

# The Physician-Ḥaver in Early Modern Italy: A Reunion of Long Forgotten “Friends”

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admin

**The Physician-Ḥaver in Early Modern Italy: A Reunion of Long Forgotten “Friends”**[1]  
לפרסומי מילתא ולזכר עולם כתבתי[2]

Rabbi Edward Reichman, MD

## Introduction

The Italian Early Modern Period is fertile ground for Jewish medical historical study. Its appeal lies partially in the rich lives and interests of the Jewish physicians beyond the practice of medicine alone. For example, historians have written about physician-poets[3] and physician-philosophers,[4] as well as physician-rabbis. Here I introduce a new category of hyphenated physicians that has escaped notice.

Throughout the millennia, Jewish physicians, in varying degrees, have attempted to maintain their connection to Torah learning and Jewish heritage.[5] This tradition continues to this day. Some advanced to higher levels of Torah study, with a select few even obtaining rabbinic ordination in addition to their medical degrees. These physician-rabbis have garnered the attention of scholars the likes of Holub,[6] Sergei[7] Epstein,[8] Margalit,[9] Salah,[10] and Steinberg.[11]

Early Modern Italy seems to have provided particularly fertile soil for the nurturing and growth of the physician-rabbi, with a high percentage of members represented. This unique geographic and chronological synthesis of medicine and Torah learning is also reflected in an under-recognized phenomenon. There is yet another group of physicians from Early Modern Italy whose commitment to Torah study, albeit less advanced than rabbinic ordination, was formally recognized by the Jewish community. These physicians, or in some cases, soon-to-be physicians, obtained the prestigious degree of *Ḥaver*, a lower form of rabbinic ordination. [12]

Little attention has been paid to this not insignificant group of Jewish physicians in Italy who procured a *Ḥaver* certificate. During this period, the University of Padua was, with few exceptions, the primary place of attendance for university-trained Jewish physicians. Indeed, Modena and Morpurgo, who compiled a comprehensive biobibliography of all the Jewish medical graduates of Padua from 1617-1816, omit any reference whatsoever to graduates who obtained a *Ḥaver* degree.[13] They do however mention students who later obtained

rabbinic ordination, such as Samson Morpurgo or Isaac Lampronti. I assume that they were simply unaware of these achievements rather than considering them too insignificant to include.

Here we bring together the Physician-*Haver* alumni spanning over a century for a virtual reunion, in celebration of their accomplishments, which seem to have been insufficiently appreciated, if not forgotten, with the passage of time. Unsurprisingly, all our Physician *Haverim* are also alumni of the University of Padua.

### **The Origin, Requirements and Benefits of a *Haver* Degree**

The term *Haver* traces itself back to at least Mishnaic times, referring to one versed and punctilious in the observance of the Torah laws, such as tithing (*trumah* and *ma'aser*).<sup>[14]</sup> Later in history the *Haver* title became associated with a lower form of rabbinic ordination for those capable of independent Torah study. This title was popular in Europe in the Early Modern Period, including Germany, Austria, Moravia, Poland, Lithuania and Italy.

We learn a number of aspects of the *Haver* degree in various European cities from the local community archives. For example, certain *aliyot*, as well as designated *haftarot* for the Torah reading for both Shabbat and Yom Tov were reserved exclusively for those bearing the *Haver* title. Age limits for obtaining the *Haver* title were instituted by different communities. For example, in the Moravian city of Mehrin, the *Haver* title could only be bestowed upon one who was married for at least two years. In Frankfurt on Main completion of the Yeshiva curriculum was required. In 1651, the community of Padua, where many of our *Haver* degrees were issued, set specific age requirements for both the *Haver* and Rabbinic degrees.<sup>[15]</sup> For unmarried men, the age requirement for Havrut was twenty-five and above, while for married men it was age twenty and above. Rabbinic ordination was restricted to those thirty and above irrespective of marital status.

As opposed to rabbinic ordination, for which there are requirements to master specific areas of practical Jewish law, including a large section of *Shulhan Arukh*, there does not appear to have been a uniform curriculum for the *Haver* degree.<sup>[16]</sup> Each location designed its own program. The student would spend a period of time dedicated to Torah study and display basic competency, as well as character traits consistent with Torah values. Those deemed worthy would receive the title *Haver*, typically bestowed by local rabbinic authorities, often in the presence of communal leaders (*parnasim*). While the title was intended as an honorific for religious purposes, such as when being called up to the Torah, it could be used at the bearer's discretion. Some communities required maintenance of daily Torah learning upon receipt of the *Haver* title.<sup>[17]</sup>

### **Our *Haverim***

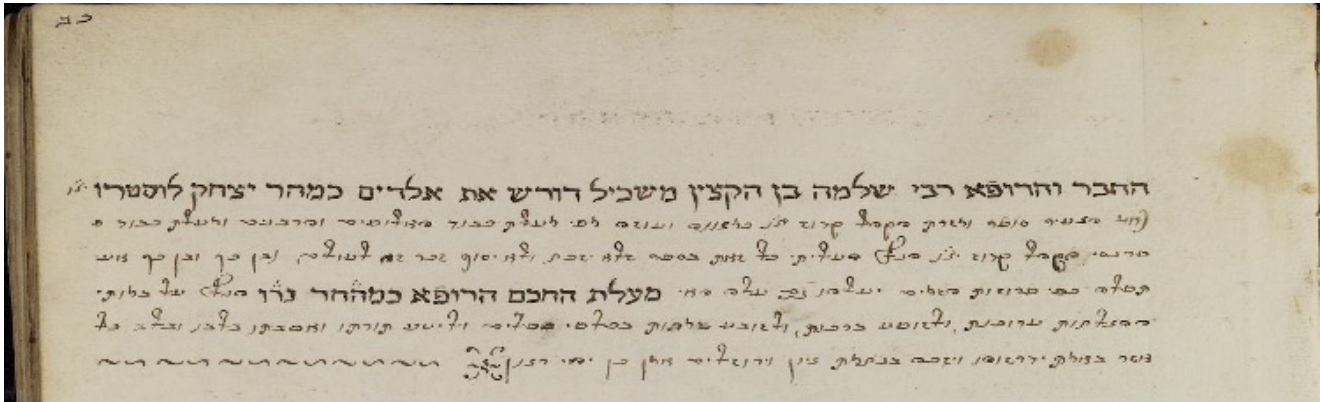
Below are the attendees at our first ever physician-*Haver* alumni reunion. The participants span from the early 17<sup>th</sup> to the mid 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. We begin our event with a tribute to our Guest of Honor, Solomon Lustro, who received his *Haver* degree on August 13, 1697. Lustro was an obvious choice for this distinction. Not only does he possess a well-preserved and most attractive *Haver* certificate, but the day of his *Haver* ceremony was momentous for other reasons and reflects the very nature of the physician-*Haver* relationship. Moreover, the additional archival evidence related to his *Haver* title represents a major source for identifying our alumni.

### **Guest of Honor**

***HeHaver* Shlomo ben Yitzhak ben Shimon Lustro (Solomon Lustro)**

Below is the *Haver* diploma for Solomon Lustro, dated 26 Av 5457.[18]





Solomon Lustro was a member of a prominent Italian family, a physician and graduate of the University of Padua Medical School, and an accomplished poet.[19] In an essay by the twentieth-century scholar Meir Benayahu on Avraham HaKohen of Zante and his famed circle of physician-poets in Padua (“*lahakat ha-rofim ha-meshorerim be-Padova*”) in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Lustro is identified as one of the three core members, along with the leader, HaKohen, and Shabtai Marini,[20] both of whom also grace this list of physicians who obtained a *Haver* degree.

Examples of Lustro’s poetry can be found in the National Library of Israel. There are also numerous congratulatory poems written by others in honor of Lustro’s medical graduation from Padua, as was the custom during this period.[20] We will have occasion to refer to them below.<sup>1</sup>

We possess the full record of the *Haver* diploma issued to Solomon Lustro in neatly written and spaced cursive Hebrew, accompanied by decorative flourishes and interspersed with larger block letters for names or important terms. Would it not be for the fact that this document is bound along with the community archives of Padua, I would assume this was the presentation copy for Lustro himself. It does appear however that while many of the archive entries are written in informal cursive, some, including a number of our *Haver* degrees, are written by professional scribes.

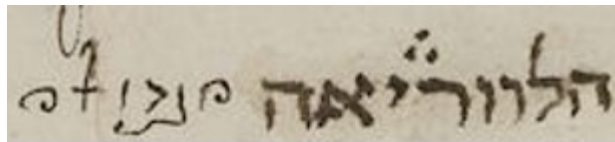
The *Haver* diploma of Solomon Lustro contains an element not found in any other known *Haver* certificate. While it is not the only one to include personal details of the recipient, it is nonetheless a unicum. Attention to the date provides a clue. In addition to the Hebrew calendar date, the *Haver* diploma includes the secular date- August 13, 1697. The significance of this date is reflected in another archival document related to Lustro:





While an astute historian might possibly have noticed this from the concordance of dates on the two diplomas, the author of the *Haver* text chose not to leave this to chance and seized the opportunity to explicitly and expansively note the co-incidence of events. The *Haver* text includes direct mention of Lustro's medical graduation and gives details of the ceremonial nature of the event. It appears that the *Haver* was the earlier of "graduations" on that day.[23]

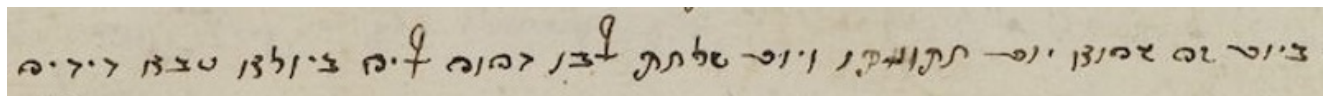
The text reads: We have heard with our ears that on this very day specifically he is to receive from the sages who are not from our nation



הלוריא הגדולה

I believe this refers to the great Laurea, or graduation ceremony of the University of Padua. The author then speaks of the fanfare with trumpets and flutes and other instruments, with music filling every corner of the city and the ground trembling with excitement. He adds, "And they will shout long live the scholar Shlomo, long live the scholar Shlomo." [24] I understand this to refer to the medical graduation festivities, as I do not believe this was customary for the *Haver* ceremony.

Furthermore, the graduation day is referred to as:



ביום זה שהוא יום חתונתו ויום שמחת לבו דהוה ליה ביומא טבא דידיה

The medical graduation is compared to a wedding day, the day of rejoicing of his heart, akin to a holiday (*yom tov*). This wedding metaphor for the graduation is not unique to this document and (?as we will see) is found in the congratulatory poetry for Jewish medical graduates of Padua.

