

A 'Haro'ing Tale of a Jewish Medical Student

Notes on David de Haro (1611-1636) – The First Jewish Medical Graduate of the University of Leiden

Rabbi Edward Reichman, MD

Professor of Emergency Medicine, Albert Einstein College of Medicine

ereichma@montefiore.org

Abstract

The University of Padua Medical School is known to be the first institution to officially allow Jews to matriculate, beginning in the early fifteenth century. It remained the only university to do so until around the mid-seventeenth century, when medical schools in the Netherlands first began accepting Jewish students as well. In this essay we focus on one student from this Dutch historical chapter, David de Haro, rescuing him from obscurity and identifying him as likely the first Jewish medical graduate of the famed University of Leiden. Marshalling a wide array of previously untapped archival material, we reconstruct part of his tragically short life. In addition to gaining insight into the experience of university life in this period, we catch a rare glimpse of the unique challenges faced by a young Jewish medical student in the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century.

Keywords: David de Haro, Jewish medical history, University of Leiden, disputations, dissertations, medical library

Introduction

Throughout much of Jewish history Jewish physicians trained by apprenticeship. When universities were first established in Europe, beginning with the University of Bologna in the eleventh century, Jews were prohibited by papal decree from attending or obtaining a medical degree. Furthermore, avowing one's belief in Christianity was a necessary prerequisite for graduation. The University of Padua is known to be the first university to officially allow

Jewish students (as well as other non-Catholics) to matriculate, beginning in the early fifteenth century. Much has been written about the role the University of Padua played in Jewish medical history.¹ Around the mid-seventeenth century, universities in the Netherlands likewise began accepting Jews to their medical schools. While Padua continued to be a destination for Jewish medical students, large numbers now chose the Netherlands instead.

Isaac van Esso² and Hindle Hes³ have produced lists of the Jewish physicians who trained and practiced in the Netherlands; Yosef Kaplan has written about many of these physicians;⁴ Manfred Komorowski has amassed an invaluable biobibliographical index of Jewish doctors in the 17th-18th centuries,⁵ which includes those from the Netherlands; and Kenneth Collins has addressed the transition of the training of Jewish medical students from Padua to the Netherlands.⁶

There is evidence of Jewish students matriculating at the University of Leiden as early as 1625,⁷ though not for medical training. The entry of Jewish medical students into Dutch universities occurred around the mid-seventeenth century.⁸ While the flow of Jewish medical students began in earnest, uninterrupted, from around 1647 onwards,⁹ here I draw attention to an outlier, the student David de Haro,¹⁰ of Portuguese descent, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, and who I believe to be the first Jewish medical graduate from the famed University of Leiden.¹¹ Others

1 Soave, "Medici," 189-192; A. Ciscato, *Gli Ebrei in Padova*; Warchal, "Zydzki Polscy," 37-72; Roth, "Medieval University," 128-141; Dubnow, "Jewish Students," 216-219; Shatzky, "Jewish Medical Students," 444-447; Roth, "Qualification," 834-843; Modena and Morpurgo, *Medici E Chirurghi Ebrei*; Tamani, "Gli Studi Ebraica," 215-228; E. V. Ceseracciu, "Ebrei laureate," 151-168; Carpi, *Scritti*, 62-91; Ruderman, *Jewish Thought*, 519-553; Massry, 213-221; Shasha "Medical School of Padua," 388-394; Collins, "Jewish Medical Students," 1-8; Reichman, "Valmadonna Trust," 55-76.

2 See, for example, Esso, *Geschiedenis der Joden*, 643-679; idem, "Survey," 201-208.

3 Hes, *Jewish Physicians*.

4 Kaplan, *Studies on Dutch Jewry* 65-75; idem, *An Alternative Path*.

5 Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*; Stemvers, "Promoties van Amsterdamse Joodse artsen," 70-77. Stemvers lists the Jewish graduates of the universities of Leiden, Utrecht, Harderwijk and Franeker spanning from 1641-1798, along with the titles of their dissertations.

6 Collins, "Jewish Medical Students," 1-8.

7 *Album Lugduno Batavae*, column 184.

8 Collins, "Jewish Medical Students," 1-8.

9 Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 33f.

10 Kayserling, *Biblioteca Espanola*, 52.

11 Hes, *Jewish Physicians*, 69; Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 33. Hes (p. 25) writes regarding Benedict De Castro, son of the physician Rodrigo De Castro, and later physician to Queen Christina of Sweden, that 'it is certain that he ... graduated at the Faculty of Medicine on November 16, 1620'. De Castro is indeed listed in the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* as matriculating at the University of Leiden on this date, at age 23, but there is no record of his

have noted or written about the first Jewish medical graduate from various institutions.¹²

In Hes' brief one paragraph biography of De Haro,¹³ she notes that his name does not appear in Molhuysen's work¹⁴ among the students who took a degree between 1610 and 1647. Yosef Kaplan, who has written extensively about the Jewish students of Leiden, comments only that, 'we know of one David de Haro whom Vossius mentions in his letter to Van der Linden'.¹⁵ Friedenwald mentions the same letter,¹⁶ first published by Cecil Roth,¹⁷ but neither identifies De Haro or gives context to the letter. Friedenwald also (understandably) confuses De Haro with a non-Jewish printer of academic books named David Lopez De Haro (1602-1670), whose printing shop was across the canal from the University of Leiden.¹⁸ Komorowski adds important references,¹⁹ though only two sentences of narrative.²⁰

For some reason, De Haro, one of the very first Jewish students to attend, and possibly the first to graduate, the medical school of the University of Leiden has escaped the serious attention of Jewish medical historians. Here I remedy this lacuna by presenting some remarkable previously unknown or disconnected archival items that shed considerable light on his tragically short life.

graduation or promotion. Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 33, perpetuates the error of Hes. De Castro's medical degree was apparently completed at the University of Franeker in 1624. See Koren, *Jewish Physicians*, 33. Stemvers, "Promoties," lists 1661 as the year of the first doctor to be promoted at the University of Leiden.

12 For example, the first Jewish medical graduate of the University of Padua was in 1409. See Bylebyl, *Health, Medicine and Mortality*, 335. Tobias Cohen and Gabriel Felix were the first Jewish students to attend a German medical school (Frankfurt 1678), though they transferred to and later graduated from the University of Padua. See Collins and Kottek, *Ma'aseh Tuviya*; Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, 44. Efron (p. 60) also mentions the first Jewish graduate of the University of Heidelberg, Elkan Seligmann Bacharach (1728), and the first Jewish medical graduate of the University of Gottingen (p. 191), Benjamin Wolf Gintzburger (1743). Collins identifies the first Jewish medical graduate in Scotland in 1739. Collins, *Go and Learn*. Markus Moses was the first Jewish medical graduate of the University of Butzow in Germany, 1766. On Moses see Wilk, "Markus Moses," 408–426; Reichman, "What Became of Tychsens." Massil wrote on the first Jewish graduate of Edinburgh. See Massil, "Joseph Hart Myers," 22.

