Archiater Caesarius: Johannes Crato as Philip Sidney’s Forgotten Mentor?

ABSTRACT

Philip Sidney’s European sojourn (1572–1575) proved to be a formative experience, one that shaped his political and literary development. Unsurprisingly, it has received much commentary. However, one rather neglected sphere of influence on Sidney’s education that deserves fuller attention is the coterie of high-standing and learned figures based in Central Europe, many of whom Sidney either corresponded with or met in person. This paper will examine – using the example of the German humanist Johannes Crato von Krafftheim (1519–1585), personal physician to three Holy Roman Emperors, as a case study – how Sidney might have been inspired by the unique continental area of irenicism and the flourishing of new ways of understanding Man and Nature by means of medicine and botany.

Keywords: Philip Sidney, Johannes Crato, Elizabethan literature, Early Modern intellectual network, Sidney circle

Archiater Caesarius: Johannes Crato kot pozabljeni mentor Philipa Sidneyja?

IZVLEČEK


Ključne besede: Philip Sidney, Johannes Crato, elizabetinska književnost, zgodnje novoveška intelektualna mreža, Sidneyjev krog
You have toasted me in French wine in L’Ecluse’s letter: I for the moment will answer you here in Viennese wine, and will toast you when I get home in Hungarian. You are toasted also by my fellow drinkers, Masters Dadius, Lingel, Blotius, [and] Languet.¹

(Kuin 2012, 688)

1 Introduction: Philip Sidney’s Intellectual Network in Central Europe²

Philip Sidney (1554–1586) is considered one of the most iconic figures of the Elizabethan era. Originally, though, his aspirations were not literary but rather political and diplomatic, as evidenced by his journey to the Continent (1572–1575)³ and subsequent correspondence, which attests to Sidney’s interest in the political/religious tensions of the time. His most important European mentor was Hubert Languet (1518–1581), a well-connected French diplomat and supporter of the Lutheran reformer Philip Melanchthon. Languet served as a kind of social facilitator for Sidney, introducing his young protégé to a number of prominent scholars and dignitaries (Kuin 2012, xlv; Kastnerová 2020, 8–9).

Sidney’s “Grand Tour” was a formative experience, one that shaped his political and literary development and has received scholarly attention (Stillman 2008; Lockey 2021; Kuin 2021, 819–20). Nevertheless, one rather neglected sphere of influence on Sidney’s education that deserves fuller attention is the coterie of high-standing and learned figures based in Central Europe, many of whom Sidney either corresponded with or met in person. Combing through the existing correspondence (of which only some 400 letters remain), the relevant archival sources, as well as his all-too-short oeuvre, important and perhaps overlooked details on the man and poet can be revealed.

Sidney’s travels round Europe may have inspired the young poet to-be and pointed him towards the emerging discourse of modern medicine and experimental investigations of nature and humanity. Continental Europe was in this respect unique, as was the specific era during which Sidney visited many western and eastern parts of the Continent, especially those ruled by the Habsburg monarchy. During the period of Maximilian II’s ierotic policy, one found here an unprecedented number of important intellectuals interested and engaged in medicine and botany. In particular, this paper will examine Sidney’s relationships with the German humanist Johannes Crato von Krafft heim (1519–1585), personal physician to three Holy Roman Emperors.

Based on the extant correspondence and archival sources, members of the Sidney-Languet milieu can be divided into three groups. All of these figures knew either Languet or Joachim

