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A JEWISH PHYSICIAN AT THE COURT OF MARIE DE MEDICIS
AND LOUIS XIII

BY

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A Jewish Physician at the Court of Marie de Medicis and Louis XIII

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The selection of one of the large number of Jewish court physicians as the subject for this essay must be justified on grounds other than his official position. Such are abundant, for Montalto was a many-sided personage. He was a Marrano, a descendant of those Jews in Spain and Portugal who were forced to accept Christian baptism, but who secretly preserved loyalty to their ancient faith. He was called to the French Court at a period when Jews had been exiled from France for two centuries; he came with his family to Paris as the only professing Jewish household; he was a man learned in Jewish lore; he vigorously espoused his religious convictions at a time when *autos-da-fé* were burning in his native country, and when there were few places of safe refuge in the world; Montalto not only wrote on religious subjects, but was likewise the author of medical works; even after his death, his name figured largely in the *cause célèbre* which ended in the execution of the Queen's favorite. If further reason is required, it is furnished by the fact that Montalto's name is not mentioned in any of the well-known modern encyclopedias of medical biography.¹

Montalto was born in Castel-Branco in Portugal in the second half of the 16th century. He was christened Felipe Rodriguez, but his Jewish name was Eliau (Elijah), and the family name was de Luna Montalto.² Accepted into the Jewish community in Italy he

* Presented at a meeting of the Osler Historical Society, November 20, 1934.

¹ One seeks in vain in Eloy's *Dictionnaire Historique de la Médecine* (Frankfort and Paris, 1756), Bayle and Thillaye's *Biographie médicale* (Paris, 1855), or in Hirsch's *Lexikon*, editions of 1884 and 1929. His name is not even found in *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1886-1902), nor in Minville's *La Médecine au Temps d'Henri IV* (Paris, 1904); Levi-Valensi, *La Médecins Français aux XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1933), makes no mention of Montalto. In Eloy's *Dictionnaire* of 1778, there is mention of Montalto's two works. Another, Hieronymus Montalto, author of *de Homine sano* (Frankfort, 1591), is also referred to, but without biographical notes.

² Different given names, vernacular and Hebrew are common in Jewish life. But in the case of the Marranos, different surnames were sometimes a necessary

changed Felipe to Philotheus — the “lover of the horse” to the “lover of God!”³ Nothing is known of the early part of his life, except that he studied medicine at Salamanca, and married Jeronima (Rachel) da Fonseca, of a family distinguished for its many and well-known physicians. Rachel’s father and her grandfather were both physicians; the father, Lopo da Fonseca, was physician to Queen Catherine of Portugal; the grandfather, Manuel, likewise a physician, was one of the many victims of forced conversion in 1497. Related to his wife were many Marranos of distinction. Thus his wife’s sister, Marie, was the wife of the physician, Jeronimo Nenez Ramirez of Lisbon, brother of Francisco de Vitoria, Archbishop of Mexico.⁴

There were five children born to Montalto, twins that died in infancy, then Raphael, Isaac⁵ and Moses, later a physician in Poland, who may have been the Dr. de Luna who was physician to Prinz Stanislas.⁶

We need not search for the reasons which led Montalto to leave Portugal. It will be remembered that Portugal was conquered in 1580 by Spain, and remained subject to Spain for more than half a century. The Inquisition which had been introduced in Portugal in 1531, was but intensified by Philip II, the Spanish conqueror, and by his successor.⁷ But it was not without difficulty for the “Neo-

precaution of safety after leaving the peninsula, against identification by the Inquisition.

³ It has been stated that Montalto was a younger brother of Amatus Lusitanus whose name at christening was Juan Rodrigo. Kayserling accepts this statement from the biographic sketch of Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 1747, II, p. 75. Montalto may have been related, but hardly a brother for Amatus was born in 1511, and allowing a difference of age of 25 years, would have found Montalto at the age of 76 at the time of his appointment at the Court of Marie in 1612!

⁴ Cecil Roth, *Revue d'études des juives*, 1933, Vol. 94, p. 116. [Other distinguished members of the de Luna family were Beatrice, later known as Dña Grazia Mendes, the aunt of Joseph, Duke of Naxos, portrayed in Lewisohn’s Last Days of Shylock (see Roth, Marranos, 202-207 and elsewhere) and Dña Murica whose life was sacrificed by the Inquisition in Mexico in 1664 (Roth, Marranos, p. 280).]

⁵ He republished in Amsterdam in 1637, a Hebrew work of Solomon ben Jacob Almoli, a 16th century physician, on the interpretation of dreams.

⁶ See Roth, *Rev. étud. juiv.*, Vol. 94, p. 118.

⁷ Roth, *History of Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 83.

Christians” to leave Portugal. . . . “A decree was published in 1499 forbidding any *New Christian* to leave the country without special license. . . .” At various times this rule was relaxed, and again restored with vigor. “It was suspended in 1577, but reënacted again in 1580 and 1587. In 1601, on the payment of an enormous bribe of 200,000 ducats to Philip III, the prohibition was removed, the King promising that it would never again be enforced. This ‘irrevocable’ permission was canceled in 1610.”⁸ We do not know when Montalto left Portugal. We are told that he was in Livorno (Leghorn) in 1599. . . . This is based upon the account of his meeting a Marrano youth, Paul de Pina, who was passing through Livorno on his way to Rome to enter Holy Orders. The latter brought a letter dated Lisbon, April 3, 1599,⁹ from a relative asking Montalto to “direct him to the good road” which Montalto understood and carried out, — namely leading him back to Judaism.

We know nothing of the length of Montalto’s stay in Livorno, nor of his whereabouts until 1606. In November of this year, in Florence, he published his work, *Optica*, and in the introduction he states his having sojourned for a short time in Paris where he first met the “sublime branch of the noble family of Medicis,” Queen Marie; there he was “completely overwhelmed by the favors and honors bestowed upon him” by her majesty. From here, he was called to Etruria and the impression is definite that his coming to Florence was recent.

Montalto’s visit to Paris must have been later than his sojourn in Livorno for Queen Marie did not land in France until 1600. We learn certain facts concerning this visit from the evidence given in the trial of Léonora Galigai in 1617, concerning which we shall have more to tell later. The defendant testified that Montalto was in medical attendance at the Court “three or four years before the death of Henry IV”¹⁰ (which took place May 10, 1610), which

⁸ Roth, *Marranos*, p. 196.

⁹ Kayserling, Sephardim, *Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien* (Berlin, 1859), p. 176; Roth, *Rev. étud. juiv.*, 1933, p. 116.

¹⁰ A misprint of long ago has led to serious confusion concerning the time when Montalto was first called in for medical service at the French court. Maquet (Arnould and du Pasgal, *Histoire de la Bastille*, 1844) states that Galigai testified that Montalto had treated and cured her *three or four months* before the

would accord with the assumption that it was in 1606. Another witness, it is true, gave the year of 1607, but such an error is easily possible after the passage of ten years. Both witnesses testified that Montalto was passing through Paris on his journey to Italy; according to Léonore "from Portugal to Florence"; the other states "from Flanders." This discrepancy is more apparent than real for it was easier then to leave Portugal for the Netherlands than for other countries. It was during this journey through Paris — according to further testimony of Léonora Galigai, that "at the advice of her friends and her physicians, she had him presented to her; that she was cured of her suffering; that she was pleased, (*enchantée*), that she wished to retain him in France, but that Henry IV objected because of (Montalto's) religion."¹¹ Queen Marie's attitude appears to have been more friendly as mentioned above. It is evident that Montalto must even at that period have acquired wide reputation as a physician.