13 Hes, *Jewish Physicians*, 69.

14 Molhuysen, *Bronnen*.

15 Kaplan, *An Alternative Path*, 201.

16 Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 240 and 730.

17 Roth, *Menasseh Ben Israel*, 120-122.

18 Friedenwald, *Jewish Luminaries*, 78. The book mentioned by Friedenwald is by David Lopez de Haro and was published years after the Jewish physician David de Haro's death. On Lopez de Haro, see Ommen, *IO. Grolieri*, 6.

19 Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 33.

20 Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 7.

De Haro, the Actor

Our first encounter with David de Haro is as an actor in a play written by Rehuel Jessurun entitled *Dialogo Dos Montes* (Dialogue of the Mountains). The play, referenced in the work of the Jewish poet Daniel Levi De Barrios (Amsterdam, 1686), was performed on Shavuot 5384 (1624) in the Beth Jaacob Synagogue in Amsterdam. De Haro represented one of the seven mountains, Mount Carmel.²¹ While there is no indication of De Haro's age at the time of this performance, he is referred to as a physician- El Doctor David de Haro. Was this title earned through apprenticeship, as was common, especially for Jewish physicians who were generally precluded from formal university-based medical training, or through a university education? Our next source provides the answer to this question.

Matriculation at the University of Leiden

De Haro's name appears on the official University of Leiden student list, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*,²² as having matriculated on February 23, 1629, five years after his dramatic debut. His age is given as eighteen. The letter 'M' which appears after his name in the registry reflects his enrollment in the medical faculty. It is thus only at age eighteen that De Haro began his formal university medical training. This would place the year of his birth between 1610-1611. This would also mean that he was around fourteen when he performed in the aforementioned play. While one cannot comment on his acting prowess at such a young age, an acting role at this age would be in the realm of possibility. On what basis, however, was he identified as a physician at such a young age?²³ If De Haro were truly considered a physician at this time, his training must have been through apprenticeship.

For Jewish students of the University of Padua, both in the archives, and on their diplomas, we typically find a reference to their being Jewish- Hebrews, or Iudeus, or the like. De Haro is not identified in the *Album Studiosorum* as Hebrews or Judeus, though other students are.²⁴

21 Polack, *Rehuel*, xiv.

22 column 216.

23 A perusal of the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* for the period around De Haro reveals many students matriculating at the young ages of twelve, thirteen and fourteen, but not to the medical faculty. And this age was the beginning of their studies.

24 See Stemvers, "Promoties" for discussion of the use of this term in the Dutch university archives.

On May 16, 1625²⁵ we find two Jewish students, Isaac Gabai (age 71) and Abram Bienvenistis (age 19) who matriculated to the University of Leiden.

Just shortly before and after De Haro we find the matriculation of two other Jews who are identified as such. On February 21, 1629, we find Isaac Palacius, Marocanus Judaeus. For Palacius the term *Judaeus* is followed by the phrase, *ad fidem Christianum conversus*, noting that Palacius converted to Christianity. I have not found any other entries in the registry identifying students as Jewish converts to Christianity.

On March 27, 1629, Abraham Benvenista matriculated to the medical school and is identified as Hamburgensis Judaeus. Could this be the same person who matriculated four years earlier on May 16, 1625? It is certainly possible. The ages correlate. Perhaps Benvenista initially matriculated to the Liberal Arts division and is now, at age 23, matriculating to the medical school. It is unusual to find more than one record of matriculation for a student to the University of Leiden. There is no record of any further studies of Benvenista, nor of his completion of his medical education.²⁶

If these other students were identified as Jewish, even including one who converted, why was De Haro not? Consulting the manuscript archives of the student registry provides an answer to this query. In the original archives De Haro is indeed identified as a Jew with the term 'Judaeus'.²⁷ For unclear reasons, in this case, this identification was omitted from the published list in the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*.²⁸

De Haro's Disputation

In order to graduate from the University of Leiden Medical School, a student had to deliver a public disputation on a specific medical topic. There is a record of De Haro delivering such a disputation in 1631 entitled '*De Motus Speciebus*'.²⁹ The University of Leiden however has no record of this dis-

25 *Album Studiosorum*, column 184.

26 He is not mentioned in Molhuysen, Hes or Komorowski, nor is there any record of him in the Archives of the University of Leiden outside of this list. A mention of an Abraham Benvenista is found in the notarial records of Amsterdam. See Koen, "Notarial Records," 215. It is likely the same person. He is described as being aged 20 in a record from 1626, just three years prior to the matriculation record presented here, where Abraham is noted to be 23 years old.

27 University of Leiden Library, Shelfmark UBLWHS ASF 8, p. 296.

28 This discrepancy is important, for those researchers relying exclusively on the printed *Album* may be overlooking other Jewish students who are identified as Judaeus in the archives, but not in the *Album*.

29 Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 33.

putation. According to librarians and historians, with respect to student disputations or dissertations,³⁰ there is a major gap, or 'black hole' in the holdings of the Library of the University of Leiden for the years 1610-1654.³¹

There is, however, another major repository of Leiden disputations found, ironically, outside of the Netherlands, in the British Library. The physician/scientist Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) amassed an impressive collection of plants, minerals, anatomical specimens, printed works, and manuscripts, mostly relating the fields of medicine and natural history. His printed book collection includes a large number of medical dissertations submitted at Dutch universities (Amsterdam, Utrecht, Harlingen, but primarily Leiden), in particular a magnificent set of Leiden medical disputations covering the period of 1593-1746. There are 53 volumes all bound in white vellum with each volume holding some 20 to 75 disputations.³² Many of the works found here are not found in any of the major libraries or universities in the Netherlands.

In 1997, Jaap Harskamp produced a comprehensive catalogue of these disputations and dissertations in the British Library.³³ Here again, there is no record of a dissertation by De Haro. Further research however revealed, much to my delight, that the British Library does indeed possess a copy of De Haro's disputation,³⁴ though it does not appear to be part of the Sloan Leiden dissertation collection.³⁵ The title of the work is *De Motus Speciebus*, and it is one of the earliest extant medical disputations of a Jewish medical student.³⁶

30 These two terms are often used interchangeably.

31 See the preface by R. Breugelmanns, Keeper of Western Printed Books, University Library Leiden to Harskamp, *Disertatio Medica*.

32 Harskamp, *Disertatio Medica*, introduction.

33 Harskamp, *Disertatio Medica*.

34 Shelfmark: General Reference Collection 536.h.29; System number 001598018. The dissertation date is listed as 1632, though the cover page lists 1631 as the publication date. I use the latter. I thank Hadassah Katharina Wendl for her research assistance and in procuring copies of De Haro's disputation.