COMPARE text to Marini and others much of the text is standard

Lustro's *Haver* degree was bestowed by three of the prominent rabbinic figures in Padua- Rabbi Shimon Heilpron, Rabbi Dr. Yitzhak Hayyim Cantarini, himself a medical graduate of Padua (1664), and Rabbi Shmuel David Ottolenghi. Lay leaders of the community (*parnasim*) were also in attendance.[25]

We have additional archival documents corroborating Lustro's *Haver* degree. They come from an untapped source which we use for a number of our Physician-*Haver* alumni in this contribution. Upon graduation from the University of Padua, it was not uncommon for students to receive congratulatory poems from fellow students, physicians, family members,

rabbis, or mentors.[26] This practice spanned from at least the early seventeenth century into the early nineteenth century. While I have yet to do a comprehensive review of the extant congratulatory poems, I have thus far identified several poems wherein the graduate is referred to by the honorific, “*heHaver.*”

Two of the congratulatory poems penned for Lustro refer to him as a *Haver*. One was written by Avraham Paltiel Macchioro,[27] where the word *Haver* is even bolded. The only extant copy of this poem is found in the British Library.[28]



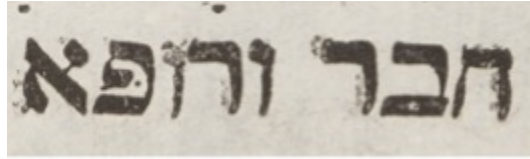


### משלי שלמה

**בראש** מורחם על דרך • ליד ספרים לכו קרית • **מבא** מקשים הוכחה תרונה • תן לחכם ויחכם עוד ויכף לקח • הלא הוא  
 החכם הרופא המשורר כמחר שלמה בן חכם יפחת אב • הכריב מרחם על כל תהילה  
 מחר יצהק בן הישע הנכבד ראש קולתמו כמר • **שמעון לוסטרו** גר • בעיני זקנים כמו בנים • מוכתר היום כמחר  
 הרפואה ופלוסופיאה כסוכ כחך פמלך קריס • והעם חסללים כחללים כחללים פתחה גדולה • וביטוסם האים עשר ואלף •  
 מחסה אליו תבס • ולמי פלגו ההלל אים •

עת שערי השור להפנתו נתמלאוהו העיר יקר תפארת תודה וקול זמרה בלי מנערת כל איש בקרבה גיל בלב שמת משאין משואות אש ויח שלהבת קרבה עננה היא מאד לשבת	קול רחף וקנור עם חללים נבל נשמע בארצנו ביום הופיעו שמש ירח וגם יביעו אומר צאו יגון אנתה אכל באו נגידים רונים לדעת מה ירה ועל מה ירה ולא לנעת ויענו בי יום בשורה לנו מנה שלמה ברפואה בחר רופא ופלוסוף אשר בסתר לפד מאד הקמורת וישי און בנו רוצה ויודע לכד רבנו חבר ורופא דוה וציץ ראשנו
שמחי עדרת אל נה ורון תרונני אם גנוז ספר רפואות שפר הנה מחדש נה מחבר ספר עתה בתוכנו לכטל עוני שירים וחידות עם משלים יחד תקן שלמה זה ותם הפתח	זהר ונדה אור בני ביתך כלם אנשים הם מלאים יושר הכמה ובניה עוז וכבוד עושר כל טוב אשר נחמד בתוך ירך קולך מאד ערב בקמיר ארתה גור פאר הרור שלמה עתה אשרי אשר ילד וגידל ורע כלו אמרת בזה וגומל חסד איש תם ויושר הוא ואין בו חסד נכבד מאד טהור בגדל פרע אביו ואמו ישמחו יגילו בראות דרכיו נה אשר יחילו נאם העבר אברהם פלמיאל חי בבמר משה רפאל מאקויר





It is perhaps no coincidence that the author who acknowledged Lustro's *Haver* degree, who was also a Padua medical graduate, was himself the recipient of a *Haver* degree some years earlier (see below). Macchioro certainly appreciated the effort required to obtain such a distinction and intentionally chose to acknowledge it in the text of his poem.

### **A Congratulatory Poem for Two Graduations- The Only One of its Kind**

The other poem for Lustro which mentions his *Haver* degree is found only in manuscript,[29] and the author is tentatively identified as Moshe Heilpron.[30]



בְּחַתּוּנַת שְׂמֵחַת לִבּוֹ

Similar to the text of Lustro's *Haver* diploma, we find here the wedding-related expressions about the graduation: the day of his wedding (יום חתונתו) and the day of the gladdening of his heart (31) [יום שמחת לבו]. We find these expressions in other congratulatory poems for Jewish medical graduates as well.[32] However, there is something unique in this poem that appears in no other medical congratulatory poem. The author adds:

בְּתַקְוַת בְּשִׂמְחַת פְּקוּדָה

בחתונת בשמחת התורה

Heilpron refers to the wedding (and the associated happiness) with the Torah. Could this be a reference to Lustro's receiving of his *Haver* degree? While I have not come across any congratulatory poems written for one who received a *Haver* degree, it is certainly conceivable that they exist, though likely uncommon. A congratulatory poem for both a medical and *Haver* graduation which occurred on the same day would constitute a rarity to the extreme.

One poem for Lustro was authored by Shmuel David Ottolenghi, one the rabbinic signatories of his *Haver* degree. It is housed in the British Library.[33]





קדי לא אסורות • רק אסורות ומוכסות לאמר אסורות ועריות טליות תחיות קול כלי חזקה • חכא בין זמרה  
 ככל רופה ומוסר • על כחור כחזים סוכר מרוזים • ספיר ויסלום • בו כח עד סלום • להיות נכתר ברחובות  
 קדיה נכתר הרפואה והפלוסופיאה ה"ה הכתור האטוב לי הוקד והנשים • כולד פעמונים • כבוד  
 ב' שלמה בן סדיכ וסופו נביר ונכר משכיל על כל דבר • תל סהכל אליו סונים • אכ לאכיונים • האלף  
 כמס' יצחק לוסטרו י"ט • ועל כו אהבת עולם אהבתיהו אמרתי יפוא אכא בהלל •  
 וחילק לחכר ולחלל • וברך את המורה לעיסו •  
**חכמת אדם תאיר פניו •**

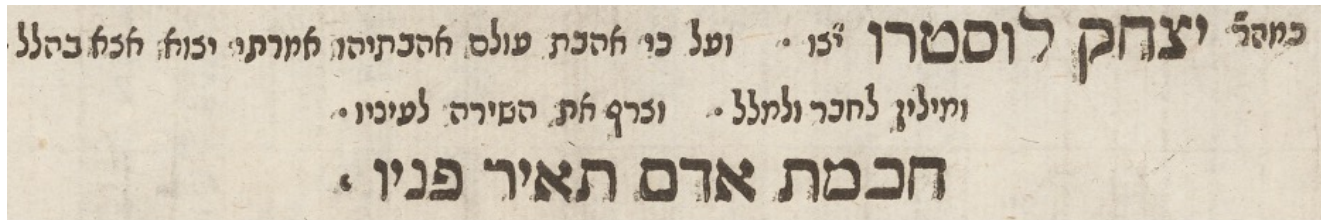
לא משלו משל נבוני צעד	בן הנשמה היא יפת העין
עת לתבונה עטרו הכתירו	נקראת מנורת אור בעוד להשכל
אורה בשם הפטירו	אך אם תהי ברית סכר
נדגל תנעתה בתתה סער	מותר לאדם מן בהמה אין
לא כאבוקה היא כמו ירח	מתוך מאורת חור חרבי אופל
שמש מאורה מה מאד זרח	תראה חכמים עומדים בעופל

לא בן שלמה אור תבונותיה  
 תמות תמימות הן בלי שום כתם  
 כי מלאו מקתם  
 אניד לדור ודור גדולתך  
 חפא ופרוסוף לך יקראו  
 על רום תהלות בסאך ישלחו

סטואל דור אוטולינגי



While the letters חכר appear in the poem, the word does not bear the meaning of the rabbinic degree.



Perhaps it is a veiled allusion.

I have identified six other congratulatory poems for Lustru,[34] none of which use the *Haver* honorific. I suggest that since Lustru received his *Haver* degree literally on the day of his graduation, it is possible that either the poems were written earlier, prior to the day of graduation, and the day the *Haver* ceremony, or that the authors were simply unaware of this other event in Lustru's life.

### **Our Reunion Attendees**

Lustru's experience and archival records set the stage for the remainder of our reunion. Below we discuss the remaining Physician-*Haver* alumni in attendance, arranged in chronological order by the date of their graduation from the University of Padua Medical School, as the date of the conferral of the *Haver* degree is unknown for a number of our alumni. For each alumnus we list the date of their medical graduation from Padua (if known); the date of their *Haver* degree (if known); the historical source confirming their receipt of a *Haver* title; a copy of the archival record of their *Haver* degree (if available); and brief biographical notes (if known).

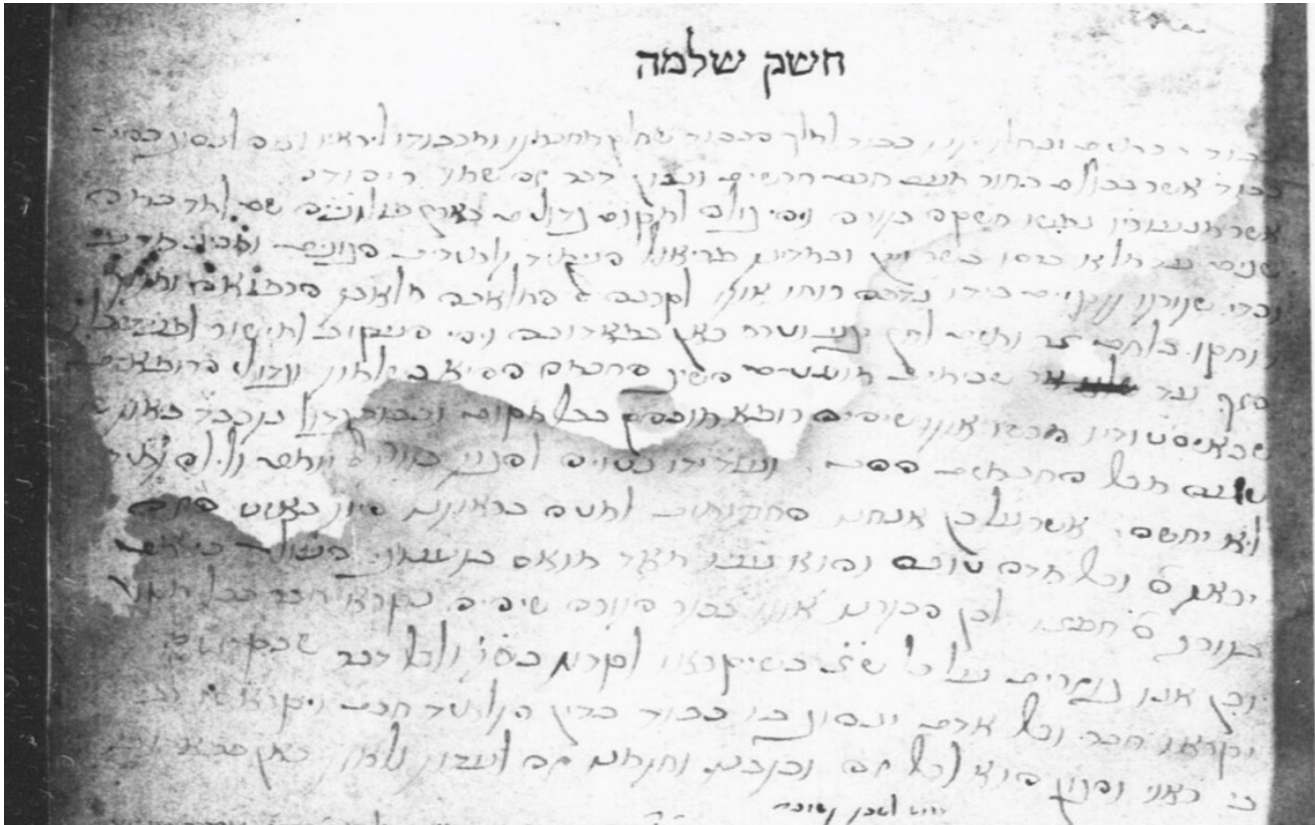
#### **1) He*Haver* Yehuda (family name unknown)**