It is possible that another interesting event took place during this visit of Montalto to Paris. A seventeenth century Spanish Jewish writer in an apologetic Ms. gives an account of a public disputation held at the command of Henry IV in which Montalto presented the defense of Judaism.¹² This statement, however, has not been corroborated and is rendered doubtful by evidence given at the trial of Léonora Galigai that at the time of his first stay in Paris Montalto did not profess that he was a Jew.¹³

From Paris, Montalto proceeded to Florence, and there the Grand Duke, Ferdinand I (1549-1609), uncle of Queen Marie, and successor to her father, Francesco, secured his medical service. This

King's death. Kayserling (*Biblioteca Espanola-Portuguesa-Judaica* [Strasbourg, 1890], p. 72) and Roth (*Rev. étud. juiv.*, 1929, p. 138, note 4) accept this, and others do likewise. M. Louis Batiffol, the author of *La Vie intime d'une Reine de France au XVII^e Siècle, Marie de Médicis*, has kindly furnished me with the facts, based upon the original Ms. "Collection des Cinq Cents Colbert" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Other references to these sources are based upon the letter of M. Batiffol.

¹¹ *Collection des Cinq Cents Colbert*, 221, fol. 412 r.

¹² Danielillo, *Razonamiento del señor Haham Montalto en Paris*, see Kayserling, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1868, Vol. 17, p. 321.

¹³ Fernand Hayem, *Le Maréchal d'Ancre et Léonora Galigai* (Paris, 1910).

prince had shown favorable disposition toward Jewish settlers in Livorno, émigrés from Spain and Portugal, by granting them autonomous rights for their community. In the dedication of his *Optica*, Montalto writes in admiration of the great works of the Duke in Livorno. The Grand Duke invited Montalto to the Chair of Medicine at Pisa, left vacant by the death of Mercurialis.¹⁴ It is stated that Montalto declined the professorship, fearing that it would interfere with his religious practices. From the dedicatory letter to the *Optica*, we learn that it was proposed that he go to Rome to teach at the University and "it was only that I might obey the command" of the Duke "and show my love to serve him that I undertook to teach Philosophy in the . . . Academy in Pisa. . . ." We shall revert to this subject later.

Montalto dedicated his work *Optica* (1606) to Cosimo II who three years later was to succeed his father as Grand Duke. There is a touching line in the dedication in which he seeks the ducal "protection through which he may escape the envious bites of the ill-willed who often rise up against the noblest attempts of mortal man . . ."

While in Florence, Montalto devoted himself to the study of Judaism and Jewish law under the tutorship of Daniel Franco. The latter, soon after his return to Portugal, was burnt at the stake in Evora in 1608 for "Judaizing."

The next few years were spent in Italy, — in different cities, finally in Venice. It was there that he formally avowed Judaism. That this took place after 1606 is indicated in his *Optica*, which still bears his name as Philippus. It was during his sojourn in Venice that he wrote a series of letters, with religious content (not holographic), which have been published by Roth; they are dated August 1611 to May 1612.¹⁵ He was requested in Venice to engage in a disputation with a Dominican monk from Spain on matters pertaining to the Jewish religion. As the Dominican had to resume his journey, Montalto agreed to conduct it by correspondence, the particular subject being the interpretation of Isaiah, chapter 53. It

¹⁴ See citation of Lancre below.

¹⁵ *Revue étud. juiv.*, 1929, p. 137.

was in this connection that he wrote his *Tratado* consisting of three parts and written in Portuguese.¹⁶

An incident occurred in Venice which is related by a contemporary and witness, the well known author R. Leon of Modena. He writes that while he was yet in Venice, "... the great scholar and physician R. Elijah (Montalto) was confined to his bed with a serious illness. Many of us, learned in the Law, went to visit him, as he was a modest man who did not keep himself aloof from people for all his great learning.

While we were there, Rabbi Galanti who had arrived from the land of Israel began to tell of the wonders and miracles performed by the 'Ari.'¹⁷ When he (Galanti) had been speaking for some time, the physician (Montalto) sat up in his bed and began to cry out in a loud voice. We did not know what had happened to him, and we thought perhaps he had been seized by pains due to his illness. In his crying out, he spoke in Spanish: 'I cannot keep quiet and endure this,—it is all lies and falsehood. . . . Either he (Luria) is a sorcerer or all these tales are false. Do not talk to me of this any more.'¹⁸

Toward the end of this period, Queen Marie sought the return of Montalto. She wrote to the Grand Duke of Tuscany to send him, and also, to the Pope to obtain special dispensation to be treated by the Jewish physician.¹⁹ The reason given was that she had need of his services for herself and her household,—three or four of the Paris physicians having died recently.²⁰ It was then that Montalto made as a condition of his appointment that he should have full liberty to practice his religious observances. The request was granted, and Montalto proceeded to Paris. He was accompanied, according to the evidence of Galigai, by his wife and two children,²¹ and, also, by a young Jewish scholar, Saul Levi Morteiro, who later

¹⁶ Kayserling, *loc. cit.*, *Monatsbl.*, *supra*.

¹⁷ Isaac ben Solomon Luria, the founder of modern Cabala with its exaggerated mysticism, who claimed to be the forerunner of the Messiah.

¹⁸ Leo of Modena, in *Ari Nohem*, p. 66. This book was completed in 1638. It was republished Leipzig, 1840.

¹⁹ Colbert, fol. 209.

²⁰ Between 1605 and 1609 three Premier Medecins, La Rivieri (1605), Marescot (1606), and du Laurens (1609), and another court physician, Quercetanes (1609) had died. Minville, *La Médecine au Temps d'Henri IV* (Paris, 1904).

²¹ *Histoire de la Bastille*, IV, p. 172.

became a distinguished rabbi in Amsterdam. There is an interesting note concerning this subject in the work of Lancre,²² itself a violent attack on the "*Juifs, . . . desguisez, ou autrement*," in France. It is the more interesting because this book was published in 1622, only six years after Montalto's death. He writes:

This Montalto was a Jew by race. He had been called to France . . . because of the great reputation in which he was held of being a great and able physician,—as one can see from a letter which he wrote on the 6th of May, 1611, in which he promised to come, but upon the condition that he would not be expected to disguise or hide his (religious) profession, but to exercise freely his Jewish religion; that he had refused great proposals that had been made (to come) to (the universities of) Bologna, Messina, and Pisa;²³ even to become the successor of the great Mercurialis under the most benevolent protection of the Grand Duke Ferdinand. That he had also been offered the first chair at Padua. Adding, by which single act one can recognize his intention, namely that he would not accept any money on the day he observes, that is the Sabbath.

