömöri, "Sir Philip Sidney's Polish Friend: an Amendment," The Polish Review 40, no. 1 (1995): 71.

²⁶ Gömöri, "Sir Philip Sidney's Polish Friend: an Amendment," 70.

(an event undoubtedly interesting for Elizabethan courtier). Leźniowolsky was sent to France in February 1573 to determine whether Henry Valois would be the right candidate for the Polish throne and he collected information which helped Henry's election in March 1573. Leźniowolsky paid a private visit to France at the end of May 1573, remaining there until December 1573. It is likely that Henry Valois (who invited Leźniowolsky to join him on the long journey to Poland) had sent him ahead to Vienna,²⁷ where he met Sidney. Unfortunately for Sidney the coronation took place in Cracow on February 21, 1574, so he was not able to be witness to this event and could not see the new King, as he "was fleeing back to France on horseback" at the end of July.²⁸ Although this would have been even more interesting to Sidney, he was able to be a witness to another election of a Polish king. The decision was to be made between two candidates: the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II and Transylvanian Stephan Bathory (who was elected by the time Sidney was back in England). Still, Sidney could not know that the election would take so long, so he decided to go to Cracow filled with hopes to be witness to another important political event.²⁹

He arrived in Crakow, where he probably stayed with Marcin Leźniowolsky and it is understood that he visited the home of Andreas Dudith, who was an important figure in political and religious life in Poland. Smolka describes Dudith as an ideal prototype of cosmopolitan scholar³⁰ who maintained live correspondence with a number of prominent figures across Europe – including Thaddeus Hagecius, Hubert Languet, Johannes Crato, Henry and Thomas Savile, Thomas Jordanus and Maximillian II. With its huge library, his house in Cracow became an important intellectual centre and Dudith himself played an important role in the above mentioned second election as an official ambassador of Maximillian II.³¹ Therefore Dudith was interesting for Sidney and we can assume that he visited him (although we have no evidence of this in the surviving correspondence). We can summarize that Sidney was tempted to visit Poland due to that political event and it was also an opportunity to meet important figures such as mentioned Leźniowolsky and Dudith. The temptation was so strong that Sidney did not hesitate to travel a couple of days on a horseback just to spend a short time in his destination – from his letter to earl of Leicester on November 27, 1574 we know that Sidney was already back in Vienna:

Right honorable and my singular good lorde and unkle. Allthoughe U haue at this presente little matter worthy the writing vnto your lordeshippe, yet beinge newlie returned from my poli<she>/ iournei, I woolde not omit anie occasion of humbly perfoorminge this dutie [...].³²

By way of further analysis of Sidney's connection to Thomas Jordanus it is interesting to know that Sidney brought poems from his trip which he later granted to Jordanus (more in the next chapter). All in all, Sidney later claimed to have found the trip disappointing:

²⁷ Gömöri, "Sir Philip Sidney's Polish Friend: an Amendment," 71.

²⁸ Gömöri, "Sir Philip Sidney's Polish Friend: an Amendment," 71.

²⁹ See Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, 334.

³⁰ Smolka, "Hájkův přítel a korespondent Andreas Dudith (1533-1589)," 127.

³¹ See Smolka, "Hájkův přítel a korespondent Andreas Dudith (1533-1589)".

³² Letter from Philip Sidney to Earl of Leicester, Vienna, November 27, 1574. In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 344.

I see that you have not been overly pleased with your journey to Poland. Repentance will prevent you from going back there. But it is good that you have seen it: beautiful lands and civilization will please you all the better afterwards.³³

In this letter Jean Lobbet mentioned "Master Thaddeus" as a friend of Hubert Languet and Thomas Jordanus. Sidney visited Thaddeus Hagecius in Prague couple of months later at the end of February 1575.³⁴ Before that Sidney and Languet had visited Brno, home of Thomas Jordanus. The following section describes Sidney's stays in the Czech lands. Note that we will not go into a great deal of depth, as we will emphasize only the facts that will help us with dating and mapping Sidney's stay in the Czech lands. We will also name only a few of the many scholars and intellectuals who Sidney met in Prague and Brno, only those important for our analysis.