University of Padua Medical Degree: date unknown, circa early 1600's

Date of *Haver* Degree: date unknown

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: transcription found in miscellaneous manuscript of Solomon Marini[35]





This medical and *Haver* graduate is identified only by his first name, Yehuda. Though we have no date for either Yehuda's medical or *Haver* graduation, he is likely the oldest of our alumni. Furthermore, we have Yehuda to thank for our Physician-*Haver* reunion. It was through serendipity that I discovered a transcription of Yehuda's *Haver* diploma in a manuscript of the works of Rabbi Solomon Marini of Padua (1594-1670). In the text of the certificate only the recipient's first name, Yehuda, appears, and the rabbinic granters of the degree are omitted. Yehuda is identified as a physician having trained at the University of Padua. I have more fully explored Yehuda's identity elsewhere,[36] and have tentatively concluded it to be Yehuda de Lima, a scion of the de Lima medical dynasty in Poland. As the transcription is found in a manuscript attributed to Rabbi Solomon Marini, it is likely, though by no means certain, that the latter was the rabbi who bestowed the honor. It is this discovery of Yehuda's *Haver* transcription that led me to a closer look at the Physician-*Haver* combination during this historical period.

**2) He*Haver* David Morpurg**

University of Padua Medical Degree: March 9, 1623[37]

Date of *Haver* Degree: unknown

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: cited in contemporary scholarly literature.[38]

Morpurg graduated from Padua in 1623 and received the title of *Haver* from Rabbi Leon da Modena. Da Modena had a significant relationship with a number of Padua medical students. [39] Though a resident of Padua during the plague of 1631, we have no record of Morpurg's medical practice during these times.[40] His father Shemarya was a rabbi, and distributed

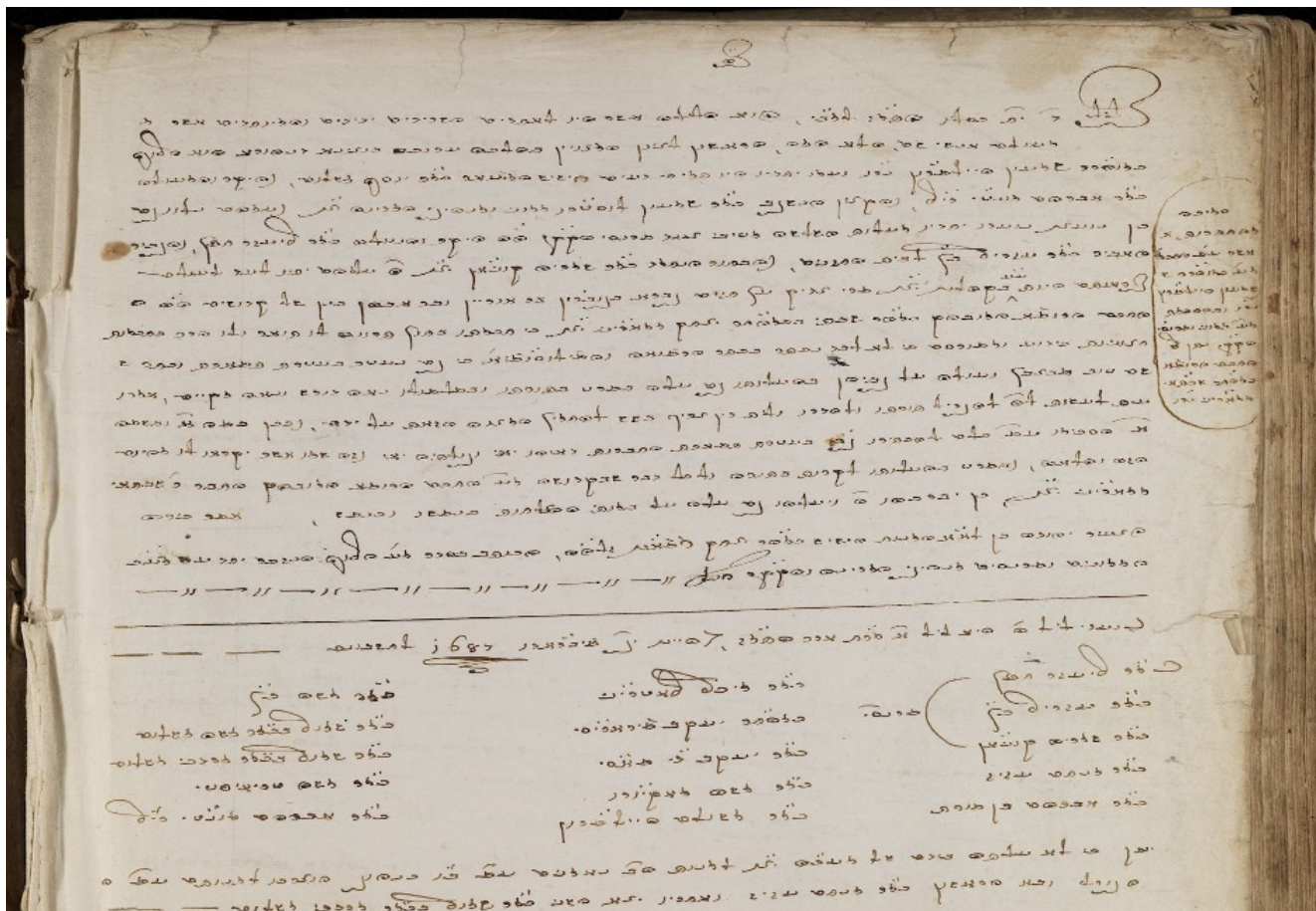
funds to the poor during the plague, from which he succumbed. After the death of his father, Morpurg moved to Krakow, where he lived the rest of his life, practicing medicine and serving as a head of the Jewish community. In Krakow, Morpurg was engaged in regulating the work of the paramedical personnel in the Jewish district as well, including determining which practitioners were competent to perform enemas and bloodletting.[41] His son Shimon became a physician,[42] and the physician Aron Morpurg, another relative, graduated from Padua in 1671.[43]

### 3) *HeHaver* Shabtai Hayyim Marini[44]

University of Padua Medical Degree: October 10, 1685

Date of *Haver* Degree: 18 Kislev 5447- December 4, 1686

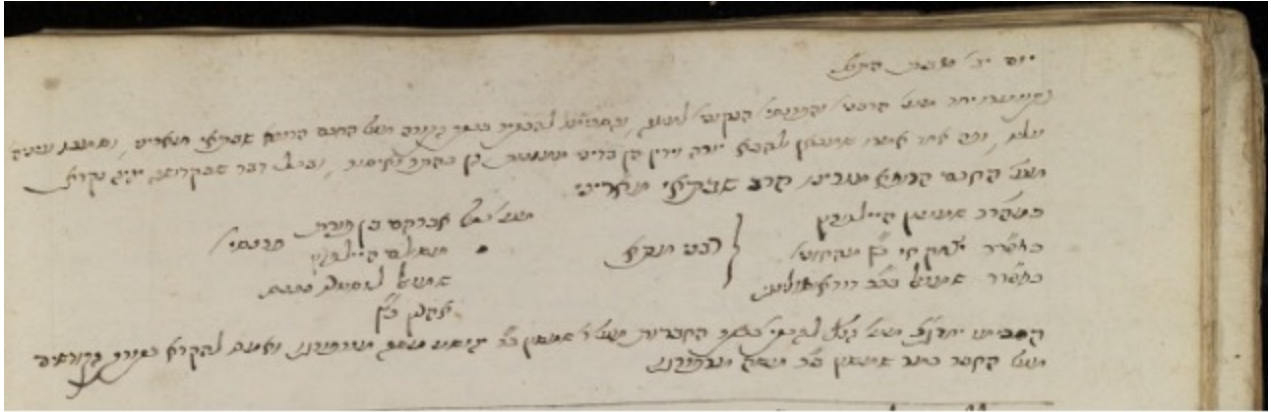
Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[45]



Shabtai Hayyim Marini received the title of *Haver* at the age of 24,[46] one year after his medical school graduation from Padua. It was granted by Rabbi Shimon Heilpron. Marini was one of few who went on to obtain his rabbinic ordination and was one the most prominent Italian personalities of his time.

Below is the record of his rabbinic ordination, also from the Padua Jewish community archives, from January 3, 1700.





Marini was one of the circle of physician-poets in Padua and translated Ovid's *Metamorphosis* into Hebrew.[47] A number of Marinis graduated the University of Padua medical school.[48] As the names Solomon, Shabtai and Isaac repeat themselves across the generations of the Marini family, there remains confusion regarding precise familial relationships.

#### 4) **HeHaver Avraham HaKohen miZante** (Abram di Sabbato Sacerdote)

University of Padua Medical Degree: August 21, 1693[49]

Date of *Haver* Degree- before 1693

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: congratulatory poem written in honor of his medical graduation.

Abram Sacerdote, also known as Avraham HaKohen, or Avraham miZante, was the first physician in his family and the first student from Zante to attend the medical school of Padua. [50] He was a prolific poet and a prominent figure and leader of the "*lehakat harofim-hemeshorerim*," a group of physician-poets in Italy.[51] The other key members of this circle, Solomon Lustro and Shabtai Marini, both received *Haver* degrees as well. HaKohen authored a volume of poetry on the Book of Psalms (*Tehillim*) entitled *Kehumat Avraham* (Venice, 1719) which contains his portrait on the title page.[52]

The source for his *Haver* degree is gleaned from the congratulatory poem[53] authored by his medical and literary colleague, and our Guest of Honor, Solomon Lustro.[54] Therein, Lustro refers to HaKohen as ha-*Haver* ha-Rofeh.





