have been the result of tophi—large deposits of chalky concretions composed of needle-shaped crystals of monosodium urate. Unfortunately, if any tophi survived after two millennia in the soil, they were not recognized at the excavation and subsequent cleaning of the skeleton.

It will be noted from the above description and from the plates that many of the lesions are not strictly para-articular but occur well away from the joints. Gouty tophi with this distribution are not especially unusual. These clear, punched-out defects and the relatively well-preserved articular surfaces of the ankle joints all agree with this diagnosis.

The outstanding example of gout in the history of palaeopathology is an Egyptian mummy of the Coptic period, which was described by Elliot Smith and Warren Dawson (1924). In that case tophi survived and were retained in position by the tendons of the feet and elsewhere. Apart from that solitary specimen there seems to be no other wholly convincing and unambiguous example in early material. The present case, therefore, must rank as being of quite exceptional interest and importance.

One further fact may be significant. This skeleton came from a cemetery whose occupants had a low economic standard, as shown by the paucity and poverty of their grave goods and by their inhumantion in cheap wooden coffins or simple shrouds. Of the 268 burials only two were buried in handsome stone sarcophagi—a sign of relative opulence. One of these is the man described here and we may wonder, perhaps, whether his gout was causally related to a well-lined pocket and an over-indulged belly.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CALVIN WELLS

# DOCTOR RODERIGO LOPES\* SOME ITEMS OF MEDICO-HISTORICAL INTEREST

Much has been written during the last few years about Dr. Lopes (see bibliography at the end of this paper). We just wish to draw attention to some points which, as far as we know, have not been stressed in other pages. Nevertheless, we shall include a short biography, in order to remind ourselves of the unusual fate of Dr. Lopes.

#### I. BIOGRAPHY

c. 1525 Born in Portugal.

- 1559 Lopes arrives in London. Coming from Antwerp, or having been brought by Drake as a prisoner.
- 1567 Married Sara, seventeen-year-old daughter of the wealthy merchant, Dunstan Añes,

\*His name should be written either 'Roderigo Lopes' in Portuguese, or 'Rodrigo Lopez' in Spanish. Usually, in his time, he was called 'Doctor Lopus'.



Figure 1. Right hand showing cupping of metacarpals and phalanges, at and around the joint surfaces.

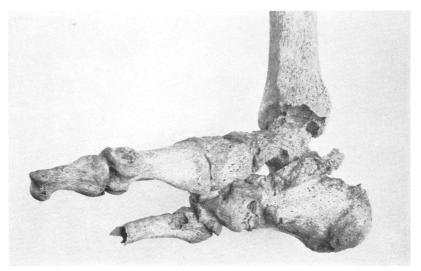


Figure 2. Right foot with extensive cavitation around the ankle joint and on the fifth metatarsal.

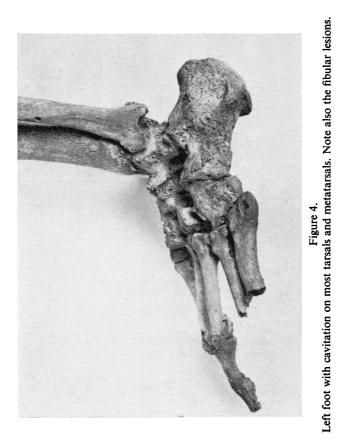








Figure 5. Radiograph of the left ankle region.



Figure 6. Radiograph of isolated metacarpals, metatarsals and phalanges.

who is the head of the small Marrano colony in London and 'Purveyor to the Royal Court'.

- 1568 (19 June) Lopes' name is first mentioned in the *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal*. He was appointed there as 'House Physician' for fifteen years. Further details will be given below.
- 1569 Lopes is asked to give the anatomy lecture to the Royal College of Physicians (which he declined to do). He must have been admitted as a member of this body some time earlier.
- 1571 Lopes is censured in the Annals of the Royal College of Physicians for having neglected the treatment of a servant of Lord Burghley (swollen shinbone) and had to return the fee. The same year Lopes attended Sir Francis Walsingham, who, from then on, remained his protector.