We know little about Montalto's mode of living in Paris. An interesting rabbinical dissertation (responsum)—long known in substance, has recently been discovered by Cecil Roth in the holographic Hebrew Ms., and has lately been published.²⁴ In this document Montalto explains—and justifies his riding on the Sabbath in a coach to his royal patients in Paris, a religious injunction. He writes:

I am feeble and ailing and my health is bad. Besides if I walk a long distance on foot, as one is forced to do in the streets of Paris (which as is well known, is a large city before the Lord), I shall become more feeble, fatigued and my health will suffer. In short I have tried it many times, and have found, that it takes all my strength. . . . It is necessary to consider the need of the sick. I am sometimes called to princes, who are the most powerful in the kingdom. It is well known that the distances are great from one home to another. Then it is impossible to visit all afoot. If, on the other hand, I fail to visit them, they will look upon me as inimical, and we know that for the love of peace our sages have permitted many things which otherwise are forbidden, when it concerns powerful gentiles. . . . And how

²² Lancre, *Incrédulité et Mescreance du Sortilège* (Paris, 1622). Photostats of this rare work were kindly furnished me by the Harvard College Library.

²³ Mendes Dos Remedios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, 1928, II, p. 211, states that Montalto was professor also in Louvain, but this is without foundation.

²⁴ *Rev. étud. juiv.*, 1933, p. 113.

much more grave is it, when it is the question of the good graces of the King, of the Queen and of the princes. I do not desire to draw in the additional argument of personal dignity, . . . what humiliation if the physician of the King and the Queen walks afoot in the streets of Paris! And besides, the streets are full of mud. It is impossible for anyone to walk without covering his clothes and his boots with dirt, as all know who have been here. And it is contemptuous to present oneself before the King with soiled clothes.

The writer has come into possession of an autograph letter of Montalto's which gives further hints concerning his medical practice. It is addressed to the Queen, Marie de Medicis.²⁵ It is reproduced in the accompanying facsimile and the translation follows:

Madame:

In order to obey your Majesty's command and to set your mind entirely at rest, I send you these few lines of news concerning the excellent condition of Madame Christina, which is in every way satisfactory, except for a very slight irregularity in the pulse and the weakness which necessarily follows such a copious and serious evacuation, which has now entirely ceased; and consequently considering the excellent outcome and the coming conjunction of the moon, it seemed to me, as well as to everyone else, that we should defer, and perhaps put a stop to (all) medicine. When the preparations had already been made to remove Monseigneur this morning to the Luxembourg,²⁶ the weather prevented it by sending us a very unpleasant and stormy day, and so it seemed wiser to wait for the first good weather, whereupon your Majesty's command will be immediately carried out. In the meantime, there is no pressing difficulty nor any danger because at the Louvre there is no illness whatever. Most humbly I kiss your Majesty's robe.

Madame:

Your most faithful vassal and most humble servant

E. (?) D. Montalto

11th day of November, 10 A. M.

This letter was probably written in 1613. Madam Christina was the daughter of Queen Marie, born in 1606, and Monsieur was the third son born in 1608, who in 1611, on the death of his older brother, became the Duc d'Orleans and was thus addressed. These documents give evidence that Montalto was the medical attendant at Court and among the nobility and both deal with the duties of his medical practice. That Montalto enjoyed the confidence of court

²⁵ This letter is to be published in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*. . . .

²⁶ Queen Marie purchased the Luxembourg estate in 1612.

Madama

per obbedire il commandam^{to} di T. Maestà, et quietare intiera^{nte} l'animo suo. fo queste poche righe di nouelle del prospero stato di Madama Christina, il quale è in tutto naturalissimo, excepto un pochissimo di alteratione nel polso, et quella debolezza, che necessaria^{nte} si seguita a una così copiosa et cattiva euacuatione, la quale h^omai è fermata affatto, et così considerato il felice seguito; et la impendente coniun^{cion} della Luna, mi ha parso, et così a tutti di differire, o forse excusare la medicina.

Fatti già i preparam^{ti} tutti per transferir questa mattina Monsignor a Luxemburg, mancò il preparam^{to} del cielo che ci mandò una asperissima e tempestuosa giornata, et così parue piu sano consiglio, aspettare fino a la prima clementia del cielo, che subito serà exequito il commandam^{to} della Maestà vostra, e in tanto non c'è occasione urgente, ne pericolo alcuno, perche neluoro non u'è malattia alcuna. inchinatissi^{mo} a terra bacia la roppe di T. M.

Madama

Questo suo fideliss^o uassallo et humillimo seruo

Axi di Novembre a dieci hore della mattina. J. L. D. Montalto.

LETTER OF MONTALTO TO QUEEN MARIE. AUTOGRAPH

circles is also confirmed by Léonora Galigai's testimony at her trial that Montalto had many patients among them, who were devoted to him.²⁷

There is a reference to Montalto's medical care of the queen in the "Lettre d'Espagne Présentée a la Royne Régente,"²⁸ as also in his letter of dedication to the queen in the "Archipathologia" of which the former is the French translation, both of which were published in Paris in 1614. "You have summoned me from Italy most generously, to assume a very high office, the care of your health and of your life, the conservation and prolongation of which, so very necessary, is passionately desired not only by valorous France, but by the whole of Europe, as well."²⁹ The favor which Montalto enjoyed at the hands of the queen has been indicated above by the effort she made to bring him back to Paris, when he had publicly avowed Judaism, by appointing him on September 19, 1612,³⁰ to the position of *Consilarius and Medicus Ordinarius*. It is to be noted that in the *Optica*, published in 1613, the official title is "Christianissimae Galliarum et Navarrae Reginae Regentis Mariae de Medices Consiliarius & cubicularis Medicus," while in the *Archipathologia*, which appeared in 1614, it is "Christianissimi Galliarum, et Navarrae Regis Ludovicus XIII, et Chr^{mae} Reginae Regentis Consiliarius, & Medicus ordinarius." On Montalto's death, it was the Queen who directed that his body be embalmed and borne to Amsterdam for burial in the Jewish cemetery, as we shall later relate.

Some interesting glimpses of his practice were revealed at the trial of Léonora Galigai, who was charged with the practice of sorcery. During the trial, the name of Montalto was frequently mentioned.

It is necessary to make brief reference to this trial, and also to the conditions that led up to it. Léonora had been brought to the Court of Florence as a playmate of Marie, when both were chil-

²⁷ Fernand Hayem, *Le Maréchal d'Ancre et Leonora Galigai* (Paris, 1910), pp. 243 to 311.

²⁸ Montalto was born in Portugal. The "Lettre d'Espagne" is explained by the fact that at this time Portugal was under Spanish sovereignty, as noted above.

²⁹ We learn that the salary awarded to him was 6000 livres.

³⁰ Colbert, 91, fol. 43 S.

dren, and from their early years became her confidante. She accompanied Marie to France when she became the queen to Henry of Navarre, and soon after she married Concino Concini. The influence of this couple over the Queen was unrivaled and after the death of the King, their power caused great resentment among the nobility. The seeds of their destruction were thus sown; aspirants to power cultivated the favor of the young king, Louis XIII. By aggravating his resentment towards his mother, and encouraging his royal ambitions, they roused him to such hatred of her two favorites that in April, 1617, Concino was assassinated by tacit agreement of the King.