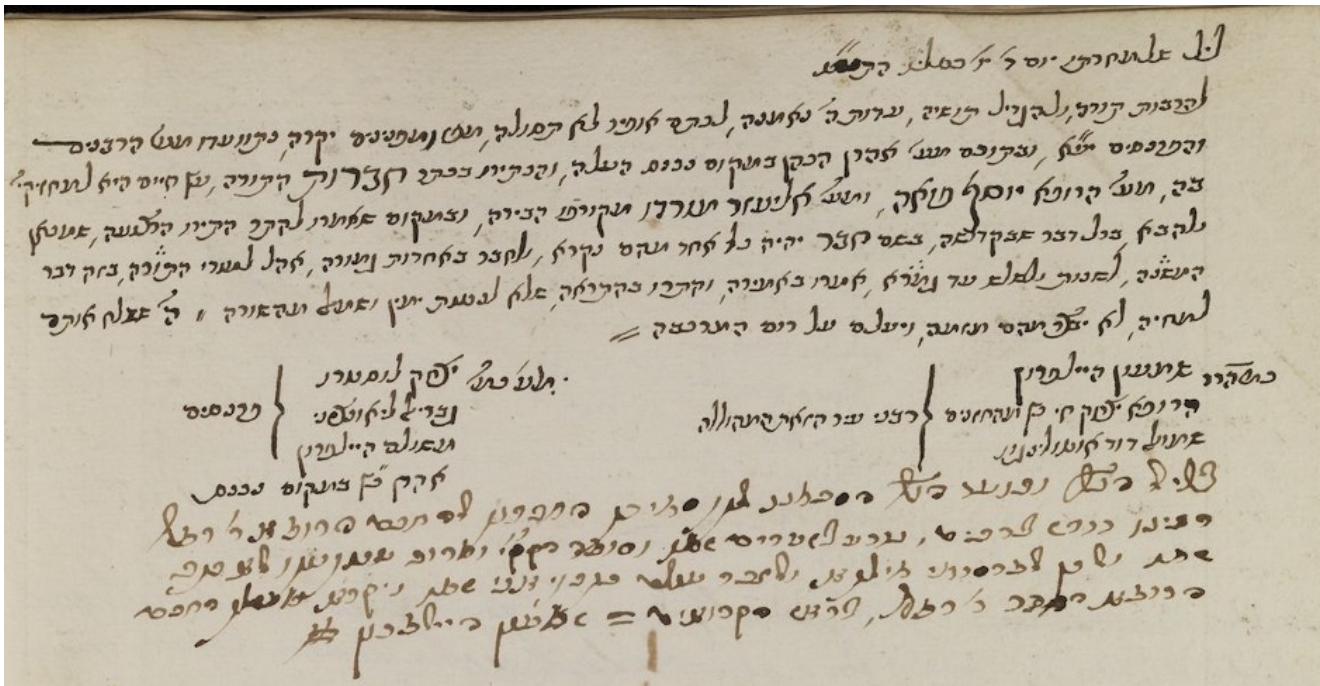
# המנר פרופא כנוד ר' אברהם

## 5) HeHaver Rafael Rabeni[55]

University of Padua Medical Degree: May 10, 1696[56]

Date of Haver Degree: November 19, 1698

Historical Record of the Haver Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[57]



In addition to being a practicing physician, Rabeni was the secretary or scribe (*sofer*) of the Jewish community of Padua. He apparently ran a school for young men studying medicine, possibly similar to the that of Solomon Conegliano, which was designed to facilitate the transition of foreign Jews into the world of a major Italian university.[58] Rabeni learned medicine with Isaac Cantarini, the renowned rabbi-physician, and was acquainted as well as with Antonio Vallisneri, Professor of Medicine at the University of Padua. He engaged in a prolonged polemic with Biagio Garofalo on the nature of Biblical poetry[59] and the Protestant Hebraist Theophil Unger penned a letter of inquiry to him, though Rabeni died before receiving it.[60]

There is an erroneous mention of Rabeni obtaining rabbinic ordination at age 15,[61] but no mention by historians of his genuine *Haver* degree, obtained at the age of forty-one, and published here for the first time. Rabeni's degree, although granted the same day as two other physicians, Yosef Foah and Eliezer de Mordo, is entered into the archives as a postscript in a different and less formal hand.

The text of the entry explains why:

בליל ה"ל ובועד ה"ל הסכמו לתת סמיכת החברות להחכם הרופא ר" רפאל רבינו דורש ברבים נודע בשערים שמו וסופר הקק"י ומרוב ענותנותו לא כתב שמו ולכן לפרסומי מילתא ולזכר עולם כתבתי אני שמו ויקרא מעלת החכם הרופא החבר ר" רפאל, בראש הקרואים = שמעון היילפרון

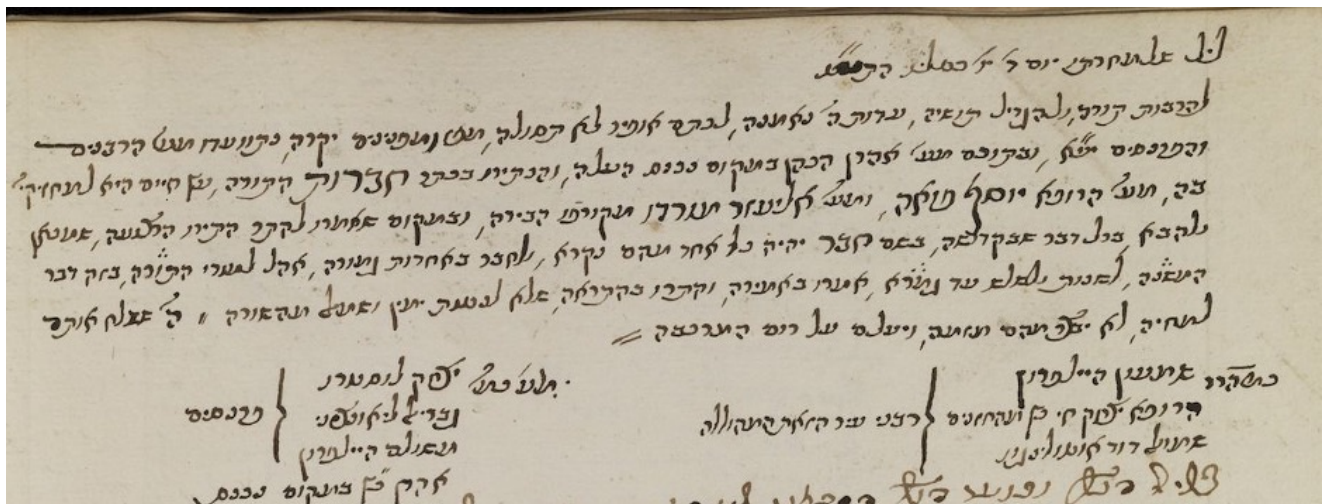
Rafael Rabeni was the scribe of the community and wrote some of the archive entries.[62] He himself received his *Haver* degree on November 19, 1698, along with Foa and De Mordo (see below). Out of great humility, when he entered the proceedings of the *Haver* ceremony into the community archives, he omitted his own name from among those who received a *Haver* degree that day. The author of the postscript, Rabbi Shimon Heilpron, one of the rabbis who granted the degree, chose to rectify this omission and to include Rabeni's name along with the other *Haver* recipients to publicize, and as an "eternal memory," that Rabeni also received a *Haver* degree that day. As there are no entries by Rabeni in the archives in the following days, I wonder if he was even aware of Heilpron's addition. Our inclusion of Rabeni in our reunion is due to Rabbi Heilpron, whose efforts over three hundred years ago are bearing fruits.

### 6) HeHaver Yosef Foa

University of Padua Medical Degree: May 14, 1696[63]

Date of *Haver* Degree: November 19, 1698

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[64]



There are many from the Foa family listed in Asher Salah's comprehensive biobibliography, but alas, no Yosef.[65] Modena and Morpurgo spell the name Fua.

Foa's ceremony was held together with de Mordo and Rabeni and the presiding rabbis were Rabbis Shimon Heipron, Rabbi Dr. Isaac Hayyim Cantarini and Rabbi Shmuel Dovid Ottolenghi, the same rabbis who bestowed Solomon Lustro's *Haver* degree.

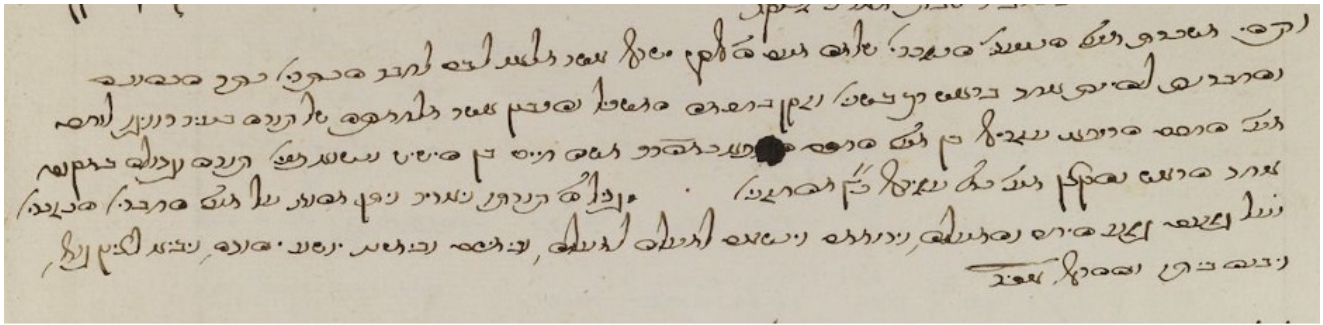
### 7) HeHaver Azriel Cantarini (Azriel ben Moshe Hayyim (ben Azriel) Katz min HaHazananim (Cantarini)

University of Padua Medical Degree: November 11, 1697[66]



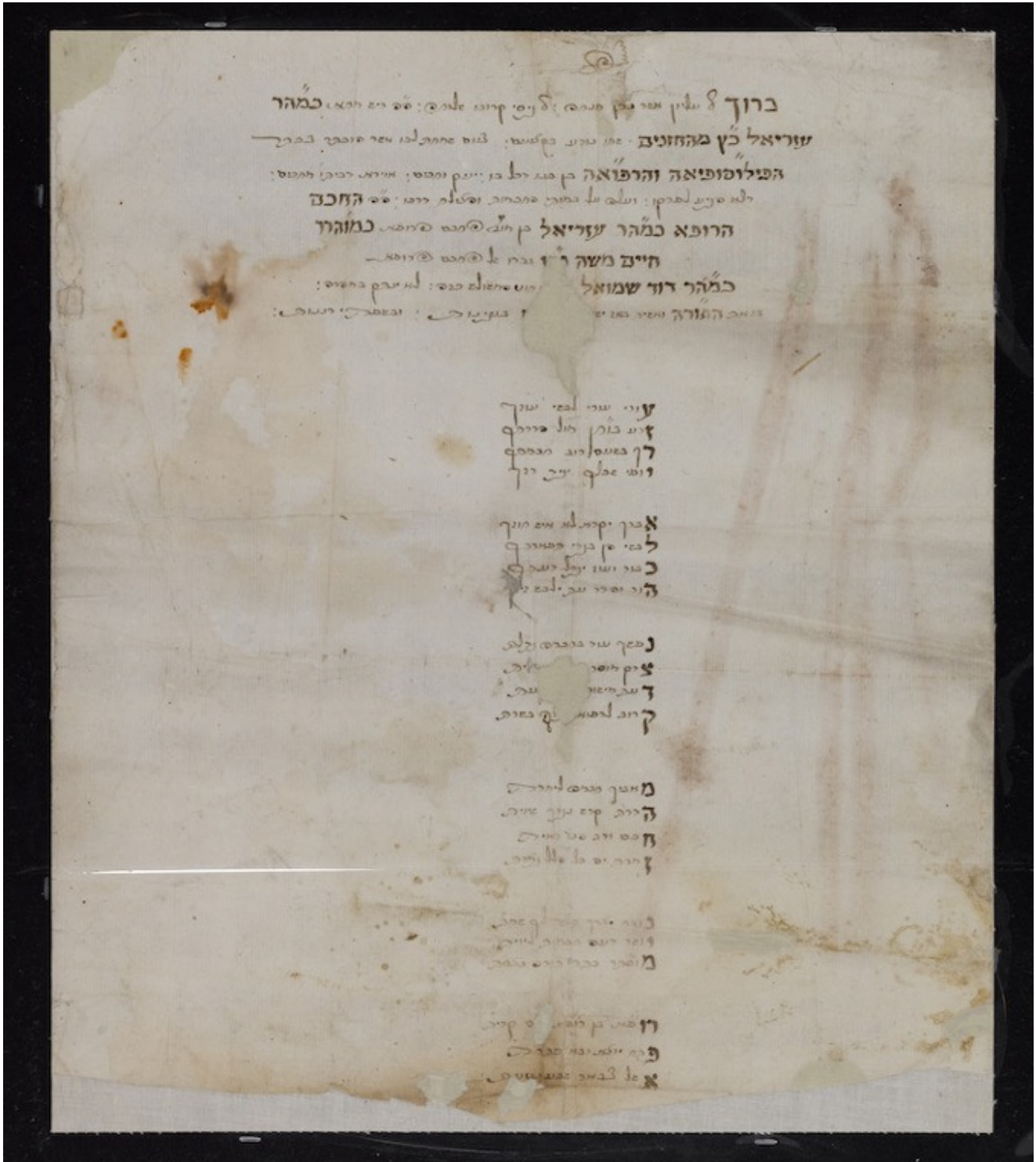
Date of *Haver* Degree: April 22, 1701

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[67]



Cantarini received his *Haver* degree together with Cervo Marini.