Philip Sidney in "beautiful lands and civilization": his visits to Bohemia and Moravia

Sidney accepted an invitation from his mentor Hubert Languet to join him on a journey to the Czech lands. In a letter dated January 28, 1574, Languet writes:

It would be marvellous if around that time you could come to us. We must go to Prague together, and perhaps further, and look at the sights worth visitation in Moravia and Bohemia, and on the way we would pass the time with conversations which to you might not be unwelcome, and to me would be wonderful.³⁵

Sidney and Languet thus visited Czech lands for the first time at the end of "grand tour," where the young Englishman was invited to travel with Languet shortly after he had returned from Poland. It seems that Languet was at home in the Czech lands since he introduced his protégé to various important figures such as Thaddeus Hagecius. This physician, astronomer and translator of Mattioli was a friend of Languet's "who met him in 1533 and subsequently stayed in his house whenever he visited Prague."³⁶ It is interesting that Hagecius was very interested in the English scholars, and that John Dee, Robert Sidney and Henry Nevellus visited his house,³⁷ and "three of his sons were taken to England and educated at Christ Church under the aegis of the Sidneys: Johannes by Philip in 1575, George and Simeon by Robert a few years later; a number of Lobbet's later letters [...] are concerned with them."³⁸ Huber Languet refers to Hagecius in his correspondence with Sidney as "our friend."³⁹ Hagecius was also acquainted with Jordanus.

³³ Letter from Jean Lobbet to Philip Sidney, Vienna, December 7, 1574. In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 356.

³⁴ John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954), 78.

³⁵ Letter from Hubert Languet to Philip Sidney, January 28, 1574. In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 102.

³⁶ Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, xliv.

³⁷ Smolka, "Hájkův přítel a korespondent Andreas Dudith (1533-1589)," 143-144.

³⁸ Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, xliv.

³⁹ Letter from Hubert Languet to Philip Sidney. In Kuin, ed. The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, 411.

Before Sidney and Languet arrived in Prague, they made a short stop in Brno, where Sidney and Jordanus were introduced (more about this meeting in the following chapter). Based on Sidney's letters, it can be judged that he and Languet visited Prague, where Sidney arrived at the end of February and stayed there until March 3, 1575. At the time, negotiations regarding the Czech confessions were taking place in Prague, thus it is possible that Sidney and Languet followed the court to Prague in order to witness the negotiations and their results. This event was also interesting for young Sidney in terms of his future role in the Protestant League – his mentor Hubert Languet considered Sidney a potential leader of the Protestant cause in Europe and devoted efforts to provide his young protégé with the knowledge, skills, and contacts necessary to this role.⁴⁰ Before the two arrived in Prague, they visited Brno sometime between January and early February 1575.

Sidney visited the Czech lands on two occasions: the first time at the end of above mentioned "grand tour," and the second one regarding a diplomatic posting as Queen Elizabeth's official ambassador. He arrived in Prague on April 4, 1577⁴¹ with a mission to convey official condolences for the death of Maximilian II and at the same time to congratulate the new monarch Rudolph II. Sidney was also to establish positive contacts with Rudolph II, so as the new monarch he would be motivated to cooperate in the creation of the Protestant League.⁴² As an official ambassador, Sidney arrived in Prague "with very great state and pompe"⁴³ and he had an audience with the new emperor on Easter Monday (April 8, 1577). Sidney had very strict schedule, as his correspondence with Francis Walsingham shows.⁴⁴ Sidney's other letters to Hubert Languet also reveal that he met Jordanus there in person for a second time.⁴⁵

The next chapter will analyse the surviving correspondence between and concerning Jordanus and Sidney. Before the analysis itself, the personality of Tomas Jordanus will be briefly introduced with an emphasis on the contacts that were common to Sidney and which also confirm the above mentioned fact that among Sidney's contacts we find few poets and politicians, mainly many physicians and botanists.

Philip Sidney and Thomas Jordanus von Klausenburg

Thomas Jordan von Klausenburg was a Renaissance epidemiologist, balneologist and chief physician of the Moravia margraviate. He was born into a wealthy Saxon family from the town of Klausenburg, Transylvania. He studied medicine at various European universities (in Wittenberg, Paris, Basel, Zurich, Padua, Bologna, Pisa and Rome). After a three-year stay in Italy, at the end

⁴⁰ Berry, "Hubert Languet and the 'Making' of Philip Sidney," 307.

