

***The Mystery of the Medical Training of
the Many Isaac Wallichs:
Amsterdam (1675), Leiden (1675),
Padua (1683), Halle (1703)***

By: EDWARD ISAAC REICHMAN

The Wallich family is a prominent dynastic Jewish family dating back to the Middle Ages, comprised of rabbis, businessman, laymen and physicians. There were at least seven consecutive generations of Wallich physicians, with one Wallich physician treating Louis XV, King of France. A number of the physicians were also rabbis, community leaders and authors of rabbinic works.¹

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in the span of twenty-eight years, we find the name Isaac Wallich appearing in the archival records of no less than four different medical institutions: Amsterdam (1675), Leiden (1675), Padua (1683) and Halle (1703) (heretofore referred to as Isaac Amsterdam, Isaac Leiden, Isaac Padua, and Isaac Halle). To this day, there remains ambiguity as to the identity of these names, one of which, Isaac Amsterdam, is added to the list here for the first time. While some historians have innocently confused or

¹ On the history of the Wallich family, see H. Schultze, “*Geschichte der Familie Wallich*,” *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Vol. 49 (1905), Issue 1, pp. 57-77; Vol. 49 (1905), Issue 2, pp. 183-192; Vol. 49 (1905), Issue 3, pp. 272-285; Vol. 49 (1905), Issue 4, pp. 450-458; Vol. 49 (1905), Issue 5, pp. 571-580. This classic work has been updated recently. See Jona Schellekens, “The Wallich List from Worms,” *Aschkenas* 25:1 (2015), 181-204; idem, “Use of Rare First Names in the Search for Ancestors: Example of the Physician David Wallich in Trier,” *Avotaynu* XXXVI, Number 4 (Winter 2020), 21-24.

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conflated them,² others have debated the total number of distinct Isaac Wallichs, suggesting some may have attended multiple institutions.³ Here we present new evidence and previously unpublished archival material clarifying for the first time the definitive unique identities and medical education of the different Isaac Wallichs. This discovery takes on greater significance when placed in the context of Jewish medical history.

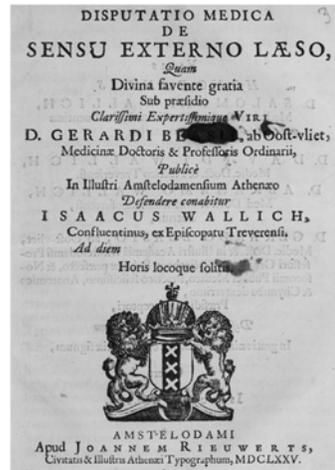
Isaac Amsterdam and Isaac Leiden or Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam

It is remarkable that the name Isaac Wallich appears on two separate dissertations in 1675 from two different institutions in the Netherlands.

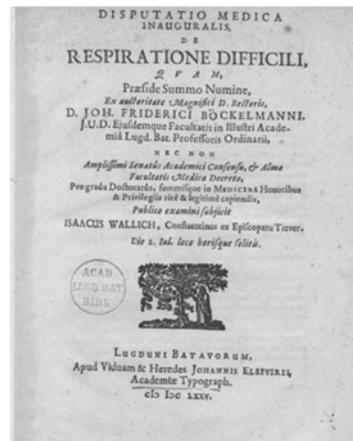
² For example, Asher Salah, in his invaluable biographical dictionary, *La République des Lettres: Rabbins, Écrivains et Médecins Juifs en Italie au XVIII^e Siècle* (Brill: Leiden, 2007), has an entry for Yitzhaq Wallich (667, n. 1035). While the basic biographical information is for Isaac Padua, the list of Wallich's works mentions those of Isaac Halle.

³ M. Freudenthal, *Aus der Heimat Mendelsobns* (Berlin, 1900), 132-133; idem, "Notiz," *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 14:4 (September- October, 1910), 158-159; R. Yaakov Shmuel Spiegel, "The Physician R. Yitzhak Isaac Wallich from Dessau and His Manuscript Responsum" (Hebrew) *Yerushateinu* 4 (5770), 63-84; Kenneth Collins, "Jewish Medical Students and Graduates at the Universities of Padua and Leiden: 1617-1740," *Rambam Maimonides Medical Journal* 4:1 (January, 2013), 1-8. Freudenthal confuses Isaac Leiden with Isaac Halle. Collins suggests that perhaps Isaac Leiden later attended Padua in 1683 to enhance his qualifications. There is precedent for this. Dennj Solera suggests that Rodrigo Lopez, the famous Jewish physician of Queen Elizabeth, whose name appears in the Padua graduation rolls for July 1559, attended Padua after his graduation from Coimbra in 1540 to enhance his qualifications (personal communication, September, 2020). His article is forthcoming.

