THE POPES' JEWISH DOCTORS

492 – 1655 CE

by

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Dedicated in gratitude and appreciation to my father, Samuel, alav hashalom, a wonderful man, for his inspiration and support.

FOREWORD

This monograph surveys the interaction of Jewish physicians with the whims and vagaries of the Popes. This account, less a history than a chronicle, covers the years from 492 CE to 1655 CE portraying the trials, tribulations and honors of Jewish physicians practicing in an hostile and unfriendly environment.

Research for this monograph began in my freshman year of medical school during a lecture of "The History of Medicine" in which a passing reference was made to a Jewish physician who treated a Pope during the medieval ages. This stimulated and piqued my curiosity to know more about such a relationship. Unfortunately it soon became apparent that a comprehensive study of such a relationship was not available.

Many professional volumes and history books mention that such a relationship did exist but none of these books dealt systematically with these Jewish physicians. It soon became apparent that such a study would have to wait for an appropriate period when more free time was available to pursue a painstaking search of every lead and reference to its end, some successfully, many to a dead end. One interesting event occurred during my correspondence with the Vatican librarian, Mr. A.M. Albareda, Prefect, who wrote to me that he he had come across two volumes of references to Jewish physicians by Gaetano Marini published in Rome in 1784 and was available in the Library of Congress, who in turn referred me to the old Ridgway Library in South Philadelphia.

Thinking that now much information would be made available, I went to the Ridgway Library hoping that some arrangement could be made to translate from the Italian. However, when the librarian took me into the reference room of ancient books and showed me the two volumes, I immediately realized with great frustration and chagrin that they were written in Medieval Italian. It was not until many years later that through the efforts of Will Eisner I was able to arrange for a translation.

Somewhere there must be more information for which no apparent connecting link is obvious. It would be of great value if anyone should have knowledge to add, not present in this monograph, to make this a more detailed chronicle of these Jewish Physicians.

With many thanks to the librarians and librarian assistants who gave graciously of their time and effort to find material and references. To Maury Abrams, Esq. who provided technical assistance, to Arthur Lewis who encouraged the beginning and the search, and to Will Eisner, creator of "The Spirit," who advised and directed me, and to Pete Eisner for his tireless planning of the work.

Because this work concerns the lives of those long since deceased, it was necessary to depend, in the main, on the writings of others. To those authors and writers listed in the bibliography, living or dead, from whose works and writings I have gleaned and culled much of the information herein, my thanks and appreciation.

INTRODUCTION

A narrative of any phase of Jewish life or history must of necessity present a struggle for light and existence of a people small in number and negligible in political power but great in achievement and unparalleled in endurance. The purpose of this narrative is to show some of the conditions under which Jewish physicians practiced their profession, the difficulties with which they had to contend and the restricted or prohibitive laws imposed upon them. The church of the Middle Ages mandated the conditions of the Jews causing great hardships and persecution, their activities were also restricted and their entrance into almost all professions was prohibited. With each accession of another Jewish physician the search increased, "the appetite grew by what it fed on" *(Prunelle, cited by Fortualon in Graetz).* So it happened that a modest but unique history has been formed which in a small measure illustrates a portion of the history of medicine between the Jews and the Popes.

Despite the fact that the life of the Jewish physician was forced into the most exceptional paths through many restrictive laws, the Jews maintained an almost continuous line of medical practitioners. An historian of that time went so far as to say that "the reputation of Jewish physicians was such, that at one time it was believed essential to be of Jewish descent to be skilled in medicine." Much of the material here presented is fragmented and much that is valuable and important may have been unintentionally overlooked due to confusion and inadequacy in recording names. The amount of information concerning any one physician in no way reflects upon his ability or reputation but only upon the available information. There were other Jewish physicians of that time and

region who, as far as can be ascertained, had no direct connection with the popes but were equally as qualified, well known and famous as those who did have contact with the popes. Unless there was a clear and definite father-son relationship or the appellation "The Jew" or "The Hebrew" associated with the individual's name it is most difficult to identify the Jewish physician by name alone. The difficulty and the impossibility of securing all the material on such a subject and of obtaining, at this time, many works of reference may be readily appreciated. It has not been possible to find many sources which deal with this subject and these sources in part only. References to Jewish physicians in the early centuries of the Christian Era are very scant. Juster has collected a few Jewish epigraphic records which make note of "the physician." Occasionally a reference during the reign of one pope to his predecessor will reveal the services of Jewish physicians to the latter. Such a reference is found during the reign of Pope Boniface IX, 1389-1404 to that of Urban VI (1378-1389) who retained the same physicians, Manuele and his son Angelo.

THE POPES' JEWISH DOCTORS

The early bishops of Rome showed little animosity toward the Jews and the first reference of a Jewish physician in the service of a pope of Rome is probably that of a Jew named Telesinus in the service of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) whom the pope identified as a - vir clarissimus - (an illustrious, renowned man.)

A council convened in Rome by Pope Gelasius in 494 established the Catholic canon of biblical texts. On a personal level, Pope Gelasius was not hostile to the Jews and among his familiares (member of the household) was the Jew Telesinus who won the Pope's trust to the extent that in 495 Pope Gelasius recommended Telesinus' nephew, the Jew Antius or Antonius, to the Bishop Quingesius. Gelasius was the first pope known as the "Vicar of Christ" at the Roman synod of 13 May 495.

In 496 when the Pope was apprised that the slave of a Jew had claimed that, although he had been a Christian from childhood, his Jewish master had forced him to be circumcised, Pope Gelasius ordered the investigators to behave with scrupulous justice so that religious interests should not be wronged nor the slave unfairly removed from his master's authority.

One of the most important of the earlier popes from the point of view of Jewish history was Pope Gregory I (590-604). He became pope in 590 and from that time on, the Roman bishops were the rulers of Rome. He formulated the Jewish policy of the papacy, faithfully followed in subsequent generations in all of its aspects, favorable and unfavorable. He complained bitterly in his sermons of the obduracy of the Jews. He made certain that the canonical restrictions against them should be obeyed in all their rigor. Twenty-eight of his 800 extant letters deal with Jewish matters. He strongly objected to the observance of any ceremonies that related to Judaism or tended to obscure the boundaries between church and synagogue. Although approving of the initial stages of the reactions against the Jews in Spain under the Visigoths he nevertheless insisted that the Jews should be treated with humanity and endeavored to have their legal rights confirmed and respected. The Jews of Italy and other countries frequently appealed to Gregory for protection. He was indignant when synagogues were destroyed and ordered them to be rebuilt. While condemning forced baptisms, he did not object to the offering of material benefits to prospective converts; although such actual converts might be insincere, their children would be brought up as faithful Christians. One of his epistles, beginning with the words Sicut Judaeis - concerning the Jews - was sent to the bishop of Palermo in 598, objecting to the use of force as a conversionary method and that the Jews must be protected in the enjoyment of those rights guaranteed to them by law.

> *"Just as the Jews in their communities may not be allowed any liberties beyond the measure allotted to them by law, so must they, on the other hand, suffer no violation of their rights."*

This has been described as the Magna Charta of Roman Jewry. Later on this phase was prefixed from the 12th century onward to the traditional protective bull generally issued by every pope shortly after his accession, on the petition of the Jewish communities and presumably accompanied by gifts of money.

It was the Quinisext Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 692 that forbade Christians from calling upon Jewish physicians or

taking medicine from them. These prohibitions against Jewish physicians were repeated by many subsequent councils. Little is known concerning medical history from the fifth to the tenth centuries and it is not surprising that many centuries passed without mention of a Jewish physician in Rome. It is not to be inferred from this that there were no Jewish physicians, but merely that they left no record; or if any records were left, they were no doubt destroyed along with the lives of many Jews in the massacres that came as waves over the Jews depending upon the whims of their masters.

Despite the prohibitions against Jewish physicians so frequently and solemnly repeated, Pope Martin IV (1281-1284) had for some time at his court a Jewish physician from the north of France. Because of previous political intrigue and partisan animosities for six months preceding his election as Pope, the Romans refused the Pope entry to the city. Consequently he was crowned Pope at Orvieto and mostly resided there. The most French of the 13th century popes, it was during his reign that the term Sicilian Vespers arose following the tolling for vespers on 30 March 1281 which gave the signal for the successful uprising of Sicily against the French King Charles of Anjou. While treating Pope Martin's secretary, the Jewish physician complained bitterly of his own treatment in his book Sepher Hajashar - Book of the Righteous.

> *"We Jewish physicians, who are under the yoke of the rulers, require very special wisdom, for the Christian physicians envy us and incite against us; and at times we must explain our scientific views before them when hearing something that was unknown to them will say, 'He will cause the death of Christians.' Therefore I advise every Jew (physician) not to touch a Christian unless he can hold his own in what is to be known in natural sciences."*

This example of Martin IV was soon followed by Pope Nicholas IV (1288 - 1292) who at the end of the century had a court physician Isaac Ben Mordecai, better known as Maestro Gajo. Pope Nicholas IV like many medieval popes displayed a mixed attitude toward the Jews. He issued various instructions - 1288 - to

the inquisitors to proceed against Conversos (a designation used in Christian Spain and Portugal for Moorish or Jewish converts to Christianity). It was sometimes applied also to their descendants. Unlike the epithet Marrano, the term Converso has no derogatory implication. He renewed earlier legislation concerning the Jews in Portugal, compelling them to wear a badge. Although it is commonly assumed that the wearing of a badge originated with Christendom, it actually began in the Muslim countries. The introduction of a mark to distinguish persons not belonging to the religious faith of the majority originated in Islam by Caliph Omar II (717-720). He was the first ruler to order that every non-Muslim, the Dhimmi, should wear vestimentary distinctions called Giyar, i.e. distinguishing marks of a different color for each minority group. Later on it was radically imposed by Christendom.

There are some ambiguous references to the compulsory imposition of distinctive clothing in documents from the beginning of the 13th century. The consistent record, however, can be traced back only to Canon 68 of the Fourth Lateran Council - 1215:

> *"In several provinces, a difference investment distinguishes the Jews or the Saracens from the Christians; but in other, the confusion has reached such proportions that a difference can no longer be perceived. Hence, at times it has occurred that Christians have had sexual intercourse in error with Jewish or Saracen women and Jews or Saracens with Christian women. That the crime of such a sinful mixture shall no longer find evasion or cover under the pretext of error, we order that they (Jews and Saracens) of both sexes, in all Christian lands and at all times, shall be publicly differentiated from the rest of the population by the quality of their garment, especially since that this is ordained by Moses..."*

Both the allusion to biblical law (Lev. 19) and the inclusion of the canon among a series of others regulating the Jewish position indicate that the decree was directed especially against the Jews. Yet, Nicholas IV specifically protected the Jews of Rome from being

molested by Christians - January 1291. He wrote to Emperor Rudolph on August 2, 1288 requesting the release of Meir B. Baruch of Rothenburg from prison.

