
ESTUDIOS / RESEARCH STUDIES

THE INQUISITORIAL CENSORSHIP OF AMATUS LUSITANUS CENTURIAE

Isilda Rodrigues

University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro

isilda@utad.pt

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6020-5767>

Carlos Fiolhais

University of Coimbra

tcarlos@uc.pt

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1527-0738>

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ABSTRACT: We analyse the inquisitorial censorship expressed in expurgations of some excerpts of the *Centuriae of Medicinal Cures*, authored by the Portuguese physician João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (1511-1568), better known as Amatus Lusitanus. Our sources were the *Centuriae* II, III and IV (bound together, Florence, 1551) and the *Centuria* VII (Venice, 1566), both kept in the General Library of the University of Coimbra, Portugal. For the reconstitution of the texts we resorted to other editions available online and to the modern Portuguese translation, prepared from the Bordeaux edition of 1620. We conclude that most of the censored excerpts refer to affections of sexuality, gynaecology and obstetrics, the remaining being related to matters of strictly religious nature.

KEY WORDS: Amatus Lusitanus; *Centuriae*; Censorship; 16th century; Medicine.

LA CENSURA INQUISITORIAL EN LAS CENTURIAS DE AMATUS LUSITANUS

RESUMEN: En este artículo analizamos la censura inquisitorial expresada en expurgaciones de algunos extractos de *Centurias de Curas Medicinales*, escrito por el médico portugués João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (1511-1568), más conocido como Amatus Lusitanus. Nuestras fuentes han sido las *Centurias* II, III y IV (atadas juntas, Florencia, 1551) y *Centuria* VII (Venecia, 1566), ambas conservadas en la Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Coimbra, Portugal. Para la reconstitución de los textos recurrimos a otras ediciones disponibles online y a la nueva traducción portuguesa, preparada a partir de la edición de Burdeos de 1620. Concluimos que la mayoría de los extractos censurados se refieren a afecciones de sexualidad, ginecología y obstetricia, el resto se relacionan con asuntos de naturaleza estrictamente religiosa.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Amatus Lusitanus; *Centurias*; Censura; siglo XVI; Medicina.

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AMATUS LUSITANUS AND THE CENTURIAE

João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco (1511-1568), the Portuguese Jew who signed his works with the name Amatus Lusitanus, was one of the greatest figures of medicine of the 16th century (Guerra, 1989; Rodrigues and Fiolhais, 2013). Recognized in life, his fame continued posthumously as shown by the publication of his face along with those of other famous doctors such as Dioscorides, Pliny and Galen in the frontispiece of the *Historia plantarum universalis*¹ by the Swiss botanists and physicians Johann Bauhin (1541-1612) and Johann Heinrich Cherler (1570-1610) (Fig. 1). Having lived most of his life in exile, errant in territories which belong today to the Belgium, Italy, Croatia and Greece, his services were requested by notables as great and diverse as the Pope, the king of Poland, the authorities of the city-state of Ragusa (nowadays Dubrovnik) and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. His intellectual capacity and his knowledge of medical and pharmacological matters were so wide that he appeared often confronting not only classic authors, but also prominent contemporary peers like, including Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564), the Belgian Professor of Anatomy at the University of Padua, author of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*², who is considered the founder of modern medicine (Rodrigues and Fiolhais, 2015).

The work of Amatus has been studied by many researchers. Among the non-Portuguese authors who published works on him we list, not being exhaustive, in chronological order: Max Salomon (1901), Harry Friedenwald (1937, 1955), Pietro Capparoni (1941), Joshua Otto Leibowitz (1953, 1958, 1968), Jacob Seide (1955), Joseph Néhama (1955), Hirsh Rudy (1931, 1955), Nick Spyros Paspaspyros (1964), Luigi Samoggia (1966), Lavoslav Glesinger (1968), Hrvoje Tartalja (1985), Maria Luz López Terrada and Vicente Salavert Fabiani (1999), Lycurgo Santos Filho (1991), Dov Front (1998, 2001), Marija-Ana Dürriigl and Stella Fatovic-Ferencic (2002), Jurica Bacic *et al.* (2002), Alfredo Pérez Alencart (2005), and Michal Altbauer-Rudnik (2009). The Portuguese literature on him is vaster: an updated reference is the recent compilation of works done by João Rui Pita and Ana Leonor Pereira (2015). Some new publications appeared associated to the celebration, held in 2011, of the 5th centenary of Amatus birth (Morais, 2011 and Caderno, 2012³). A recent academic project which focused on his botanical works, namely comments on Dioscorides, gave rise to two volumes containing various contributions coordinated by António Andrade *et al.* (Andrade *et al.*, 2013 and 2015). From the same author see also two