35 The Sloan Collection shelf marks all begin with 1185.g, 1185.h, or 1185.i. The De Haro disputation has an entirely different shelf mark.

36 The University of Padua did not require dissertations or disputations as part of their training or graduation. I am aware of only one earlier disputation by Benedictus De Castro, which to my knowledge has not been noticed by historians. See Harskamp, *Disertatio Medica*, 31. This was not a graduation dissertation. While De Haro is inexplicably missing from Harskamp's catalogue of Leiden dissertations, for the year 1631 we find a record of the dissertation of another Jewish student, Jahacobus De Paz (Shelfmark: General Reference Collection 1185.g.3.(7.); System number: 002801820). See Harskamp, *Disertatio Medica*, 39. There is no record of this dissertation in the University of Leiden Library. De Paz is

The Graduation Disputation/Dissertation v. the Practice Disputation

One might erroneously believe this to be a copy of De Haro's graduation dissertation. The terms disputation and dissertation are often used interchangeably, though some reserve the word dissertation specifically for the graduation work. A disputation could have been a practice or dry run as part of medical training. However, the convention is to title the graduation disputation specifically '*Disputatio (or Dissertatio) Medica Inauguralis*'. Virtually every graduation dissertation is labeled as such.

It was not uncommon for medical students in the Netherlands to engage in disputations as part of their medical training and in practice for their final inaugural disputation or dissertation. This is therefore not a graduation dissertation of De Haro, but rather a so-called (practice) disputation. In a certain sense, it makes it all the more rare, as even after 1654, when the university was meticulous about preserving student work, they only focused on preserving the graduation dissertations, and virtually ignored the practice disputations.³⁷

De Haro's disputation is unique for another reason, as it was later reprinted as part of a collection of thirty-two Leiden disputations.³⁸ De Haro's is the eighth disputation in this collection.³⁹ The work is listed on the title page as being authored by Franco Burgersdijck, where he sets out briefly the whole of natural philosophy'. The student disputations were responses to Burgersdijck. In general, dissertations or disputations could be either original work of the student, or alternatively, discussions of the work of a

identified as *Hebraeus*', and this is clearly a graduation disputation, as evidenced by the headline "*Disputatio Medico Inauguralis*." Perhaps De Paz bears the distinction as the first Jewish medical graduate from Leiden? A closer inspection however reveals that the British Library catalogue is in error. The dissertation itself is undated, though there is a penciled-in date of 1631 on the cover page of the British Library copy. University records clearly list the graduation date of Jahacobus De Paz as July 4, 1658 (Hes, *Jewish Physicians*, 120; Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 34). Furthermore, internal evidence supports the latter date, as De Paz acknowledges the physicians Isaac Naar (Hes, 115-116; Komorowski, 34), and Josephus Abarbanel (Hes, *Jewish Physicians*, 3; Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 33) in his dedication, both of whom graduated Leiden in 1655.

³⁷ Harskamp, *Disertatio Medica*, preface.

³⁸ Burgersdijck, *Collegium physicum*. De Haro's disputation is n. VIII and begins on p. 75.

³⁹ There are a number of student respondents in this collection with more than one disputation, though De Haro has only one.

professor.⁴⁰ This collection was published multiple times (1637, 1642, 1650), giving De Haro's disputation greater exposure, as well as longevity.

An example of one Jewish medical student with two disputations is Isaac Wallich. He held a disputation in 1675 at the Athenaeum.⁴¹ This was in preparation for his graduation dissertation of the same year at Leiden.⁴² While the Athenaeum publication is labelled simply *Disputatio Medica*, the Leiden dissertation is headlined as *Disputatio Medica Inauguralis*.⁴³

Therefore, as this disputation of De Haro is not an 'inaugural' disputation, we cannot glean from here the date of De Haro's graduation. We unfortunately do not have a record of his *Disputatio Medica Inauguralis*.

The Dissertation Dedication

The reprint of De Haro's disputation in the work of Professor Burgersdijk does not contain a dedication page. However, the original disputation, published in 1631 contains both a cover page and a separate dedication page.

While dedication pages are not found ubiquitously in the disputations or dissertations from the University of Leiden,⁴⁴ the three dedicatees of De Haro are representative of three different categories of dedicatees that are found in dedications of the dissertations of Jewish medical graduates.⁴⁵

1. Relatives – The first person listed is De Haro's father, Raphael Jesurun De Haro. Parenthetically, we learn from here that De Haro's full family name is Jesurun De Haro, though he is not always referred to as such.

40 Having a group of students present disputations on a single topic was a way to address and develop new theories in medicine as well. See French, *Medical*, 54-58. For general discussion of the history of Early Modern disputations, see Friedenthal, *Early Modern Disputations*.

41 De Haro could not have offered a practice disputation at the Athenaeum, as it only opened in 1632.

42 On Wallich, see Reichman, "Mystery of the Medical Training," 313-330.

43 There is another example of a medical student at the University of Leiden for whom we possess both a disputation and a graduation dissertation, both presented at Leiden- Israel Conrat (AKA Condradt, Conradus). See Harskamp, *Disertatio Medica*, 53 and 55. Komorowski includes Conrat in his list of Jewish students and their dissertations, though I have not seen Conrat identified as a Jewish student elsewhere. Komorowski lists his dissertation, though not his disputation.

44 The Leiden dissertation of Isaac Wallich above does not have a dedication page, but his dissertation from the Athenaeum does.

45 For a list of the dissertations of the Jewish graduates from the Netherlands, see Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches* and Stemvers, "Promoties."

2. Jewish Physicians – Abraham Farrar was a physician and poet in Amsterdam.⁴⁶ Though Farrar was also the graduate's maternal uncle, I highlight here his medical training to represent this category found in other dissertation dedications as well.⁴⁷ Prominent Jewish physicians such as Isaac Orobio da Castro and Benedict De Castro were mentioned in a number of dissertation dedications.
3. Jewish Religious or Communal Figures – Abraham Cohen De Herrera, author of the widely influential work of Jewish mysticism, *Gate of Heaven*,⁴⁸ was a religious philosopher and Kabbalist.⁴⁹ This choice is particularly noteworthy given the mentor for his disputation, Franco Burgersdijck, was a professor of logic and philosophy.⁵⁰ These two figures addressed similar philosophical issues, and it is theoretically possible that they read each other's work or were acquainted with each other.

A Professor's Letter of Recommendation for De Haro's Promotion

Any student today of an academic institution is well aware of the requirements to obtain letters of recommendation at various stages of training and advancement. De Haro, a student of medicine in the premier University of Leiden in the early seventeenth century was no different. Two years after the above disputation, he requested a recommendation for promotion in the field of medicine from Gerardus Vossius, a Dutch classical scholar and theologian and professor of rhetoric and Greek at the university. One should not be surprised that a young physician in training should procure a recommendation from a theologian or rhetorician, for in the seventeenth century such subjects were an integral part of the medical curriculum. The mentor for his disputation above, Professor Franco Burgersdijck, was likewise a philosopher. Indeed, the medical diploma often listed the degree as being in philosophy and medicine.