Maestro Gajo was distinguished as a scholar not only in medicine but also in many other fields. The confidence placed in him by Pope Nicholas IV is evidence of his high standing and his distinction as a physician, particularly when the attitude of the Church toward Jewish physicians at that time is borne in mind, as well as the bitter enmity of their Christian colleagues. None was more violently opposed to them than the well known physician Arnold of Villaneuva who went to Rome in 1300 to denounce the clergy before the Pope and to protest vehemently against their employing Jewish physicians. In his criticism of the immorality of the clergy this was his chief complaint. On another occasion he writes:

> *"We remember to have heard in the sermons of the clergy that every Christian who intrusts his body to medical treatment of the Jews merits excommunication and is guilty of a capital crime. We see, however, that in general no physician enters a convent or a monastery except a Jew."*

He did not succeed in his denunciation before the Pope probably because of the influence of Gajo. How great Gajo's influence was may be seen from the following. When Gajo informed Pope Nicholas that the clergy of Rome treated the Jews with cruelty, violated their rights and deprived them of their property, he interfered in their behalf. Gajo was held in high esteem by his Jewish colleagues and his position in the Roman Jewish community was the highest. In spite of high honors shown him Gajo lived in constant fear. His correspondence revealed a great anxiety to avoid anything that might be used to his injury.

Pope Boniface VIII (1294 - 1303) was the first pope recorded to have treated disdainfully the Jewish deputation which regularly came to congratulate the Pope on his accession. He returned over his left shoulder the Torah scroll presented to him with the scornful remark that they, the Jews, could not comprehend it. In 1299 a

Bull was procured which excluded the Jews, regardless of their material means, from the category of "powerful persons" who could be denounced anonymously to the inquisition. On the other hand, it was at this time, despite the canonical prohibition, that papers are first recorded as having Jews regularly in their employment as personal physicians. The first known case is that of the philosopher and translator, Isaac L. Mordecai ("Master Gaio"). One of the pope's decisions was that Jews, even minors, once baptized must remain Christians and it became part of Canon Law. On the death of Pope Boniface VIII, there began the "Babylonian Exile" of the papacy at Avignon (1309-1377).

In 1376, the Roman Senate relieved the Jewish physician Maestro Manuele and his son Angelo and their families from all taxes as well as from wearing the Jewish badge.

> *"Because of their great experience in their profession and of the valuable services they have rendered and were rendering daily through their art to the citizens of Rome."*

This removal of the obligation of wearing the Jewish badge is less an honor than a method for the clergy and the members of the senate, who were all Christians, to circumvent and evade the prohibition of employing Jewish physicians. To make the exemption from taxes effective, the Senate in 1385 reduced the taxes of the Jewish community altering their lives and the lives of Angelo's male descendants by the sum assessed to the physicians, so as to relieve the physicians of this obligation. The statement is made that the physicians had threatened to leave the city.

In addition to enemies among the poor, indolent burghers and nobles regarded the opulence of the Jews with much jealousy. The clergy cloaked their immorality with zeal for the propaganda of the faith, and upstart converts sought to disguise their Jewish origin by a show of hatred of their former brethren. There arose, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, three new Jew-baiters of the bitterest most implacable type. One of them was a baptized Jew, Joshua Lorqui; the other two were Fra Vincent Ferrer and Pedro de Luna (Pope Benedict XIII, antipope of Avignon). The responsibility

must rest upon them for the events which directly contributed to the most terrible tragedy in the history of Spain.

Pope Benedict XIII (1394-1415) hoping to score an impressive victory by having the Jews acknowledge the truth of Christianity, thereby reinforcing his personal status, established an almost frenetic anti-Jewish policy. He was responsible for and presided over the disputation of Tortosa, (1413-1414), a city in the Tarragona province in the northeast section of Spain one of the oldest Jewish communities in the Iberian peninsula. This disputation was the most important and the longest of the Christian-Jewish disputations which were forced upon the Jews in the Middle Ages. It was drawn out over some 20 months and 69 sessions were held. Immediately upon the first encounter the pope announced, contrary to the promises which he had previously given to the Jews, that it was not intended to hold a discussion between two equal parties, but rather to prove the truth of Christianity and its principles as it emerges from the Talmud. The disputation in itself acted as an incentive for anti-Jewish incitement and in several nearby towns the inhabitants adopted severe measures to force the Jews to convert.

Joshua Lorqui assumed on his baptism the name Geronimo de Santa Fe, and became physician to Pope Benedict XIII. He considered it his duty and mission in life to draw his former brethren over to Christianity by every possible means. Lorqui's full name is as follows: Ibn Vives Al-Lorqui (of Lorca) Joshua ben Joseph (Hieronymus Geronimo de Santa Fe) a Spanish physician, anti-Semitic writer and propagandist. As a Jew his name was Joshua Ha - Lorki (from the name of his birthplace, near Lorca, near Murcia). He was baptized before Vincente Ferrer and delivered his proselytizing sermons in Lorca. Although not a rabbi, Lorqui was well versed in the Talmud and rabbinical literature. In order to show his zeal for his new faith, he tried to win over to Christianity his former co-believers and to throw suspicion on them and on their religion. For this reason he was called "Megaddef" -the slanderer - from the initials of the letters of his name, Maestro Geronimo de Sante Fe. He offered to prove from the Talmud that the Messiah had already come in the person of Jesus. For this purpose he induced the anti-Pope Benedict XIII, whose physician he was, to arrange a public disputation with learned Jews, which

event was celebrated as a great triumph for Geronimo. Either before or after the debate Geronimo, at the request of Pope Benedict XIII, wrote two articles in which he heaped accusations on the Jews and repeated old slanderous charges. One of these articles was entitled "Tractue Contra Perfidiam Judaeorum" and the other "De Judaeis Erroribue ex Talmuth." They were published together as "Hebraeomosti" - Zurich, 1552.

During this same time, the Italian popes, influenced by the spirit of the Renaissance reverted (with some exceptions) to a more tolerant policy. In 1389 Pope Boniface IX became Pope in Rome and had a succession of Jews in his employ as physicians and was responsible for a number of protective edicts, including one in 1402 which recognized the citizen rights of the Roman Jews. He showed exceptional favor to the Jews of Rome. Shortly after becoming Pope he made Angelo his court physician and familiar in 1392. In a special bull in 1399 he confirmed to Angelo all the rights and privileges granted in 1376 and in 1385 to him and to his father, Manuele, who had meanwhile died. The letter, under date of July 1, 1392 is as follows:

> *"Boniface, etc., to his beloved son— Angelo of Manuele the Jew, born at Trastavere a Jew, our physician and familiar, greeting: 'Since you are adorned with the jewels of honesty, justice and virtue, as we are convinced by careful experience, and since you are desirous of devoting yourself even more intensely to our service and that of the Roman Church as you have done so worthily in the past, and since we have become sensible of your fame for probity, we are graciously attached to your person and are willing to advance you in accordance with your service by a more worthy title and by our grace, therefore, we appoint you by these presents as physician and familiar to us and to the Apostolic Chair (Papal office) under the protection of the sainted apostles Peter and Paul and of us and of the above-mentioned chair and make you one of the number of physicians reckoned as familiar to us and to the chair.*

'With this intent that you enjoy through this preferment more richly the Apostolic Grace, and that you shall truly enjoy as it is our desire all the privileges, honors, immunities, indulgences, liberties and exemptions as well as all other marks of grace now belonging to or in the future to be bestowed upon our familiars, other Apostolic Constitutions or contrary edicts notwithstanding.

'May you so devote yourself to the culture of virtue as we call upon you to win for yourself still greater favor. Given at Rome at Saint Peter's, etc."

During his reign as Pope, Rome had become impoverished because of the absence of the Papal Court for the greater part of the 14th century. Subsequently it was further affected by a succession of plagues, during which Jewish physicians had shown great skill in serving the sick of all classes. The Pope continued and even amplified the favors shown these physicians by his predecessor, Pope Urban VI, especially to Manuele and his son Angelo. He included them among his familiares, reduced their taxes and freed them from the obligation of wearing the Jewish badge. Several other physicians were likewise favored and the Jews of Rome in general profited from this attitude. The Pope could not show an equally friendly attitude to Jews outside the papal territory, since this was the period of the Great Schism in the church and various states wavered in their obedience to the pope in Rome.

In the "Jewish Regulations" contained in a paper bull of 1402 the physicians Angelo and his sons Leucius and Manuele were required to treat anyone of the Romans who was injured in a military campaign. There was to be a heavy fine for anyone who took their horses. Once again the physicians were relieved from the necessity of wearing the Jewish garb and were entitled to all the privileges of their official position. The tet of this portion of the bull is as follows:

"Furthermore that Maestro Angelo the Jew and his sons, the physicians, be held, and must give treatment to all and each of the sworn in the city of

the society of the city that may be hurt or wounded in any battle or cavalry engagement, general or special, that has to be carried on by the Roman People or by command of the presiding lords of the people; concerning the cure of whom they themselves Master Angelo and his sons must be at the disposal of the aforementioned wounded, and while any general or special engagement of arms, or a cavalry encounter is taking place, it shall not be and is not permitted to any of the sworn or the unsworn to take away the horse or horses of anyone of them upon pain of a fine of a hundred pounds of provisions. Whenever any military or cavalry engagement has to be undertaken the horses shall remain with the said Master Angelo and his sons that they may the more speedily to go and come through the city for the business of healing, and be able the more rapidly and zealously to exercise their said art, and that Maestro Angelo and his sons may go about clothed in what ever color without any tabard or dress of the Jew, and they may retain all gifts and fees granted to them and whatever privileges and writings established in their favor and granted to them by whatever officials, ecclesiastical or secular, which privileges and writings must remain unfringed and inviolably served to them and each of them on the part of all the officials of the said city and society both present and future nor any part of these privileges and writings in whatsoever manner be abridged from them in whole or in part, by the officials or by others. Yes, we wish those rights to be kept intact, that they may continue in force always and forever. If notwithstanding any may oppose this they do so under pain of punishment of a fine of a hundred florins of gold, to be exacted from any one acting to the contrary and to be handed over to the chamber of the above mentioned city...Given at Rome at Saint Peter's in the year of the Lord 1402, April 15, etc."