Figure 1. Cover of *Historia plantarum universalis*, by Johann Bauhin and Johann Heinrich Cherler. Amatus face appears in a medallion in the left hand side, below, together with those of Pietro Andrea Mattioli or Matthiolus (1500-1577) and Guilandinus, with the subtitle “Dissentimus” (“we disagree”, a reference to a violent polemic between Amatus and Mattioli; Guimarães, 2013)



recent papers on aspects of the troubled Amatus biography (Andrade, 2010 and 2012).

Amatus main work, the *Curatiorum Medicinalium centuriae*⁴ (Fig. 2) (“*Centuriae* of medical cures”), is a remarkable work of medicine of the 16th century, as shown by the large number of editions that followed the original ones (at least 57 editions are known of parts or of the whole work; Rodrigues, 2005). The first one came out in Florence in 1551 and the seventh in Salonica in 1561. Each of the seven *Centuriae* holds one hundred clinical cases, as the title indicates. Each case, that Amatus called Cure (*Curatio*), presents the story of a patient and indicates the treatment selected according to the clinical picture observed by the author. The clinical evolution is described, in general accompanied by comments based on his extensive

bra, Portugal (this historical library also owns the first *Centuria* of 1551⁸) comparing them with editions of the same books found elsewhere which apparently were not censored. We start by providing an overview of the Inquisitorial censorship of medical books, focusing in Spain and Portugal (both receiving influence from Rome, at a time marked by the Council of Trent), and continue analysing concrete cases of expurgations done in the *Centuriae* in the copies we have examined. We end up with some conclusions.

INQUISITORIAL CENSORSHIP OF MEDICAL BOOKS

The Inquisition or Tribunal of the Holy Office, established in Spain in 1478, in Portugal in 1536 and in Rome in 1542 played a relevant role in book censorship (Bethencourt, 1994; Martínez de Bujanda, 1995 and 2016; Baldini and Spruit, 2009). The main target of the censors were not scientific works but theological, moral philosophical works. But censorship prevented, or at least tried to prevent (in fact, it did not was always very effective), the circulation of scientific works or excerpts of works, depending whether the decision was of total prohibition or mere expurgation. A reference in the *Indices*, the list of total or partially forbidden books of the Catholic Church, would lead a good catholic to avoid some authors since he was not even supposed to read their works. The circulation of the censored texts was extremely limited in the case of completely forbidden books but was also limited when some carefully chosen passages were expurgated by the inquisitors. Even in least serious cases, where the books could continue to circulate after the omission of some excerpts, the discomfort of knowing that the author was suspicious was enough to inspire concern in many readers.

The first Roman *Index* came out in 1557 under Pope Paul IV, *Index Auctorum et Librorum*, with a more severe edition, appearing in 1559. After the Council of Trent, a new version, with the title *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, was published in 1564, under Pope Pius IV. It contained several rules for intellectual control whose main motivation was to limit the Lutheran influence (Tarrant, 2014). In 1607, at the time of Paul V, an Expurgatory *Index* was published in Rome.

Although the Spanish King Charles V, head of a vast empire, promoted the publication of an *Index* in Louvain in 1546, in Spain only four editions of the *Index* were printed in the 16th century (1551, 1559, 1583, 1584), while six others appeared in the 17th and 18th centuries (1612, 1632, 1640, 1707, 1747 and 1790) (Bethencourt, 1994; Martins, 2011). The 1559 *Index*,

in which ca. 700 books were censored, was published at the behest of Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés y Salas. The next two were published during the term of the Inquisitor Gaspar de Quiroga: the *Index et Catalogus librorum prohibitorum*, of 1583, with 2315 forbidden books, and the *Index librorum expurgatorum*, of 1584, which was innovative since the indication was now only to erase the parts considered pernicious. Some authors were totally banned, while others had only some works forbidden and, in the mildest version, had some excerpts expurgated (Martins, 2011). In 1612 the Inquisitor Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas published, in a single volume, a combined list of prohibited and expurgated books: *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum*. Other Spanish indices followed that major work. Most of the banned books were printed out of Spain so that the Inquisition organised inspections at workshops, bookshops, libraries and ships entering the harbours to implement its control (Bethencourt, 1994).