Dissertation of Isaac Wallich (Athenaeum Illustre, Amsterdam 1675):⁴



Dissertation of Isaac Wallich (Leiden 1675):⁵



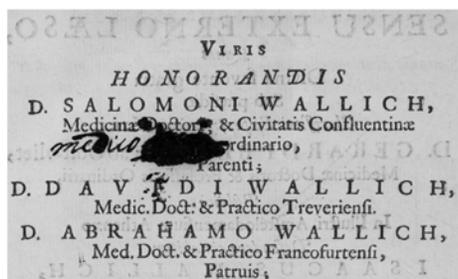
⁴ The dissertation is housed at the Wellcome Library in London and is available online, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ccayfpfy/items?canvas=2&langCode=lat>.

⁵ The dissertation is housed in the University of Leiden, Special Collections (KL) 236 B 7: 28 and only recently became available online. It is called a disputation, as the student defended a thesis before university faculty members, with roles occasionally delegated for additional disputants. There is a matriculation record for “Isaacus Wallich Confluentinus. 20, M” on August 21, 1674 in the Leiden University archives. See *Album Studiosorum Lugduno Batavae* (Martinus Nijhof: Den Haag, 1875), column 590.

For both dissertations, the student is identified in the identical fashion, “*Confluentinus ex Episcopatu Trever,*” from the city of Koblenz and the region of Trever in Germany. While scholars have noted the graduation of an Isaac Wallich from Leiden,⁶ to my knowledge, no Jewish scholar has ever noted the existence of an Isaac Wallich who attended or graduated from the Athenaeum Illustre, the precursor of the University of Amsterdam, in 1675. Could there have been two Isaac Wallichs from Koblenz who graduated the same year?

While it may appear that these are two graduation dissertations, this is not the case. The Athenaeum Illustre was not granting medical degrees at this time and only attained status as a full university at a later date.⁷ To complete one’s medical degree, it would have been required to attend a formal university, like Leiden. Typically, the degree would culminate with the student defending a thesis. The Leiden dissertation is entitled “*Disputatio Medica Inauguralis.*” “*Dissertatio Inauguralis*” or “*Disputatio Inauguralis*” refer to the inaugural or formal graduation dissertation or thesis defense. Isaac’s dissertation from Amsterdam does not contain the word “*inauguralis.*” The thesis defense of Isaac Wallich in Amsterdam appears to have been a dry run for his formal degree from Leiden. Defending theses like this one was apparently quite common in Amsterdam and was obviously taken quite seriously given the formality of the publication.

This clearly establishes that Isaac Amsterdam and Isaac Leiden are one and the same person (heretofore Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam, Leiden being the primary place of training). Yet, we have not learned about the family origins of this Isaac. We begin to grow his family tree from the dedication page of the Amsterdam dissertation.⁸



⁶ See Spiegel, *op. cit.*

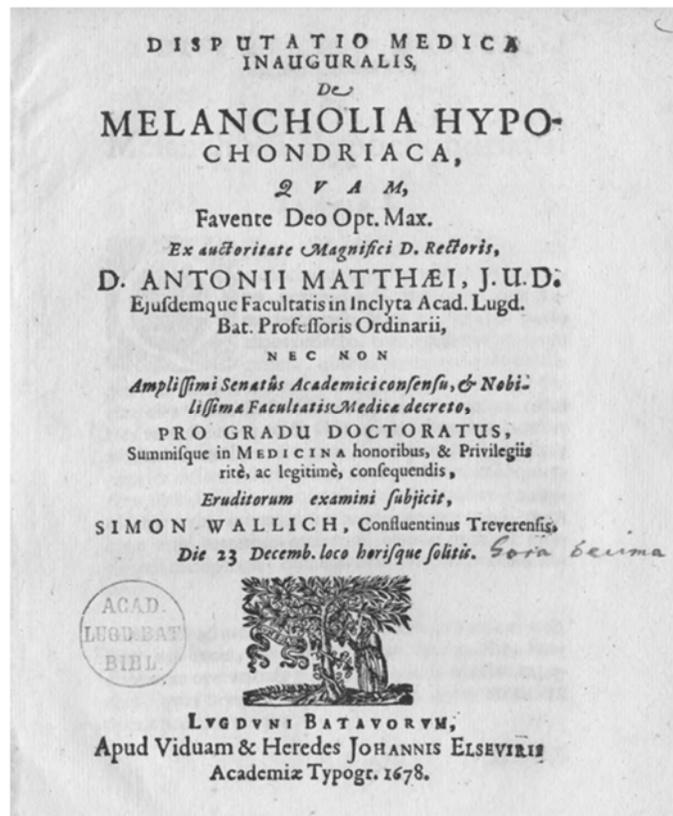
⁷ I thank Professor Paul Dijstelberge of the University of Amsterdam for this information.

⁸ The Leiden dissertation has no dedication page or mention of family.

Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam mentions his father Salomon (Shlomo), as well as two paternal uncles (“*patruis*”), David from Trever⁹ and Abraham from Frankfurt,¹⁰ all of whom were physicians.

We can further expand the family tree by viewing two additional medical dissertations from the Netherlands.