In 1404 the papal chamberlain acting on behalf of Pope Boniface IX granted letters to Angelo di Manuele and his sons, Leucius and Manuele "Jewish surgeons in Trastavere in Rome" and familiars to the pope, taking them under his protection; that they cannot be called before any court, temporal or ecclesicatical, but only before the papal curia. These rights were repeatedly confirmed.

In 1392, soon after Angelo's appointment, Pope Boniface on October 13, 1392, appointed still another Jewish physician, Salomo de Sabaldachio of Perugia, as his familiar. "Salomo de Sabaldachio of Perugia, in consideration of the good services rendered to the pope and to the Roman Church."

In 1406, Pope Innocent VII, 1404-1406, who already had a Jew, Elijah di Sabbato, as papal physician, also appointed Salomo de Sabaldachio as court physician and familiar and all rights and privileges granted by Boniface IV in 1392 were reconfirmed.

In 1405, the Roman Senate bestowed all the rights, honors and privileges of citizenship upon Elijah di Sabbato (Elijah Be'er Fonte ben Sabbathai) a distinguished and learned Jewish physician. He was born in Germany at the end of the fourteenth century. Also known as Elia di Sabato of Fermo and in England as Elias Sabot. He settled in Italy, where the Senate accorded his rights of citizenship in Viterbo and in 1405 in Rome. The document referred to is the oldest letter patent of its kind that has been preserved. It follows:

> *"In the name of God amen. We, Francissus de Panciatisis, knight of Pistoja, Doctor of Laws, honorable Senator of the city of Rome, and we the reformers of the city and administration of the Roman People in peace and in war, to the learned Master Elijah di Sabbato, the Jew, Physician and Physicus and Doctor of Medicine, our Greetings and Favor.*
>
> *"The faithlessness of the Jews whom the Lord of the world has created, must be rejected, and the*

stubbornness of their unbelief must be crushed, nevertheless their preservation is useful and necessary to Christians in certain respects, specially such as are well trained in medical art and who show themselves helpful in restoring Christians to their former health. Inasmuch as you, as we know from experience, have in the past and at this time used your well known skill in medical art to cure not only our citizens but likewise many strangers who, suffering from various diseases, have called upon you for help; therefore considering how necessary and beneficient your life is as a restorer of the health of the Romans and of others, we appoint you a Roman citizen."

Elijah di Sabbato took the oath of allegiance upon the Holy Scrolls. He was thus entitled to all the rights and liberties of other Romans. Neither he nor his family were obliged to wear the Jewish badge and were permitted to carry weapons. He was exempt from toll and from forced service and received an annual income payable out of the taxes received from the Jewish community. Whether it was a reduction in taxes of the Jewish community or an annual income payable from receivables from the Jewish community, the mechanism was another ploy for the Jewish community to pay for the medical treatment of the clergy, the Senate and some of the Christian citizens of Rome. In 1405 he was appointed papal physician to Pope Innocent VII (1404-1406). He also treated the Duke of Milan and the Marquess of Ferrara.

In 1410 the ailing King Henry IV of England disregarding the fact that Jews had long been excluded from his kingdom, summoned Elijah from Bologna to London as his personal medical attendant, in the hope that he might be able to effect a cure. He was empowered to bring with him a household of ten persons, who probably were intended to constitute the statutory quorum, minyan, for Jewish worship. As a teacher of medicine at the University of Pavia, he was the first Jew recorded on the faculty of a European university. In recognition of his services he was the first Jew to be accorded the dignity of knight of Rome.

The anti Pope John XXIII, 1410-1415 also known as the schismatic pope of Avignon granted the same rights as Pope Boniface IX to the physicians Leucius and Manuele, sons of Angelo. Pope John began his career as a piratical adventurer in the naval war between Louis II of Anjou and Ladislas of Naples. He was an unscrupulous, grasping and ambitious man and constantly in difficulties with the people and his fellow clergy.

Meanwhile in Rome, Elijah di Sabbato continued as the papal physician to Pope Martin V, 1417-1431. On the whole Martin V was well disposed toward the Jews. In his first two years, he confirmed to the Jews of Germany, Savoy and Rome their former privileges and received favorably a delegation of Italian Jews and another from Spain. In 1419, 1422 and 1429 he issued Bulls protecting Jews in their synagogues. He resisted the imposition of the Jewish badge but ordered the Jews to abstain from any work on Sundays and fast days. He also forbid compulsory baptism of Jewish children under the age of 12. He gave to the Jewish physicians in the Papal States every encouragement in the practice of their profession and abolished the prohibition against employing Jewish physicians. In 1421 he repealed the decrees of the anti Pope Benedict XIII and allowed Jewish physicians in Spain to treat Christians. Included in the Bull of 1422 he repealed entirely the prohibition forbidding the Jews to engage in medical practice. At this time he issued a permit to practice medicine to Vitale de Graziano.

The Bull of 1422 defending the Jews against the charge of poisoning wells, using blood for the Passover etc. was issued at the insistence of the Jews of Germany. A translation of this bull was made in the House of Elijah di Sabbato. Early in his reign Martin confirmed the rights of Leucius and Manuele, sons of Angelo the rights granted by Boniface IX and by the anti Pope John XXIII. Martin showed great confidence in his physician Leucius. In 1426 he ordered the physician Maestro Leucius to settle, with full power, the quarrels in the Jewish community of Rome. With the election of Martin as Pope the great Schism came to an end.

Papal friendly relations to the Jews continued with Pope Martin's successor, Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447). The greater part

of his reign was especially favorable for the Jews. In 1432 shortly after his ascent to the papal throne, Eugenius IV ratified the privileges of the Jewish communities of Lombardy, the Marches and Sardonia. In 1433 he renewed and reconfirmed Elijah di Sabbato as the papal physician renewing his freedom of the city and his salary. On 6 February 1434 Eugenius assured the German Jews of his protection particularly against attempts at forced conversion and any interference with the practice of their religion and desecrating of their cemeteries.

Although early in his reign he was tolerant and renewed the privileges and safeguards of the Jews, he was later forced to issue a bull putting into effect the severe decisions of the 1434 Ecumenical Council of Basle. The Council enacted that:

> *"No Jew shall be appointed physician or official nor shall any Jew receive an Academic Degree."*

The Council also forbade the Jews to practice handicrafts and money lending, to engage in intercourse with Christians in any capacity and even to study the Talmud. It also enforced a distinctive garb on the Jews and ordered them to live in special Jewish quarters. The council also adopted a severe attitude against Christian heresies. In order not to appear dilatory in his strictness toward the Jews, in 1442 Pope Eugenius forbade Christians in Leon and Castile to have any relationship with Jews as maids or manservants. Jews were forbidden to build any new synagogues, they were excluded from public office and affairs and could not testify against Christians.

Once again there was a conference of Italian Jews and counter-measures were taken. Only after large sums of money had changed hands was the pope persuaded that his policy was economically ruinous for the country did Pope Eugenius in December 1443 rescind the restrictive measures and withdraw the prohibitions. Elijah di Sabbato was among those who signed, at the December 1443 meeting with the pope, and the Italian Jews concerning their religious freedom. From then on Pope Eugenius once more extended his protection to the Jews. Only a few days before his death he issued a Bull against forced baptism in Spain. With the

new pope, Pope Nicholas V, 1447-1455 a reaction set in to the favorable times of Pope Eugenius. Although he granted to Manuel ben Solomon of Cesena permission to practice in 1447 yet in 1449 in a Bull he repealed all the privileges of Jews and Saracens "because of complaints that the Jews make use of their rights to the great curse of Christianity and do much that is disgraceful and ruinous to the soul.

However, at the request of the city authorities of Carmeto, Pope Nicholas V permitted the Jewish physician Dactilus and his son Guilielmus to practice in Carmento, Montalto and Civita Vecchio, on condition "that they give no dangerous medicine before the patient has received the holy sacrament according to the rules of the church."

After eleven years there was again a pope who employed a Jewish physician. Pope Pius II 1458-1464 had at his court as a personal physician a Moses ben Issac (Gajo) of Rieti born 1388 - died 1460, the son of Master Gajo. Moses was a famous poet and scholar who like many of his predecessors combined the office of rabbi and physician. Pope Pius II energetically pursued a crusade against the Turks and therefore heavily increased the taxation on the Jews for a war which they did not want and in which they had no involvement. The Pope's literary name was Aeneas Sylvius and as a consequence of which he chose the pontifical name of Pius in reminiscence of Vergil's pious Aeneas.

Moses ben Issac was an Italian physician, philosopher and poet; born at Rieti in 1388 and died at Rome about 1460. After having received instruction in Talmud and Hebrew literature from his father, he devoted himself to the study of medicine and philosophy. He remained at Rieti practicing medicine until after the death of his father, which occurred about 1422. In 1436 Moses was at Perugui: and a school founded by him, is mentioned in 1542 at Narni. During the pontificate of Pope Eugenius IV he went to Rome where he officiated as a rabbi. While there he wrote to the Jewish communities of Italy asking them to contribute to the payment of the taxes imposed upon the Jews of Rome for the privilege of the free exercise of their religion. Pope Pius II appointed Moses as his physician.

Moses began writing very early. Fascinated by Dante's "Divina Commedia" when he was only twenty-one years of age he conceived the idea of imitating it in Hebrew; this idea he carried out seven years later in a work entitled "Mikdash Me'at." In this poem the "Dante Ebreo," as he was called, showed himself as innovator by successfully introducing into Hebrew poetry the "tera rima." The "Mikdash Me'at" is divided into two parts; the first comprises five cantos; the second comprises eight. In the first part, after having excused his brevity and given some information concerning himself, the poet reviews the thirteen Maimonidean articles on belief; the number and the division of the sciences according to Alfarobi, Ghazali, Averroes and Maimonides; the "Isagoge" of Porphyry and Ibn Rashd's commentary upon it, with notes on the latter by Levi ben Gershon: the categories of Aristotle, with Ibn Rashd's commentary and Levi ben Gershon's notes.

In the second part the poet enters the "Sanctuary" ("Hekal), the abode of the souls of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the doctors of the Law and the martyrs. Thence he passes to the "Abode of the Suppliants" ("Me'on ha Sho'alim") where he addresses a prayer to God. Then he enters the "City of God" ("Ir Elohim"), through which he reaches the "Ships of the Soul" represented by the Mishnah and the Talmud. Afterwards he passes in review the Tannaim, Amoraim, Geonim and the scholars. To this part, which gives interesting information about the history of Jewish literature, Moses added historical and literary notes, in which he sometimes cites the works of those whom he mentions in his poem and gives the reasons for having omitted to mention certain others. He omitted Levi ben Gershon, Moses Narboni, and Issac Albalag because of their conception of the Diety, with which he did not agree; the omission of Emanuel of Rome is on account of the latter's love songs; and that of Mostin di Erara is due to his attacks on the Cabbala.