To finish the task of ridding the court of the hateful Italian tyranny, it was necessary only to convict Léonora. But an attack on one who had been a partner in the schemes of the Queen Mother smacked too dangerously of lese-majesty. This was the reason that she was arrested after the assassination of Concino, and subjected to an elaborate trial on the charge of sorcery.³¹

But rarely did it happen that a charge of sorcery involved only the person in question. Usually the prisoner, while admitting the truth of the charge, was only too willing to accuse some other of

³¹ Such a charge was no novelty at that time. In the year 1574 eighty-four sorcerers had been burned in Valéry-en-Savoie; eighteen years later, Avignon, one of the most liberal cities of France was the scene of the condemnation and burning of eighteen people, charged with sorcery. For some time during the XVI century in France, the forces of inquisition and persecution had been too occupied with the extermination of the Huguenots to vie with England and Germany in repressive measures against sorcery, but after the turmoil of the civil wars of religion was over, a wave of witch-hunting spread rapidly over the country, involving the lives of hundreds of people and the sympathy of judges like Bodin, the political scientist, who in other relations, showed himself so thoughtful and temperate. The public was familiar with books written out of absolute conviction of the truth and power of diabolic intervention, and of the necessity of rigorously exterminating all who were known to have allied themselves with the devil. Such was the purport of the bull of Sixtus V, *Coeli et Terrae*; King James of England in 1597 wrote his *Daemonology* to prove the existence of demons and of witchcraft which should be punished, and similar were the works of: Bodin, *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers*, 1568; Daneau, *Dialogue of Witches*, trans. 1575; Martin del Rio, *Six Livres de Discours Magiques*, 1599; Rémy, *Démonolatrie*, 1591; Boguet, *Discours Execrables des Sorciers*, 1608; de Lancre, *L'Incrédulité et Mescreance du Sortilège*, 1615, *Tableau de l'Inconstance des Mauvaises Anges et Démon*, 1621. Even a prince, Henri de Valois, was gratuitously charged by his political enemies with sorcery (*Les Sorcelleries de Henri de Valois*, 1589).

complicity in his guilt, or even of being the instigator. Léonora, convinced of the emptiness of the charges, and cognizant perhaps of the real motives of her questioners, not only denied her own guilt, but refused to incriminate anyone else. Nevertheless, the judges succeeded, by means of the testimony of some of her own household, in charging that her accomplice was Montalto. At the end of four months, and with much intrigue, and trickery, Léonora was convicted and executed.

The collection of this evidence,³² containing the earliest public records we have of Montalto's career, belongs to the year immediately following his death, for he died in 1616 and was thus spared the ordeal to which he would have been subjected if he had been living at the time of the trial.

Léonora had suffered from ill health since her arrival in France; during the first winter she was kept abed and showed great weakness; she had "nervous crises"; *bulbus hystericus*, so severe that they feared she would choke;—she would weep and shriek. The patient would recover after long sieges. The court physicians were at their wit's ends. They could only find one explanation,—the patient was possessed by the "evil one." Priests and monks were sought who were reputed to have the divine power of driving out the "evil one" by prayers and exorcisms. Astrologers and magicians applied the art of White Magic. Periods of recovery intervened. She bore children in 1603 and 1608. It was in 1606 and she was treated and cured by Montalto.³³ Galigai testified that she had never heard Montalto spoken of as a magician; that he was "un tres galant homme," and that it was on the advice of her friends and physicians that she had had him called in to treat her (when he was in Paris in 1606). We learn from her secretary that "Sa conversation estoit bonne et agréable, qu'il estoit grand philosophe et grand médecin et qu'il n'y a rien trouvé à redire, hors sa religion."³⁴

³² This testimony, preserved in manuscript, forms a part of the *Cinq Cents Colbert*, consisting of a vast collection of documents of great diversity in copy or in the original; they are found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³³ An extensive account of Léonora Galigai's illness and treatment has been published by Fernand Hayem in *Le Maréchal d'Ancre et Léonora Galigai* (Paris, 1910), and in "Les Médecins de Léonora Galigai," *Revue de Paris*, February, 1910, p. 849.

³⁴ Colbert, fol. 412.

Another testified that Montalto was hated by all the domestics of Léonora because "he kept her in seclusion, engrossed her attention and put all sorts of fantasies into her head; he had great power over her spirit." After her recovery at his hands in 1606 she was so pleased that she desired that he remain in France, but King Henry, as noted above, did not permit it because of his religion.³⁵ That Léonora held him in high esteem was shown by her intense grief at his death,³⁶ and her generous gifts to his widow and children for their journey to Amsterdam.

Now the actual treatment which Léonora followed and from which she derived greater benefit than she did from that of any of her other physicians, consisted of a very simple regimen: a diet (fasting and abstinence), calm and utter solitude, withdrawal from her husband for forty days, "a few ordinary physics" taken three or four times a week, and finally, a prayer and almsgiving. There was nothing in the recommendation of this prescription or in its observation that would involve recourse to any of the black arts.³⁷

It would serve no purpose to cite the evidence brought out at the trial to prove that Montalto was interested in "black art." The most damaging was the discovery in the Concino home of a few Hebrew works that belonged to Montalto. The books were the *Arba Turim*, of Rabbi Jacob ben Asher, a condensed codification of all Jewish religious laws, first published in 1475, "the most popular (Hebrew) work printed in the fifteenth century" in several incunabula editions and the other was the well-known *Synagoga Judaica* of Buxtorf which had appeared only a few years before. Neither of these works are even cabalistic; we have indicated above Montalto's abhorrence of such magic and sorcery. Furthermore, Philippe d'Aquin (Mardochee Cresque, before his conversion to Christianity, a noted

³⁵ Colbert, 221, fol. 208.

³⁶ Colbert, 221, fol. 378.

³⁷ In September 1616 the Maréchal sent to Amsterdam to seek the son and learn the secret of his father's treatment. He answered "fasts and prayers, charity and abstinence" (not even to consort with one's wife for 40 days), and a few days later he again sent to the son offering a large sum of money to seek another Jew who knew remedies for sorcery (Hayem, *Le Maréchal*, p. 271). The son answered that they were honest and honorable folk and that he had better go to Italy for such people charlatans, who are deceiving the world.

scholar and professor of the Hebrew language at the University of Paris) testified at the trial that Montalto had conferred with him about the *Sepher Yezira* ("The Book of Creation," a cabalistic work), and had convinced him that Montalto was not versed in the Cabala.

From the varied references to Montalto's treatment of Léonora, we get the impression of a modern physician who has learned the value of rest-treatment, of regulation of physical functions and of suggestion, applying the biblical dictum, "the tongue of the wise is healing" (*Prov.* 12: 18). As also indicated in the autograph letter of Montalto, his treatment was that of a sensible physician who does not believe in excessive medication. Nor must we overlook the fact that in his day, astrology was still regarded universally as a science. Such a note as that concerning the conjunction of the moon, strikes us as strange only when we forget that it was written early in the seventeenth century.³⁸ But the most important evidence concerning Montalto's views on Demonology is at hand and was at hand at the time of Léonora Galigai's trial, though not once referred to or mentioned. It was but three years before that Montalto's work *Archipathologia*, dedicated to the Queen, had been published in Paris. In this work (p. 247) he devotes a chapter to

WHETHER MELANCHOLIC INSANITY MAY BE CAUSED BY EVIL DEMONS.