Dissertation of Simon Wallich (Leiden 1678):¹¹

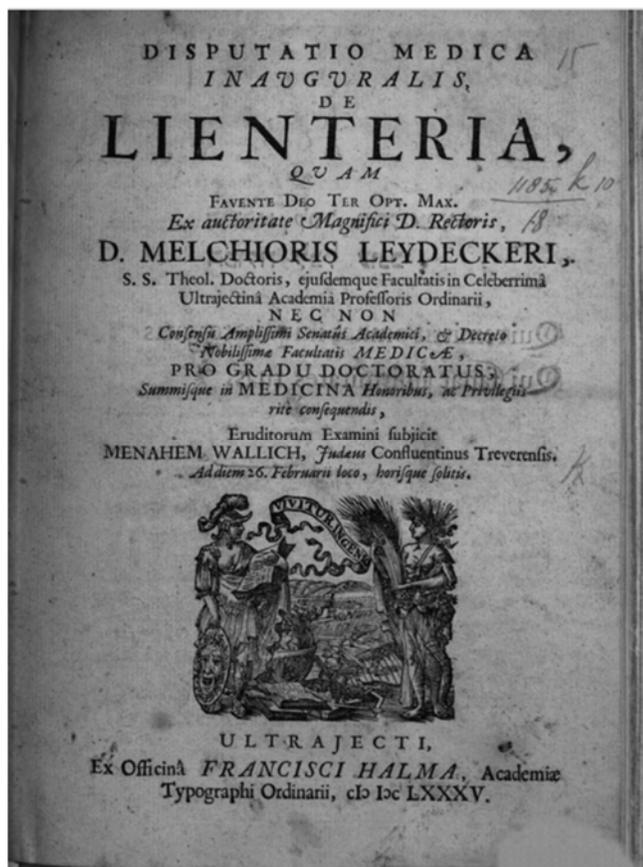


⁹ David was also known as Tevle. On David, see Jona Schellekens, “Use of Rare First Names in the Search for Ancestors: Example of the Physician David Wallich in Trier,” *Avotaynu* XXXVI, Number 4 (Winter 2020), 21-24.

¹⁰ On Abraham Wallich, graduate of the University of Padua in 1655, see below.

¹¹ There is a matriculation record in Leiden for “Simon Wallich Treveirensis 21, M” on May 12, 1678 in the Leiden University archives. See *Album Studiosorum Lugduno Batavae* (Martinus Nijhof: Den Haag, 1875), column 622.

Dissertation of Menaḥem Manlin Wallich (Utrecht 1685):¹²

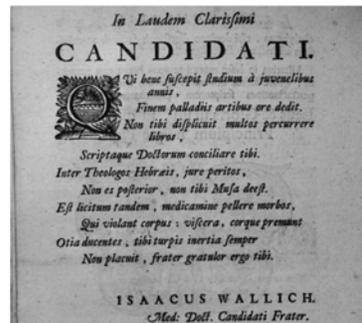


The cover pages shed light, albeit limited, on the relationship of these graduates to Isaac. Both Simon and Menaḥem are referred to as “*confluentinus treverensis*,” thus Isaac, Simon and Menaḥem are all from the same family.

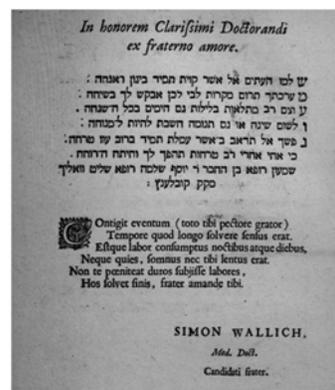
It is in the body of Menaḥem’s dissertation, however, that we find clues as to the exact nature of their relationship. At the end of Menaḥem’s dissertation there are two congratulatory letters, one by Isaac Wallich in Latin, and one by Simon Wallich in Hebrew and Latin.

¹² There is a matriculation record in Utrecht for “Menaḥem Wallich Confluentinus” in 1684. See *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae* (J. L. Beijers and J. van Boekhoven: Utrecht, 1886), column 80.

Congratulatory letter of Isaac Wallich to the graduate Menaḥem Wallich:



Congratulatory letter of Simon Wallich to the graduate Menaḥem Wallich:

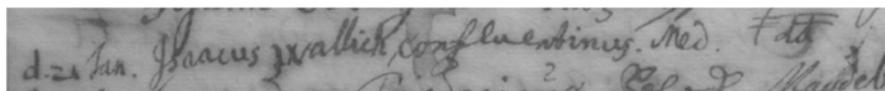
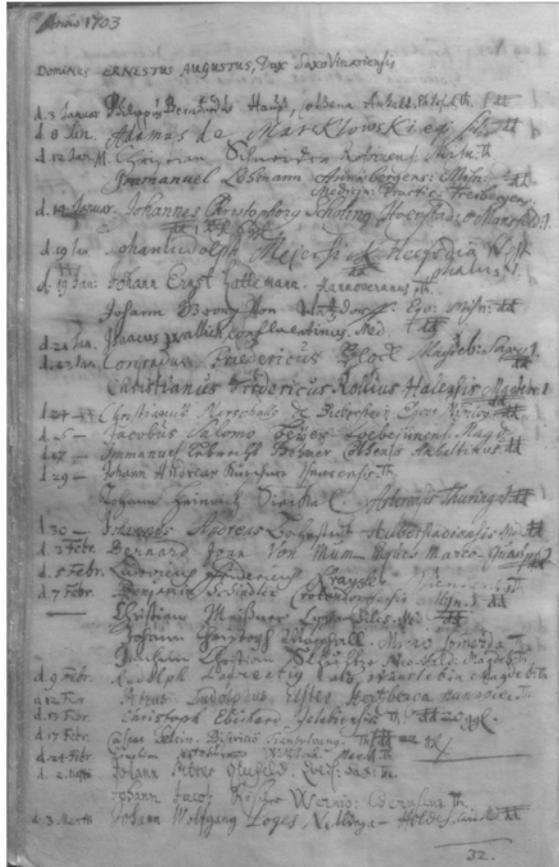


Both Isaac and Simon identify themselves as “*candidati frater*,” brother of the graduate. Furthermore, Simon identifies himself as the son of *Yosef Shlomo Rofei* Wallich, and as a resident of Koblenz. Thus, we learn from these dissertations that there were three Wallich brothers, Yosef Shlomo, David and Abraham, all of whom were physicians. Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam was the son of Yosef Shlomo, and had two brothers, Simon and Menaḥem, who were also physicians.¹³

¹³ Schultze, *op. cit.*, 283, in his discussion of the Koblenz line of the Wallich family mentions that Simon is the son of Yosef Shlomo but does not mention Simon’s other brothers. I have found no records of Yosef Shlomo Wallich in the university archives of the medical schools of Italy, Germany or the Netherlands. He was likely a non-university-trained physician, which was far more common during this time.

Isaac Halle¹⁴

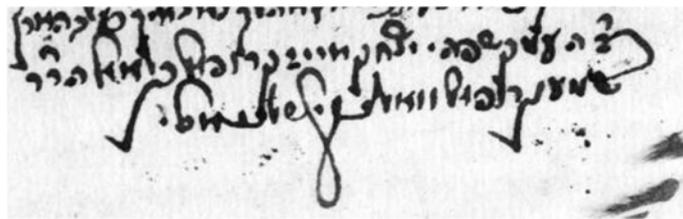
Isaac Halle attended the University of Halle in the first years of the eighteenth century. His matriculation record from 1703 is below, where he is identified as “*confluentinus*”:¹⁵



¹⁴ For a comprehensive biography of Isaac Halle, see Spiegel, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Universitätsarchiv Halle vor. Jedoch konnte ich in dem Matrikelband UAHW, Rep. 46, Nr.1. The archivist at Halle was not able to locate either the dissertation or further records for Isaac Halle.

Isaac Halle is perhaps most famous for his remarkable letter exchange with a fellow medical student, Shmuel Shimon of the University of Frankfurt on Oder.¹⁶ Shimon and Isaac Halle were both lone Jewish students at their respective medical schools in Germany in 1702, and Shimon wrote Isaac Halle describing his difficult situation, beseeching Isaac Halle to consider transferring to Frankfurt on Oder so they could learn Torah and medicine together. Isaac Halle responded that in contrast to Shimon, he was quite content with his situation. Isaac Halle reports that he developed a special relationship with Professor Hoffman, one of the most prominent medical educators of the day, and among other special privileges, was granted the right to carry a sword in public, not generally allowed for Jews. He graciously declines Shimon's offer and extends a reciprocal one. Isaac Halle signed the letter as follows:¹⁷



Isaac Halle identifies himself as the son of Shimon (Simon) Rofei (the physician). The only known Shimon Wallich physician¹⁸ is the one who graduated Leiden in 1678. He is clearly Isaac Halle's father.

Isaac Halle was a student of the *Shev Yaakov*, from whom he received rabbinic ordination.¹⁹ Both Isaac Halle and his father, Simon, are

¹⁶ This exchange was first published and transcribed by A Freimann, "Briefwechsel eines Studenten der Medizin in Frankfurt a. d. Oder mit dem in Halle Medizin studierenden Isak Wallich im Jahre 1702," *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 14:4 (July-August, 1910), 117-123. For discussion of the letters, see Shmuel Feiner, *The Jewish Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 21-23.

¹⁷ See [http://beta.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH003922973/NLI#\\$FL40949517](http://beta.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH003922973/NLI#$FL40949517) (accessed February 24, 2021). The letters are found on pp. 205-209 of the manuscript.

¹⁸ See Spiegel, *op. cit.*, note 3, for further evidence supporting Simon as Isaac Halle's father.