A study done by José Luis Peset Reig and Mariano Peset Reig (1968) discussed the relationship between the inquisitorial censorship and Spanish science. José Pardo Tomás, in more detailed studies, remarked that in the 1559 and 1583 Spanish *Indices* respectively 8% and 7% of the works were scientific ones and pointed out that medicine was particularly affected by inquisitorial censorship in the 16th century (Pardo Tomás, 1983 and 1991): roughly one third of the censored scientific works were on medical matters.

The censorship practice in Portugal followed closely that of Spain and also influenced it, both receiving inspiration from Rome (Bethencourt, 1994; Martins, 2011): in fact, there are striking similarities between some lists of banned authors, showing the religious exchange of the two Iberian countries (we should remind that the two crown were joined, in the so-called “dual monarchy”, from 1580 to 1640). Reference works on the Portuguese Inquisitorial censorship are Pereira (1976), Rego (1982), Sá (1983) and Martínez de Bujanda (1995). Of the eight *Indices* of prohibited books issued by the Portuguese Inquisition during its existence (1536-1821), seven appeared in the 16th century: 1547, 1551, 1559, 1561, 1564, 1581 and 1597. Cardinal Dom Henrique, the first Portuguese General Inquisitor, enacted the *Prohibiçam dos livros defesos*, in 1547, a handwritten list which became only known in the early 20th century thanks to António Baião (Dias, 1963). In 1551 the *Rol dos Livros Defesos* coordinated by Fr. Jerónimo de Azambuja was published by Germão Galharde. In 1559, the stringent Roman *Index* of Paul IV was reprinted in Coimbra by João

da Barreira at the behest of Bishop D. João Soarez. Another *Rol dos Livros Defesos*, prepared by Fr. Francisco Foreiro, came out of the press of Johannes Blavio in 1561. Pope Pius IV *Index* of 1564 was published in Lisbon in Francisco Correa's workshop some months only after the original: we note that the ten rules of censorship, a kind of "decatalogue", contained in this Roman *Index*, which came to be Church's permanent legislation worldwide, were written by a commission where the Portuguese Dominican monk Francisco Foreiro was secretary. The successor of Cardinal D. Henrique, D. Jorge de Almeida, published the seventh *Index* in 1581 in António Ribeiro's workshop, which repeated the 1564 rules (Nemésio, 2011). A new Roman *Index*, coming out in 1597 at the time of Pope Clement VIII, was printed in Lisbon by Peter Craesbeck at the order of D. António de Matos de Noronha, General Inquisitor and Bishop of Elvas (Nemésio, 2011). In the 17th and 18th centuries a single *Index* ruled in Portugal – the *Index Auctorum Damnatae Memoriae*, an Prohibitory and Expurgatory *Index*, a major work prepared by the Jesuit Baltazar Álvares and published by Craesbeck in 1624 when the General Inquisitor was D. Fernão Martins de Mascarenhas (Martins, 2011).

The ban on the circulation of books in countries of strongly Catholic dominance, as Spain and Portugal, was due primarily to religious concerns. Most authors banned by the Inquisition were humanists or protestants of Northern Europe, such as Erasmus or Luther. In spite of that concentration of the clerical zeal, some of these books had relevant content for the spread or advance of philosophy and science, which were at that time hard to distinguish, and some important scientific books were also targeted by the censor authorities. Henceforth in the 16th and 17th centuries, at a time when modern science was emerging (known today as Scientific Revolution), Southern Europe countries have been less exposed to the torrent of new ideas. The Iberian Peninsula remained at one side of the cultural "iron curtain" which started at that time to divide Europe between North and South. A discussion is still being held whether the Inquisition had a significant influence in the production and import of science in the countries of Southern Europe, hindering their scientific development. Despite the lack of a causal link between the censorship of scientific works and the much discussed "Portuguese decay" after the glorious "time of the Discoveries", which has been pointed by some authors (Correia and Dias, 2003; Leitão, 2004), there is at least a correlation: according to a recent systematic study of scholars in various areas in several places, including Portugal, presented

by Anderson (2015), the Inquisition did not favour scientific scholarship in the places it had power, being a factor, mixed with others, which contributed to the referred division. He concluded his study writing: "The Inquisition drastically decreased the number of scholars living in their areas and was a highly exclusive and exploitative institution. Hence, the influence of the Inquisition could have had further reaching effects than just religious."