There are some reputable authors, among them al Zahravi, who are of the opinion that the probable cause of melancholic insanity is the evil Demon, urged to take this view because of what they had allegedly seen; some base their views on the statements of persons who though somewhat learned in philosophy, poetry, and the mechanical arts, were not learned scholars. Whether these miraculous happenings, if they are true, are to be ascribed to the Devil or to a natural cause, we shall discuss below, in the section on symptoms. (p. 248). Avicenna does not believe that it is the physician's affair to investigate whether melancholic insanity has anything to do with the Devil, and, therefore, he leaves these matters indefinite. But he distinctly states that if someone was made insane by an evil Demon, it can only have been one (suffering) with the melancholy humor and then because of some unbearable experience.

My own opinion is that there have always been such unfortunates, formerly

³⁸ In the "Lettre d'Espagne," Montalto describes the constellations of Queen Marie's horoscope as of a favorable figure and disposition of heaven.

and now, suffering from evil spirits which may be punishment sent and sanctioned by the just judgment of the Most Holy God. Since the cure of such cases is beyond medical power, the physician may properly rely on supernatural help.

In the section on symptoms, Montalto writes even more definitely:³⁹

There are references to miraculous happenings in melancholia — hard to believe — (*vix credibilia*) alleged to have been experienced by some untrained artists, philosophers, astronomers, and poets, while mentally disturbed, and what is still more remarkable, soothsayers, especially through dreams. Supposing that these were true, it should not be attributed to the Devil, as some do, who imagine that such insanity is caused by his direct injurious influence, but on the contrary, it is to be explained by the peculiar nature of the melancholy humor, its quantity and quality, associated with the temperament of the subject. This was evidently also the view of Aristotle.

He then cites the accounts of Aristotle and of Aretaeus as supporting his views.

These quotations give the evidence that Montalto regarded melancholia as a disease due to disturbed organic conditions and that his views were as far removed from the arts of white and black magic as those of the medical profession of our own day.

It is not the purpose of this essay to do more than make mention of Montalto's deeply religious nature and his profound interest in Jewish religious studies, for it is this aspect of his life especially which has been dealt with in Jewish literature.⁴⁰ His most important religious writing is his treatise on Isaiah, Chapter 53, mentioned above.

From the vantage point of his court position in Paris, Montalto was able to exert rather significant influence on the fortunes of some of his people who lacked the consideration which Montalto happened to enjoy. On two distinct occasions he is supposed to have used that influence to mitigate the disasters which were about to overwhelm a group of "juifs déguisés":

Lancre, who had shown himself so bitter toward all brands of heretics, and who, in 1615, was a member of the Parliament of

³⁹ Pp. 297-298.

⁴⁰ Most interesting and illuminating accounts will be found in the recent publications of Cecil Roth, *Rev. étud. juiv.*, 1929, p. 137; 1933, p. 113, previously cited.

Bordeaux, made vigorous efforts to destroy the colony of Marranos who had established themselves in that city.⁴¹ It is believed that it was through Montalto's intervention that the attempt failed. In the same year, after the discovery in Paris of a group of Marranos practising the rites of the Passover, a decree was issued ordering their departure within a month, upon pain of death. In this affair Montalto's influence was successful, for the decree was not put into effect.⁴² Montalto may likewise have been the one who aided the Marrano community in Rouen in similar difficulties in 1613.⁴³ In view of his strong religious convictions, it is interesting to learn that Queen Marie made efforts to secure his conversion, through Cardinal Duperron. They were futile, but evidence the great concern which she felt for his spiritual welfare.

As already mentioned, Montalto died while accompanying the royal family to celebrate the marriage in Bordeaux of King Louis and Princess Anne, Infanta of Spain and of Louis' sister Elizabeth to Philip IV of Spain. During the return journey they reached Tours at the end of January 1616 and remained there during February.⁴⁴ Here Montalto died on February 19th, after a very short illness. Dr. Alvarez, another Portuguese physician,⁴⁵ then in Paris, received letters asking him to go to Tours, Montalto being very sick; he left with the post but arrived two days after Montalto had died.⁴⁶ We do not know the nature of the illness. It is not without interest, however, to learn that there was a severe epidemic raging at that time in this part of France and "that many distinguished persons

⁴¹ Lancre, *L'Incrédulité et Mescreance du Sortilège* (Paris, 1622), pp. 488, 489.

⁴² Lancre, *loc. cit.*, and Dubnow, vol. VI, pp. 420-423.

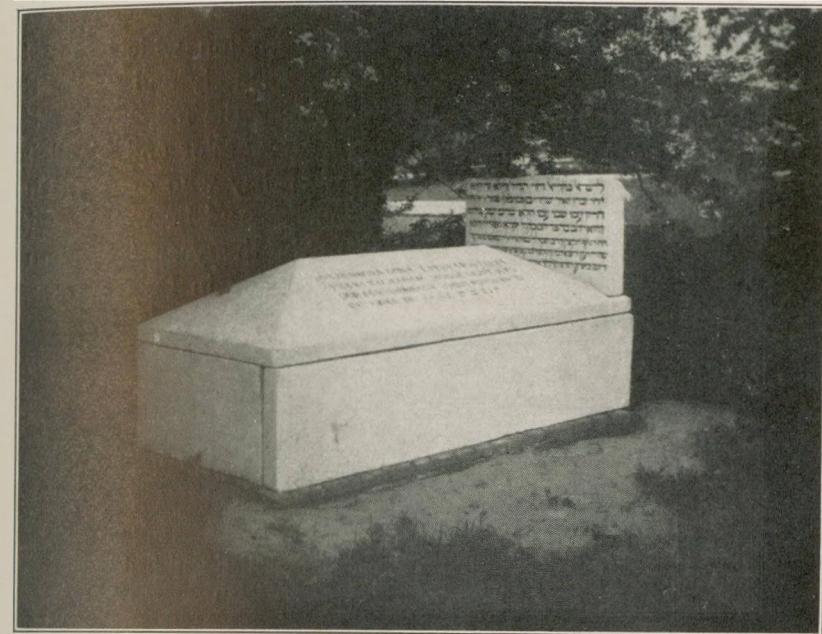
⁴³ Roth, *Rev. étud juiv.*, 1933, p. 117.

⁴⁴ *Journal de Jean Heroard sur l'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Louis XII*. Extraits des manuscrits originaux et public par Soulie et de Barthelemy (Paris, 1868).