¹⁹ On the *semikbah* of Wallich, see Yosef Onah, "Two Certificates of the Author of Shev Yaakov," (Hebrew) *HaMa'ayan* 14:4 (*Tammuz*, 5734), 46-48.

mentioned in the published responsa, *Shev Yaakov*.²⁰ Isaac Halle was a prolific author, and a number of his manuscripts are extant. Among his other works, he expanded upon the work of his uncle, Menaḥem. A manuscript collection of Wallich's halakhic and aggadic writings, as well as assorted letters, entitled *Pi Shmayim*, were recently sold at auction.²¹

In Isaac Halle's letters to his brother Menaḥem, they speak of an uncle also named Menaḥem, who authored a commentary on the *Beraita* of *Meleket HaMishkan*.²² This is Menaḥem, Simon's brother, who graduated Utrecht in 1685.

Isaac Halle was therefore the son of Simon (graduate of Leiden), and grandson of Yosef Shlomo Rofei (Salomon) Wallich. He was the nephew of Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam, who graduated from Leiden in 1675.

Isaac Padua

Isaac Padua was one of three Jewish medical graduates from the university of Padua in the year 1683. One, Tuviya Cohen, the author of *Ma'ase Tuvya*, has received disproportionate attention in the Jewish historical literature.²³ The second, Gabriel Felix, is known primarily for his rela-

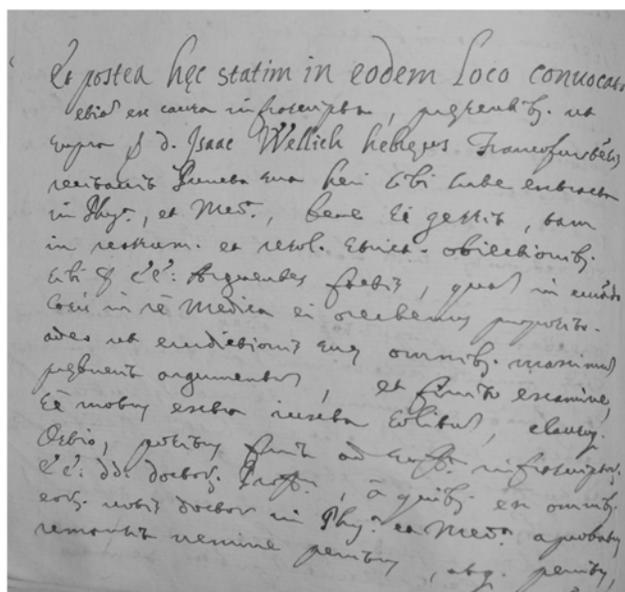
²⁰ Spiegel, *op. cit.*, notes the mention of Isaac in the responsa of his Rebbe, R. Poppers, *Shev Yaakov*. He neglects to mention that *Shev Yaakov* refers multiple times to a physician named Shimon, whom he holds in high regard, and is identified as a member of "our community" (i.e., Koblenz). See nos. 36, 40, 41. Zimmels identifies him as Shimon Wallich in his *Magicians, Theologians and Doctors* (Goldston and Sons: London, 1952), 28.

²¹ Kedem Auction House (Auction 48, Lot #28, 2018). Wallich also authored a separate commentary on *Pirkei Avot* titled *Ateret Avot*. The manuscript is housed at the University of Frankfurt am Main library.

²² Spiegel, *op. cit.*, note 4.

²³ See the forthcoming book, Kenneth Collins and Samuel Kottek, eds., *Ma'ase Tuvya (Venice, 1708): Tuvya Cohen on Medicine and Science* (Jerusalem: Muriel and Philip Berman Medical Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in press). See also A. Levinson, "A Medical Cyclopedist of the Seventeenth Century," *Bulletin of the Society of Medical History* (January 1917): 27-44; D. A. Friedman, *Tuvya Ha-Rofe* (Palestine Jewish Medical Association, 1940); M.J. Mahler, *A Precursor of the Jewish Enlightenment: Dr. Tobias Cohen and his Ma'ase Tuvya* (unpublished thesis for ordination, Hebrew Union College, 1978); N. Allan, "Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library: A Jewish Physician in the Seventeenth Century," *Medical History* 28 (1984): 324-8; D. Ruderman, "On the Diffusion of Scientific Knowledge within the Jewish Community: The Medical Textbook of Tobias Cohen," in *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (Yale University Press, 1995), 229-55; S.G. Massry, et. al., "Jew-

tionship with Tuviya.²⁴ Isaac Padua is the least known of the three. Below is part of Isaac Padua's original University of Padua Archives graduation record:²⁵



Kaufmann published a transcription of the entire graduation record of Isaac Padua, along with the records of Gabriel Felix and Tuviya HaRofe.²⁶ In Isaac Padua's archival record there is only one identifier, Francofurtensis (from Frankfurt). It unfortunately does not mention his father's name, as the archival record often does. Schultze, a biographer of the Wallich family, delineates different lines of the family, including the Metz-Frankfurt line and the Koblenz line. Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam

ish Medicine and the University of Padua: Contribution of the Padua Graduate Tovia Cohen to Nephrology," *American Journal of Nephrology* 19:2 (1999): 213-21; E. Lepicard, "An Alternative to the Cosmic and Mechanic Metaphors for the Human Body? The House Illustration in *Ma'ase Tuviya* (1708)," *Medical History* 52 (2008): 93-105. See also *Koroth* 20 (2009-2010), in which five articles are devoted to Tobias Cohen and his *Ma'ase Tuviya*.