¹ “Salutasti me Gallico vino in litteris Clusianis, ego hic Viennense interim respondebo, et domi meae Hungarico te salutabo. Salutant te mei conpotores domini Domini Dadius, Lingelius, Blotius, Languetus” (Georg Purkircher to Sidney, Vienna, 6 June 1576).
² Research for this article was supported by the project/foundation SGS-2022-019: “Performativity and Narrativity in Art”, University of West Bohemia, Pilsen. I also wish to thank Professor Robert E. Stillman and the library staff in Strahov Library Prague for their assistance. My thanks also go to Durham University and their Residential Research Library Fellowship, which made the completion of the article possible.
³ In 1577, Sidney was sent back by the Queen on diplomatic missions. These were thus politico-diplomatic journeys rather than educational trips.
Camerarius and belonged to a generation of educated scholars who were all active in Vienna, Nuremberg and Wittenberg during Sidney’s tours of the continent. The first, and most influential group, comprises five distinguished figures who met and/or directly corresponded with Sidney: Johannes Crato von Krafftheim, Carolus Clusius, Georg Purkircher, Thomas Jordan, Johannes Aicholz, and Thaddeus Hájek. Secondly, there is a German classical scholar Joachim Camerarius, who probably never met or corresponded with Sidney but, nonetheless, features indirectly in the correspondence. The personality of Joachim Camerarius Sr. is here of key importance due to his involvement in introducing Sidney to the network of Protestant intellectuals in the Habsburg monarchy (Stillman 2015). The third group is made up of important individuals who circulated within the milieu but do not feature in the correspondence, either directly or indirectly. They are the physician, historiographer and collector Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), the physician and reformer (and Philipp Melanchthon’s son-in-law) Caspar Peucer (1525–1602) and the physician, botanist and cartographer Paul Fabricius (1519/29–1589).

It is quite clear that Sidney was especially interested in the Czech Lands and, more generally, the Habsburg Empire, where he visited local intellectual centres. He found there an inspiring approach to the administration of public affairs and a congenial multidenominational atmosphere. Roger Kuin (2021, 819–20) notes that this curiosity was likely driven by religious and political interests. Sidney may have gotten close to the Union of Brethren and observed the co-existence of Protestant and Catholic elements.

After leaving France, Sidney headed first to the French-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire through Heidelberg, Frankfurt, and Strassburg to the Viennese court of Maximilian II. The emperor’s irenicist policies seem to have influenced Sidney’s thoughts on religion and politics both in terms of representing a form of tolerance in a positive sense of the word, and by acknowledging denominational fragmentation and disunity of Christendom in a critical sense (Lockey 2021; Louthan 2006). In Vienna, Sidney encountered various intellectual friends of his mentor Languet, including the abovementioned Hagecius, but also Johannes Crato (1519–1585) (the protagonist of this paper), and Michael Lingel (†1585), a leading representative of the Viennese medical faculty. Sidney’s correspondence also tells us about his meeting with Jean de Vulcob (1535–1607), the enormously cultured French ambassador. These meetings must have been most inspiring – as attested by the fact that after visiting Hungary and Italy, Sidney came back to Vienna (Kuin 2021, 812–15).

2 Johannes Crato: Archiater Caesareus

Johannes Crato was born and educated in Breslau in what is now present-day Wroclaw. Interestingly, it was in Breslau that Crato’s closest friend Andreas Dudith (1533–1589)

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4 Which is not surprising given that he did not speak German. It is also why we find among his contacts people connected with these areas, including Languet’s friend Carolus Clusius / Charlese de L’Ecluse (1526–1609), who later accompanied Sidney during his trip to Hungary. At that occasion, they also passed through Bratislava, the birthplace of another of Languet’s intellectual friends, Georg Purkircher (1530–1578).

5 The Greek term used for court physician, synonymous with its Latin counterpart principium medicus, also features in the title of Crato’s Consiliorum, et epistolarium medicinalium, Ioeh. Cratonis a Krafftheim, archiatri caesarei, et aliorum praestantissimorum medicorum… 1593.
sought refuge after leaving Krakow following his public fall from grace. Ennobled by Maximilian II and taking the surname von Kraffttheim, Crato represents a remarkable figure in that he served as court physician to three Holy Roman Emperors. But he is also important for his connections with Central European Protestantism, particularly Lutheranism and the Hussite movement, the Unity of the Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). According to Stillman, Crato distinguished himself as an impressive conciliator during the reigns of Maximilian II and Rudolf II and “devoted much of his life to persuading the emperors to grant religious freedom to the Bohemian Brethren” (Stillman 2021, 44).