46 Hes, *Jewish Physicians*, 50.

47 The dedications also sometimes include non-Jewish physicians, often the students' mentors or dissertation supervisors.

48 Krabbenhoft, *Abraham*.

49 Beltran, *Abraham Cohen*.

50 I have not seen any evidence of dialogue between these two figures, but they clearly addressed similar issues in their writings. See Poppa, "*Spinoza's Metaphysics*."

Below is the text of the letter of recommendation on behalf of De Haro dated February 9, 1633, from Vossius to Vorstius:⁵¹

My most eminent and dearest Vorstius,

Perhaps you will be surprised that I am recommending David de Haro, an accomplished young man, to you, since his final studies are no less well known to you than to me. But he asked for this from our old acquaintance, and also from his friendship with my children, that I should be willing to commend him, while he is considering the highest degree of medicine. His request was honorable, and his character and behavior pleased me. If I cannot love his religion, inasmuch as it departs from Christianity, I still approve of his modesty, and I thought that it should not be despised all the more so. And I have no doubt that his studies have also earned this honor, or if something is found lacking in them, it would be possible to make up for them in a short time with his character and industry, so that no one could say that this degree is conferred to someone unworthy of the honor. And so I would like you, now that I have asked, not to see it as a burden to help him with your favor if he has need. I am sending a panegyric composed by the son,⁵² which I trust you will find very gratifying from the love it shows towards me and mine...⁵³

The Bodleian Library catalogues this letter as being from Vossius to Conrad Vorstius, a German-Dutch theologian and Chair of Theology at the University of Leiden. The problem with this identification is that Conrad Vorstius died in 1622, eleven years before this letter was written. Inspection of the original letter reveals the origin of the error. The letter is addressed simply to Vorstius. Above the letter, in a different hand, are written the words 'Conrad Vorstius'.

There were three major figures named Vorstius in the Netherlands during this period, all associated with the University of Leiden.⁵⁴ An archivist cataloguing the letters at some stage of history likely assumed the letter

51 Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlings 82, folio 15, alternatively, Vossii Epistolae, Col. I, 193. The letter itself does not appear online. For reference, see http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/profile/work/73f1c35a-17ab-4847-9d96-f23ec0b9b4f9?sort=date-a&rows=50&dat_sin_year=1633&rec=Vorstius&aut=vossius&baseurl=/forms/advanced&start=1&type=advanced&numFound=2.

52 This likely refers to David de Haro.

53 I thank T. A. J. Hockings for the translation.

54 Aelius Everhardus Vorstius (1565-1624); Conrad Vorstius (1569-1622); Adolphus Vorstius (son of Aelius Everhardus) (1597-1663).

was written to Conrad. However, this letter could only have been written to Adolphus Vorstius (1597-1663), Professor of Medicine at the University of Leiden, as he was the only 'Vorstius' alive in 1647.

De Haro's Promotion

It is from our next source that we discover the impact of Vossius' recommendation. Below is an entry for the Senate minutes for March 10, 1633.⁵⁵

March 10, 1633

Visus est dignus Senatui David de Haro cui supremus in Iure gradus tribuator quem illi contulit D. Otho Heurnius

He was seen worthy of the Senate, David de Haro, to whom the highest degree in law was the assignor of whom he conferred Otho Heurnius

De Haro was promoted by Otto Heurnius, Professor of Medicine and teacher of anatomy. Parenthetically, Heurnius, the Keeper of the Anatomical Theatre of Leiden University from 1617-1650 'spent large sums on mummies, idols, stuffed crocodiles, Nile-reed and so on, with the explicit aim of re-telling the story of the life of Israel's children under the wise Pharaoh'.⁵⁶ We are left to wonder whether there was any dialogue between Heurnius and De Haro about this subject.

It is somewhat baffling that the text of De Haro's promotion seems to reflect a promotion in the specialty of law, though perhaps this was the template for a medical promotion as well. It seems clear that this would have been a promotion in medicine. De Haro was a student of the medical faculty and just weeks before had requested a letter of recommendation for promotion in the field of medicine. Furthermore, Heurnius was a professor of medicine and was on the faculty of medicine, not the faculty of law. While he was a philosopher and theologian, he was not a legal expert. Furthermore, Heurnius is mentioned numerous times in the Leiden archives as conferring degrees in medicine, not law. In addition, De Haro was clearly a practicing physician, and was identified as one throughout his life and in his death.

⁵⁵ UBLWHS ASF 260; Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 2, 179. Hes apparently missed this passage.

⁵⁶ Berkel, *The Book of Nature*, 51.

What is perhaps more remarkable about this event is not the promotion itself that occurred on March 10, 1633, but the topic of the Senate meeting that preceded it by five days. The sole entry for that day appears below:

March 5, 1633

actum est De Iudaeo qui publice promoveri vellet. Cum autem qui sic promoventur preces ad Deum concipiant, quaesitum fuit utrum Christianis liceat preces suas cum Iudaeorum precibus coniungere, quia Servatorem non agnoscunt. Visumque fuit, non publice sed privatim promovendum, iuramentumque illi praestandum. Placuitque quid in tota re in posterum faciendum sit, cum Dominis Curatoribus agendum

it was all about a Jew who wanted to be promoted publicly. But when those who are raised thus conceive prayers to God, the question was whether it was lawful for Christians to associate their prayers with the prayers of the Jews, because they do not acknowledge their Savior. And it was thought that he should not be promoted publicly, but privately, and an oath to be given to him. It was agreed that the whole thing should be done in the future, with the curators.

The specific topic under discussion is whether a Jew can be promoted publicly due to the potential conflict of Jewish prayers in a Christian context, as the Jews 'do not acknowledge their Savior'. Irrespective of the specific issue, however, this extraordinary account, in March 1633, appears to be the first time the Senate is addressing a relatively new issue for the University of Leiden- how to deal with a Jewish student.⁵⁷

The minutes of the meeting make no mention of a particular student. Was this meeting convened in anticipation of De Haro's promotion on March 10? It is certainly possible, if not likely. Indeed, given the proximity to his promotion, coupled with the fact that we know of no other Jews in the University of Leiden at this time, the odds approach certainty. In fact, Molhuysen himself adds a footnote assuming De Haro is the object of the Senate's discussion.⁵⁸

57 Next to this passage in the archive appears an asterisk for reasons unknown to me. I later discovered that this passage is noted by the Dutch historian Willem Frijhoff. See Frijhoff, *La Société Néerlandaise*, 55.

58 Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. 2, 179.