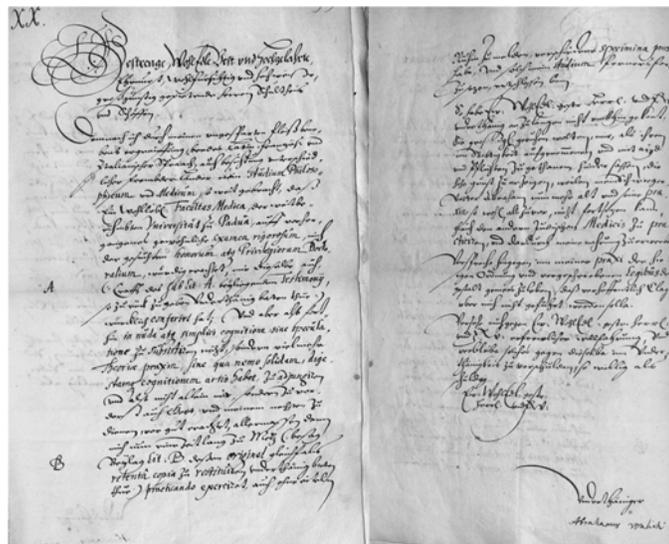
²⁴ See E. Reichman, "Some Notes on the Renaissance Physician Gabriel Felix: His Grammar Tree and His Family Tree," *Koroth* 25 (2019-2020), 339-353.

²⁵ CO.V. 284, c. 36 r. I thank Filippo Valle for his research assistance and for obtaining the photograph.

²⁶ D. Kaufmann, "Trois Docteurs de Padoue: Tobias Moschides, Gabriel Selig b. Mose, Isak Wallich," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 18 (1889), 293-298.

and Isaac Halle were from the Koblenz line, while Isaac Padua is from the Frankfurt family line of Walichs. Schultze identifies Isaac Padua as the son of Abraham Wallich, the uncle of Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam,²⁷ making Isaac Padua and Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam first cousins.

Abraham Wallich graduated from the University of Padua in 1655. In the Padua archive Abraham is identified as *ebrei Gallo*, a French Jew, as he derived from the Metz Wallich line. In the long and distinguished line of physicians in the Wallich family tree, the majority were not university trained. Abraham was not the first Wallich physician, however, to graduate Padua. He was preceded by Eliezer Wallich of the Worms Wallich line, who graduated in 1626.²⁸ Upon Abraham's graduation from Padua, he applied for a position in Frankfurt. Below is Abraham's application to the Frankfurt council for his position as community physician.²⁹

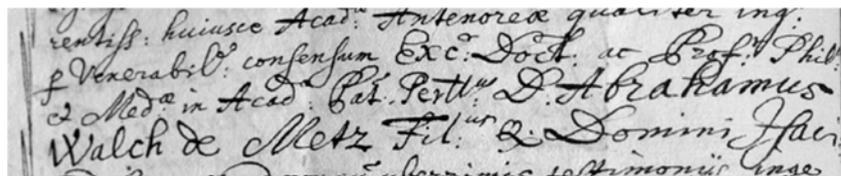


²⁷ Schultze, 282. Kaufmann also offers this identification.
²⁸ Abdelkader Modena and Edgardo Morpurgo, *Medici E Chirurghi Ebrei Dottorati E Licenziati Nell'Università Di Padova dal 1617 al 1816* (Bologna, 1967), 11. See Schellekens, op. cit., who notes an earlier family member who graduated from the University of Padua around 1590.
²⁹ Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, *Medicinalia, Akten*, Nr. 250 (fol. 51-53v).

It includes a notarized copy of his medical diploma from Padua, the first and last pages of which are below.³⁰



In this copy, as opposed to the archival copy held in the University of Padua, Abraham is identified specifically as being from Metz, and the word “ebrei” (Jew) is omitted.



³⁰ Among the witnesses to Abraham’s diploma we find Rabbi Moshe Catalano, poet and son of Abraham Catalano, author of *Olam Hafukh* on the 1631 Padua plague, Rabbi Benedetto (Baruch) Luzzato, and Shabtai Astruch, a University of Padua medical graduate from 1643. Moshe Catalano wrote a poem in honor of Astruch’s medical graduation (JTS Ms. 9027 V5:1). Luzzatto wrote a poem in honor of Binyamin Forli’s graduation which was translated into Hebrew (NLI 990034442450205171).

Perhaps he requested of the copyist to amend this specifically for his application to the Jewish community, who would have been familiar with the Wallichs of Metz, and for whom the word “*ebrei*” would have been superfluous.