Supported by Breslau city council and various patrons, Crato was given the opportunity of furthering his academic studies at the University of Wittenberg. There he studied theology under the tutelage of the German Lutheran reformer Philip Melanchthon, who encouraged him to study classical languages as well as medicine. From here he moved to Padua to study medicine. In 1550, after his graduation, he returned to Breslau as municipal physician to repay the faith shown in him by his hometown. However, when suspicion of his Lutheran associations was confirmed following his conversion to the Protestant faith, he was formally removed from his post. Despite this setback, his career was revitalized upon his appointment as court physician to Ferdinand I in 1560. Crato would also go on to serve his successors, Maximilian II and Rudolf II. He was afforded particular favour during the reign of Maximilian, a period in which, as we have learned, a culture of irenicism prevailed at the Viennese court (Louthan 2006, 93–98).

Crato was a prominent figure within the Camerarius-Languet circle and enjoyed close friendships with Andreas Dudith and the French theologian Theodor Beza (1519–1605). He was also an immensely and widely respected figure, with the Jesuits and Gnesio-Lutherans his only reputed detractors. That he retained his post as chief physician to three Holy Roman Emperors in spite of his Lutheranism is perhaps the most compelling evidence of his excellence as a medical practitioner. In October 1576, in what would prove a pioneering event, Crato performed the first autopsy ever to be documented in writing upon the body of Emperor Maximilian II himself (Kuin 2012, xxxix). Despite anatomy having been well-established as an integral part of medical study following the landmark publication of *De humani corporis fabrica* (*On the Fabric of the Human Body*) by Andreas Vesalius in 1543, the merits of dissection had been much disputed up until the time of Crato’s celebrated autopsy (Murphy 2019, 76–81).

Crato was a regular correspondent with many of the leading humanists and intellectuals of the time, and regarded as an important facilitator in the elite socio-political network. He also owned a highly esteemed library collection, about which we unfortunately know little.  

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6 Various Czech noblemen of the Hussite movement were frequently accommodated at Beza’s residence in Geneva. One of these was the young student Karel Žerotin, who would later become secular leader of the group. His tenure coincided with Andreas Dudith’s arrival in Paskov. In one of his letters to Sidney, Languet refers to Žerotin in glowing terms (Kuin 2012, 912).

7 This paper focuses particularly on parallels between Crato’s and Sidney’s spheres of interest, drawing on the relevant archive sources (especially Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, Wroclaw Library, and Strahov Library in Prague).

8 On the fate of Crato’s library, see Gillet (2015 [1860]). Parts of the collection are held at Nostitz Library in Prague and at Wroclaw University Library.
In one of his publications from 1571, Crato’s signature *supralibros* (a rare type of *ex-libris* adorning the cover of a book) depicts a figure (1) that appears to be either Samson or Hercules killing a lion.

Featuring the motto *Irae modereris et ori* (“May you moderate your anger and speech”) (Šípek 2012, 14), the image resembles the 46th emblem of the *Emblemata* by Crato’s eminent friend, the polymath and physician Johannes Sambucus. Entitled *Irae malagma philosophia* and also containing a fearsome lion, Sambucus’ motif claims the greatest menace not to be an animal but anger, which can only be cured through philosophy (Sambucus and Iunius Hadrianus 1565, 52). Indeed, it is tempting to speculate that Crato’s belief in championing temperance and rejecting gossip was directly related to his private experience of court politics.

The majority of treatises in Crato’s collection were unsurprisingly devoted to medicine and historiography, with volumes on subjects ranging from nutrition to syphilis and featuring commentaries on Galen and Hippocrates. The collection also contained a number of remarkable publications, most notably Christopher Plantin’s polyglot bible, the *Biblia Regia*. Crato was also mentor and tutor to many young students, who were able to profit from his considerable resources and seasoned advice (Šípek 2012, 24–25).

The most notable of Crato’s own publications are his edition of Paul Eber’s *Calendarium Historicum* and a dedication letter composed for an edition of Dubravius’ *Historia Bohemica* in 1575.
Also based in Wittenberg, Paul Eber (1511–1569) was a German Lutheran theologian and reformer. Featured in Crato’s edition of Eber’s calendar published in 1571 is a verse from Psalm 119: “Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my paths” (119:105, KJ21). Crato probably understood this image of enlightenment very well, symbolic of a thematic trend in the output of many of the philosophers and intellectuals of the time. One such example is a rewording of Jacob 1.17 by Crato’s friend, Joachim Camerarius. Featuring an emblem entitled Si serenus illuxerit (Camerarius 1677), it reads: “Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom can be no variation nor turning shadow” (Jacob 1:17, B21).