Below is a reproduction of a congratulatory poem for Cantarini. The work is anonymous, and the author may possibly bear the acronym HaTORaH.[68] Cantarini is the author of a book on surgery dedicated to the famous scientist/physician, Antonio Vallisnieri.[69] Azriel's relative, Isaac Cantarini, was close with Vallisnieri and consulted with him on a number of medical cases.[70]



This poem uses the expression “*beyom simhat libo*” (the day of the gladdening of his heart) to refer to graduation day, similar to the expression used in Lustro’s *Haver* diploma and in other congratulatory poems.

**8) HeHaver Avraham Paltiel Macchioro**  
 University of Padua Medical Degree: September 4, 1698[71]  
 Date of *Haver* Degree: February 18, 1693  
 Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[72]



A full record of Macchioro's *Haver* degree is found in the Padua Jewish Community Archives. He received his *Haver* distinction years before the completion of his medical training.

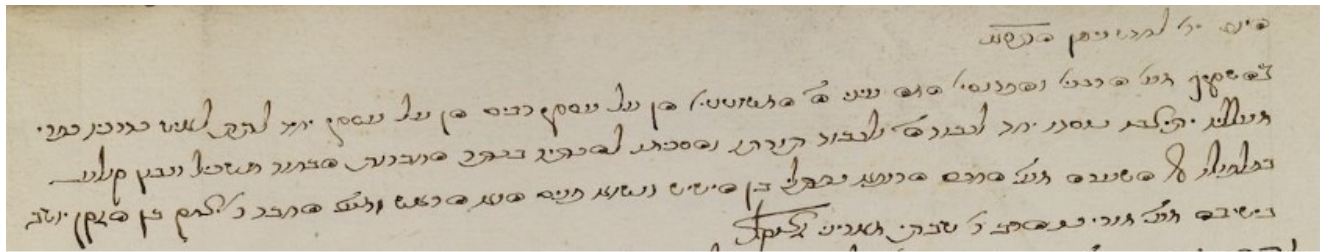
Handwritten Hebrew text, likely a medical degree or diploma. The text is written in a cursive script and includes a large decorative initial 'ש' at the top right. The document is dated 1701.

Handwritten Hebrew text, likely a medical degree or diploma. The text is written in a cursive script and includes a large decorative initial 'א' at the top left. The document is dated 1701.

9) *HeHaver* Naftali (Cervo) Marini

University of Padua Medical Degree: September 4, 1698[73]

Date of *Haver* Degree: April 22, 1701

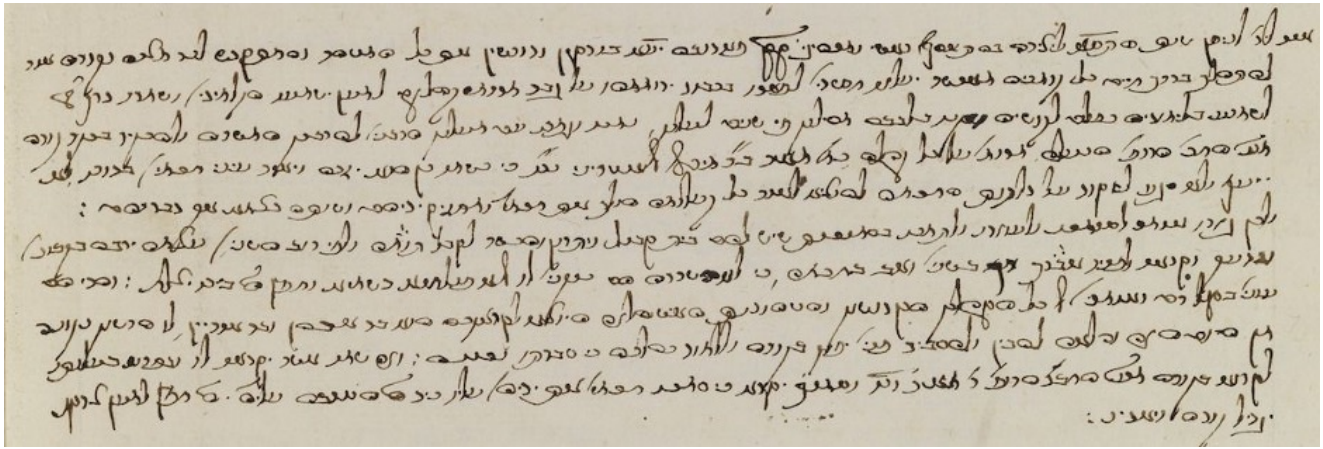


Naftali (Cervo) Marini is the brother of Shabtai Hayyim Marini and the son of the *Haver* Yitzhak Marini. He received his *Haver* degree in a ceremony along with Azriel Cantarini.

There is a congratulatory poem written for both for Marini and Isaac Pangalli,[75] who graduated Padua on the same day (September 4, 1698).[76] This is a rare example of one poem written for two graduates. The poem was authored by Shmuel David Ottolenghi. Ottolenghi granted the *Haver* degree for a number of our alumni, and while the presiding rabbis are not listed for Marini's *Haver* degree (or for Cantarini), it is quite possible that he bestowed his degree as well. As the *Haver* was granted a few years after Marini's medical training, it would not have been mentioned by Ottolenghi in the text of the poem.







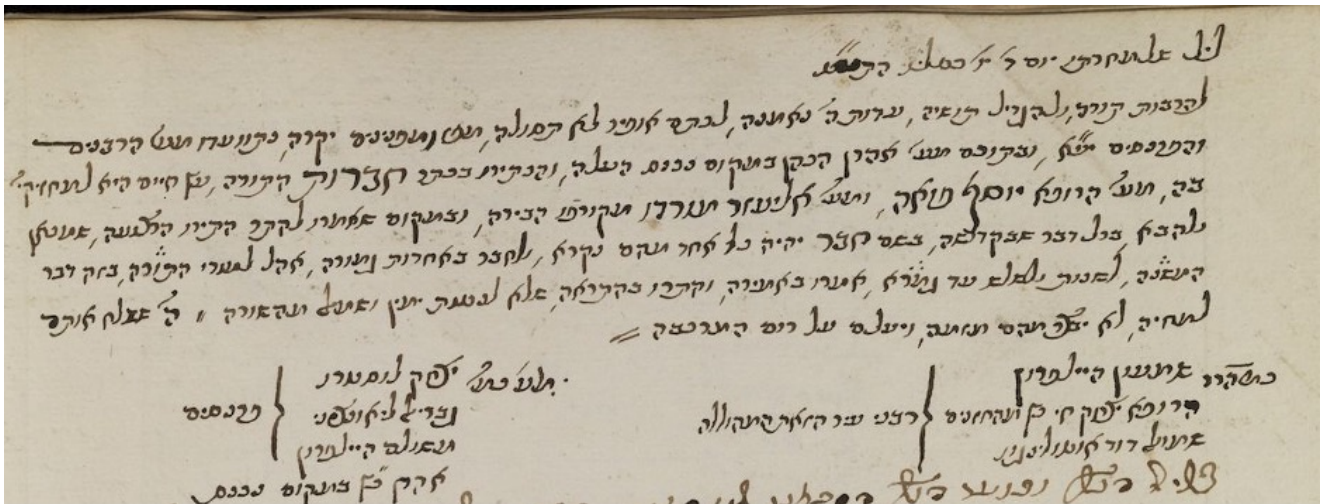
The Alatrini were called Della Bella in Italian. Michelin Della Bella (grandfather of Meir) was the one who rented the place used for the Sephardi synagogue in Padua, first in 1617 and again in 1629 after it was burnt down by a fire.[79]

**11) HeHaver Eliezer (Lazarus) de Mordo**

University of Padua Medical Degree: May 21, 1699[80]

Date of Haver Degree: November 19, 1698

Historical Record of the Haver Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[81]



De Mordo received his Haver degree along with Yosef Foah. Eliezer was the first of several members of the De Mordis (Mordo, De Mordio) family, hailing from the Island of Corfu, who would graduate from Padua's medical school.[82] He has been confused with a later family member of the same name, Lazarus (the son of Shabtai) de Mordis (1744–1823), who was also a Padua medical graduate. There is a brief biography of Eliezer (Lazarus) de Mordo[83] which identifies him as a rabbi and physician in Corfu who authored poetry and prayers.[84] The approximate date given correlates with our graduate. De Mordo's poems appear in the Harrison Miscellany (Corfu, Ca. 1720), which, in addition to its sixty full-page illustrations from the book of Genesis, consists of prayers, blessings, and poems for a wedding ceremony according to the custom of the Jews of Corfu.[85]



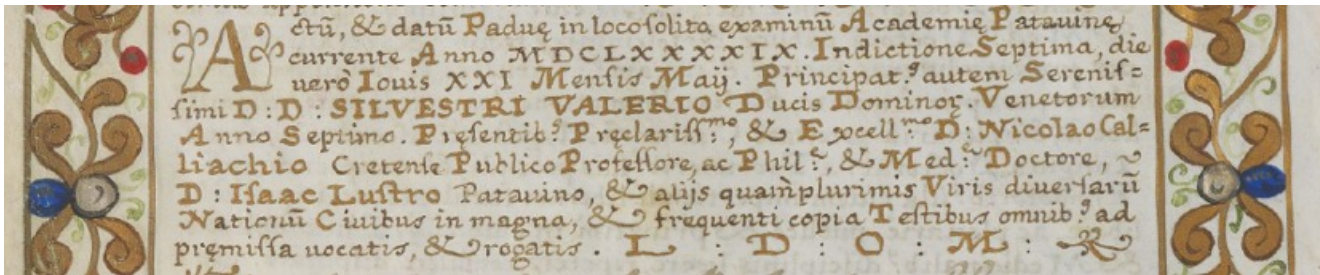
There is also reference to a Rabbi Eliezer de Mordo of Corfu, called a *zaken ha-musmakh* (learned elder), in a discussion published in 1755 about the propriety of singing the *Shema* prayer with a musical melody if it may lead to confusing the words of the sacred prayer. This is likely our graduate. As De Mordis was a poet and author of prayers for the liturgy, it follows that he would be consulted specifically on an issue related to music in the synagogue.[86]

Eliezer De Mordis was also the signatory to a letter in 1751 attesting to the character of a Jew who appeared in Corfu and claimed to have repented from his former evil ways.[87]

Mordo's medical diploma is extant and part of the Friedenwald Collection at the National Library of Israel.