Lopes is also recorded in the Register of the Parish of St. Peter Le Poer as follows: 'Doctor Lopus, a portingale, householder, denizen, who came into this realm about 12 years past to get his living by physic'. In the same Register, we find the names of five of his children who were baptized and entries concerning the burial of four children (between 1563 and 1577).

- 1575 The name of Lopes appears in the list of prominent London doctors published by Stowes.
- 1577 Lopes becomes chief physician to the household of the Earl of Leicester.
- 1581 He leaves his position at St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
- 1584 A libel on Leicester is published, where we find 'Lopez the Jew, skilled in poisoning and other arts'.
- 1586 Lopes is appointed to the Queen.
- 1589 Queen Elizabeth I grants Lopes the monopoly of importation of aniseed and sumach.
- 1590 Death of Walsingham. By this time, Lopes was deeply involved in the political intrigues around the Portuguese Pretender Dom Antonio, backed by the Earl of Essex, which led to the disastrous defeat of the Armada (1588).
- 1593 Lopes' trial, under the false accusation of having planned to poison the Queen.
- 1594 Execution at Tyburn.

II. DR. LOPES, HIS FAMILY, AND THE PORTUGUESE MARRANOS

According to Sir Sidney Lee (in P. J. Fenn), Lopes may have been related to another Portuguese doctor Hernando Lopez, who came from Spain to England in 1520, or to Fernando Lopez who lived in the Parish of St. Helens and was banished in 1550. However, there is no evidence of such linkage.

His wife, Sara Añes, was the daughter of Dunstan Añes, who was also known in Marrano circles as Gonçalvo George, or Benjamin George. This wealthy Marrano was born, according to L. Wolf, at Valladolid (Spain) and went to London as a child. He was appointed 'Purveyor and Merchant for the Queen's Majestie's Grocery'. He also supported the party of the Portuguese Pretender Antonio. As the son of King Luis of Portugal by a beautiful Jewess called Violante Gomez, Antonio was backed by the Marrano colony. Dunstan Añes died in 1594, at the time when Lopes himself was awaiting his death in the Tower of London.

Roderigo's brother, Diego, was married to the sister of Alvaro Mendes, a very wealthy Marrano merchant who became famous in Turkey under the name of the Duke of Mitylene. During Lopes' trial, he tried to help him and even sent a messenger, Juda Serfatim, to London, but the case was hopeless.

According to L. Wolf, Roderigo had another brother, Luis.

His brother-in-law, Jacob, son of Dunstan Añes, together with his brother William, were directly involved in Drake's expedition against Spain.

One brother of Dunstan Añes, Francisco, was an officer in the British Army and commanded the garrison of Youghal in Ireland (Zeman).

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Lopes left after his death five children, three girls and two boys. One of the latter studied at Winchester College, and was granted  $\pounds 30$  a year by the Queen to enable him to complete his studies.

As to Lopes' secret adherence to Judaism, L. Wolf has brought seeming evidence of his connexions with the underground synagogue at Antwerp. There exists an unsigned letter sent to him from Antwerp, dated 18 February 1594, thanking him for subscribing money 'for the Divine Worke and the accustomed seremonyes which are there used'.

Here two things must be emphasized. The trial had already begun in 1593, and the letter was used as evidence of Lopes being a Jew in secret. We must also remember that when Lopes was hanged, he declared that he loved the Queen as much as he loved Jesus Christ (which raised much derision among the populace, who considered him a Jew). Could the above-mentioned letter have been forged for the trial—and Lopes be a good and genuine New Christian? Or did he try to appear before the scaffold as a good Christian, to protect his family from being charged with Judaism? The question remains open to discussion.