⁴⁵ Batiffol (*La Vie intime*, p. 71) states that Montalto was not the only Jewish physician at the court and that Francois Alvarez was appointed physician-in-ordinary and called upon to treat Léonora. At the trial, she testified that she always regarded Alvarez as a Christian, and that he was not a "royal physician or her own, but one like all others" (Hayem, *Le Maréchal*, p. 274). Another witness testified that there was rumor that he was a Jew (Hayem, *Le Maréchal*, p. 253). He was probably a member of the Spanish Jewish family Alvarez, distinguished for its scholars and martyrs (*Jew. Encyclopedia*, art. "Alvarez").

⁴⁶ Hayem, *Le Maréchal*, p. 302.

died of it";⁴⁷ Lancre makes the statement that Montalto died of the plague.⁴⁸ By order of the queen, the body was embalmed and taken to Amsterdam for Jewish burial, for there was then no Jewish cemetery in France. Joshua de Luna, a nephew, and Saul Levi Morteiro⁴⁹ accompanied it. The Jewish community of Amsterdam



GRAVE OF MONTALTO

had with great effort succeeded in obtaining permission to purchase land for a cemetery at Ouderkerk in April 1614.⁵⁰ Here Montalto's tomb is still to be found. Five lines of the Hebrew epitaph form an acrostic on the name *Eliau*, but the first line has been destroyed. The following is a translation:⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires relatifs a Histoire de France*, edited by Michaud and Poujoulat (Paris, 1857), vol. XIX, p. 361.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 489.

⁴⁹ Morteiro remained in Amsterdam, as a Rabbi of the Portuguese Congregation and played an important part in the life of that community.

⁵⁰ One of those most active in this undertaking was Paul de Pina, mentioned above, whom Montalto had shown "the good road."

⁵¹ I am indebted to Dr. Louis L. Kaplan, of Baltimore, for this translation.

He was to Israel like the mountain of God and a lofty mountain,⁵² such was he.
 May his memory and the light of his star live on. When he was spoken of as the glory of his generation,
 Was it only his people who honored his name? Verily, princes sought him out!
 And though in their courts, yet he cried out 'The Lord is my God.'

(This poem is followed by a prose inscription which may be translated as follows): Indeed he was the princely and noble, the universal scholar, Rabbi Eliau Montalto, may the memory of the righteous and holy be praised; he was the counselor and physician to the King and Queen of France. It was they who ordered that he be embalmed and placed in this coffin. "And he walked with God" on Monday the 29th of Shevat in the year "Shalom" (376 = 1616).⁵³ There was also an inscription in Portuguese:

Aqui esta sepultado o' illre e asinaado
 Varao Morenu e sabio universal Medico
 Del Rey de Franca o Rab Raby Eliau
 Montalto cuia Memoria seia em Bendicao
 O qual se apegon com el Dio em XXIX do
 Mes de Sevath do anno de VMCCCLXXVI.⁵⁴

Translation:

Here lies buried the most illustrious and distinguished
 Gentleman, Morenu and polyhistor, physician
 of the King of France, Rabbi Eliau
 Montalto whose memory be in blessing
 Who joined⁵⁵ his God on the 29th of the
 Month of Shebat in the year of 5376.

⁵² Play upon *Elihu* and *Montalto*.

⁵³ The Hebrew texts are published in *Hamagid*, vol. 11, p. 390. The writer visited the grave in September, 1934, and had his attention called to the fact that on an early date, the headstone was broken and that it was later replaced, and is held in place with iron supports. It is most interesting that this tomb and those nearby are pictured in the celebrated painting of Ruysdael of the Dresden Gallery, which pictures the Montalto and neighboring graves, though with imaginary background. But the tombs are unmistakable; the only important change being that Montalto's headstone, which was broken some three centuries ago, was repaired about fifty years ago.

⁵⁴ Kayserling, M., *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, p. 73. The year in the Hebrew calendar was 5376 = 1616 C. E. I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. DeSola Pool for the translation.

⁵⁵ Literally: "attached himself with."

Other members of Montalto's family were subsequently buried here and there are additional inscriptions in the tomb.

We cannot conclude this account more fittingly than with a few and very brief statements made about Montalto by learned contemporaries and friends.

Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591-1655), a well-known Jewish philosopher and physician, writes of Montalto in 1619 as his "teacher, the universal scholar and eminent physician."⁵⁶ We have already alluded to the reference made to Montalto by the scholar and poet, Rabbi Judah Leon of Modena (1571-1648) as the "great scholar and physician." But more interesting are the epithets which the best known of Portuguese Jewish medical writers of his day used in referring to Montalto, Zacutus Lusitanus (1575-1642). He speaks of him, when describing his work on vision, as "subtilissimus";⁵⁷ at other places he calls him "omnium voto doctissimus,"⁵⁸ "medicorum facile princeps,"⁵⁹ and "inter Neotericos scientissimus."⁶⁰ It will be hard to find more glowing praise! Still another contemporary medical writer, a member of a distinguished family of physicians, Benedict de Castro of Hamburg (1597-1684), Court physician to Queen Christina of Sweden, wrote in 1631:⁶¹ "Montalto proved himself to be a most wonderful interpreter of nature and . . . of the secrets of philosophy as well as a most able master of sacred theology. . . . This man was entrusted with the care of the health of Marie, queen of France and Navarre, and of the most Christian King. As their perfect counselor he was careful, sagacious, serious, — but still more, he was the most perfect exemplar of a faultless life."

⁵⁶ *Hakarmel* (Hebrew), 1867, vol. VI, p. 343.

⁵⁷ *De Medicorum Princip. Hist.*, 165, p. 824.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁵⁹ *De Praxi. Med. Admir.*, 1634, p. 18.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶¹ *Flagellum calumniantium* (Amsterdam, 1631), p. 75. (The writer possesses a photostatic copy of this work.)

MONTALTO WRITINGS

Montalto medical works are the following:⁶²

- 1 — Philippi Montalto, *Optica, Intra Philosophia, & Medicinæ aream, De visu, de Visus organo, & Objecto theoriâ accurate complectens* (Florence, 1606).

(There are copies in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the National Libraries of Bologna and of Naples, University Library of Breslau, and in the library of the writer.)

- 1-A — A second edition appeared in 1613 in Geneva. The title page shows as the only change that of the name of the author as Philotheus Elianus Montalto, with the title as previously cited.

(The only copy I have been able to find is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the cover bears the arms of Louis XIII.)

This work as mentioned in the letter of the dedication is described as his "first fruit." The book is an octave of 289 pages, not including dedication, list of authors cited, or index. It deals with: (Book I) The excellence of vision over all other senses and on the structure and nature of the eye. (Book II) On the place where vision is effected, whether in the eye or in the brain; how vision is brought about, not by rays emitted from the eye, but through images of objects received in the eye. That the lens is the chief factor in vision. The function, form, and position of the lens. (Book III) deals with the functions of the other portions of the eye. (Book IV) deals with the color of the eye and (Book V) with the nature of light and of colors. The book is rather a psychological study than optical. While the number of authors cited is over 100, the only "modern" name referred to is Vesalius, whose work was published more than sixty years before the *Optica* appeared.⁶³ But one seeks in vain for mention of the advances which were modern when Montalto wrote. Neither the anatomic work of Fabricius de Aquapendente (1600) nor the discoveries of Kepler (*Ad Vitel-*

⁶² None of Montalto's medical works are to be found in the Library of the Surgeon General, Washington, or other greater libraries in this country, or in any of the more important libraries of Holland. Neither are there any copies in the National or University libraries of Milan, Padua.