Isaac Lustro, possibly Solomon's father, served as a witness on Mordo's diploma.

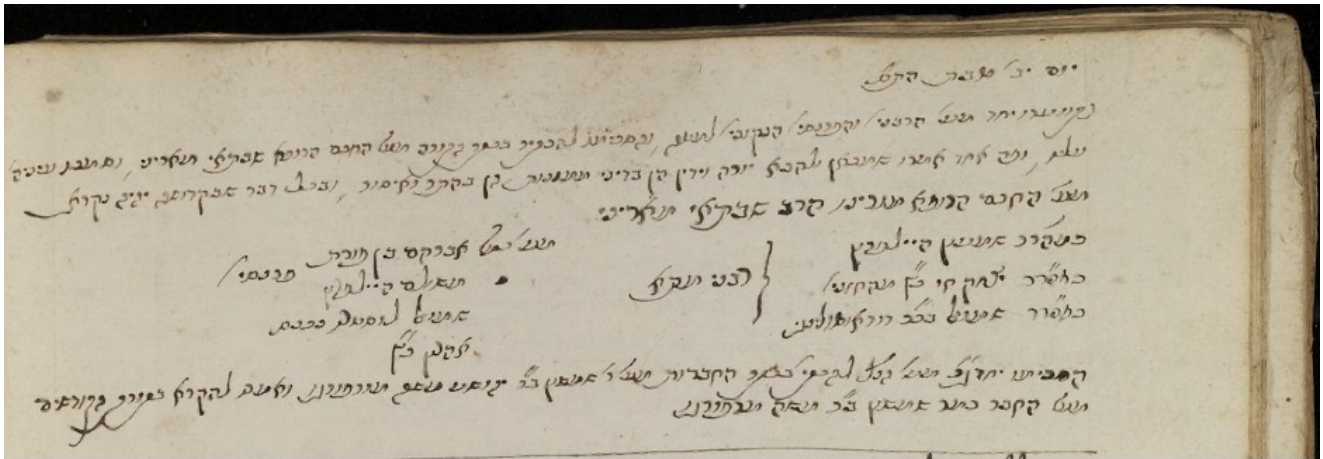


## 12) Shimshon Morpurgo

University of Padua Medical Degree: August 24, 1700[88]

Date of *Haver* Degree: January 3, 1700

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[89]



The reference to Morpurgo's *Haver* degree is a postscript appended to the mention of the rabbinic ordination of Shabtai Marini (Padua, 1685) and occupies the last two lines of the section above.

Morpurgo's *Haver* was granted, like a number of his predecessors, by Rabbis Shimon Heipron, Rabbi Dr. Isaac Hayyim Cantarini and Rabbi Shmuel Dovid Ottolenghi. Morpurgo later received his rabbinic ordination from Rabbi Yehuda Briel and served as rabbi of Ancona for the latter part of his life. His responsa *Shemesh Tzedakah* were published posthumously by his son.

Morpurgo's medical diploma is presently housed in the Italian Jewish Museum in Jerusalem. [90]

## 13) *HeHaver* Moshe David Valle

University of Padua Medical Degree: October 22, 1713[91]

Date of *Haver* Degree: September 20, 1725

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: Padua Jewish Community Archives[92]





While Luzzatto matriculated at the University of Padua Medical School for three terms,[93] we have no record of his graduation as a physician. Valle was both a teacher and student of Luzzatto and was a great Torah scholar and prolific author in his own rite.

**14) HeḤaver Mandolin Navarra (Menachem di Isacco)[94]**

University of Padua Medical Degree: April 29, 1740[95]

Date of Ḥaver Degree: Before April 29, 1740

Historical Record of the Ḥaver Degree: referred to as Ḥaver is congratulatory poetry written in honor of his medical graduation.

Navarra went on to become a rabbi as well as a mohel (ritual circumciser). Among those for whom he performed the rite were the children of Jacob Grassin Basilea and Raffael Ferrarese, both Padua medical graduates.[96]

The evidence for Navarra's Ḥaver degree, like for Avraham haKohen miZante, is found in the text of the congratulatory poems written in honor of his Padua medical graduation. In Navarra's case, I am aware of three such poems. As opposed to Lustro, where the title Ḥaver is found in only two of his nine known congratulatory poems, for Navarra, the title Ḥaver appears in all three of the known congratulatory poems in his honor. Two are reproduced below and one, mentioned by Roth, appears to be no longer extant.







כתר המחמד . וכתר הרפואה בקניין אחד עולים על ראש החכם ובכון נדיק וישר רב פעלים פרי קדם הגולים . אשר כבר הוקם על קהל  
 חברים מסכילים כה'חר **מנהג נבר** כן הנסא והנעלה לשם ולתפארת ולתהלה חים חמונים ונפוח

15) *HeHaver Yitzhak Consigli*  
 University of Padua Medical Degree: February 17, 1757[97]  
 Date of *Haver* degree: unknown

Historical Record of the *Haver* Degree: In a letter from Jerusalem dated 1782 there is mention of *he-Haver ha-Rofeh Ha-Muvhak* Yitzhak Consigli.[98]

The title “*muvhak*,” loosely translated as “expert,” was likely reserved for those physicians who were university graduates.

There are three extant congratulatory poems written in honor of Consigli's graduation, none of which mention his *Haver* title. Perhaps he obtained the title after his graduation. One was authored by Moshe b. Yuda Hay Romanin, which was auctioned in Paris in 2006;[99] one in Italian, by an author with the initials M. D. L. R.;[100] one in manuscript of anonymous authorship.[101]

#### **16) HeHaver Menahem (Mandolin) Azzar**

University of Padua Medical Degree: Surgical Degree 1764, Medical Degree 1778[102]

Date of *Haver* Degree: unknown

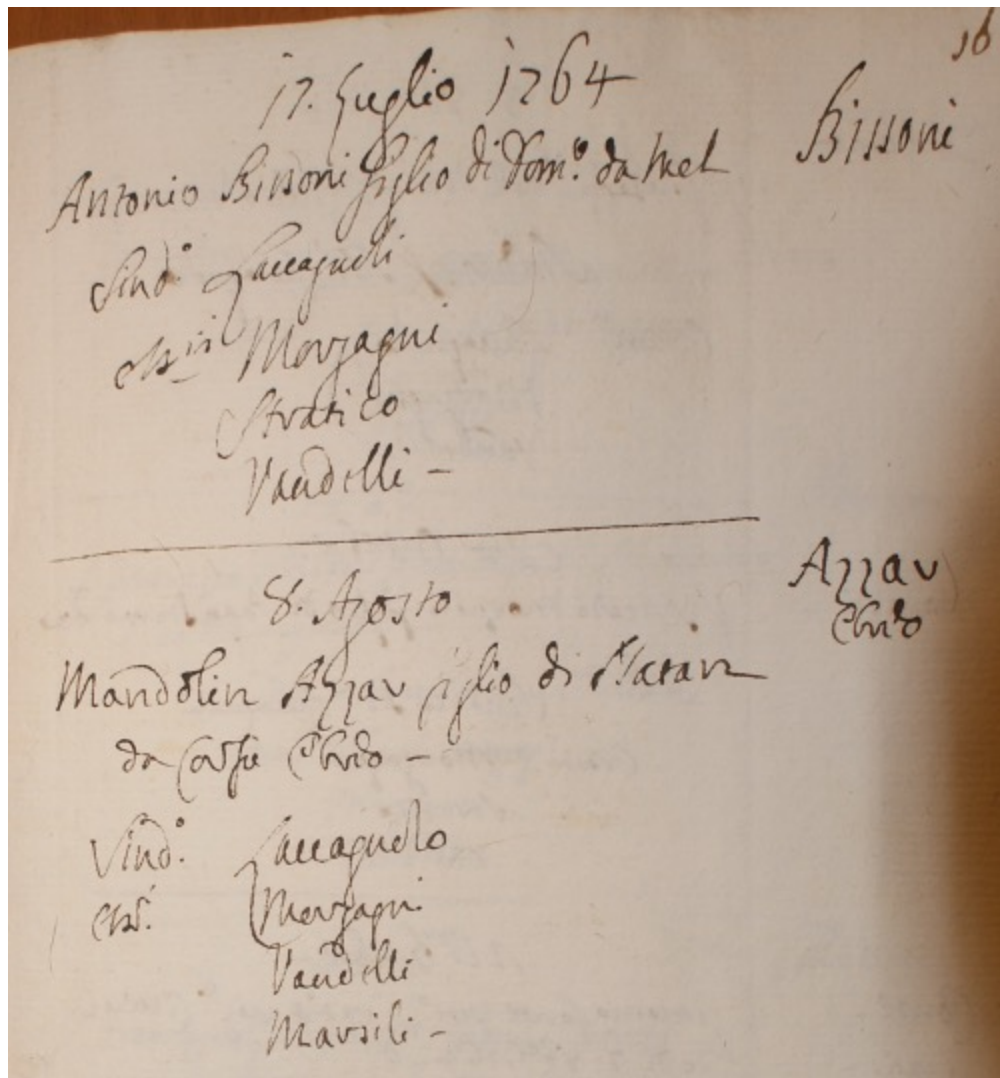
In the synagogue of Corfu is a list held of piyyutim authored by different members of the community which were recited on a rotational basis. One of the authors is *he-Haver ha-Rofeh ha-Muvhak* Menahem Azzar.[103] The title “*muvhak*,” loosely translated as “expert,” was likely reserved for those physicians who were university graduates.

The Columbia University Library possesses two documents for Azzar.[104] One appears to be an affirmation of his credentials in surgery from Corfu in 1761, along with a transfer letter addressed to the University of Padua. The second (pictured below) is a medical diploma from Padua dated 1778.



The University of Padua archives contains a record for a surgery license dated August 8, 1764:





## Conclusion

This concludes our inaugural Physician-*Haver* reunion. Thank you for joining. We boast seventeen alumni, a respectable showing for our first event, nine of whom graduated medical school between 1696-1700, roughly half the Jewish graduates from this period. Without the efforts of Rabbi Shimon Heiplron, we would not have even known to invite Rafael Rabeni.

As to the timing of the *Haver* degrees and their relationship to the student's medical training, it is possible that the students' marital status played a factor. The typical student graduated medical school around the ages of twenty to twenty-two. If a student were married, he *could* obtain his *Haver* either before or shortly after the completion of his medical training. If unmarried, however, he would have to wait at least until the age of twenty-five before receiving the title.

This phenomenon of the Physician-*Haver* is yet further proof how over the centuries Jewish physicians have attempted to combine their medical practice with Torah learning. While with this preliminary study we begin to rectify the prior oversight of the Physician-*Haver*

combination, there will surely be additions to come, and I expect more attendees at our next reunion.