Published in Basel in 1575, Peter Perna’s edition of Dubravius’ Historia Bohemica contains Crato’s introductory letter of dedication, which is notable for its addressing not only the ruler of the time, Maximilian II, but also his sons: his soon-to-be-successor Rudolf and Ernest (1533–1595), latterly governor of the Netherlands.

Written in 1574 in Vienna, the history was published, perhaps strategically, one year later, coming just a year before Maximilian’s death. Significantly, Crato delivered an oration at Maximilian’s funeral that would receive wide praise, particularly from his ally Sambucus (Crato 1577). Crato’s epistola deductoria summarizes the important milestones in Dubravius’ narration of Czech history. Quoting Cicero, he commends the merits of historiography and its enduring ability to bear truthful witness to memory and times past (Dubravius 1575, 2). Crato concludes his dedication by accentuating Maximilian’s virtues of foresight and tolerance, but particularly his dedication to avoiding conflict while simultaneously upholding...
a passionate and brave defence of the state (Dubravius 1575, 5). Considering his close relationship to Maximilian, Crato’s candid testimony here rings strikingly true. Indeed, his advocacy of Maximilian’s diplomacy perhaps speaks of Crato’s intuitive awareness that the age of irenicism was at an end.

Crato also published treatises on Lutheran and Protestant theology, medicine and astronomy, notably *Elementa Doctrinae De Circulis Coelestibus* (1551) by Caspar Peucer, a prominent member of the Wittenberg-Melanchthonian circle. He also compiled an informative and popular medical guide for households entitled *Euporista Cratoniana*, posthumously published in 1630 as a German translation under the title *Euporista Cratoniana, Oder Hauss Artzneyer*. The guide is evidence of the contemporary fashion for blending medicine with botany. Covering a diverse range of topics, it explores the medicinal uses of opium and provides advice on treating everything from scorpion and black-widow stings and burn marks to moles, skin peeling and dermatological infections. It also includes an extensive chapter on the induction of labour, delivery and other general aspects of childbirth (Crato 1630).

2.1 Sidney’s Companions: Languet and Crato

Given Crato’s exalted pedigree, Languet was naturally keen to introduce him to his young protégé. By the time of Sidney’s move to Central Europe, Crato was a well-established and active member of the Languet-Camerarius circle, which comprised numerous botanists and physicians. We know from the correspondence that Sidney was put in contact with a number of these figures, which did much to inspire his interest in medicine and botany. Unfortunately, the only evidence of any direct communication between Crato and Sidney is one letter written by Crato in Latin. However, Crato is mentioned in three letters written by Hubert Languet to Sidney. The first two date to 1574, coinciding with Sidney’s tour of the European mainland, and the third, written in 1577, dovetails with Sidney’s brief diplomatic mission to Prague, where he was rumoured to have secretly met Edmund Campion.¹²

The first letter that mentions Crato, written by Hubert Languet in Vienna on 18 March 1574, concerns Sidney’s intention to travel to Poland for the anticipated coronation. It is clear from the letter that Languet had initially planned on accompanying Sidney in spite of his diminishing state of health, being evidently more concerned with the welfare of his protégé than his own. But what is interesting is that Crato seems to have been familiar with Sidney’s intention (and Languet’s plans to accompany Sidney to Poland), a matter Languet insists he had kept a great secret (Kuin 2012, 140–42).¹³ Languet’s letter reveals, however, that Crato had written a message to Sidney disclosing his knowledge of Sidney’s plans (Kuin 2012, 141, no. 2). The surprise felt by Languet, who considered himself Sidney’s closest friend and mentor, is particularly evident in the letter: “I am surprised that Crato wrote what you say he did, as I mentioned that business here neither to him nor to anyone else” (Kuin

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¹² Edmund Campion (1540–1581) was an Oxford scholar who famously rejected Anglicanism to become a Jesuit. His meeting with Sidney has generated much debate, with some interpreting the event as an indication of Sidney’s religious tolerance and even, more speculatively, of his secret Catholicism.