⁶³ He combats Vesalius, who with the ancients, places the crystalline lens in the centre of the eyeball and (M.) finds it "necessary to move it forward to the front." He also finds fault with Vesalius' description of the form of the vitreous.

PHILIPPI MONTALTO

Lusitani Medicinæ Doctoris

OPTICA

Intra Philosophiæ, & Medicinæ aream,

De visu, de visus organo, & objecto theoriâ accurate complectens.

AD SERENISS. HETRVRIAE PRINCIPEM
D. COSMVM MEDICEM.



FLORENTIÆ Apud COSMVM IVNTAM.

Cum licentia Superiorum. 1606.

TITLE PAGES OF FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS OF *Optica*

lionem, 1604) concerning the optics of the eye, are referred to; perhaps they were too recent; but there is likewise no mention of the works of Porta (1560) or of Plater (1583). Montalto's work, in most scholarly form, marks the end of a millennium of an "old world" science, ignorant of the fact that the "new world" has already been discovered.

2—Philothei Eliani Montalto, *Archipathologia, in qua internarum capitis affectionum essentia, causae, signa praesagia, & curatio accuratissima indagine edisseruntur* (Paris, 1614).

(There are copies at the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Biblioteca Lancisiana, Rome, the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco in Venice, the University Libraries of Munich, Kiel, and Königsberg, of the 1614 edition.)

A second edition is listed by the older bibliographers as having appeared in 1618 (or 1628) in St. Gervais (4°). I have failed to locate a copy. (See Nic. Antonio.)

A third edition is mentioned in recent bibliographies, but is an error and probably due to a copyist who used Mercklin's *Lindenius Renovatus* (Nuernberg, 1686), for his references, adding the place and date of this work as a third edition instead of as date of work of reference.

The writer has been unable to find a copy of this work in this country. He has obtained photostatic copies of the title page (see facsimile accompanying) from the volume in the British Museum, a work of 817 pages, plus 6 pages of the letter of dedication and 10 pages of table of contents. The dedication will be discussed below. The elaborate table of contents gives a view of the system of the work and of the subjects treated. There are 18 "tractates," which treat on the following subjects:

1. On Pain. (This is divided into 16 chapters and covers 45 pages.)
2. On headaches. (42 chapters, 112 pages.)
3. On Phrenitis & Paraphrenitis. (Brain fever with delirium.) (16 chapters, 64 pages.)
4. On Melancholy. (36 chapters, 148 pages.)
5. On the Insanity of Lovers (Its Essence, Cause, Signs & Cure). (3 chapters, 9 pages.)
6. On Mania. (11 chapters, 45 pages.)
7. On Hydrophobia. (3 chapters, 7 pages.)
8. On Amentia (Idiocy). (15 chapters, 8 pages.)
9. On Loss of Memory. (5 chapters, 26 pages.)

PHILOTHEI ELIANI
MONTALTO
LVSITANI,
CHRISTIANISSIMÆ
GALLIARVM ET NAVARRÆ REGINÆ
REGENTIS Mariæ DE MEDICES
Consiliarij & cubicularij Medici
OPTICA

Intra Philosophiæ & Medicinæ aream,

*De visu, de visus organo, & obiecto theoriæ
accuratissimè complectens.*

SECVNDÆ EDITIO.



COLONIÆ ALLOBROGVN,
Apud PAVLVM MARCEAV,
Sumptibus CALDORIANÆ Societatis.

1613.

10. On Coma. (4 chapters, 41 pages.)
11. On Insomnia. (4 chapters, 12 pages.)
12. On Lethargy. (14 chapters, 41 pages.)
13. On "Caros" (Incomplete unconsciousness). (9 chapters, 35 pages.)
14. On Catalepsy. (7 chapters, 22 pages.)
15. On Vertigo. (10 chapters, 28 pages.)
16. On Nightmare. (4 chapters, 18 pages.)
17. On Epilepsy. (22 chapters, 102 pages.)
18. On Apoplexy. (12 chapters, 42 pages.)

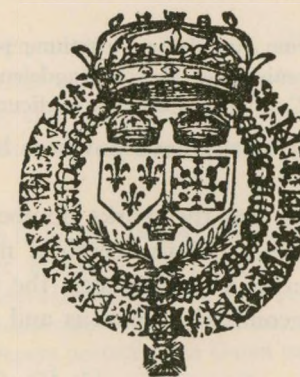
There were many works written in earlier times on nervous and mental diseases. Most of them were commentaries on ancient Greek books; there were also many "Consilia" being reports and discussions of cases; there were also many on special subjects. But a careful survey of the great bibliographical work of Laehr⁶⁴ indicates that Montalto's is one of the earliest, perhaps the earliest attempt at dealing with mental disturbances in a systematic manner.

2-a—*Lettre d'Espagne a la Royne Regente par le Sieur P. E. de Montalto* (Paris, 1614). Copies are in the possession of the British Museum (to which the writer is indebted for a photostat copy), the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The last mentioned library has three copies, all printed in Paris in 1614. Two printed by Brunet differ in their titles, one being the same as that given above, the other "Lettre présentée a la Royne Régente par le Sieur Philotee Eliau de Mont Alto, Espagnol." The third copy has the same title as the first named, but was printed by Chevalier.

The booklet is small, has twelve pages, and is a complete translation into French of the letter of dedication of the *Archipathologia*. This fact has hitherto been overlooked. These booklets were published in the same year in Paris, but not by the same printer. The

⁶⁴ *Die Literatur der Psychiatrie, Neurologie und Psychologie* (Berlin, 1900), vol. I. According to Neuburger and Pagel, it was Montalto's contemporary, Felix Platter, who made the first effort to classify mental diseases in his work, *Praxis Medicae*. This work in three volumes, embracing the entire field of medicine, had appeared in 1602 and 1608. It is based on the following classification: I. Disturbances of function: a. sensory, b. motor; II. Pain; III. Diseases: a. of body, b. excremental. Platter divides mental diseases under the following heads: I. Mentis imbecillitas; II. Mentis consternatio (apoplexy, epilepsy, catalepsy); III. Mentis alienatio (melancholia, hypochondriasis, mania, etc.); IV. Mentis defatigatio. Platter ascribed melancholia to the action of the demon! This appears much more primitive than Montalto's system. (According to Neuburger and Pagel, III, 605.)

PHILOTHEI ELIANI.
MONTALTO
 LVSITANI,
CHRISTIANISSIMI
 GALLIARVM, ET NAVARRÆ REGIS
 LVDOVICI XIII,
 ET CHR^{MÆ} REGINAE REGENTIS
 Confiliarij, & Medici ordinarij.
ARCHIPATHOLOGIA.
 IN QVA INTERNARVM CAPITIS AFFECTIONVM
essentia, causa, signa, presagia, & curatio
accuratissima indagine edisseruntur.



LVTETIÆ,
 Apud FRANCISCVM IACQVIN,
 Sumptibus CALDORIANÆ Societatis.