### **Addendum- *Haver* Programs Today**

The concept of a *Haver* degree exists to this day in different forms and is a spiritual descendant of its Italian and German ancestors. Some decades ago, I participated in Rabbi J. David Bleich's *Haver* program at RIETS, tailored specifically to medical halakha. Rabbi Bleich, Shlit"a, also teaches a *Haver* program in the field of law. This tailored, profession-specific *Haver* learning curriculum is a modern iteration of the *Haver* concept- a curriculum for the student with a serious interest in Torah learning but not interested, able, or yet ready to commit to a full rabbinic ordination program. Today, Yeshiva University has reconfigured its *Haver* program and other similar programs, such as the popular *Semichas Haver* program, have become popular.

[1] My profound thanks to Laura Roumani, who brought many of these *Haver* records to my attention as she was reading through the Padua Jewish community archives. Laura was also instrumental in aiding in the deciphering of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Italian Hebrew cursive script. The Padua Jewish Community Archives have only very recently been digitized by the NLI and made widely available for study and research.

[2] See discussion of the *Haver* degree of Rafael Rabeni below.

[3] Benayahu.

[4] See David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1995).

[5] See, for example, Edward Reichman, "The Yeshiva Medical School: The Evolution of Educational Programs Combining Jewish Studies and Medical Training," *Tradition* 51:3 (Summer 2019), 41-56.

[6] David Holub, *Pardes David*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1880 and 1882).

[7] Menachem Mendel Leib Sergej, *Meshiv Nefesh* (Vilna, 1906).

[8] Rabbi Barukh Halevi Epstein, *Mekor Barukh* vol. 2 (Ram Publishers, Vilna, 1928), 1113-1130.

[9] David Margalit, *Hakhmei Yisrael ke-Rofim* (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1962).

[10] Asher Salah, *La République des Lettres: Rabbins, écrivains et medecins juifs en Italie au 18<sup>th</sup> siècle* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[11] Avraham Steinberg, *HaRefuah Ke-Halakhah* 6 ,2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Jerusalem, 5782), 196-206.

[12] The term *Haver* dates back to Mishnaic times and has multiple uses and meanings. For a select few of these physicians, the *Haver*, typically granted to the younger student, was a steppingstone to the more advanced semicha or rabbinic ordination, often restricted to those of a greater age, but most sufficed with the *Haver* degree alone. I am unsure if a *Haver* degree was a requirement for the more advanced rabbinic ordination, akin, for example, to a master's degree and a Ph.D.

[13] Abdelkader Modena and Edgardo Morpurgo, *Medici E Chirurghi Ebrei Dottorati E Licenziati Nell Università Di Padova dal 1617 al 1816* (Bologna, 1967). (Heretofore referred

to as M and M.)

[14] See Encyclopedia Judaica, s. v., “*Haver*.” See also Bunim Tausig miMatersdorf, *Minhagei HaKehilos* in the environs of Bergenland-Austria (Jerusalem, 5765), 210-218, for a lengthy discussion of both the origin and evolution of the term *Haver*, as well as a list of decrees from different European locations relating to its practice and application. I thank Rabbi Eliezer Brodt for the important reference. This source bears little mention of the Italian experience. Tausig also includes discussion of the introduction and history of the title “*Moreinu*,” (rabbinic ordination), a modified and diluted version of the original *semiha*. He cites Hatam Sofer H. M., 163 who notes that the titles “*moreinu*” and “*Haver*” lack any talmudic origins and are later constructs of tenuous halakhic basis serving communal purposes.

[15] HM 3102 photo 811, folio 168b (for date Heshvan 5412-1651 and participants), photo 813 folio 169b decision 74 (for the decision).

ליל מש"ק ליל ראשון של ר"ח חשון התי"ב

הושמה פארטי מצד מעכ"ה שמכאן ולהבא לא יוכלו לתת סמיכה מחברות לשום אחד שאינו נשוי אשר לא יהיה מבן חמשה ועשרים שנה ומחמש ועשרים שנה ולמעלה ואם נשוי אשה יוכלו לתת סמיכה לו מחברות אם יהיה מבן עשרים שנה ומעשרים שנה ולמעלה, ולא יוכלו לתת סמיכה מרבנות לשום אחד אם לא יהיה מבן שלשים שנה ומשלשים שנה ולמעלה, ועל שאר מהפארטי על זה התקפה ובגבורתה תעמוד, ולא יוכלו לכשל פארטי זו אם לא יהיה נועד כל נועדי הקק"י חוץ משנים ושתשאר ע"פ שלשה רביעים מאשר ימצאו אז בועד. ונשאר ע"פ י"ז הן ח' לאו

[16] The famous case of the non-Jew who received rabbinic ordination, was actually a *Haver* degree. See Shimon Steinmetz, “On non-Jews with rabbinic ordination, real and imagined: some notes on Dr. Leiman’s post on Tychsen,” *On the Main-line Blog* (September 20, 2011), [here](#).

[17] Taussig, 214-215.

[18] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photos 49-50, folios 21b-22a.

[19] For a brief bio and bibliography, see Salah n. 585, Benayahu, Avraham miZante 112-117, M and M, n. 133.

[20] Meir Benayahu, “Avraham HaKohen of Zante and the Group of Doctor-Poets in Padua” (Hebrew), *Ha-Sifrut* 26 (1978), 108-140.

[21] See E. Reichman, “How Jews of Yesteryear Celebrated Graduation from Medical School: Congratulatory Poems for Jewish Medical Graduates in the 17th and 18th Centuries—An Unrecognized Genre,” *Seforim Blog* (<https://seforimblog.com>), May 29, 2022.

[22] CO. V. 285, c. 123 r. See M and M n. 133. I thank Filippo Valle for this photograph.

[23] The text begins with the word, “*bayom*,” “on the day of.” Some *Haver* degrees were granted in the daytime, “*bayom*,” as is the case here, while others were bestowed in an evening ceremony and begin with the words, “*baleilah hazeh*.”

[24] Here is my transcription of this section:



וכל שכן כאשר באזנינו שמענו כלם כי בפרט היום דוקא ובעצם היום הזה עתיד הוא על פלא חריפא לקבל מאת מע' החכמים מתא שלא מבני עמינו הללווריה הגדולה הנהוגה ליתן לכל החכמים עד שבקהל רופאים היום ינוח ויען שבין כך ובין כרהיו מעלתיהם כלם נושאים ונותנים לתת לו כבוד והדר בכתרה של תורה בפתע פתאום כל ברמה נשמע אח"כ קול המולה גדולה בקלא דלא פסיק מכל פינה ופינה ברחוב העיר מחצוצרות וקול שופר בנבל וכנור מקול גדול ולא יסף נדעזעו כלם והריעו ותקעו כל העם בכל רם חזק מאד ובפרט המון עם יחי החכם שלמה יחי החכם שלמה והעם ומרעים ומרננים אחריהם ומחללים בחליליהם ובשמחה גדולה ותבקע הארץ לקולם וישמעו גם הם ויאמרו מדוע קול הקריה הומה כזאת והביא (? והבינו והכירו) וידעו כי זו היא הבשורה שאמרו והשמחה היא שאמר הכתוב ולישרי לב שמחה וכששמעו בדבר אחר כל זה הסכימו כלם יחד באגודה א' פה א' ובשפה א' ואמרו זה היום שקוינוהו מצאנו ראינו חובה לעצמנו לתת כבוד והדר להאי צורבא מרבנן ויותר ביום זה שהוא יום חתונתו ויום שמחת לבו דהוה ליה ביומא טבא דידיה כי הפיץ מעיינות חכמתו חוצה וברחובות בחוץ תרועה (?), ואם כן לכבוד ה' ולתורתו הסכימו מעלותיהם כנף לפרוס גולתא דדהבא אצוריה דא(? גברא ויא(? גולתיה ולעטרת תפארת בסמכה וחברות הסמיכוהו והכטירוהו ויהיה מן הסמוכים לעד לעולם ככל שאר כבריאיא(? דילן עד שהלוך ילך ועלה יעלה ויגדל שמו כשם הגדולים אשל בארץ המה כי מובטחים מעלותהם וכלם כי קל חיש(? יעלה ויבא מהרה ויבצבץ ויפרח כשושנה בחכמה ובינה בע"הו כחפצם וכחפץ וכל מע' הוריו וכל אוהביו וכי"ר

[25] Shmuel Lustro, Avraham de Pase, and Yitzhak Mi-Marini.

[26] E. Reichman, "How Jews of Yesteryear Celebrated Graduation from Medical School: Congratulatory Poems for Jewish Medical Graduates in the 17th and 18th Centuries- An Unrecognized Genre," *Seforim Blog* (<https://seforimblog.com>), May 29, 2022.

[27] M and M, n. 136. Modena and Morpurgo identify him with Abram di Isaac Macchioro. For more on Macchioro, see Benayahu, *op. cit.*

[28] The Oriental and India Office Collections, Shelfmark 1978.f.3.

[29] JTS Library Ms. 9027. A copy of the poem from JTS is digitized on the NLI website NLI film no. F40082, NLI system n. 990001116080205171-1, p. 326. I thank Laura Roumani for this reference.

[30] According to Laura Roumani, the heading of the poem says that the author is the brother-in-law of Yitzhak Lustro, father of Solomon Lustro. In his note in Italian, Soave says that Yitzhak Lustro married Dolcetta, daughter of Shelomoh Heilpron. According to Soave, Shelomoh Heilpron had a son named Moshe. The author should then be Moshe Heilpron. However, there are no cross-references to prove it.

[31] Below is my transcription of the poem:

צאינה וראינה בנות ציון במלך שלמה בעטרה שנתעטר היום יום חתונתו ושמחת לבו בחתונת בשמחת התורה והחכמה כאשר יצא ביד רמה הוכתר בכתר הפילוסופיה והרפואה בחקירות ודרישות הריאה כשמו כן חכמתו וכשלמה חכם הפליא בתכונתו ה"ה החכם החבר שלמה בן גיסי כרע כאח לי המפואר והנעלה כמה"ר יצחק לוסטרו ובכן באומרים לי בית החכמות נלך שמחתי ועל ידי שיר נאמן זה אליו שלחתי אהבתי ונפשי בנפשו קשורה בתורה וקול זמרה

הנה תורת אל(?) רפואת נפש  
גבר שלמה זה בהוד עטרת  
עתה לנו הורכב בטיט ורפש  
רופא הלא נודע ברוב תפארת  
דרש וחקר כל מחופש חפש  
כחה וגם בזה ביד גוברת  
מרפא לנו או לנשמה דוררשים  
לבוא עניו(?) לא תהיו בששים

ויעלו האבר  
בין כל אשר דת כח  
גבר שלמה זה אנוש הגבר  
זרח כאש דת למו  
נודע ברוב תפארת  
עלה עלי אנשי מרומי קדת  
השיב לכל שואל אשר קרהו  
שם חק ומשפט לו ושם נסהו

[32] See Benayahu.

[33] The Oriental and India Office Collections, Shelfmark 1978.f.3. I thank Dr. Ilana Tahan for her assistance in identifying the location of this poem.