The "Mikdash Me'at" enjoyed great popularity among the Italian Jews. The second song in the second part, the "Abode of the Suppliants" was recited as a liturgical poem in the synagogues. It has been translated many times into Italian, in both prose and verse.

Moses was the author of another poem which was probably composed before the "Mikdash Me'at" and copies of which are still preserved in manuscripts in the principal European libraries; it is entitled "Igeret Ya'ar ha-Lebanon" and contains explanatory descriptions of the ornaments and vessels which were used in the Temple.

In his later years Moses abandoned poetry and devoted himself to Philsophy and apologetics. He wrote six works in this province: (1) A philosophical-theological work, apologetic in tendency written in Italian and divided into three parts. The first part discusses the natural philosophy of Aristotle, the second is a treatise upon God, the third of which only a fragment has been preserved, covers Jewish history from the beginning to the time of the author. (2) An apologetic work in sixty-two chapters directed against a friar who preached anti-Jewish sermons at Rome. (3) Notes on Levi ben Gershon's commentaries on Averroes. (4) Notes on Moses Narboni's commentary on Ghazahi's "Makasid Al-Falasifah." (5) Notes on Averroes' commentary on the "Isagoge" of Porphyry. (6) A commentary on aphorisms of Hippocrates. Moses' last production was an elegy on his wife Zilla, who died at the age of seventy after fifty years of married life.

For seven more years the Jews were to prosper greatly under the tolerant attitudes of the popes but during the reign of Pope Sixtus IV, 1471-1484, the community did not enjoy to the same degree the favors as during the rule of his predecessor Pope Paul II. With the ascent of Pope Sixtus IV the renaissance spirit triumphed in Rome, except for the Jews and yet for the next 75 years the relation between the popes and the Jews were close and cordial. Because of the external pressure of unbending and unyielding orthodoxy Pope Sixtus had to confirm and yield to their demands. Despite his cordial relations with the Jewish community by yielding to this pressure he was responsible for the introduction of the Inquisition into Spain by his bull of 1478 investing King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella with extraordinary powers to appoint inquisitors in all parts of Castille. In January 1482 in a letter to the king and queen he condemned the excessive harshness with which they were carrying out their task. By February 11, 1482 six chief inquisitors were appointed including the notorious Tomas de Torquemada. In 1483

Pope Sixtus IV yielding to pressure from King Ferdinand placed Torquemada at the head of the inquisition in Castille and Aragon thus setting the stage for the terrible calamity of 1492. Finally in the last year of his life, 1484, he signed a bull in which he remarks upon the freedom enjoyed by the Jews especially in Andalusia, giving among other evidence the fact that:

"their physicians and pharmacists are employed by Christians,"all of which he finds constitutes

"a shame for Christianity as well as a danger because they lead astray the simple souls, etc.," and, therefore,

"revoked all their privileges without exception."

And yet like a number of his court predecessors he selected a Jew, Maestro Solomon, as his court physician, Sixtus IV used several Jewish physicians but unfortunately the only name remaining is that of Maestro Solomon about whom very little is known. In 1473 he granted permission to Astruc de Balmes in Naples to practice medicine among the Christians and in 1474 he gave similar grant to Leo, master of arts and medicine.

After 1492 the influx continued into Italy of newcomers, Jews and Marranos from varying places and lands where oppression was becoming unbearable. They came especially from Spain as a result of the inquisition and later of the expulsion from Sicily and still later from Provence. As a consequence, the importance of the native Jews gradually diminished and the others took precedence, each community holding itself apart. These new settlers were accorded a favorable reception by Pope Alexander VI (Borgia) 1492-1503 who showed an ambivalent attitude toward the Jew s. Where personal gains or exigencies of diplomacy made it desirable he washarsh, but when he followed his own desires he showed understanding. He permitted the Marranos to reside in the environs of Rome. However, when King Ferdinand of Spain protested, alleging that the pope's leniency encouraged their flight from Spain, Alexander compelled the refugees publicly to reaffirm their Christian loyalty. Even so, he appears to have profited financially from his refusal to take more extreme measures. While the pope

reduced the size of the distinguishing Jewish badge he nonetheless lengthened the distance of the disgraceful annual carnival races in Rome in which the Jewish participants were forced to run half naked; so as to be able to watch them from his residence in the Castle St. Angelo. He imposed on the Jews an additional tribute of 5% for three years to help defray the expense of the Turkish war. He employed several Jews as his personal physician among them was a distinguished and eminent Spaniard, Bonet de Lattes (Jacob ben Immanuel Provinciale).

Bonet de Lattes, physician and astrologer, is known chiefly as the inventor in 1493 of an astronomical ring-dial by means of which solar and stellar altitudes can be measured and the time determined with great precision by night as well as by day. He lived in the latter part of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th. Originally from Provence and belonging to a family that had its origin in Lattes near Montpellier, he was forced to leave Provence with the rest of his brethren and settle in Carpentras. Thence he went to Rome where he was granted the rights of medical practice by Alexander VI who also appointed him his physician. At this time the Roman community chose him as their rabbi and the pope made him the judge of the highest appeal for the community in Rome, to which he was able to render much assistance. He married the daughter of the physician Comprat Mosse of Aix.

Bonet described the use of his instrument in a treatise written in Carpentras, the full title of which is, "Bonet de Lattes Medici Provenzalis Annuli per eum Composti Super Astrologiae Utilitate." This work was dedicated to Pope Alexander VI. The colophon, in which he dedicates the book is interesting. He regrets his poor Latin, wishing to offer "to your Holiness, rosebuds in a cheap basket rather than nettles or tares in a precious one," and he ends with a plea "be lenient, you who find some Latin flaw, not Latin I profess, but Hebrew law."

Another Jewish physician at the court of Pope Alexander was Samuel Zarfati (Sarfati) upon whom was confirmed the usual rights and privileges as upon other Jewish physicians. A special note is made that Pope Alexander granted him the right to bestow the

degree of medicine upon others.

In 1499 Julius II granted papal dispensation to practice medicine to Eleazor (Lazzaro) Portaleone.

In 1503 on the death of Pope Pius III and after a conclave lasting one day Giuliano della Rovere with the help of lavish promises and bribes attained his ambition and was unanimously elected Pope Julius II, 1503-1513. His most enduring achievement was as a patron and inspirer of artists, notably Michelangelo, Raphael and Bramante. On his accession as pope he was greeted in the traditional manner by a Jewish deputation presenting the Holy Scrolls. The head of this deputation was Rabbi Samuel Zarfati. Zarfati is a name frequently given to Jews originating from southern France. At the coronation of Pope Julius II, Samuel made a solemn speech in which he presented a petition of the Jews for the continuance of their privileges. Samuel also known as Gallo (d.c. 1519) coming from Provence settled in Rome in 1498 and by a bull of 14 May 1504 Pope Julius II conferred on him the rights previously bestowed upon Zarfati by Pope Alexander VI and also confirmed the same upon his son Joseph.

Samuel was appointed court physician to Julius II and granted the privilege to attend Christian patients, freed from the obligation of wearing the Jew's badge as well as relief from all taxes and papal protection for him and his family; relieved him and his entire family, his servants and his property from the supervision and jurisdiction of the officials. Furthermore he granted to him permission to live wherever he chose, to follow his religion and customs undisturbed, to hold religious services at home. He also granted him the protection conferred upon him by Louis XII of his property in France together with the right to travel and reside there.

Samuel was an unusually skillful physician and the pope relied upon him more than upon his Christian physicians. An interesting incident illustrating the confidence placed by the pope in Jewish physicians is narrated in 1510. His Christian physicians urged the pope to take rhubarb against the advice of Samuel. The former promised to cure him in six days if he would follow their advice. "But the pope placed his trust in the Jewish rabbi and not in the

others; the Jew telling him that he was really not ill at all."

On August 17, 1511 the pope became seriously ill and his physicians with the exception of Samuel pronounced him dead. While the other physicians had given up hope and the court officials had begun their plunder of the papal chambers it was Samuel alone who refused to surrender, thus drawing upon himself the rage of his colleagues who contemptuously cried that "if the pope died it was the rabbi's disgraceful fault." Samuel only answered by saying that it was possible for his Holiness to recover, which he did. When the pope died a year and a half later the bitter hatred showed itself and Samuel's home was plundered. However, he retained public confidence and in the same year he was called to treat the Marquis di la Padula in Rome, and in 1515 he became the physician of Giulano de Medici. Samuel died about 1519 leaving his son Joseph to carry on the tradition of a Jewish physician as a personal physician to the pope. Also during the reign of Pope Julius II the rights of the physician Bonet de Lattes was renewed.

The climax in the favorable relations between the Jews and the Vatican was reached with the popes of the house of Medici, Pope Leo X, 1513-1521, was so well disposed toward the Jews that it was said that the Roman Jews considered his pontificate a presage of Messianic times. In 1518 Pope Leo X granted the right to practice medicine to Abraham II and David Tortalione, sons of Eleazar. Leo issued a notably benevolent edict in favor of the Jews in 1519, in which he repealed the obligation of wearing the Jewish badge in the papal dominions in France and allowed it to fall into disuse in Italy. He employed the converted Jewish musician Giovanni Maria, the Jew, as a lute player; took a lively interest in Jewish literature and permitted the printing of the Talmud.

As was the custom in families in which the father was a physician it was not unusual for Samuel Zarfati's son Joseph to also be involved with the medical profession. His full name was Joseph ben Samuel Zarfati, also known as Josiphon, Giosifante or Giuseppo Gallo and he lived in Rome in the 15th and 16th centuries. He acquired early in life a great reputation in his profession and the privileges previously granted to him by Pope

Julius II were in 1524 renewed by Pope Leo, who expressed himself toward the Jewish physician in the most flattering terms. He was the more willing, he said in his patent, to grant these privileges as:

> *"Joseph was no less magnanimous and no less skillful in his profession than was his father."*

Joseph was also a poet, a mathematician, a philosopher and as an accomplished linguist he was well versed in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Greek and Latin. He translated into Hebrew the Spanish comedy Celestina. He had many remarkable adventures and also assisted the false messiah David Reubeni. Joseph was the teacher of Tesco Ambrogio, subsequently the professor of Oriental languages at the University of Bologna. In the latter days of his life he met with many misfortunes. An unfaithful servant fled with all his savings to Constantinople. Joseph pursued him there but was accused by the thief as a spy of the pope and as a result had to seek safety in flight. During the siege of Rome in 1527 by the Spanish-German army of Charles V of Spain, Joseph was attacked by four robbers. He succeeded in escaping but while endeavoring to reach Vicavara he was stricken with the plague. Being refused entrance to the city he died without assistance in the open field in 1527. Having devoted his entire life to the aid and the assistance of others in need he passed his last moments alone.