¹³ Hubert Languet to Sidney, Vienna, 18 March 1574.
One can venture two possibilities for Crato having known. One is that Sidney himself informed Crato, which makes sense given that Crato was a trusted and close friend. Moreover, being of Polish-Silesian origin, Crato was ideally suited to offer advice on his upcoming trip. The other possibility is that the information found its way to Crato via a member of the imperial court, potentially Clusius or Purkicher. Whatever the truth of the matter, Sidney is more than likely to have found Crato’s knowledge of the political scene in Poland and his acquaintance with the important figures of the region invaluable.

After recovering from an ailment that laid him low in September of 1574, Sidney eventually made the trip to Poland at some point between late October and early November of the same year. He is understood to have been accompanied by a Polish nobleman, Marcin Lezniowolski, due to Languet’s acceptance of a diplomatic post in service of Augustus, Elector of Saxony (Kuin 2012, 334). That Sidney’s first stop was Breslau points to Crato’s influence. Continuing to Krakow, the hub of Polish political, cultural and intellectual life, he met Andreas Dudith (Osborn 1972, 54; Kuin 2012, 208).

The second letter, written a month later on 23rd April 1574, refers to Crato as “a physician and old friend” (Kuin 2012, 173). The content of the letter mostly concerns Crato’s connection with the polymath and reformer Jakob Monau. The letter is otherwise unexceptional save for the exchanges between Languet and Sidney on the tardiness of their replies and their mutual exasperation with the delivery of private letters (Kuin 2012, 173–77). The last letter referring to Crato comes more than three years later. Written in Frankfurt on 14th June 1577, Languet informs Sidney of a letter he has received from Crato. In it, the physician relays his warm greetings and expresses his regret at having missed the poet’s most recent visit (Kuin 2012, 747–51). Although a snapshot of the relationship between Crato and Sidney, it nonetheless provides important evidence of the time Sidney spent in Central Europe, a period that coincided with Edmund Campion’s visit to Prague. Secondly, it testifies to Crato’s precise knowledge of Sidney’s whereabouts in the region.

If we were to ask whether familiarity with Central European intellectuals influenced Sidney’s work, we must, aside from the abovementioned historical circumstances, rely on a search of intertextual parallels. Let us therefore cite some examples.

In one of Johannes Sambucus’s emblems, the *Physica & Ethica*, the investigation of nature and humanity is represented by the very figure of Johann Aicholz (1520–1588), a botanist and physician active in Vienna and Prague, and a friend of Paul Fabricius (1519/29–1589) and Carolus Clusius (1526–1609). The investigation of nature trains our minds’ ability to recognize hidden things – nature does not easily give up its secrets. Characteristically, we find here an emphasis on *praxis*, that is, the application of theoretical knowledge to everyday life, to the real world. Sambucus supports this position with reference to Socrates: “but what good would be the use of ancient philosophy without suitable examples?” (Sambucus 1565).15

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14 “… Miror Cratonem scripisset, quae dicis, cum nec apud ipsum, nec apud quenquam alium ejus rei mentionem hic fecerim.”

15 In Sambucus’s Latin text: ‘Huius alumna sed est praxis, mandata capessens / Notitiae, ac licitis usibus apta nitet. / Socratis haec placuit studio, quid enim sine rectis / Profuit exemplis Philosophia vetus?; (https://www.wdl.org/en/item/14211/view/1/7/, accessed August 24, 2021, 150; English translation at https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/
Sidney’s *Defence of Poetry* is characterized by such close connection between a theoretical exposition and illustrative examples. The introduction starts with a depiction of Sidney’s meeting with Giovanni Pietro Pugliano at the Viennese court, where the latter was so eloquent about his riding skills that he nearly talked Sidney into wishing for a horse. This eloquence and convincing effect were due to the syncretism of theory, or rather contemplation, illustrative examples, and great love for the subject of the discussion. This is something Sidney views as an example that should be followed in his own method of presentation (Sidney 2008, 212). It is interesting to note that Joachim Camerarius the Elder (1500–1574), father of the Camerarii and a close friend of Sidney’s mentor Hubert Languet (1518–1581), was seriously interested in the art of riding, and for this reason translated and published Xenophanes’ work on this subject (McMahon 1947, 88).16