⁴¹ Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, 726-734.

⁴² See letter from Philip Sidney to Francis Walsingham, May 3, 1577. In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 729–730. To the aim of creating the Protestant League see Letter from Jan Kazimír to Philip Sidney. In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 744–746.

⁴³ Gerard Kilroy, Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 112.

⁴⁴ See letter from Philip Sidney to Francis Walsingham, May 3, 1577. In Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney.

⁴⁵ This connection is not especially interesting for biographers, who have found Sidney's secret meeting with the recusant Edmund Campion more intriguing. See for example Thomas M. McCoog, *The Recond Expense: Edmund Campion and the early English Jesuits: essays in celebration of the first centenary of Campion Hall* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007); James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney (1572–1577)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

of 1565 Jordan moved to Vienna, where he established his own private medical practice. There he met the renowned scholar and imperial physician Johannes Crato von Krafftheim (also a friend of Hubert Languet, Andreas Dudithius and Philip Sidney). In 1566, Jordanus was employed as one of three field physicians. During this mission he made the acquaintance of Thaddeus Hagecius.⁴⁶

Jordanus's blossoming association with his mentor Johannes Crato went beyond matters of medicine, as they also shared a common faith, with both maintaining ties with the Moravian branch of the Unity of Brethren. We can trace Jordan's interest in the Czech lands to his taking up the position of provincial physician of Moravia in 1570.⁴⁷ He found himself at home in Moravia and grew particularly fond of Brno, writing an engaging treatise on the city called *Luis novae desriptio*. In a letter addressed to Jordanus, Andreas Dudithius commends the physician's description of Brno *Luis novae in Moravia exortae Desscriptio* while also expressing his regret at not being able to join Jordan in such a beautiful setting, as he was reluctant to travel to a region that fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Olomouc.⁴⁸ It was in Moravia that Jordan wrote his works. His treatise on the plague is based on his experience with the plague both in Vienna and during the missions in Rab and in Brno; he also wrote a treatise on healing waters *Knij o wodáh hogitedlnych nep tepliceh Morawskych*, which was inspired by his visit to the spa towns, where he accompanied Baron Žerotín. Jan the Elder of Žerotín also belonged to the intellectual circle of Andreas Dudith and Philip Sidney. The young Englishman was introduced to Žerotín on the occasion of his visit to Brno, as our first analysed letter will reveal.

Letter no. 1

The only surviving letter between these two was written by Sidney on March 3, 1575 in Prague. Although this letter is written from Prague, Jordanus's biography shows that both scholars met during Sidney's stay in Brno. Sidney here reveals his friendly feelings toward Jordanus:

Because I must leave here tomorrow, my good Jordan, I wanted to greet you with these few words, so that with this courtesy, however small, I might nevertheless show myself not unmindful of the singular kindness you have shown me.⁴⁹

Sidney makes a vague reference to Jordanus's "kindness," the nature of which we are unfortunately unable to infer from this letter or other correspondence of the time. Sidney evidently valued Jordanus's medical expertise. Promising to recommend the physician's services, he assures Jordanus of the value of their friendship and his gratefulness for Languet's introduction:

⁴⁶ Tomáš Gellner, "Tomáš Jordán," Časopis matice moravské, 60, no. 1 (1936): 97.

⁴⁷ Gellner, "Tomáš Jordán," 101. At this time Sidney was finishing his studies at Christ Church, Oxford.

⁴⁸ Gellner, "Tomáš Jordán," 101-102.

⁴⁹ Letter from Philip Sidney to Thomas Jordanus, March 2, 1575 (Prague). In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 402.