Pope Leo X also conferred on Bonet de Lattes the rights and privileges formerly granted to him by Pope Julius II. It is significant at this time that when the humanist Johann Reuchlin made his appeal on 13 October 1513 to the pope from the sentence of the Dominicans of Cologne he requested the papal physician Bonet de Lattes, a Jew to intercede on his behalf in order that the examination of the "Augenspiegle" should not be given into the hands of a commission made up of strangers, at all events not of Dominicans. Further Bonet's intervention seems to have been successful.

The friendly relations established by Pope Leo X were continued by his kinsman Pope Clement VII, 1523-1534. He showed such benevolence toward the Jews that he was called "the favorer of Israel." He extended and renewed privileges to many

Jewish physicians. One of these was Joseph son of Bonet in 1524 who was:

> *"confirmed gladly because he gave promise of no less of nobility of character or of medical knowledge than his deceased father."*

Joseph was permitted to have others in addition to his family attend religious services at his home but not to build a synagogue. In 1530 Pope Clement chose Joseph Zarfati as court physician and familiar and gave to him the right to practice medicine freely. Another Jewish physician to whom Pope Clement granted privileges to practice medicine was Issac Zarfati. Issac had been successful in the treatment of a number of the members of the court and many friends of the pope. However, the most famous of the physicians whom Pope Clement favored was Jacob ben Samuel Mantino. He was born about 1490 and his parents and probably Jacob himself were natives of Tortosa, Spain, which place they left at the time of the banishment of the Jews from Spain in 1492. The family settled in Italy where he spent most of his life. Mantino studied medicine and philosophy at the universities of Padua and Bologna. After graduation he established himself in Bologna, and developed a flourishing practice there as well as in Verona and Venice. He devoted his hours of leisure to the translations of scientific and philosophical works from the Hebrew to Latin mostly those of Averroes and Avicenne. By these translations he soon acquired a high reputation and he was befriended by the highest dignitaries of the court of Pope Clement VII. In 1527 the Spanish-German army of Charles V marched against Rome and entered the city. A butchery began which lasted three weeks, succeeded by a pestilence for two to three months. This war compelled Mantino to leave the pontifical states and settle in Verona where the new Bishop Gilberti protected him. In 1528 the pope returned to Rome, and Gilberti left Verona for Rome. Mantino decided to settle in Venice. There the council of Ten exempted him from wearing the Jewish hat. This privilege was granted to him at first for a period of several months upon the recommendations of the English and French ambassadors, the papal legate and other dignitaries whom he numbered among his patients. At the expiration of the prescribed time Mantino found an influential protector in another

of his patients, Theodore Trivuluce, a Marshall of France and governor of Genoa. The latter while urging his own services to the Venetian Republic insisted that the Council should make Mantino's exemption perpetual.

In 1536 King Henry VIII of England attempted to secure a divorce from Catherine of Aragon and among the Jewish scholars whose aid was sought were several physicians; Elijah Menahem (Helias) Halfon, Marco Kalonymous and Jacob Mantino. King Henry's effort was based on the pretext that the marriage was contrary to biblical law and that the dispensation obtained from Pope Julius II was invalid. This effort involved Mantino in many difficulties. King Henry sent Richard Crooke to Italy in order to obtain an opinion favorable to his case and Crooke addressed himself to Jewish as well as to Christian scholars. In the stormy debate concerning the annulment Mantino opposed the king's supporters thus earning the gratitude of Pope Clement VII, but the decision created for Mantino many enemies in Venice where Crooke had won a favorable opinion from the famous physician and scholar, Elijah Menahem Halfon among others. In gratitude for Mantino's support Pope Clement VII requested that Mantino be appointed lecturer in medicine in Bologna in 1529. Several years later in 1533 the pope invited Mantino to Rome where he energetically opposed the messianic claims of Solomon Molcho whom Mantino had originally opposed while in Venice. Having many friends and protectors at the court of Pope Clement VII, Mantino soon acquired great influence in Rome which he used to oppose Molcho.

An interesting story is that of Abraham Portaleone, oldest son of Dr. Guglilmo Portaleone (miShaar Aryet i.e. from the Lion's Gate) who was body physician to Guidabaldo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. Abraham's reputation was so great that in the winter of 1525, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, the famous condottiere (military adventurer) progenitor of the later Grand Dukes of Tuscany was wounded in a skirmish a few days before the battle of Pavia. Abraham was sent by the Duke of Urbino to attend to Giovanni in Parma to which city the wounded man was carried. The patient's cousin, Pope Clement VII wrote letters both to the Duke of Urbino and to the Jewish physician expressing his personal gratitude for the

care his nephew had received. The scribe carelessly began the letter with the conventional words "to my beloved son" (dilecto filio) which he subsequently deleted. The pope expressed his regret that Master Abraham was not a Christian but promised him a reward for his services, which were quite successful.

Pope Clement VII also authorized the two nephews of Abraham, sons of Lazzaro (Eleazor), Abraham and David in 1518 to attend to Frederico II of Mantua. Two other Jewish physicians Abraham Ha-Kohen and Jehuda di Rodez were held in high esteem and were men of powerful influence at the court of Pope Clement VII. He also granted the right to practice medicine to Joseph, son of Deodatus of Nola, a Jew in Budrio in the province of Bologna in 1530 and to Issac Ha-Kohen son of Solomon of Janua in 1530 and at the same year to Solomon de Rimini with the right to dress like Christians.

On the accession to the papal throne by Pope Paul III, 1534-49, Mantino attained the zenith of his influence. In 1534 Pope Paul III appointed Mantino as his personal physician and in 1539-41 appointed him professor of practical medicine at the University of Rome. Here his name appears as Guicomo Ebreo, the Hebrew. It is not certain how long he taught there, except that his name is not on the register in 1542. As physician to the pope he enjoyed his confidence and thus was able to secure aid and protection for the Jewish community. He performed as one of the rabbis and is mentioned in the records with the title of Gaon.

It was stated by Furst that Mantino lost favor with the pope in 1539 as a consequence of the intrigues and denunciation of the Jew baiter, Cardinal Cadolet, who charged that the pope showed greater consideration for the Jews than for the Christians and that it was only by and through Jewish influence that one could attain to either civil or ecclesiastical honors. In 1542 the Pope yielding to this influence issued a bull annulling all exceptional privileges which emperors and kings had made contrary to the papal decrees. A year later, however, the old privileges were renewed. In 1544 Mantino returned to Venice at the request of Amatus to work at his translation of Avicenna. He was again freed from the obligation of wearing the Jewish hat, and in 1546 he was accorded the privilege

of wearing the black beretta, for two months. In 1549 he accompanied the Venetian ambassador to Damascus where hedied soon after his arrival.

Mantino translated the following commentaries of Averroes: "Paraphrasis Averrois de Partibus et Generatione Animalium" with the commentary of Levi ben Gershon (dedicated to Pope Leo X); Rome 1521; commentary (the compendium) on Aristotle's Metaphysics"; the middle commentaries on Aristotle's "Isagogue" — books one to four of "Topics" and "Poetica" (Venice 1550); commentary on Plato's "Republic" (dedicated to Pope Paul III); proem to the large commentary on Aristotle's "Physics"; the large commentary on the third book of Aristotle on the soul; proem to book XII of Aristotle's "Metaphysics"; the middle commentary on Aristotle's "Physics." He translated also Averroes' medical work "Colliget" ("Kullayot"), the first book of Avicenna's "Canon" and Maimonides' "Shemonah Perakim."

Bishop Sadolet of Carpentras had this to say about Pope Paul III:

> *"No pope has ever bestowed on Christians so many honors, such privileges and concessions as Pope Paul III has given to the Jews. They are not only assisted, but positively armed with benefits and prerogatives."*

By now the spirit of the counter-reformation was beginning to make itself felt. Pope Julius III, 1550-1555, was personally friendly to the Jews. He confirmed the rights of the Marranos of Ancona, condemned the blood libel and prohibited the baptism of Jewish children without the consent of their parents. But the reactionary party led by Cardinal Caraffe ultimately gained the upper hand. Before long this resulted in the establishment in 1553 of the House of Catechumens (Casa dei Neofiti) in Rome at the expense of the local Jewish communities and many other extreme anti-Jewish measures. Despite all this the Pope employed many Jewish physicians at the Vatican. These included Vitales (Jehiel Rehabiah) Alatino di Pomnis of Spoleto. Vitale was held in great regard in Spoleto and throughout Umbria, as dePomis states in his "De

Medicao Hebraeo" where he records that among the various persons treated by Vitale were Pope Julius III and Bartolemeo Eustachi (Eustachian tubes) a physician and anatomist who called Vitale to Perugia, and the cardinal of Urbino. Another physician who was at the court of Pope Julius III was Theodorus de Sacerdotibus (Elieser Ha-Cohen de Viterbo) Elieser was an Italian physician and Talmudic authority, being born in Rome at the beginning of the 16th century, and probably died at Sienna October 16, 1590. He was a brother-in-law of the physician and Talmudist David de Pomis and like him distinguished in both medicine and rabbinical literature. A halakic decision of his on "Halizah" is quoted by Isaac Lampronti; and Moses Provencal in his response cites him as an authority and gives him the title "Ha-Kohen ha-Gadol." In 1587 the community of Bologna consulted Eliezer regarding an ignorant shohet. Later in life Eliezer settled at Sienna. The high esteem in which he was held is shown by the elegy composed at his death by Jacob Tivoli.