III. DR. LOPES AND ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

Much has been written about this interesting chapter of Lopes' life. We just want to stress some peculiar points.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital was reorganized in 1544, under the patronage of King Henry VIII, but the position of house physician was only created in 1561. Lopes seems to have been the first to be appointed as such, although the first written evidence of it is dated from 1568 only.

His duty was to attend the poor of the hospital twice a week. It has already been underlined that we have here a good illustration of the metamorphosis of the medieval 'hospice' (where the poor and the indigent were given shelter), into a real 'hospital' where they were also treated.

The well-known surgeon William Clowes, who was also appointed to the hospital, has left an interesting comment about Lopes' medical ability, in his book *A Prooved Practise for all Young Chirurgians*. By the way, we may add, that this was the third book of surgery written in English (after Arderne and Gale). The first edition appeared in 1588 (Th. Orwyn for T. Cadman), the second in 1591 (Th. Orwyn for Wydow Broome). and a third edition in 1596 with a new title: *A Profitable and Necessarie Booke of Observations*...

Clowes speaks about the treatment of a London merchant, who had been seriously wounded by gunshot whilst in a ship at sea. After taking out the shot, the patient being in a rather bad condition, Lopes was called in:

Then there was ioyned withe me maister Doctor Lopus, one of her maiesties phisitions, which afterward shewed himselfe to be both careful and skilfull, not only for his counsell in dyeting, purging and bleeding, but also for his direction of Arceus apozema, amongst others it wrought most singularly: the proofe thereof I never had untill that time, but since I have used it, and I have found it a treasure for the curing of wounds in the breast, whose composition I will here set down...

This text can be found in the editions of 1588 and 1591. Clowes seems to have been impressed by Lopes' ability as a physician.

But it is worthwhile to note—and we don't think that it has been done yet—that Lopes' name does not appear any more in the edition of 1596. We hear again about the treatment of this merchant: 'Then they ioyned with me one of her maiesties phisitions, who directed him to take Arceus apozema, which certainly did worke most excellently wel, the proofe thereof I never had seene untill that time, but many times since I have used it ...'.

If we remember that Lopes was hanged in 1594, we can understand why his name was wiped out of Clowes' book ... 'Sic transit!'

We would like to explain the meaning of the so-called 'Arceus apozema'. This is a long formula of plant ingredients to be made into a decoction. It is interesting to note, that the formula is not exactly the same in the three editions. The first edition (1588) has seven ingredients in the first part of the formula, the second edition (1591) has eight [adding seminum cumini], and the third edition (1596) has nine [adding cardui benedicti].

One of Lopes' biographers is in doubt about Arceus' identity. He was of course the great Spanish physician and surgeon Francisco Arceo, born at Sevilla in 1493, died in 1575, sometimes called the 'Spanish Ambroise Paré'. In 1574 his work *De recta vulnerum curandorum ratione* was published, which was later translated into English, German and Dutch. Lopes could have been acquainted with Arceus' works when studying at Salamanca (if it can be proved that he ever studied there!).

In any case, this 'apozema' did not become very popular, and is not recorded in the first Hospital Formulary compiled in 1670 by Dr. Edward Browne (according to Griffiths).

### IV. LOPES AND HIS DETRACTORS

The question is: how was it possible that the well-known Court Physician Lopes could be accused of planning to poison the Queen? It has been clearly demonstrated by Lee and Hume that Lopes was entirely innocent of this accusation. Gwyer gives us a good account of this question.

After having attended Sir Francis Walsingham, and thanks to his recommendation, Lopes had become in 1577 chief physician to the household of Robert Dudley, first Earl of Leicester, favourite of the Queen. This position raised enmity and jealousy against himself and his followers. In 1584 a libel was published on Leicester ('Leicester's Commonwealth') and republished in 1641 (in rhyme), in which Lopes gets his share of calumny:

Lopus and Iulio were my chiefe physitions, Men that were conning in the art to kill; Good schollers, but of passing ill conditions; Such as could rid mens lives yet no bloud spill, Yea, and with such extreamity and skill Could give a dram of porson that would slay At the end of the yeare, the moneth, the week, the day.