But should it befall anyone of your people to be somewhere where I have any authority, will certainly do all I can with courtesies of my own to honour our friendship, of which Master Languet, who is equally dear to you and whom I must honour as a parent as long as I live, was the creator.⁵⁰

It is therefore certain that this was not a meeting on the occasion of a medial consultation but under a more social setting:

Meanwhile I most earnestly beg of you to remember me, and I ask you when you have an opportunity to greet from me those noble gentlemen by whom, on your initiative, I was so companionably received: but especially that saintly man whom I shall always honour, the noble Baron Zerotin.⁵¹

Languet probably deliberately chose the house of Thomas Jordanus, who leaned towards the Moravian Brethen, in order to once again mediate important contacts with Sidney for his future political career. Jordanus invited important guests on this occasion of their arrival, including his patron Baron Žerotín, a member and protector of Moravian Brethen and a personal friend of Blahoslav. Baron Žerotín was also an enthusiast for culture, and he was able to speak Latin and German. His son Karel Elder of Žerotín was a Czech statesman who visited England and also was a protector of the Moravian Brethren.⁵²

This letter contains information about Sidney's journey to Poland. Here again we see a negative evaluation of Poland or frustration with an unsuccessful visit when he says that Polish people cannot appreciate the poetry that he had brought on his trip: "I send you the poems I promised, I should like you to take them in good part: the Poles certainly are not doing so. I have no idea of the author's name, he seems to have been a Frenchman."53 All in all, the letter shows that Jordan was held in great esteem. It is clear that Languet introduced Sidney mostly to Protestants. This confirms Languet's role as a mentor of Sidney who intended to prepare him for the future role of a diplomat engaged in foreign policy. The mention of the poems Sidney brought from Poland is one of the few indications of Sidney's interest in poetry in the letters under consideration. Still, we should note that this is not proof of his conscious preparation for a poetic profession. The mention of Poland confirms the dating of Sidney's visit there. This letter is also the only one that Sidney wrote to Jordanus directly, a fact which is important for its confirmation of Sidney's attitude to Jordanus, especially in comparison to his other contacts with other Bohemian and Moravian scholars - for example we have no direct letter from Sidney to Thaddeus Hagecius although his sons were invited to England under the aegis of the Sidney family. We can find Jordanus name in two more letters in the correspondence of Sidney and Languet.

⁵⁰ Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, 402.

⁵¹ Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, 402.

⁵² Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, 402.

⁵³ Letter from Philip Sidney to Thomas Jordanus, March 2, 1575 (Prague). In Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 402.

Letter no. 2

In a letter written by Languet to Sidney on August 12, 1577 which also contains a reference to a debt owed to Sidney by Baron Slavata,⁵⁴ Jordan receives a mention. This letter illustrates the warm, friendly relationship between the two:

I wrote also to our friend Jordan, and begged him to remind him of his duty. When I wrote thus I thought that his bond was still in the hands of the book-seller at Prague, with whom I had left it when I came away from Prague; but he has since written me word that he gave it back to you. I should be glad therefore to know what you wish to have done in the matter, and whether you think I ought to receive the money of Slavata [...]⁵⁵

In this letter, Languet informs Sidney of having reminded Jordan of a matter he had promised to attend to. As far as the nature of the matter itself, however, no details are provided. What is more certain, though, is that Jordan had communicated directly with Sidney, with Languet admitting later to not having known about the mutual agreement between the two. Apparently they had both met on the occasion of Sidney's second visit to Prague the same year.

Letter no. 3

In his reply to Languet, Sidney makes no mention of the above mentioned matter, which, interestingly, Sidney may not have even read. At the beginning of his letter dated October 10, 1577, he informs Languet of having only received two of three letters addressed to him: "My very dear Languet, Of your three letters which, in that written on the 24th of August, you affirm that you have sent me, I have only received two.. Those indeed were full of all kindness and real friendship; but this is nothing new."⁵⁶ Nevertheless, he does ask Languet to send his greetings to Lobbet, Clusius, "the excellent Jordan" and my Andrew: "Farewell, and commend me to the worthy Bain, our friend Lobetius, Clusius, the excellent Jordan, and my Andrew."⁵⁷

We can therefore trace the members of his intellectual circle who are both known and unknown to us: Jean Lobbet (1520-1601) worked as a lawyer and law teacher at the University of Strasbourg, and was, among other things, a correspondent for Francis Walsingham, through whom he was probably acquainted with Philip Sidney. He was a friend of Languet and he was in contact with Thaddeus Hagecius, as he mediated the journey of his sons to England.⁵⁸ Carolus Clusius or Charles de l'Ecluse (1526–1609) was famous and influential botanist of the sixteenth century, a friend of Languet's and a member of the Languet-Camerarius circle who met Sidney in Vienna and who sent him a copy of his first study of Spanish flora, the *Rariorum aliquot stirpium*

⁵⁴ More in Kastnerová, Poezie jako vyprávění příběhů: intelektuální kruh Philipa Sidneyho.