Pope Julius called together the medical faculty in Padua to examine one Leone Benaja and confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

The third and most famous and one of the greatest Jewish figures in medical literature in the first half of the 16th century was Amatus Lusitanus (Juan Rodriques de Castelo Branch). His life is indicative of the conditions of the Jews of that period and of the barriers set up in the way of the progress or even of the bare existence of Jewish physicians. He was born in Castelo-Branch, Portugal in 1511. His parents were Marranos and not outwardly Christians and brought up Amatus in the Jewish faith and tradition. He studied medicine in Spain at the University of Salamanaca graduating with honors and received his degree to practice medicine in 1530. He returned to Portugal to pursue his practice but when the situation of the Marranos worsened and hostility toward Marrano doctors increased he left his native country in fear of the' " ' inquisition in 1533 and moved to Antwerp. While there he published his first book on medical botany (materia medica), the Index Dioscorides. This was the only book he published under his baptismal name, Joannus Rodericus. His other works were written under the name "Amatus Lusitanus." He then traveled through

Holland and France finally settling in Italy. His reputation asone of the most skillful physicians of his time preceded him there and during his short sojurn in Venice he came in contact with the physician and philosopher Jacob Mantino. He attended the niece of Pope Julius III and other distinguished personages.

Because of Amatus' great fame as a physician and scientist, the duke of Ferrara, Ercole II d'Este in 1540 appointed him lecturer in medicine at the University of Ferrara, a city where there existed both religious and scientific research freedom. While in Ferrara he delivered lectures on anatomy and medicinal plants. At the end of one of his lectures he dissected 12 cadavers, a great innovation at that time, in the presence of many scholars among whom was the anatomist Jean Baptiste Cananus. It was during one of these dissections to clarify one single detail of the structure of veins that Cananus through his experience on this occasion discovered the function of the valves in the circulation of the blood. He carried out other experiments on corpses to ascertain the possibility of performing certain operations.

While in Ferrara Amatus declined an offer to become the court physician to the King of Poland, Sigismund II. About 1547 Amatus left Ferrara for Ancona where religious tolerance existed and which was most hospitable at that time to the Jews. There he renounced his Marrano name and resumed his family name and openly professed Judaism. While in Ancona he was called upon to treat the sister of Pope Julius III and became the permanent physician to several monasteries. In the books Centuria 4 and 5 he describes the illnesses of the monks. In 1549 he finished his first Centuria in which he collected one hundred medical cases histories and described their treatment and results. Many of the cases, curationes, are accompanied by learned explanation, clarifying various opinions on these cases and dealing with the pathology and treatment of the subject. Also in 1549 he finished his commentary on Dioscorides' work on materia medica and published it in Venice in 1553 under the title "In Dioscoridis enarrationes." The book was published six times in this form. In the 1558 edition (Lyons) it covers 800 pages with 30 illustrations, mainly woodcuts of plants but also of animals and birds. He gives the names of flora and fauna in Greek, Latin, Italian and Arabic and sometimes in French

and German. In this work Amatus mentions several mistakes that he found in Matthioli's commentary on Dioscorides which had been published in 1544. Matthioli, a famous botanist and court physician in Vienna, could not tolerate any criticism and attacked Amatus in insulting and vulgar terms and accused him of heresy. This hatred and enmity of Matthioli was to follow Amatus for the rest of his life and was the source of much trouble for him.

Between 1549 and 1561 Amatus wrote seven Centuriae which established his reputation as a thorough researcher in various fields, including anatomy, internal medicine, dermatology and mental illness. The Centuriae are also a mine of information on the 16th century medical history, social life and individual biography. During all these years his reputation increased and at that time he treated Pope Julius III on several occasions, as well as the pope's sister, Jacoba del Monte. His fame was so wide spread that there is a record of a Jew from Constantinople who came to Ancona to be treated by Amatus. In 1551 he was summoned to the bedside of Pope Julius III and frequently returned to Rome where he finished several medical writings, residing at the home of Alphonsus Alencastrensis. Also in 1551 he was invited to accept the post of court physician to the ruler of Transylvania but he refused. By this time Amatus' work on materia medica had won international renown.

With the accession of Pope Paul IV, 1555-1559, Amatus underwent all the sufferings which the Marranos had to endure from the pope. Even before his election as pope, Pope Paul IV was a leading spirit in the Counter-Reformation and a staunch enemy of all forms of heresy. He bore down upon the Jews in the Papal States with implacable ruthlessness and hatred. He may be considered the instigator of one of the most wretched periods in the history of the Jews in Italy, the period of the ghettos which dragged on for three centuries. In 1555 the Ancona decrees against the Marranos were published and soon after Amatus' home was looted costing him the loss of his library and all of his property as wellas numerous manuscripts; only one of which he subsequently recovered, the fifth part of his Centuriae was later restored to him and published. It was Matthioli's hatred and baseless charge of heresy which were the main reasons for Amatus' persecution. The

pope's zeal being unabated in 1556 he ordered all Jews and Marranos arriving from Portugal to be burned alive.

Amatus managed to escape first to Pesaro and then in 1556 to Ragusa, where he spent two peaceful years. In 1558 he moved to Salonika, which had a large Jewish community. There Amatus openly practiced Judaism and mainly treated Jewish patients. It was in Salonika that he died of the plague.

In Centuria 1, curatio 52, Amatus Lusitanus vividly described his important discovery of the valves in the veins, which direct the bloodstream in one direction and prevent it from flowing back the opposite way. Because of a misinterpretation of the Latin text, the discovery was long attributed to Canano. The discovery of the valves has also been wrongly attributed to Fabricius, who described them at a later date. Amatus also demonstrated that the optic nerves are not hollow, and that the cavity of the human womb is not divided. He described the structure of the mammary gland, and a treatment for inflammation of the lactating breast. He used enemas to feed a man suffering from a stricture of the esophagus. He also gave a precise description of the enlargement of the spleen and the changes in its consistency which are characteristic of chronic malaria.

Amatus Lusitanus' lofty medical ethics are demonstrated in the oath printed at the end of his sixth and seventh centuriae. The oath, written after his return to Judaism, is one of the most exalted literary documents in medical ethics. He takes the oath in the name of "the Ten Holy Commandments, which were delivered into the hands of Moses on Mount Sinai for the people who were redeemed from bondage in Egypt." This oath emphasizes the philanthropic side of the art of healing and the need to aid the poor and the needy. In this it differs (as do the Christian oaths) from the professional materialism of the Hippocratic oath. His Latin is fluent and graceful and does not contain the barbarities of style and vocabulary common in medieval Latin. All this helped to popularize the centuriae with its readers. Twenty-three different editions of Amatus' works are known (together with that on materia medica). They have not yet been fully translated into a modern language, although the first three centuriae have been translated

into Portuguese (1946-). From the point of view of Jewish history, Lusitanus' life exemplifies the internal struggle and emotional burden to which Marranos were subjected. Despite the necessity of concealing his origins, he emphasizes in his books, long before his open return to Judaism, his attachment to Jewish values. In one of his centuriae, he quotes the opinions of Maimonides, with no particular relevance to the context. In hisdescription of the treatment of Azariah dei Rossi, who was apparently suffering from a gastric ulcer, Amatus Lusitanus described the customs and eating habits of the Jews. There is a figure of Amatus Lusitanus above the door of the medical faculty of the University of Coimbra and he is also represented in the tableau of "Portuguese Medicine" in the medical faculty of Lisbon University.

THE OATH OF AMATUS

"I swear by God the Almighty and Eternal and by his most holy Ten Commandments given on Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses the lawgiver, after the People of Israel had been freed from the bondage of Egypt, that I have never in my medical practice departed from what has been handed down in good faith to us and posterity; that I have never practised deception, I have never over-stated or made charges for the sake of gain; that I have ever striven that benefit might accrue to mankind; that I have praised no one, nor censured anyone, to indulge private interests, but only when truth demanded it. If I speak falsehood, may God and His Angel Raphael punish me with Their eternal wrath and may no one henceforth place trust in me. I have not been desireful for the remuneration for medical services and have treated many without accepting any fee, but with none the less care. I have often unselfishly and firmly refused remuneration that was offered, preferring through diligent care to restore the patient to health to being enriched by his generosity. I have given my services in equal manner to all, to Hebrews, Christians and Moslems. Loftiness of station has never influenced me, and I have

accorded the same care to the poor as to those of exalted rank. I have never produced disease. In stating my opinion, I have always told what I believed to be true. I have favored no druggist unless he excelled others in skill in his art and in character. In prescribing drugs I have exercised moderation guided by the physical condition of the invalid. I have never revealed a secret entrusted to me. I have never given a fatal draught. No woman has ever brought about an abortion with my aid. Never have I been guilty of base conduct in a home which I entered for medical service. In short, I have done nothing which might be considered unbecoming an honorable and distinguished physician, having always held Hippocrates and Galen before me as examples worthy of imitation and not having scorned the precepts of many other excellent practitioners of our art. I have been diligent and have allowed nothing to divert me from the study of good authors. I have endured the loss of private fortune, and have suffered frequent and dangerous journeys and even exile with calmness and unflagging courage, as befits a philosopher. The many students who have come to me have all been regarded as though they were my sons; I have used my best efforts to instruct them and to urge them to good conduct. I have published my medical works not to satisfy ambition, but that I might, in some measure, contribute to the furtherance of the health of mankind; I leave to others the judgment whether I have succeeded; such at least has always been my aim and ever had the foremost place in my prayers."

Given at Thessalonica in the year 5319 (1559).

Another casualty and victim of the harsh edicts of Pope Paul IV was the famous physician David de Pomis, 1525-1593, linguist, physician and philosopher. He was born in Spoleto, Umbria, to an old established Jewish family whose name in Hebrew, Min ha

Tapuhim was among the oldest in Italy having been one of those founded according to tradition by the four princely houses of Jerusalem carried by Titus as captives to Rome in 70 C.E.

He received his early education from his father and later, at Todi, from his uncles Rabbi Jehiel (Vitale) and Moses Alatino, both physicians who were well versed in philosophy. For six years David studied medicine and philosophy in Perugia, where he received his doctorate in medicine in 1551. He was rabbi and physician at Magliano near Rome, but on account of the edict of Pope Paul IV forbidding Jewish physicians to attend Christians (1555), he moved from town to town in Italy before he settled in 1569 in Venice, where he published the greater part of his works. Pius IV (1559-1565) gave him permission to attend Christians, a concession revoked by Pius V (1565-1572) and later restored by Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590). In his booklet De Medico Hebraeo Enarratio Apologica (Venice, 1588) David de' Pomis refutes the charges brought against Jews and Jewish physicians in particular by a bull of 1581 by Gregory XIII (1572-1585). He stresses that according to the Bible and Talmud a Jewish physician must give help to every sufferer, and cites numerous instances of Jewish doctors who had distinguished themselves by their work and their loyalty. The volume ends with a selection of talmudic rules translated into Latin in order to prove that the Talmud should not be despised.