De Haro's Death

I have seen no record of the date of De Haro's death. On the assumption that he was buried in Amsterdam, I consulted the online records of the local Jewish cemetery, Beth Haim in Ouderkerk aan De Amstel. I discovered a record of De Haro's burial.⁵⁹

I was informed by the cemetery curators that unfortunately his tombstone is not preserved. From this brief document, however, we learn a great deal of information not found elsewhere. The tombstone lists De Haro's year of birth as 1611, thus confirming that De Haro was eighteen upon his matriculation to Leiden, and around fourteen when he acted in the play. He is identified as David Jesurun De Haro, confirming the family name we learned from his dissertation dedication to his father. There is mention of his marriage to a Hana Valera. The date May 10, 1635, that appears towards the bottom of the record is the date of his marriage. Furthermore, he is identified as a physician on his tombstone.

Curiously, the date of his death is not listed anywhere on the death record, thus ironically, that is the one thing we do not learn from this document. The printed record contains the tombstone inscription at the bottom of the document:

S^a do Doctor David
Jesurun De (Ha)ro

This however is only the Dutch language inscription. The cemetery archive contains a handwritten record of the Hebrew inscription on the gravestone as well. While the Hebrew inscription likewise inexplicably omits the date of his death, it confirms his demise at a young age. The phrase on the second line of the inscription '*rakh bishanim*' is an expression referring to his youth.

The cemetery archives also contain a schematic map of the layout of the graves. While almost all the sketched graves have the exact date of death (or at least the year) written on the bottom of the grave marker, De Haro's is blank in that area. However, the tombstones on either side of De Haro are dated and can provide a narrow window for the likely date of his death.

The Hebrew dates on the surrounding graves are 3 *Kislev*, 5397 and 10 *Kislev*, 5397, which correspond to the English dates November 30, 1636,

59 I thank Annemarie Bouwman, coordinator of Beth Haim Cemetery in Ouderkerk aan De Amstel for her assistance in procuring and providing pictures of all the documents relating to De Haro's death from the cemetery archives.

and December 7, 1636. This means that De Haro likely died between these two dates around the tender age of twenty-five. His death was sadly just a short period of time after his medical disputation, his promotion from the University of Leiden, and his marriage to Hana Valera.

The death record of his wife, Hana Valera is also available. Their marriage date also appears on this record, and it seems that she did not remarry. She also outlived David by almost six decades. The name of David's father, Raphael, to whom David dedicated his dissertation, is also found on his wife's tombstone.

The Auction of De Haro's Library

While the exact date of De Haro's death remains unknown, in March of 1637 we find that his personal library was put up for auction, and a catalogue of the holdings was published.⁶⁰ According to one scholar, this may be the first printed sales catalogue of a book collection of a Jewish owner.⁶¹

Sales of this nature were often offered upon the death of the library's owner,⁶² and this was unfortunately the case here as well, as the cover page reflects. As discussed above, De Haro likely died a few months before the sale, in early December 1636.

The original date of the auction was to be in March of 1637, though the exact day was not filled in. It was to have taken place in the house of the deceased. However, both the month and location are crossed out on the title page reflecting a change of date and venue for the sale.⁶³

It is rare that we have access to the contents of the library of a Jewish physician of the 17th century.⁶⁴ The 10-page catalogue of De Haro's library is prepared in Latin and contains a total of 290 items including medical, philosophical, and Hebrew works. As expected, we find an assortment of

60 *Catalogvs librorvm*. A copy of the catalogue is held in the Merton College Library in Oxford, Shelfmark 66.G.7(12) (Provenance: 'Griffin Higgs'). I thank Verity Parkinson of the Merton College Library for her assistance in procuring a copy of the catalogue.

61 See De Wilde, *Book Trade*, 212-248.

62 One exception was the case of the Jewish physician Benedict De Castro, who was forced to sell his library in his old age due to poverty. See Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 57.

63 According to the Merton College catalogue notes, a piece of paper with the new date and location was originally pasted to the cover page but now lies loose in the book.

64 For libraries of other Jewish physicians, see, for example, Levi, "*L'Inventaire*," 242-260; W. Bacher, "*La Bibliothéque*," 55-61; Goiten, "The Medical Profession," 185-186; Miletto, "The Library of Abraham Portaleone," 93-100; Corazzol, "*La Biblioteca di Lewi ben Eliyyahu*," 160-205; Reichman, "Samuel Vita Della Volta."

classic medical works. We also find works by De Haro's professors at the University of Leiden, two of whom are now familiar to us. In his possession were two works by Gerardus Joannes Vossius, *Elementa Rhetorica* (1662), and *Oratoriarum (Commentariorum Rhetoricorum oratoriarum institutionum Libri VI)* (1606), as well as an edition of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates by Adolphus Vorstius (1628).

There are a number of books of Jewish interest. Latin books of Jewish authorship include works by Philo, Josephus Flavius and Manasseh ben Israel.⁶⁵ There are also medical works written by Jewish physicians:

- Elijah Montalto:⁶⁶ *Optica intra philosophiae, et medicinae aream, De visu, De visus organo, et obiecto theoriam accurate complectens*
- Zacutus Lusitanus:⁶⁷ *De Praxi Medica* and others
- Rodrigo a Castro:⁶⁸ *De Morbis Mulier*
- Benedict a Castro:⁶⁹ *Flagellum Calumniantum*
- Amatus Lusitanus:⁷⁰ *Centuria*
- Rodrigo da Fonseca:⁷¹ *Aphorisms of Hippocrates*

Jewish medical students were clearly aware of their Jewish heritage and tradition, as well as their predecessors in the field. We find examples of medical dissertations of Jewish medical graduates of Leiden that include reference and discussion of the medical works of previous Jewish physicians.⁷²

Among the list of De Haro's Hebrew books,⁷³ we find examples of Biblical commentary (*Mikraot Gedolot, Kli Yakar*), Talmud, Talmudic commentary (*Menorat haMaor*), Responsa (*Teshuvot haRashba* and *Teshuvot Ralbah*), Jewish law and codes (*Rambam, Beit Yosef, Shulhan Arukh*), and Musar/Ethics (*Kad haKemah* by Rabbeinu Bachya). A contemporary Jewish library would include many of these same works. I single out the only Hebrew book of a somewhat medical nature, *Shevilei Emunah*. This work, written by Meir ben Isaac Aldabi (1310–1360), the grandson of R. Asher ben Yehiel, is a compilation of theories in philosophy, theology, psychology, and medicine.

65 De *Creatione*.

66 Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 468-496.

67 Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 307-321.

68 Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 448-459.

69 Friedenwald, *Jewish Luminaries*, 53.

70 Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 332-380.

71 Koren, *Jewish Physicians*, 58.

72 Kaplan, *Alternative Path*, 209.

73 On the Hebrew books available in print for this period, see: Heller, *Seventeenth Century*.

The material was culled from the existing literature of that time,⁷⁴ as stated by Aldabi in his introduction, but unfortunately there are no references, for which R. Aldabi apologizes. Many rabbinic authorities throughout the centuries turned to this work as a reference for medical knowledge.