Abraham assumed the position in Frankfurt in 1657 and established a line of the Wallich family there. Abraham had five sons, Yehuda (Leone) Loeb, Isaac, Naftali Hirsch, Meir and Salomon. He is known for his medical work, *Dimyon Refuot: Harmonia Wallichia Medica*, published posthumously by his son Loeb.³¹

Neither Schultze nor Kaufmann were able to benefit from the work of Modena and Morpurgo, who gathered all the graduation records of the Jewish medical graduates from Padua from 1617-1816.³² Abraham’s graduation from 1655 is listed there, as are three subsequent Wallich graduates, all identified as being from Frankfurt. These graduates correspond to three of the five sons of Abraham- Isaac (1683), Leone (Loeb) (1692), and Naftali Hirsch (1692).³³ Thus, Isaac Padua is the son of Abraham, and from the Metz-Frankfurt line of the Wallich family.

From Three Isaacs to a Thousand Isaacs

We have succeeded in identifying and “reuniting” the Isaacs of the Wallich family. Isaac Leiden and Isaac Amsterdam are one and the same. Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam and his nephew, Isaac Halle, are from the Kolblenz line of Wallichs. Isaac Padua is the first cousin of Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam and stems from the Frankfurt Wallichs. We can only conjecture if these Isaacs ever intersected during their lifetimes, and as to the stories of their respective training and practice that they might have shared. Yet, beyond the particular story of this one family, there is a larger narrative of which these three Isaacs are a part. Isaac is prototypical Jewish name. There have been hundreds, if not thousands, of “Isaacs,” “Abrahams,” and “Jacobs” who have trained to become physicians over the centuries. Theirs is a tale of rejections, discriminations, ghettos, translations, apprenticeships, Torah learning when possible, occasional conversions, executions, service of popes, kings and queens,

³¹ On Abraham Wallich and his work, see, Samuel Kottek, “The German-Jewish Physician Leib Walakh,” (Hebrew) *Koroth* 7:3-4 (December, 1976), 154-168; Nimrod Zinger, *Ba’alei haShem viba-Rofei* (Haifa University, 2017), 242-251.

³² Modena and Morpurgo, *op. cit.*

³³ Modena and Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, nos. 97, 117 and 118. Leone and Naftali are clearly identified as the children of Abraham in the Padua archives, where they are called figlio dell’Ecc.mo dr. Abramo.

all bound together with superhuman determination and persistence. The road traveled to becoming a physician is an integral part of Jewish history and a window into the interface of the Jews with the secular world across the ages.

The University of Padua, where one of our Isaacs graduated, was the first university to officially accept Jewish medical students. Here Jews could freely study academic medicine for the first time.³⁴ Prior to Padua, Jews were barred from formal medical education, and largely trained through apprenticeship. For centuries, Padua was the main address for any Jewish medical student wishing to pursue a formal university education. To be sure, Jewish students attended other universities, such as Sienna, Rome, Ferrara and others, but this was the exception.³⁵ It was only around 1650 that the University of Leiden in the Netherlands accepted its first Jew,³⁶ followed by other Netherland universities such as Utrecht. It was not until the early eighteenth century that universities in Germany³⁷ and other European countries followed suit.

Isaac Padua's father Abraham and his ancestor Eliezer attended Padua, the only option at the time for a Jew desiring university medical training. Isaac Padua, along with his brothers, followed in the footsteps of his father and attended the University of Padua, with its long history of tolerance and acceptance of the Jewish student.

Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam was from a different branch of the family. His father did not attend university. By the time he was ready for medical school, there were new options. Isaac Leiden-Amsterdam represents the first generation to transition away from Padua into the Netherlands. His brothers, Simon and Menahem, followed his lead.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Isaac Halle decided to become a physician, a number of schools in Germany began to open their doors to the Jews. Isaac Halle would pioneer the next fron-

³⁴ On the Jews and the University of Padua, see, for example, E. Reichman, "The Valmadonna Trust Broadside Collection and a Virtual Reunion of the Jewish Medical Students of Padua," *Verapo Yerapei: Journal of Torah and Medicine of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine Synagogue* 7 (2017), 55-76.

³⁵ With the exception of Padua, special Papal permission was required for Jewish students to attend university. See, for example, the story of Judah Gonzago, in Harry Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine* (Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1944), 229-231.

³⁶ For discussion on the transition of Jewish students from Padua to Leiden, see Collins, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Tuviya Cohen and Gabriel Felix were the first Jews to attend the University of Frankfurt on the Main in 1678, but transferred to Padua shortly thereafter.

tier. He was one of the very first (if not the first) Jewish students to attend the University of Halle in Germany. In just a few decades, a number of other schools in Germany would open their gates to Jews,³⁸ though Halle would become the premier destination for Jewish medical students in the eighteenth century.³⁹ Thus, these three Dr. Isaac Wallich's, whose training spanned some three decades, represent the transition from the towering dominance of the University of Padua and its virtual monopoly over formal Jewish medical education, to the birth and ascendancy of Jewish medical training in the Netherlands, followed by Germany and beyond. This transition from Padua to the Netherlands to Germany is also reflected in the medical training of the members of another Jewish family. Benjamin Levi Buxbaum graduated Padua (1669),⁴⁰ his sons Libman and Gutman graduated Leiden (1697), and his grand-