David de' Pomis is famous above all for the Zemah David, a trilingual Hebrew, Latin and Italian dictionary (Venice, 1587). The work, which is dedicated to Pope Sixtus V, contains numerous discourses of a scientific and historical nature; the preface embodies the author's genealogy and autobiography. Among his other works are a translation into Italian of Ecclesiastes with explanatory notes (Venice, 1571) dedicated to Cardinal G. Grimani; Discorso intorno a l'humana miseria e sopra il modo di fuggirla ("A Discourse on Human Suffering and How to Escape It"; Venice 1572), dedicated to Margaret of Savoy, was published as an appendix to this work. His medical works include a treatise on the plague (Venice, 1577) and another on maladies of old age (Venice, 1588) dedicated to the doge and senate of Venice; in the latter, he mentions a work on the divine origin of the Venetian Republic

which has not been preserved; also lost were Sukkat David and Migdal David (mentioned in the preface to Zemah David) and a treatise on the battering ram. His translations of Daniel and Job have never been published.

Despite the severe and harsh anti-Jewish measures of Pope Paul IV, the instigator of the ghetto, it was claimed that:

> *"the hat of the Jewish physician was more often visible in the Papal antichamber than that of the cardinal."*

Beginning with Pope Paul IV in 1555 a long period of great reaction and decay set in lasting until the end of the 18th century marked by religious fanaticism and persecution and suffering of the Jewish community increased in corresponding measure. It is interesting that under Pope Gregory XIII, 1572-1585, there was some amelioration of the condition of the Jews but he was mainly responsible for the renewal of the institution of the conversionist sermons which Jews were compelled to attend and for the stringent prohibition of the practice of medicine by the Jews among the Christians.

Pope Gregory XIII, finding that the previous decrees against the medical practice of Jews among Christians were generally disregarded, punished not only the Jewish physician but the Christian patient as well. This papal Bull of Pope Gregory XIII was published in 1581, and printed in 1584; a copy is to be found at the Library of the Surgeon General of the United States Army, Washington. It runs as follows:

LETTER

Of our most reverend father, Pope Gregory XIII, renewing the decrees of Paul the Fourth and Pius the Fifth against Jewish Physicians, and the extension of those decrees to those who call or admit Jewish Physicians or infidels to the cure of Christians, or who grant to these same permission to practice the healing art.

POPE GREGORY XIII

For the perpetual remembrance of the matter.

Pope Paul IV our predecessor, by a perpetual edict which he put forth, decreed, among other things, that Jewish physicians, even when called and summoned, might not come to the cure of sick Christians not take a share in it: and afterward Pope Pius V, likewise our predecessor, by means of letters of his own, approved,renewed, and confirmed this edict, and decreed that it have perpetual force: and he desired, and under the threat of divine judgment he directed and commanded, that everything contained in the same edict be rigidly observed not only in the Lands and Dominions subject to the Holy Roman Church, but even in all places. Since it has been noticed by us, not without great indignation on our part, that these things are very little observed, but that there are even many Christians who, while they wish their bodily ailments to be cured by unlawful means, and especially by the services of Jews and other infidels, are made unmindful of the true safety of their souls and bodies, and (what is very much to be deplored) often fall into very great danger of eternal damnation by summoning and inviting to treat them Jewish Physicians and infidels of that sort: whence it comes about that both to the Jews and to the other infidels great opportunity is given for transgressing, and at the same time there is neglected that salutary precept formerly put forth in the general Council by Pope Innocent III, and afterwards renewed by the aforesaid Pius V, that all physicians, when they had been called in to people who were sick in bed, should warn them before everything else to confess all their sins to a suitable confessor according to the usage of the Holy Roman Church, and that on the third day they should no longer visit them, unless the confessor had granted to the sick man a longer time because of some reasonable cause about which his conscience was troubled, and assurance was given them on the faith of the confessor made in writing that the sick men had confessed their sins. Therefore, wishing to restrain both the Jews who dare to act in opposition to papal commands of this sort, and the Christians who summon them to themselves or give them liberty to practice medicine and thus open the way to these same for transgressing, we approve, confirm, and renew by our papal authority by the contents of these presents the aforesaid decrees of our predecessors, and order them to be inviolably

observed, and by this our edict which will have perpetual force, adding to these same decrees and commands for their better observance, we strictly forbid and prohibit all Christians of either sex hereafter to call or admit, or cause, allow or permit to be called or admitted any Jews or other infidels to the cure of sick and ailing Christians. Therefore we commend collectively and individually all our reverend brothers, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, and besides our other beloved sons the Ordinaries of places, and all Purveyors and others having the care of souls, under penalty of our indignation and under other penalties to be inflicted according to our judgment, to publish or cause to be published this our present letter in their churches which have been constituted in those states or dioceses in which Hebrews or other infidels are staying, as soon as they shall have been brought to them, and thereafter every year at the beginning of Lent, and that if after their publication any one, even if in any way exempt, and of whatever position, grade, order, condition, or preeminence he may be, shall have dared to act in opposition to them, let the sacraments of the church in no wise be administered to him, not even by those regularly exempt: and if he should die thus, let him not have Christian burial; and let them not neglect to notify the sick men of the parish of these things at an appropriate time, especially when they shall have known that a Jewish or other infidel physician has been admitted by them, and furthermore, let the Ordinaries themselves of places take due measures of punishment against the violators of this command: and as for the Jews themselves, let themnone the less be punished in proportion to their transgressions according to the letters of the aforesaid Pontiffs Paul and Pius issued against them. Those decrees and papal ordinances which are not in opposition to this, and all those things which the same Paul and Pius in their aforesaid letters desired should not offer opposition, also privileges, indults, and papal letters to any persons, even to those regularly privileged and exempt, and to all their orders and congregations with whatever contents and under whatever forms, even the Mari-Magno, or those constituted with the golden bull, and with whatever clauses and decrees of any sort or kind, and all things whatever which have in any way at any time been granted, approved and renewed not in opposition to this, even if of them and of their contents and forms special, specific,

express, and individual mention or some other expression ought tohave been made, or some other special form observed for this, considering their contents as sufficiently expressed in these presents just as if they had been inserted word for word, with nothing wholly omitted, and keeping the form handed down in them, all these things shall otherwise remain in force, except that with this change we expressly and specially amend them. Or if to any persons publicly or privately an indult shall have been granted from the papal throne that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by papal letters which do not make full, and express, and word for word mention of an indult of this kind. And since it might be difficult to send these same presents to each separate place, we wish and declare that to the copies of these even those which have been printed, which have been signed by the hand of some Notary public and attested by the seal of some person in holy orders, the same respect be paid as would have been paid to these presents if they had been exhibited or shown. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 30th day of March, 1581. In the Ninth Year of our Pontificate.

Cae. Gloeierius.

In the fifteen hundred and eighty-first year after the birth of our Lord, in the Ninth Indiction, on the fifth day of the Month of April, in the ninth year of the Pontificate of our most reverend Father in Christ and Lord, D. Gregory XIII, Pope by divine providence, the papal letter formerly received, was affixed and published on the door of the papal Chancellery, and on the corner of the Compo dei Fiori by me, Peter Aloysius Gayta, courier of the same most reverend lord, the Pope.

Peter Stoch, Chief Courier.

The latter act marked the end of the tradition of Jewish medical practitioners in the service of the Vatican which had been commonplace since the 13th century. Pope Gregory is mainly remembered as the reformer of the calendar (Gregorian calendar).

There was again a brief interlude under Sixtus V, 1585-1590, who made a determined effort to restore the economic prosperity of

the papal states and for that reason reversed the anti-Jewish policy of the previous popes. He had in his service as his majordomo Joao Lopes, a Marrano, who had reverted to Judaism. He protected the Jews of the papal states from violence on many occasions. His Bull of Christian pietas of 1586 revoked the persecutory edicts of his predecessors and permitted the Jews to return to the papal states, to employ Christian servants as before and to practice medicine. He had at his court two Jewish physicians of whom very little is known, Astruco di Napoli and Manuele di Cesena. David Portalione's son Abraham (1542-1612) received from Pope Gregory XIV in 1591 permission to treat Christians.

In 1592 Pope Clement restrained the Jews from associating or doing business with Christians and converts, and in 1593 he ordered the expulsion of the Jews from the entire papal territory with the exception of Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. A new prohibition was now enforced forbidding Jews to have Christian physicians attend them at risk of a heavy fine (1592).

In spite of this prohibition the following complimentary license for practicing medicine was granted in the same year:

To you, Moses Alatinus of Spoleto, and to your son Bonaiutus, Jewish doctors of the arts and of medicine, a true knowledge of the faith and a spirit of saner counsel!

Having been inclined by the humble prayers lately extended to us in your name, and more than sufficiently informed of your faithfulness, fitness and experience touching the art of healing, and likewise moved by the testimony of the most reverend episcopal vicar and the most honorable pretor of the commonwealth of Ferrara, as well as of several noblemen and other men worthy of faith of the same commonwealth, who wished to do you a special favor in this regard: we now by mandate and authority etc. do proclaim that to you, who have formerly devoted yourselves to the public advantage of Christians in the version of Themistius, and who now are diligently devoting yourselves in the version of the canon of Avicenna, and who for many years past have practiced the art of medicine and of healing (as we hear) honorably and diligently, andhave by your care and industry, under the favor of

the Highest, restored ever so many sick to health, and in order that you may be able and be in a position to offer and provide physic that will be of benefit to the sick who in trust themselves to you, both Christians as well as Jews, in the said commonwealth and the whole dominion of the most august Duke of Ferrara, the Duke himself expressly consenting, we herewith give indulgence and grant and bestow license and privilege and we strictly enjoin hereby upon the most reverend lord bishop of the said commonwealth, and upon his vicar general in matters spiritual and temporal, and upon all others whom it concerns or will concern in whatsoever way in the future, forbidding them, under pain of 1000 ducats of gold to be paid to the Apostolic office and for its use, and under ecclesiastical censures and other penalties within our will, to interfere with your practice of medicine in the manner mentioned, under the pretext that you are attending to Christian patients, or under any others opposed to the form of the present letters, and to trouble the Christian patients themselves committed to your care; let them not dare or presume, nor let any one of them dare or presume, at the instance of any Christian physicians whatsoever or of others, to molest, disquiet, vex, disturb or impede you, either in your person or in your property. Nay rather we wish and command that these patients shall be cured by you lawfully and without a scruple; otherwise etc. All constitutions and ordinances, apostolic and others, given to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness of which etc. Given at Rome in the Apostolic office, on the XIXth day of the month of July 1592, in the first year of the pontificate of Pope Clement VIII.