De Haro the Jewish Medical Student Remembered

The uniqueness and novelty of De Haro's graduation as a Jewish student is reflected in yet another remarkable letter written by Gerhard Johann Voss, this time to Anthony van der Linden, some ten years after De Haro's death. Menasseh ben Israel befriended a *Maranno* named Isaac Rocamora who was raised as a Christian but later embraced his Judaism and settled in Amsterdam. Rocamora, at this point in his thirties, had studied medicine informally and wished to obtain a university degree.⁷⁵ He enlisted Menasseh's assistance, who petitioned his good friend, the Dutch classical scholar and theologian, Gerhard Vos.⁷⁶ Below is the translated text of a letter dated March 28, 1647, from Vos to Johannes Antonides van der Linden, Professor of Medicine and Rector at the University of Franeker.⁷⁷

Yesterday, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel came to see me, accompanied by Isaac Rocamora, a Portuguese Jew. The latter has been studying medicine for the last two years and has made such progress that he is confident that his standard is such as to qualify him for the highest degree in the subject. Owing to his slender means, he prefers that Academy where the fees of graduation are least. This Rocamora has been warmly recommended to me by your friend, Menasseh, who I know has no deficiency in your eyes excepting for his religion. I, for my part (and I would say this of few, not only of that sect, but of any other), consider him a man of true worth, albeit he lives in darkness. He has requested me to write you a letter informing you of his protégé's intention. Unless I am mistaken, religion is no impediment to the conferring of a degree; for, while you were still in your native city, this honor was bestowed by the University of Leyden

74 See Schwartz, "Shevilei Emunah," 72–77. Schwartz focuses mainly on the philosophical sources, noting that R. Aldabi borrowed from Gershon ben Shlomo's *Sha'ar HaShamayim*, as well as from Arabic sources. He does not discuss the origin of R. Aldabi's medical information.

75 For more on Rocamora, see Koren, *Jewish Physicians*, 113; Hes, *Jewish Physicians*, 138–139; Roth, *Menasseh Ben Israel*, 121–122; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol 7, p. 1053.

76 Roth, *Menasseh Ben Israel*, 120–122. On Menasseh's relationship with Vos, 143–146.

77 Bodleian Shelfmark: Rawl. 84 C, fol. 231r (Vossii Epistolae, Col. I, 536) March 28, 1647.

upon David Haro. I remember, moreover, having heard from my old colleague Adolf van Voorst⁷⁸ (God rest his soul!), in talking of this matter, that medical knowledge only comes into the question, and not religious belief; especially in these parts, where the Jews are licensed to practice the art...⁷⁹

Though not the subject of the letter, David de Haro is mentioned *inter alia* as an example of a Jew obtaining his medical degree at the University of Leiden. De Haro had graduated some fourteen years earlier, yet this was the only name of a Jewish medical student that came to Voss' mind.⁸⁰ In truth, Leiden, and perhaps other Dutch universities as well, had not seen another Jewish medical student since De Haro.⁸¹ However, viewing this letter in isolation, we might ask how it is that Vossius was even aware of De Haro at all, his attendance at Leiden, or his Jewishness. We might surmise that it was perhaps in his capacity as a professor at the University of Leiden that Vos may have somehow been aware of De Haro. Our above discussion now gives richer context to this reference. Vos not only knew of De Haro, but he and his family also had a personal relationship with him. He even wrote a letter of recommendation on De Haro's behalf in which he makes explicit mention of the latter's religion. The reference to 'my old colleague Vorstius' also takes on new meaning. It makes sense that Voss recalls a conversation specifically with his colleague Adolph Vorstius about De Haro, as years earlier he had recommended this very student to him.

Furthermore, it appears that shortly after Vossius wrote his letter of recommendation for De Haro, the Senate took up De Haro's specific case in reference to the promotion for which the letter was written. It is even possible that Voss' letter of recommendation is what precipitated the special Senate session on this topic to begin with. If Voss was not personally in attendance at the Senate meeting, he surely would have been aware of its

78 The original letter states simply "Vorstio." Roth identifies him as Adolphus Vorstius, which confirms our identification of the Vorstius from Vossius' early letter as being one and the same.

79 *Vossii Epistolae*, n. 536. Translation by Roth, *Menasseh Ben Israel*, 121. For online reference, see http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/profile/work/98d8204f-3f59-40d1-83af-dd0e8a81acfe?sort=date-a&rows=50&cito:Catalog=Vossius,%20Gerardus%20Joannes&people=vossius,%20gerardus&frbr_creator-person=http%3A//localhost/person/52318329-2c73-40ef-bd7b-776f221ec9b7&cito_Catalog=Vossius,%20Gerardus%20Joannes&baseurl=/forms/advanced&start=1263&type=advanced&numFound=1335.

80 While technically Benedictus De Castro graduated earlier, he apparently received his degree from Franeker. There is no reason Vos would have been aware of this.

81 Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches*, 33. Vossius was likely unaware of De Haro's untimely death.

proceedings and conclusion, that despite his Jewish faith, De Haro was allowed to be promoted.

Thus, we have two letters by Vossius, separated by some fourteen years, regarding the student David de Haro, which when taken together, shed light on the plight of the Jewish medical student in the Netherlands at this time.

Returning to Rocamora,⁸² Menasseh's intercession on behalf of Rocamora was clearly successful, as he matriculated at the University of Franeker on March 29, 1647 and received his degree just two days later on April 1, 1647,⁸³ a mere four days after the letter was sent. At first blush this would seem utterly impossible. Wouldn't his degree have taken years to complete? However, this reflects a practice found in universities of the Netherlands at this time whereby a degree could be granted not for course work at the university, but as a confirmation of a student's pre-existing knowledge and competence. Jewish students in particular availed themselves of this option.⁸⁴ In addition to the defense of a dissertation, the students would be required to pass a

82 There are some unanswered questions regarding Rocamora. His letter implies that he was either concerned about or actually denied admission for medical training due to his Jewishness. Yet, we find that Isaac Rocamora matriculated at the medical faculty of Leiden on August 21, 1645, a year and a half before this letter was written. See Kaplan, *Alternative Path*, 200-201, who further discusses the details of Rocamora's medical training, including his graduation from Franeker, and notes an additional record of matriculation for an Isaac Rocamora of slightly different spelling at Leiden in October 1647. Kaplan finds the repetition 'most mystifying'. In the latter matriculation record Rocamora is identified as Judaeus. While Kaplan writes that the second Leiden matriculation was in October, it appears from the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875*, col. 374, that it was actually February 22, 1647, making it prior to Menasseh's petition to Vossius on Rocamora's behalf. Perhaps Rocamora matriculated shortly after his arrival in Holland as a secular Jew, then took time off from the university to learn more about his Judaism, possibly spurred by Menasseh ben Israel. After some time, he rematriculated as Judaeus and encountering resistance to his newly embraced and overtly expressed religion. Alternatively, as Vossius' letter mentions, Rocamora simply preferred Franeker as it was the cheaper option. Though Benedict De Castro had graduated from Franeker in the past, that was decades earlier, in 1624. There had been no other Jewish medical graduates since then. De Castro himself migrated from Leiden to Franeker for his degree, perhaps for the same financial reasons. Perhaps Menasseh's connections were needed for a Jew to be admitted to Franeker at this time. There are still unanswered questions. For example, while the time frame between the two matriculation records for Rocamora in Leiden is greater than a year, he is listed as being age 30 for both. It is also not typical to have more than one matriculation record per student, though we see Abraham Benvenista apparently matriculated twice. This is in contrast to the University of Padua, where students matriculated separately for each year, and one can find multiple matriculation records for each student.