³⁸ On the Jews in German medical schools, see Adolf Kober, "Rheinische Judendoktoren, Vornehmlich des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift zum 75 Jährigen Bestehen des Jüdisch-Theologischen Seminars Fraenckelscher Stiftung*, Volume II, (Breslau: Verlag M. & H. Marcus, 1929), 173-236; Monika Richarz, *Der Eintritt der Juden in die akademischen Berufe: Jüdische Studenten Und Akademiker in Deutschland 1678-1848* (Schriftenreihe Wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen Des Leo Baeck: Tubingen, 1974); M. Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches Verzeichnis jüdischer Doktoren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (K. G. Saur Verlag: Munchen, 1991); John Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews* (Yale University Press: New Haven), 2001.

³⁹ Wolfram Kaiser and Arina Volker, *Judaica Medica des 18 und des Fruben 19 Jahrhunderts in den Bestanden des Halleschen Universitätsarchivs (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg: Halle, 1979).*

⁴⁰ Below is a copy of a poem written in honor of his graduation from the University of Padua in 1669:



I thank Laura Roumani for this reference. The original is housed in the Kaufmann Collection in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library in Budapest.

children, Baehr Liebmann and Anshel Gutmann, graduated from Geissen (1729).⁴¹

After Isaac Halle there would be a rapid proliferation of medical schools accepting Jewish students across the world. While this diminished the prominence of any one specific institution, the explosion of opportunity for the Jewish medical student was unprecedented. The ubiquity of the Jewish student in medical schools, in disproportionately high numbers, ultimately led to quotas, but this hurdle was also eventually overcome.

The tradition of prominent Wallich physicians continued into the modern era with Dr. Moshe Wallach, who trained in Germany, and later came to Jerusalem, where he founded and served as longtime director of Shaare Zedek Hospital.

Today there are hundreds of medical schools across the world that accept and promote Jewish students. We have never enjoyed the equality and options in the field of medicine as we do presently. It is through the lens of the three Isaacs that we gain a glimpse into the path of the Jewish medical student from the past to the present. They collectively trained at the cusp of a transition point in Jewish medical education, with each representing a unique student experience. The three Isaacs would scarcely recognize the medical training of today, neither for its treatment of the patient, nor for its treatment of the Jewish student.⁴²

Edward Isaac Reichman (AKA Isaac Einstein⁴³)

⁴¹ See Wolfgang Treue, "Lebensbedingungen Judischer Arzte in Frankfurt am Main wahrend des Spatmittelalters und der Fruhen Neuzeit," *Medizin, Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 17 (1998), 9-55, esp. 49 and 52; Komorowski, *op. cit.*, 38, 41, 42.

⁴² For a discussion of the challenges faced by Jewish medical students throughout history, see E. Reichman, "From Maimonides the Physician to the Physician at Maimonides Medical Center: The Training of the Jewish Medical Student throughout the Ages," *Verapo Yerape: The Journal of Torah and Medicine of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine* 3(2011), 1-25.

⁴³ Isaac Einstein = Isaac of Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

Appendix:

*Archival Record of Wallichs who attended the University of Padua.*⁴⁴

Lazarus Walch (*Wallich*) f. ex.^{mi}***

Vormatiensis, Wormienseis hebreus

26.11.1626, in philosophia et medicina (AGAPd, 274, ff. 206r-v)

25.11.1626, praesentatio et puncta (274, f. 206)

03.01.1655, Abram Wallich, Gallus hebreus, (n. 57, Modena-Morurgo p. 23, C. III; padre di Jehudà e Hirsch)

Isaac Wallich, *Wellich*

Francofurtenseis hebraeus

25.06.1683, in philosophia et medicina (AGAPd, 284, ff. 36r-37r)

23.06.1683, praesentatio (284, f. 35v); 24.06, puncta (284, ff. 35v-36r)

Leo Wallichius, *Wallich*, f. exc.^{mi} Abrahami doctoris

Francofurtenseis, hebreus, frater Hirtii

24.01.1692, in philosophia et medicina (AGAPd, 285, ff. 39v-40v)

20.01.1692, praesentatio (285, f. 38r); 23.01, puncta (285, f. 39v)

Hirtius, *Hircius*, *Hirsch*, Wallichius f. exc.^{mi} Abrahami doctoris

Francofurtenseis hebreus, frater Leonis

24.01.1692, in philosophia et medicina (AGAPd, 285, ff. 39v-40v)

20.01.1692, praesentatio; privilegium suum phil. praesentavit datum Salisburgi die 7 mensis septembris 1690 (285, f. 38r); 23.01, puncta (285, f. 39v)



⁴⁴ Courtesy of Dr. Dennj Solera, who has compiled a soon-to-be-published comprehensive database of the University of Padua graduates.