(in Zeman)

The Queen herself seemed not to have been impressed by this accusation; we know that two years after its publication, in 1586, Lopes was appointed physician to the Queen.

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By that time, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, had followed the example of Leicester (who, by the way, was his stepfather), and for about one year had been the new favourite of the Queen. He was only twenty years old and rather impulsive.

Lopes and Essex were first of all both involved in the same political party, backing the Portuguese Pretender Antonio, but after the failure of Drake's expedition, everything changed.

Lopes was charged with having violated professional confidence about Essex to Antonio. Then, he is said to have reported to the Queen part of Essex' intrigues. Besides, he refused to act as a spy on behalf of Essex.

After his first interrogation, during which Lopes could not be really accused of anything serious, the Queen was told by Robert Cecil that Essex had been rather rude to Lopes. She was very upset and scolded Essex, calling him 'a rash and temerarious youth'. This was too much for the impulsive Earl whose hatred of Lopes reached a new climax.

Whilst in that gloomy mood, Essex remembered the former accusation that Lopes was 'skilled in poisoning' and forged the accusation of having planned to poison the Queen, news which was widely circulated among the populace. Then Lopes was doomed: such is the terrible strength of calumny.

## V. TWO STATEMENTS ABOUT LOPES

1. Francis Bacon, who was Essex's 'protégé', refers to Lopes as a man 'very observant and officious, and of a pleasing and pliable behaviour' (in: 'True Report of the Detestable Treason intended by Dr. Rodrigo Lopez, a physician attending upon the person of the Queen's Majesty' (Zeman).

It must be noted that seven years after Lopes' execution, Essex was himself beheaded and Francis Bacon acted as a witness against him!

2. Gabriel Harvey, poet of the Elizabethan period, also made a statement about Lopes: 'although descended of Jews, he was himself a Christian. He is none of the learnedest or expertest physicians in the Court, but one that maketh a great account of himself as the best, and by a kind of Jewish practise hath growen to much wealth and some reputation as well with the Queen herself as well as the greatest Lordes and Ladyes.' (Zeman)

This text could be used as a good example of an anti-Jewish statement, although Lopes was only 'descended of Jews'. We are close to the character of the 'Jew of Malta', or the 'Merchant of Venice', who are said to have been conceived on the pattern of Lopes.

A whole book could be written about Dr. Roderigo Lopes. We have not tried to bring the whole story of his political trials and errors, but wanted to stress his medical achievements, his connections with relatives and Marranos and also the terrible power of jealousy and calumny which led to his tragic death.

Dr. Lopes was certainly a most striking figure within the very picturesque gallery of portraits of Elizabethan England.

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S. KOTTEK

# SOME PAGES FROM MY AFRICAN DIARY

My African diary really opens long before I first set foot on African soil in April 1936. A series of fortuitous happenings has furnished some fascinating links between the earliest days of Congo exploration and events in which I had the privilege of participating.

A fortnight after my arrival in Léopoldville (Kinshasa), I flew to Stanleyville (Kisangani). Waiting for me at the airport was an elderly gentleman, with a King George beard and a benign facial expression. He piled my luggage into the back of an old Model T Ford van, manipulated some weird home-made gadgets of wire and string, and off we set for the Mission House in the town a mile or so away. George J. Wilkerson—for it was he—had joined the Baptist Mission in 1921. He had formerly served as a builder in Rhodesia for the London Missionary Society, and was there during the Matebele rebellion. He described to me how one day he and a young British lieutenant took refuge from the Matebele arrows behind a single corrugated iron sheet. The name of the lieutenant was Roberts: he afterwards became Field Marshal and Earl.

When, a few hours later, after a hair-raising trip in a dugout canoe, I actually arrived at the Baptist Mission Station in Yakusu, I was greeted among other historic figures by two men who together more than any others had been responsible for the transformation of those warlike savages of the Upper Congo to peaceful citizens. One