83 Kaplan, *Alternative Path*, 200.

84 Kaplan, *Alternative Path*, 202 and Stemvers, "Promoties," 74-76. See E. Reichman, "The 'Doctored' Medical Diploma of Samuel, the Son of Menasseh ben Israel: Forgery of 'For Jewry!'" *Seforim Blog* (<https://seforimblog.com>), March 23, 2021.

general medical exam, to comment on the aphorisms of Hippocrates, and to discuss a given case. Rocamora was already in his early 30s at this time and had been studying medicine for a number of years, including, it appears, receiving medical training at the University of Leiden. It is thus possible that his degree was granted only a few days later through this method. Rocamora later practiced in Amsterdam and lived on Jodenbreestreet, the same street as Rembrandt.⁸⁵ From then on Jewish students would become a regular presence in the halls of the medical schools in the Netherlands.

We see from the case of Rocamora that De Haro's previous experience by no means opened the door widely for subsequent Jewish students. Despite De Haro's prior promotion, enrollment or advancement for Jewish students at the medical school of Leiden was not a forgone conclusion. Even twenty years after Rocamora, in May 1678, the Senate opposed granting a degree of Doctor of Theology to an unnamed Jewish student.⁸⁶

Conclusion

It is the hope that we have rescued David de Haro from obscurity and established his rightful place as the first (if not one of the first) Jewish medical graduate of the University of Leiden. In addition to what we have learned about the personal life of De Haro, including a view of both his writing and his library, the letters of Vossius, coupled with the Senate minutes, provide a rare window into the challenges of a young Jewish student in the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century.

Bibliography

- Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhof, 1875.
- Bacher, W. "La Bibliotheque d'Un Medicin Juif," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 40 (1900): 55-61.
- Beltran, Miguel. *The Influence of Abraham Cohen De Herrera's Kabbalah on Spinoza's Metaphysics*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publications, 2016.
- Berkel, Klaas van, et al. *The Book of Nature in Early Modern and Modern History*. Peeters Publishers, 2006.

85 For more on Rocamora's later life, see Roth, *Menasseh Ben Israel*, 121-122.

86 Kaplan, *Alternative Path*, 204. This may have been related to the topic of study.

- Burgersdijck, Franco. *Collegium physicum: disputationibus XXXII. absolutum; totam naturalem philosophiam compendiose proponens*. Lugd. Batavorum: Ex officina Elziviriorum, 1637.
- Bylebyl, J. "The School of Padua: Humanistic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century," In *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by C. Webster, 335. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Catalogvs librorvm medicorum, philosophicorum, et Hebraicorum, sapientissimi, atque eruditissimi viri*. Amsterdam: Jan Fredricksz Stam, 1637.
- Carpi, D. "Jews who received medical degrees from the University of Padua in the 16th and early 17th centuries." (Hebrew) In *Scritti in Memoria di Nathan Cassuto*, edited by Daniel Carpi, Augusto Segre, and Renzo Toaff, 62-91. Jerusalem: Qedem-Yad le-Yaqirenu, 1986.
- Ceseracciu, E. V. "Ebrei laureate a Padova nel cinquecento," *Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova* 13 (1980): 151-168.
- Ciscato, A. *Gli Ebrei in Padova (1300-1800)*. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1901.
- Collins, Kenneth. "Jewish Medical Students and Graduates at the Universities of Padua and Leiden: 1617-1740." *Rambam Maimonides Medical Journal* 4:1 (January 2013): 1-8.
- Collins, Kenneth. *Go and Learn: The International Story of the Jews and Medicine in Scotland 1739-1945*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.
- Collins, Kenneth and Samuel Kottek, editors. *Ma'ase Tuviya (Venice, 1708): Tuviya Cohen on Medicine and Science*. Jerusalem: Muriel and Philip Berman Medical Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2021.
- Corazzol, Giacomo "La Biblioteca di Lewi ben Eliyyahu Nomico (XV sec.): sulla penetrazione della cultura medica sefardita a Candia," In Corazzol, Giacomo. *Gli ebrei a Candia nei secoli XIV-XVI: l'impatto dell'immigrazione sulla cultura della comunità locale*. PhD diss., University of Bologna, 2015.
- Dubnow, S. "Jewish Students at the University of Padua." (Hebrew) *Sefer Hashanah: American Hebrew Yearbook* (1931): 216-219.
- Efron, John. *Medicine and the German Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Esso, Isaac van. "Het Aandeel der Joodsche Artsen in De Natuurwetenschappen in De Nederlanden," In *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Volume 1), edited by H. Brugmans and A. Frank, 643-679. Amsterdam: Holkema & Warendorf, 1940.
- Esso, Isaac van. "Survey on Jewish Physicians in the Netherlands," (Hebrew) *Koroth* 2:5-6 (October, 1959): 201-208.
- French, Roger. "Harvey in Holland: Circulation and the Calvinists." In *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Roger French and Andrew Wear, 54-58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Harskamp, Jaap. *Disertatio Medica Inauguralis... Leyden Medical Dissertations in the British Library 1593-1746 (Catalogue of a Sloane-inspired Collection)*. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of medicine, 1997.