M. DC. XIII.

CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

TITLE PAGE OF *Archipathologia*

two books have the same crest with slight differences in the drawings. The "Lettre d'Espagne" in the British Museum is bound up with a dozen other contemporary booklets. It is a dedication full of praise of the Queen: "Vous m'avez appelé d'Italie d'une main libérale pour me commettre une tres grande charge, la conduit de vostre santé & de vostre vie, la conservation & prolongation de laquelle comme tres necessaire est passionnement desirée non seulement de la valeureuse France, mais de tout l'Europe."

- 3—*Consultationes Medicae itemque de Sensu et Sensato super Aristotelem* (Paris, 1614).

This is cited by Jocher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1751) and by Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, 1715, who refers to Nicolas Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana*, first edition. The edition of Antonio, Rome, 1672 (Library of Congress), lists only the *Optica* (1606) and the *Archipathologia* (1614 and 1618). But the Bibl. Hispana Nova of Nicolao Antonio, Madrid, 1788, does not contain it. On the other hand, it cites the following statement: "Georgius Cardosus (1606-1669) in Schedis pro Bibliotheca Lusitana his adjungit."

- 4—*De Curatione morborum singularium partium, partem primam* 1613 in 4° atque aum Serenissimae Mariae Magdalenae Galliarum Reginae Henrici Regis IV Conjugi a Consiliis medicumque a cubiculo fuisse.

The two last mentioned works have nowhere been located, here or abroad.

It is worthy of notice that the works numbered, 1, 2, and 3, all deal chiefly with the mind and the cerebral nervous system; the first with the perception of visual images, the third with sensation and the intellect; the second with nervous and mental disturbances.

- 5—*Tractatus accuratissimus de morbis capitis* (St. Gervasii, 1628), a copy of which is reported by the Auskunftsbureau der deutschen Bibliotheken to be at the Universitätsbibliothek, Halle, with the note suggesting that it is a later edition of the *Archipathologia*.

NOTE: While this paper was in press, the writer received photostats of the title page and the table of contents of this book. The table of contents is identical with that of the *Archipathologia* even to form and arrangement,

page numbers and even defects of type, but the title page differs; it is as follows:

"Tract. Accuratiss.

DE MORBIS

CAPITIS,

Novis & exquisitis remedium generibus locupletatus, & in quo omnes quaestiones & dubia quae tam in Theoria quam in Praxi occurrunt, elegantissimè explicantur.

Authore

PHILOTHEO ELIANO

MONTALTO LUSITANO,

Christianissimi Galliarum & Navarrae Regis Ludouici XIII.
Et Christianiss. Reginae matris Consiliario & Medico ordinario.

S. Gervasii.

Sumptibus IAC. DE LA PIERRE.

MDCXXVIII."

This is evidently an otherwise unaltered second edition, confirming the above suggestion. This, therefore, clears up the question under "2" of a second edition and its date and location.

- 6—Zacutus Lusitanus in his *De Medicorum Principium Historia*, 1857, pp. 67, 81, 261, makes several references to Montalto, citing his *De Cerebri affectionibus*.

The writer has been unable to find any other references or information concerning this work, and suggests that Zacutus refers to the *Archipathologia*, the title of which indicates that the subject treated is the "*internarum capitis affectionum*," or to 5, *Tractatus*, etc.

- 7—Benedict de Castro in his *Flagellum Calumniantium* (cited above), p. 75, states that after Montalto "had published his complete theory of vision and his *Archipathologia*, he was prevented by his death from presenting his admirable work on natural philosophy, on immortality of the soul, on fevers according to Galen and other works."

For the sake of completeness, note may be made of Montalto's religious writings. Reference has already been made to the one of doubtful authorship.

- 8—Razonamiento del Senor E. M. . . . en Paris, par mandado del Rey Enrique IV delante de los mayores Teologos y Doctores de su Corte. This was published in 1868 in a volume entitled *Danielillo o Respuestas*

a los Cristianos, from a MS in the Royal Library of Brussels (pp. 104-132). A copy of this work is at the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

9—In addition, the following MSS are taken from Kayserling's *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica* (Strasbourg, 1890), who states that they are to be found in the Bodleian and Munich Libraries:

A—Tratado hecho por el Doctor . . . Sobre el capitulo 53 de Ezayas 'e outros Textos da Sagrada Escritura. 4°. 71 pp.

B—Tratasse sobre o capitulo 53 do propheta Fesaya con rezao do fundamento que nele fazem os Xtanos para sua fee. 4°. 238 pp. (Translation of preceding MS.)

C—Livro fayto . . . , em que mostra a verdade de diversos textos, e cazos, que alegao as Gentilidades para confirmar suas seictas. 4°. 71 pp. (Probably different from preceding.)

Through the kindness of Herr Sigmund Seeligmann, the writer learns that the Library of the Etz Hayim Seminary of Amsterdam possesses four MSS, three in Portuguese and one in Spanish:

A—Exposicion . . . il capitulo 53 de Isayas (Spanish).

B—Obras do Doctor Eliau Montaldo em Amsterdam no anno 1670 (copied 1740).

C—Cano Eliao remontado.

D—Tratado sobre o capitulo 53 de Jessahija.

Columbia University Library possesses a MS treatise "Livro em que mostra averdade de diversas textos y cazos, que alegao as Gentilidadez para comfirmar suas seicta."

The Jewish Theological Seminary Library likewise possesses a similar copy (MS Adler 1384). An English translation of the work has been published with the following title:

A / JEWISH TRACT, / on the Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah. / written by / Dr. MONTALTO, / in Portuguese. / and Translated from his Manuscript, / by PHILO-VERITAS. / He feedeth on Ashes: a deceived Heart hath turned him aside, / that he cannot deliver his Soul; nor say, is there not a Lie in / my Right Hand? Isai. XLIV. 20. / LONDON: / Printed for the Translator; / And Sold by Johnson, St. Paul's Church-Yard; / and Walker, Pater-Noster-Row. / M,DCC,XC. / 79 p.

A copy of this work is in the Library of the Boston Atheneum and another at the British Museum.

Though there are great gaps in the life of Montalto, concerning which we are in complete ignorance, the foregoing gives a sketch of a man of distinction and of many-sided interests, a member of the large group of Marranos who distinguished themselves in medicine. Leaving Portugal and passing through Paris, his reputation led to his being called to attend the Queen's favorite on the advice of her physicians. In Italy he publicly returned to the Synagogue. He was recalled to the court of France though this required special papal dispensation. He distinguished himself in religious writings and discussions. He was the author of extensive medical writings, dealing specially with the mind and nervous system. He enjoyed the confidence of his Queen and of the court. The period during which he was physician to the court and published his voluminous volumes was one of cabals, intrigues and assassinations. Dying of very brief illness, he was spared the mortification and danger of being drawn in as an accomplice in a famous trial for witchcraft, though the only vocal expression which has come down through the centuries was his loud and angry denunciation of cabbalistic miracle tales. We have presented some of the reasons why this man, whose medical writings have been buried in the "formless ruin of oblivion," as well as the varied adventures of their author, should again be brought into the light of the history of medicine.

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