⁵⁵ Letter from Hubert Languet to Philip Sidney, August 12, 1577 (Frankfourt). In Steuart A. Pears, *The Correspondence of sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London: William Pickering, 1845), 113.

⁵⁶ Letter from Philip Sidney to Hubert Languet, October 1, 1577 (Queen's palace). In Pears, *The Correspondence of sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, 116.

⁵⁷ Pears, The Correspondence of sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, 121–122.

⁵⁸ Martina Kastnerová, "Viatori in continens: Intelektuální kruh rodiny Sidney a střední Evropa (Andreas Dudith, Johannes Sambucus)," 3–4.

*per Hispanias observatarum historia.*⁵⁹ Bain or Banosius was an unknown member of this circle who often appears in Languet's correspondence. Furthermore in the Languet correspondence Andreas Paulus (Andrew)⁶⁰ is also mentioned. This letter features the last mention of Jordan in Sidney's surviving correspondence.

Conclusion

From Sidney's correspondence it is evident that he and Jordan enjoyed a mutual friendship. This is confirmed in particular from the first letter that Sidney wrote directly to Jordan when he left Prague as well as from other letters which confirm this fact. That Sidney wrote to Jordan directly and not through an intermediary (as was the case with Thaddeus Hagecius) speaks volumes. It is also clear that they met in person on at least two occasions during Sidney's visits to Brno and Prague.

From the analysed correspondence we can determine two pieces of information that can help to map Sidney's intellectual and correspondence circle, the first being the short note about Sidney's journey to Poland in the first letter. From this journey he brought the poetry of an unknown French poet which he left to Jordan. Nevertheless, in general thanks to Sidney's correspondence it can be said that he found his trip to Poland unsatisfactory. Although, he did not stop following events in Poland, as evidenced for example by a letter of 3 March 1578, which describes Polish negotiations with Turkey.⁶¹ His interest in what was happening in Poland was also reflected in his literary work, as Kastnerová points out.⁶² Secondly, we can map a part of Sidney's intellectual circle, which consists mainly of Protestants and a significant number of physicians such as Jordan himself and Baron Žerotín who were in contact with Blahoslav (the Moravian brother), as well as Jean Lobbet, Carolus Clusius, Thaddeus Hagecius, Johannes Crato and Andreas Dudith.

Consequently, we can summarize that Sidney's correspondence is important not only for the mapping of Sidney's movement, but also about current events in Europe. Sidney was relatively well informed about these dealings, considering the nature of Renaissance correspondence in which there was almost no organized postal network. The letters also confirm that this "grand tour" had very formative role for Sidney, both in terms of his political career and his (future?) poetic concepts.

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⁵⁹ Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, xlii.

⁶⁰ Pears, The Correspondence of sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, 121–122.

⁶¹ Kuin, ed., The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney, 826.

⁶² Kastnerová, "Viatori in continens: Intelektuální kruh rodiny Sidney a střední Evropa (Andreas Dudith, Johannes Sambucus)," 7.

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Šárka Dziurová is a doctoral student at the Research Centre for the Theory and History of Science, University of West Bohemia, Plzen, Czech Republic. She specialises in Elizabethan poetry, especially the life and work of Sir Philip Sidney. Her particular interests relate to Sidney's concept of knowledge and his connection to the Czech lands. As well as investigating the poet's classification of knowledge in *The Defence of Poesy*, she is compiling an analysis of *Arcadia*. In recent years, she has evaluated Sidney's connections to Tadeáš Hájek and Hájek's family, and she has also explored Sidney's association with Edmund Campion, Tomáš Jordán and Andreas Dudith.

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