Henry Cardinal Chamberlain,

Auditor Martini (?)

And in 1598 Clement granted to Lucius son of Abraham Portaleone II the right to practice medicine.

The first half of the 17th century has scant references to Jewish physicians and there are but few instances of Jews practicing medicine.

Abraham Portaleone's son David II followed in the family

profession. He took his degree in philosophy and medicine to Padua in 1596 and in 1598 he received his license to practice medicine from the College of Physicians in Mantua and a special dispensation from Pope Clement VIII. The papal decree was confirmed by Gregory XV in 1621. To continue with the Portaleone family we find that Benjamin (Guglielmo) Portaleone, son of David II, received his degree in medicine in Siena in 1639 and was also licensed to practice medicine in Mantua, having received the same privileges which his father and grandfather enjoyed, bestowed upon him by Popes Urban VIII and Innocent X at the request of Duke Charles II.

Jewish physicians during these previous centuries were especially numerous in Italy; so numerous that in some settings the typical figure of a physician was that of a Jew. Throughout the Christian world the Jewish physicians were highly esteemed for their ability. To the Christian world because of the Jews mobility, their linguistic knowledge and their cosmopolitan outlook the Jew personified the traditions and reputations of not only the Christian medicine but the Arabic medicine in which the Jews had been brought up and to which they had access in the originals or in the Hebrew translations. Hence, when a Pope took a Jewish physician into his service, it was not simply out of belief in his competence, but because he was thought to have at his command vast stores of secret medical doctrine which was unknown to or even unavailable to Christians. The popes themselves transgressed the canonical decree which forbade anyone taking medical assistance from a Jew.

Totally oblivious of the decree of the council of Basle, which enacted that Christians were not to consult Jewish physicians, popes and cardinals themselves chose Jews as their physician in ordinary.

It is interesting to discover what some men believe what it was that had led to the popularity of Jewish physicians in Italy in spite of the general persecutions of the Jews, in spite of the vast number of restrictions placed upon them, in spite of decrees of church councils and of paper bulls prohibiting their employment and of bitter attacks and calumniation. Popes, their officials, priests, monks and nuns sought the aid of the Jewish physician by

preference.

Gudemann finds the explanation for the popularity of Jewish physicians in their unselfish devotion and loyalty to their art. In spite of all, the Jewish physicians were beloved and were called to the huts of the poor, in the monasteries, in the papal court, and the palaces of the princes. This popularity is not solely due to their scientific thoroughness but was also founded upon their loyal devotion to their profession and their unselfishness—this is shown frequently and led to favorable opinion among the Christians to Jews generally.

To Graetz it appears that owing to the secret warfare, the intrigues and frequent use of poisons, which since Alexander had been rife in the curia, where everyone looked on his companion as an enemy, Jewish physicians were in favor, because there was no danger of their offering a pope or cardinal a poisoned cup instead of a salutary remedy.

The latter half of the 18th century showed the effects of the degeneration to which persecution had led. It is pathetic to see how Jewish life degenerated in the Ghetto, how all ambition was stifled and scholarship and refinements were reduced to poverty and suffering.

In a letter addressed by the Jewish community of Rome to their brethren in Europe in 1860, they described their sad and impoverished condition; that the arts and sciences, mechanical professions and manual crafts were closed to them, the cultivation of music and fine arts forbidden. Vestiges of medical prohibition lingered long. Jewish physicians are awarded their diplomas only on the condition that they refrain from treating Christians.

It is only since Victor Emmanuel II took possession of Rome in 1870 that medieval persecution came to an end and that the last of the ghettoes were broken down. It comprised a period of two thousand years of struggle and growth, of accomplishment in spite of repression and in this long history no class contributed more to the honor and dignity of the community or their profession than did the Jewish physicians.

It is an everlasting shame and disgrace for the Popes, the Vatican and the Catholic Church to have professed so much love and yet to have harbored so much hatred and malevolence toward a people of so little power and small in number. Antisemitism had become so deeply rooted in Christianity that it became a mindless ritual which continues to this present day.

POPES

	POPES		JEWISH PHYSICIANS
48	Gelasius I	492-496	*Telesinus
194	Martin IV		Unknown
196	Nicholas IV	1288-1292	*Issac ben Mordecai (Maestro Gajo)
198	Boniface VIII	1294-1303	*Issac ben Mordecai (Maestro Gajo)
207	Urban VI	1378-1389	*Maestro Manuele and son Angelo
208	Boniface IX	1389-1404	*Maestro Angelo son of Manuele 1392 *Salomon de Sabaldachio- 1392 *Sons of Angelo, Leucius and Manuele - 1404
	Benedict XIII Pope of Avignon	1394-1415	*Joshua Lorqui (Apostate)
209	Innocent VII	1404-1406	*Elijah di Sabbato - 1405 *Salomon de Sabaldachio - 1406
212	John XXIII	1410-1415	*Sons of Angelo, Leucius and Manuele 1420
213	Martin V	1417-1431	*Sons of Angelo, Leucius and Manuele *Elijah di Sabbato Vitale de Graziano - 1422
214	Eugenius IV	1431-1447	*Elijah di Sabbato
	Nicholas V	1447-1455	Manuele ben Solomon of Cesena Dactilus andsonGuilielmo

218	Pius II	1458-1464	*Moses ben Issac of Rieti son of Maestro Gajo
220	Sixtus IV	1471-1484	*Maestro Solomon Austruc de Balmes Leo
222	Alexander VI	1492-1503	*Bonet de Lattes *Samuel Zarfati Eleazor Portaleone - 1499
224	Julius II	1503-1513	*Bonet de Lattes *Joseph son of Bonet *Samuel Zarfati 1504 *Joseph son of Samuel Zarfati
225	Leo X	1513-1521	Abraham and David sons of Eleazor Portaleone *Joseph son of Samuel Zarfati *Bonet de Lattes
227	Clement VII	1523-1534	*Joseph Lattes Issac Zarfati *Jacob Mantino Abraham Portaleone Abraham and David sons of Eleazor Portaleone *Abraham Ha-Kohen *Jehuda di Rodez Joseph son of Deodatus Issac Ha-Kohen Solomon di Rimini
228	Paul III	1534-1549	*Jacob Mantino
229	Julius III	1550-1555	*Jacob Mantino *Vitale Alatino de Pomis *Theodorusde Sacerdotibus *Amatus Lusitanus Leone Benaja
233	Pius IV	1559-1565	David de Pomis
234	Pius V	1565-1572	David de Pomis

235	Sixtus V	1585-1590	*Astruco di Napoli *Manuele di Cesena David de Pomis
237	Gregory XIV	1590-1591	Abraham Portaleone son of David 1621
239	Clement VIII	1592-1605	Lucius son of Abraham Portaleone II 1598 Meir (Lucido) Portaleone Abraham Portaleone son of David 1598
242	Gregory XV	1621-1623	Abraham Portaleone son of David 1621
243	Urban VIII	1623-1644	Benjamin (Guglielmo) Portaleone son of David
244	Innocent X	1644-1655	Benjamin (Guglielmo) Portaleone son of David

* Personally treated the pope.

JEWISH PHYSICIANS

JEWISH PHYSICIANS	POPES	
*Telesinus	Gelasius I	492-496
*Issac ben Mordecai (Maestro Gajo)	Nicholas IV Boniface VIII	1288-1292 1294-1303
*Maestro Manuele and son Angelo	Urban VI	1378-1389
*Maestro Angelo son of Manuele 1392	Boniface IX	1389-1404
*Salomon de Sabaldachio 1392 1406	Boniface IX Innocent VII	1389-1404 1404-1406
*Sons of Angelo, Leucius and Manuele 1404	Boniface IX John XXIII Pope of Avignon Martin V	1389-1404 1410-1415 1417-1431
*Josehua Lorqui (Apostate)	Benedict XIII Pope of Avignon	1394-1415
*Elijah di Sabbato	Martin V Eugenius IV	1417-1431 1431-1444
Vitale de Graziano 1422	Martin V	1417-1431
Manuele ben Solomon of Cesena	Nicholas V	1447-1455
Dactilus and son Guilielmo	Nicholas V	1447-1455
*Moses ben Issac of Riete son of Maestro Gajo	Pius II	1458-1464
*Maestro Solomon	Sixtus IV	1471-1484

Astruc de Balmes	Sixtus IV	1471-1484
Leo	Sixtus IV	1471-1484
*Bonet de Lattes	Alexander VI	1492-1503
	Julius II	1503-1513
	Leo X	1513-1521
*Samuel Zarfati 1504	Alexander VI .	1492-1503
	Julius II	1503-1513
Eleazor Portaleone 1499	Alexander VI	1492-1503
*Joseph Zarfati son of Samuel	Julius II	1503-1513
	Leo X	1513-1521
Abraham son of Eleazor Portaleone	Leo X	1513-1521
	Clement VII	1523-1534
David son of Eleazor Portaleone	Leo X	1513-1521
	Clement VII	1523-1534
Joseph Lattes	Clement VII	1523-1534
Issac Zarfati	Clement VII	1523-1534
*Jacob Mantino	Clement VII	1523-1534
	Paul III	1534-1549
	Julius III	1550-1555
Abraham	Clement VII	1523-1534
*Abraham Ha-Kohen	Clement VII	1523-1534
*Jehuda di Rodez	Clement VII	1523-1534
Joseph son of Deodatus	Clement VII	1523-1534
Issac Ha-Kohen	Clement VII	1523-1534
Solomon di Rimini	Clement VII	1523-1534
*Vitale Alatino de Pomis	Julius III	1550-1555
*Theodorus de Sacerdotibus	Julius III	1550-1555
*Amatus Lusitanus	Julius III	1550-1555
Leone Benaja	Julius III	1550-1555
David de Pomis	Pius IV	1559-1565
	Pius V	1565-1572
	Sixtus V	1585-1590

*Astruco di Napoli	Sixtus V	1585-1590
*Manuele di Cesena	Sixtus V	1585-1590
Abraham Portaleone 1591 son of David 1598	Gregory XIV Clement VIII	1590-1591 1592-1605
Meir (Lucido) Portaleone	Clement VIII	1592-1605
Lucius son of Abraham Portaleone 1598	Clement VIII	1592-1605
Abraham Portaleone son of David 1621	Gregory XV	1621-1623
Benjamin (Guglielmo) Portaleone son of David	Urban VIII Innocent X	1623-1644 1644-1655

*Personally treated the pope.

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