[34] See Edward Reichman, "Restoring the Luster of Solomon Lustro: Newly identified Congratulatory poems," Forthcoming.

[35] Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Ms. 843, Catalogue Lutzki (L 710 Adler), Elkan Nathan Ms. 987, National Library of Israel System n. 990001130520205171. The manuscript is a miscellany of the writings of Solomon (Shlomo) Marini, including drafts and seed ideas for his sermons, among other items.

[36] Edward Reichman, "The Discovery of a Long Lost *Ḥaver*": A Previously Unknown *Ḥaver* diploma granted by Rabbi Solomon b. Isaac Marini (1594-1670) to a Medical Graduate of the University of Padua," Korothe, in press.

[37] M and M, n. 11.

[38] S. Simonsohn, *Zikne Yehuda* (Mosad HaRav Kook: Jerusalem, 5716), 48. Simonsohn mentions the *Ḥaver* degree but does not provide a reference.

[39] See Edward Reichman, "Congratulatory Poems for Jewish Medical Graduates of the University of Padua in the 17th and 18th Centuries," forthcoming.

[40] For the role of Jewish medical graduates of the University of Padua in the Plague of 1631, see Edward Reichman, "From Graduation to Contagion," *Lehrhaus* (thelehrhaus.com),

September 8, 2020.

[41] For the full Latin text of Morpurg's diploma, see, Majer Balaban, *Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu 1304-1868* (History of Jews in Kraków and Kazimierz), vol. I (Kraków, 1931), 560. I thank Dr. Andrew Zalusky for this reference, and for the additional information on David Morpurg's practice in Krakow.

[42] N. M. Gelber, "History of Jewish Physicians in Poland in the 18th Century," (Hebrew) in Y. Tirosh, ed., *Shai li-Yeshayahu* (Center for Culture of Poel ha-Mizrachi: Tel Aviv, 5716), 347-371, esp. 350.

[43] M and M, 31.

[44] M and M, n. 100. On Marini, see M. Benayahu, "Rabbi Avraham Ha-Kohen Mi-Zante U-Lahakat Ha-Rof 'im Ha-Meshorerim Be-Padova," *Ha-Sifrut* 26 (1978): 108-40, esp. 110-111.

[45] Minute Books of the Council of the Jewish Community of Padua (years 1651-1692), Folio 262v. HM-3104 NLI 990041779800205171.

[46] I thank Laura Roumani for this information.

[47] See Laura Roumani, "Le *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio nella traduzione ebraica di Shabtai Hayyim Marini di Padova" [Ovid's *Metamorphoses* translated into Hebrew by Shabtai Hayyim Marini from Padua] (PhD diss., University of Turin, 1992). See also L. Roumani, "The Legend of Daphne and Apollo in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Translated into Hebrew by Shabtai Hayyim Marini" [in Italian], *Henoch* (Turin University) 13 (1991): 319-335.

[48] Modena and Morpurgo, as well as the Jewish Encyclopedia (entry on Solomon Marini) claim that Shabtai Marini (1594-1685), Solomon's brother, was a physician, though the university does not have record of his attendance. The Haver discussed here is a later Shabtai Hayyim Marini and graduated Padua in 1685. Solomon's brother Shabtai Marini (1594-1685) may have been Shabtai Hayyim's grandfather.

[49] M and M, n. 121.

[50] Benayahu, 109.

[51] See Benayahu, "Avraham mi-Zante," *op. cit.* On this author and poem, see especially, 115, 124-125.

[52] Sacerdote was 47 years old at the time of this portrait. See also, Salah, *op. cit.*, p. 156-157, n. 227.

[53] JTS Library, Ms. 9027 V5:6.

[54] M and M, n. 133.

[55] For a bio of Rabeni, see Salah, n. 817; Francesca Bregoli, Biblical Poetry, Spinozist Hermeneutics, and Critical Scholarship: The polemical activities of Raffaele Rabeni in early eighteenth-century Italy," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8:2 (2009), 173-198. The biographical information below derives from these sources.

[56] M and M, n. 128

[57] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 55, folio 24b.

[58] Bregoli, 175. On Conegliano and his school, see S. Kotttek "Tuviya Cohen in Context," in Kenneth Collins and Samuel Kotttek, eds., *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); Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery* (cit. n.



3), 111–113. For more on the Conegliano family, see D. Kaufmann, *Dr. Israel Conigliano* (Budapest: Adolf Alkalay, 1895).

[59] See Bregoli.

[60] S. D. Luzzatto, "Correspondence between C. Theophile Unger and Isaac Hayyim Cantarini," (Hebrew) in Y. Blumenfeld, *Otzar Nehmad* 3 (Vienna, 1860), 128-149, esp, 128-131. See also Bregoli, *op. cit.*, 175.

[61] See Salah, *op. cit.*, n. 817.

[63] For example, see the community archive entry for the rabbinic ordination of Shabtai Marini mentioned above.

[63] M and M, n. 131.

[64] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 55, folio 25b.

Below is the transcription of the text:

ליל שלמחרתנו יום ד' י"ו כסליו התנ"ט

להרבות תורה ולהגדיל תושיה עדות ה' נאמנה לכתם אופיו לא תסולה מפז ומפנינים יקרה נתוועדו מעל' הרבנים והפרנסים יע"א ובתוכם מע"א אהרון הכהן במקום נכנס מעלה והכתירו בכתר חברות התורה עץ חיים היא למחזיקים בה מע" הרופא יוסף פואה ומע" אליעזר מורדו מקורפו הבירה ובמקום שאמרו להתר התירו המצוה שמכאן ולהבא בכל דבר שבקדושה בשם חבר יהיה כל אחד מהם נקרא ולחבר באחדות גמורה אהל למודי התורה בזה דבר למחיה לא יבצר משמה ויעלם על רום המרכבה

כמהר"ר שמעון היילפרון, הרופא יצחק חי כהן מהחזנים, שמואל דוד אוטולינגי רבני עיר הזאת המהוללה

מע" כ"מ יצחק לוסטרו, גבריאל לאונציני, משולם היילפרון פרנסים

אהרון כ"ץ במקום נכנס

[65] See Nathan Koren, *Jewish Physicians: A Biographical Index* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1973), 49.

[66] M and M, n. 135.

[67] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 69, folio 31b

[68] This copy is from the Valmadonna Trust, now in the NLI n. 990040718570205171.

[69] *Chirurgia pratica accomodata all'uso scolaresco* dedicata all'illustrissimo signor Antonio Vallisnieri ... dal dottor Angelo q. Grassin Cantarini (Padova, 1715) There is a copy in the British Library, Identifier: System number: 001490104 Shelfmark(s): General Reference Collection 7482.g.25. UIN: BLL01001490104. This may be the only copy.

[70] See Bregoli, *op. cit.*, 175 and 190 (n. 19).

[71] See Modena-Morpurgo, n. 136.

[72] From HM-3109, Minute book of the council of Padova (years 1692-1710).

HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 17-18, folio 6a-6b.

[73] M and M, n. 138.

[74] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 69, folio 32b.

[75] M and M, n. 137.

[76] JTS Library Ms. 9027 V5:22.

[77] M and M, n. 139.

[78] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 69, folio 32b.

[79] I thank Laura Roumani for this information.

[80] M and M, n. 141.

[8] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 55, folio 25b.

[82] See M and M, nos. 141, 213, 219, 220, 228, and 278.

[83] N. Y. ha-Kohen, *Otsar ha-Gedolim Alufe Ya'akov* (Haifa, n.d.), 188, paragraph 673.

[84] See also Steinschneider's *Hebräische Bibliographie* 21 (1881): 118 regarding the composition of a *piyut* (either by De Mordis or in his honor) with the acrostic Eliezer (in Hebrew). The text of one of the poems mentioned here, as well as additional acrostic poems by and for De Mordis, can be found in S. Bernstein, *Piyutim u-Paitanim Ḥadashim me-ha-Tequfa ha-Bizantinī* (collected from manuscripts of the *maḥzor* according to the custom of Corfu) (Jerusalem, 5701), 58, 59, and 71.

[85] This volume is housed in the Braginsky Collection BCB n. 67 (available online at the [Braginskcollection.com](http://Braginskcollection.com)). I thank Sharon Liberman Mintz for this reference.

[86] See Daniel Tirney, "*Ikare ha-dalet tet*" (the Hebrew letters correspond to the initials of the author), *O. H.*, n. 4, p. 12. For more on De Mordo and this musical controversy, see S. Simonsohn, "Some Disputes on Music in the Synagogue in Pre-Reform Days," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 34 (1966), 99-110, esp. notes 31 and 53. I thank Sharon Liberman Mintz for this reference.

[87] See M. Benayahu, *Ha-Yahasim she-ben Yehude Yavan li-Yehude Italya* (Tel Aviv: *Ha-Makhon le-Heker ha-Tefutsot*, 5740), 283. There is additional information on De Mordis and his other family members in Salah, *Le Republique des Lettres* (cit. n. 27), 437–438.

[88] M and M, n. 147.

[89] HM 3109 NLI 990041779830205171 photo 61, folio 27b.

[90] For more on Morpurgo, see, Edward Reichman, "The Illustrated Life of an Illustrious Renaissance Jew: Rabbi Dr. Shimshon Morpurgo (1681-1740)," *Seforim Blog* (<https://seforimblog.com>), June 22, 2021.

[91] M and M, n. 184.

[92] *Archivio della Comunità Ebraica di Padova*, no. 13, p. 213. It was published in RMI 20 (1954), pp. 499-503 by Paolo Nissim.

[93] See Debra Glasberg Gail, *Scientific Authority and Jewish Law in Early Modern Italy*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University (2016), 127.

[94] On Navarra, see Cecil Roth, "Rabbi Menahem Navarra: His Life and Time 1717-1777. A Chapter in the History of the Jews of Verona," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 15:4 (April, 1925), 427-466.

[95] M and M, n. 241.

[96] See Navarra's circumcision ledger (1745-1783) at NLI system n. 990001857430205171. The original ledger is housed in the University of Leeds in the Cecil Roth Collection (MS Roth/208). The children of Basilea are listed at numbers 41 and 91, and the children of Ferrarese at numbers 116, 130 and 148.

[97] M and M, n. 267.

[98] Avraham ben Yaakov, Yerushalayim bein haHomot (Megilat Yuhsin), p. 367

[99] Tajan Judaica Auction House, June 27, 2006 (Paris).

[100] JTS Library Ms. 9027 V5:25.

[101] NLI, n. 990002098760205171, p. 33. I thank Laura Roumani for this reference and Dorit Gani of the NLI for her assistance in procuring a copy.

[102] M and M, n. 274.

[103] Otzar Yehudei Sefarad: Toldot Am Yisrael, p. 41.

[104] The following description appears in the Columbia University catalogue: Two diplomas for Menaḥem ben Natan Azar 1. Doctoral Diploma (September 28, 1778) for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine of Menachem (Mandolino) Ben Natan Azzar from the University of Padova, "under Venetian authority," with three signers. The main signer is Leopoldus Marcus Antonius Caldani Bononiensis (4 leaves, illuminated) — 2. Surgeon Diploma (April 1, 1761) of Menachem di Natan Azzar from the Colleges of Padua and Venice with four signers on behalf of the Venetian "Proveditor General," Francesco Grimani (1 leaf).