It is clear that applicability to everyday life is of key importance for Sidney. When, with the aim to demonstrate its primacy, he compares poetry and its potential with that of philosophy and history, we can clearly hear a reverberation of his inspiration: in the Aristotelian spirit, he depicts poetry as the perfect counterpoint to the obscurity of philosophy and descriptive superficiality of historiography. He notes that “the poet is the food for the tenderest stomachs, the poet is indeed the right popular philosopher”, and that poetry “is more philosophical and more studiously serious than history”. In its moral impact and universality, poetry surpasses history. In this, it is comparable to philosophy but surpasses it in evoking pleasure and emotions (Sidney 2008, 232, lines 467, 477).

In Sidney’s works we also find in many different guises a fascination or sympathy with a cyclic conception of time, inspired by continental emblemists like above-mentioned Sambucus or Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1500–1574), where coming to be and decay are just part of the order of nature, and acceptance of this order is what brings peace. Several examples can also be found in Sidney’s *Old Arcadia*. For instance, in the fourth eclogue Agelastus laments the vanity of human life, but in these verses Sidney also offers consolation by pointing to the restoration of life as such: in time, youth and old age always follow one another, but this cycle never ends with just one of these phases. A person cannot shed their old skin like a reptile; everyone ultimately heads towards death. Agalastus mourns the injustice of nature which permits the death of a child, but a closer inspection shows that the rhetorical nature and exaggeration in this speech are an instrument of subtle irony: dwelling on our individual pain does not bring peace. Peace of mind comes with accepting the order of nature to which we, as “nature’s works”, are subjected (Sidney 2008, 131, lines 79-84).

On this note, emblem XLII by Camerarius – *Natura dictante feror* (I fly where nature bids me) – captures the ideal of Sidney’s view of life, that is, the acceptance of the natural order of nature, *physis*, which should be investigated not only by contemplation: one should deploy the nascent Early Modern approaches to all of nature’s beings, which are not only spiritual but also material entities. Such an investigation offers the option of being led by knowledge of one’s own nature.17

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16 In hoc libello haec insunt. De tractandis equis sive… Tübingae Suevorum (1539).
17 More to Sidney’s interest in continental emblem books in Kastnerová (2023).
3 Conclusion

The correspondence covered in this study illustrates that Crato was an influential and inspiring companion of the young Sidney, accompanying him in exploration of continental irenicist politics and the ideas of eminent local physicians and botanists like Clusius, Purkircher, or Aicholz. Considering his distinguished service at the imperial court, one can arguably claim Crato to be an equal contemporary of Languet in both age and social standing. The first letter not only highlights Languet’s awareness of Crato’s influence, but also his desire to maintain an exclusive relationship with his young English charge. The other letters offer an insight into the respect and admiration he commanded within the Languet-Camerarius circle, a group that was pivotal in paving the way for Sidney’s integration into European intellectual life. But what is perhaps most revealing is the intimacy of Crato’s friendship with Sidney, a closeness it would seem that went beyond mere words.

In summary, Crato’s formative influence on Sidney’s intellectual development is twofold. Firstly, he piqued Sidney’s interest in the political affairs of Poland and the other states of Central Europe (to which Sidney also travelled). Secondly, by placing Sidney in direct contact with leading figures such as Clusius and Purkircher, he could inspire in the poet an interest in medicine and botany.¹⁸

References

Manuscripts and Old Prints

Correspondence and Belles-lettres

¹⁸ Professor Daniel T. Lochman’s (Texas State University) examination of Sidney’s works, taking into consideration the poet’s European travels and first-hand acquaintance with continental physicians, indicates that Sidney was influenced especially by paracelsianism (maybe also thanks to Thomas Moffet (1553–1604)). He could have been inspired by some thoughts on imagination, as we could see in his conception of nature and poetry (creation) in his Defence of Poesy. Thus, there are other directions for the future research of the topic of this study.
**Holy Writ**
Jacob 1:17 (B21)
Psalm 119: 105 (KJ21)

**Other Books and Articles**

**Figures**
Figure 3. Eber’s insignia in Paul Eber’s *Calendarium Historicum* (Vitebergae: Johannes Crato, 1571); Strahov Library, Prague, EO XIII 2.

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