- Friedenthal, Meelis et al. *Early Modern Disputations and Dissertations in Interdisciplinary and European Context*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publications, 2020.
- Frijhoff, Willem. *La Société Néerlandaise et ses Gradués 1575-1814: une recherche sérielle sur le statut des intellectuels à partir des registres universitaires*. Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1981.
- Goiten, S. D. "The Medical Profession in Light of the Cairo Geniza Documents." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 34 (1963): 185-186.
- Heller, Marvin. *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book (2 vols.): An Abridged Thesaurus*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publications, 2010.
- Hes, Hindle S. *Jewish Physicians in the Netherlands*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1980.
- Kaplan, Yosef. "Jewish Students at Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century," (Hebrew). In *Studies on the History of Dutch Jewry* Vol. 2, edited by Jozeph Michman, 65-75. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979.
- Friedenwald, Harry. *Jews and Medicine*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1944.
- Friedenwald, Harry. *Jewish Luminaries in Medical History*. Ktav Publishing House, 1946.
- Kaplan, Yosef. *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publications, 2000.
- Kayslering, Meyer. *Biblioteca Espanola Portuguesa Judaica*. Strasbourg: Charles J. Trubner, 1890.
- Koen, E. M. and Ruth Lehmann. "Notorial Records Relating to the Amsterdam Portuguese Jews Before 1639." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 32:2 (1998): 215.
- Komorowski, Manfred. *Bio-bibliographisches Verzeichnis jüdischer Doktoren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Munchen: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1991.
- Koren, Nathan. *Jewish Physicians: A Biographical Index*. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1973.
- Krabbenhoft, Kenneth, translator. *Abraham Cohen De Herrera: Gate of Heaven*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publications, 2002.
- Levi, Israel. "L'Inventaire du Mobilier et De la Bibliotheque d'Un Medicine Juif De Majorque au VIV Siecle." *Revue des Etudes Juives* 39 (1899): 242-26.
- Massil, Stephen. "Joseph Hart Myers MD (1758-1823): First Jewish Graduate." *University of Edinburgh Journal*, 45:2 (2011): 22.
- Massry, S. G. et al. "Jewish Medicine and the University of Padua: Contribution of the Padua Graduate Tovia Cohen to Nephrology." *American Journal of Nephrology* 19:2 (1999): 213-221.
- Miletto, Gianfranco. "The Library of Abraham ben David Portaleone: A Newly Discovered Document," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 7:1 (2013): 93-100.
- Modena, Abdelkader and Edgardo Morpurgo, *Medici E Chirurghi Ebrei Dottorati E Licenziati Nell Universita Di Padova dal 1617 al 1816*. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1967.

- Molhuysen, Philip Christiaan. *Bronnen tot De geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit 1574-1811*. s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1916-1923.
- Ommen, Kasper van. *IO. Grolieri & Amicorum: A Stroll through Leiden's Book History*. Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2010.
- Polack, Philip. editor and translator, *Rehuel Jessurun Dialogo Dos Montes*. London: Tamesis Books, 1975.
- Poppa, Francesca di. "God Acts from the Laws of His Nature Alone": From the Nihil ex Nihilo Axiom to Causation as Expression in Spinoza's Metaphysics. PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2006.
- Reichman, Edward. "The Valmadonna Trust Broadside Collection and a Virtual Reunion of the Jewish Medical Students of Padua." *Verapo Yerapei: Journal of Torah and Medicine of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine Synagogue* 7 (2017): 55-76.
- Reichman, Edward. "What Became of Tyachsen? The Non-Jewish 'Rabbi' and his 'Congregation' of Jewish Medical Students." *Seforim Blog*, November 1, 2020, <https://seforimblog.com/2020/11/what-became-of-tyachsen-the-non-jewish-rabbi-and-his-congregation-of-jewish-medical-students/>.
- Reichman, Edward. "The 'Doctored' Medical Diploma of Samuel, the Son of Menasseh ben Israel: Forgery of 'For Jewry'." *Seforim Blog*, March 23, 2021, <https://seforimblog.com/2021/03/the-doctored-medical-diploma-of-samuel-the-son-of-menasseh-ben-israel-forgery-or-for-jewry/>.
- Reichman, Edward. "Samuel Vita Della Volta (1772-1853): An Underappreciated Bibliophile and his Medical 'Diploma'tic Journey." *Seforim Blog*, November 5, 2021, <https://seforimblog.com/2021/11/dr-samuel-vita-della-volta-1772-1853-an-underappreciated-bibliophile-and-his-medical-diplomatic-journey/>.
- Reichman, Edward. "The Mystery of the Medical Training of the Many Isaac Wallichs: Amsterdam (1675), Leiden (1675), Padua (1683) and Halle (1703)." *Hakirah* 31 (Winter 2022): 313-330.
- Roth, Cecil. "The Medieval University and the Jew." *Menora Journal* 9:2 (1930): 128-141.
- Roth, Cecil. *A Life of Menasseh Ben Israel: Rabbi, Printer, and Diplomat*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1945.
- Roth, Cecil. "The Qualification of Jewish Physicians in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 28 (1953): 834-843.
- Ruderman, David B. "The Impact of Science on Jewish Culture and Society in Venice (with Special Reference to Jewish Graduates of Padua's Medical School)." In David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*, 519-553. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Schwartz, D. "Towards the Study of the Sources of R. Meir Aldabi's *Shevilei Emunah*," (Hebrew) *Sinai* 114 (1994): 72-77.

- Shasha, S. M. and S. G. Massry. "The Medical School of Padua and its Jewish Graduates." (Hebrew) *Harefuah* 141:4 (April 2002): 388-394.
- Shatzky, Jacob. "On Jewish Medical Students of Padua." *Journal of the History of Medicine* 5 (1950): 444-447.
- Soave, Moise. "Medici Ebrei Laureati nell'Università di Padova nel 166 e 1700." *Il Vessillo Israelitico* XXIV (1867): 189-192.
- Stemvers, F. A. "Promoties van Amsterdamse Joodse artsen aan Nederlandse Universiteiten Gedurende De 17e en 18e eeuw." *Aere Perennius* 34 (October, 1979): 70-77.
- Tamani, Giuliano. "Gli Studi Ebraica a Padova nei Secoli XVII-XX." *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 9-10 (1976-1977): 215-228.
- Warchal, Jan. "Zydzi Polscy na Uniwersytecie Padewskim." *Kwartalnik Zydow w Polsce* III (1913): 37-72.
- Wilde, Anna E. de. "Sales Catalogues of Jewish-Owned Private Libraries in the Dutch Republic during the Long Eighteenth Century: A Preliminary Overview." In *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arthur der Weduwen, et al., 212-248. Leiden: Brill Academic Publications, 2021.
- Wilk, David. "Markus Moses' Doctoral Dissertation or Who Remembers Butzow." *Koroth* 9:3-4 (1986): 408-426.

About the author

Edward Reichman is a Professor of Emergency Medicine at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and holds the Rabbi Isaac and Bella Tendler Chair in Jewish Medical Ethics at Yeshiva University. He received his rabbinic ordination from the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and writes and lectures internationally in the fields of Jewish medical ethics and Jewish medical history. He is the author of *The Anatomy of Jewish Law: A Fresh Dissection of the Relationship Between Medicine, Medical History and Rabbinic Literature* (Published by Koren Publishers/OU Press/YU Press, 2022), and *Pondering Pre-Modern(a) Pandemics in Jewish History: Essays Inspired by and Written during the Covid-19 Pandemic by an Emergency Medicine Physician* (Shikey Press, 2022).