In the Iberian Peninsula, Jews or New Christians (Jews forced to conversion) were more affected than humanist or protestant authors. The persecution by the Inquisition of Jews and New Christians, or even of persons they maintained contact with, created a climate of suspicion that hindered the free discussion of ideas, which is a condition for good science. This tension, which lasted in Portugal until the 18th century, chased away from that country some Jewish savants who are nowadays landmarks in the History of Science, being medicine particularly affected. Included in this remarkable group are Amatus, who lived in various places of Europe, are Garcia de Orta (Fontes da Costa and Nobre de Carvalho, 2013), in Goa in the distant India (the two abandoned Portugal two years before the establishment of Inquisition in the country, a flight which may be seen as a premonition of the years to come), Francisco Sanches, in Toulouse, and Rodrigo de Castro, in Hamburg. One should add that doctors and medicine were under special surveillance since the body was seen as a sacred place.

INQUISITORIAL CENSORSHIP OF THE *CENTURIAE*

The presence of Amatus Lusitanus in the *Indices* of prohibited books started in the late 16th century. According to the *Indices* survey done by José Pardo Tomás, Amatus is a censored author in the *Indices* of 1583, 1584, 1612, 1632, 1640 and 1707, but it does not appear in the 1559 *Index* (Pardo Tomás, 1991). In the 1583 *Index* the *Centuriae* was prohibited, but in the 1584 and 1612 ones, they were only expurgated (Pardo Tomás, 1983), a procedure which continued in later *Indices*. As a consequence, some copies of the *Centuriae* were confiscated in some Catholic regions of Spain (Pardo Tomás, 1991).

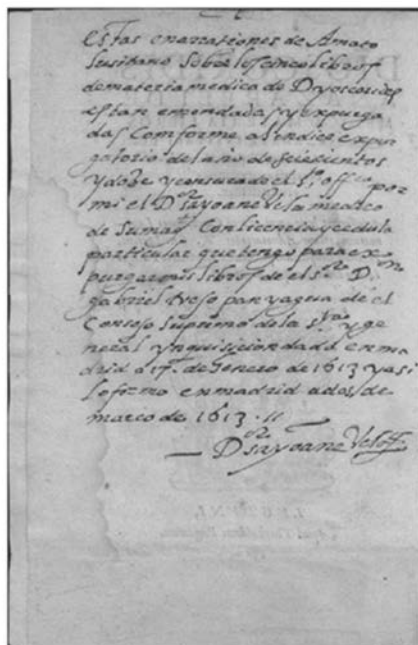
In Portugal, the 1581 *Index*⁹, although interdicting several authors, did not prohibit but only purged Amatus works, allowing therefore for their circulation. This *Index* states that (Sá, 1983): "(o)s Amatos Lusitanos também se hão de entregar no sancto Officio, para se riscarem nelles certos passos, que podem fazer damno" ("the Amatus Lusitanus should also

be handed out to the Holy Office, to risk some parts which can do harm”).

Amatus is again subject to censorship, now more extensive, in the *Index auctorum damnatae memoriae*, of 1624¹⁰, which would apply in the country until 1768. This *Index* includes well-known authors, as German philosopher and theologian Albertus Magnus (ca. 1193-1280, Doctor of the Church since 1931), the Spanish physicians Arnau de Vilanova (1240-ca.1312) and Andrés Laguna (1499-1559), and the German physician and botanist Leonhart Fuchs (1501-1566). A large agreement exists between the Portuguese *Index* of 1624 and the Spanish *Index* of 1612. In particular, the text on Amatus is similar in the two *Indices* (Martins, 2011).

As an example of the censorship exerted on Amatus works, we notice that, in the Coimbra library copy of the important treaty *In Dioscorides Anazarbei De medica materia libros quinque, Amatis Lusitani doctoris medici ac philosophi celeberrimi enarrationes eruditissimae*¹¹ (better known as *Enarrationes*), a reference to censorship appears, as an handwritten note at the turn of the front page, dated from Madrid, March 2, 1613, and signed by D. or Sayoane Veloso (Fig. 3).

Figure 3. Note on the back of the first page of the book *In Anazarbei Dioscorides De materia medica libros quinque enarrationes...* Lugduni: Apud Theobalsum Paganum, 1558 kept at the General Library of the University of Coimbra BGUC Ref. R-40-1



Baudry had already thrown a first look into Amatus books of the Coimbra University Library, all of them censored, without going into much detail (Baudry, 2012). On the other hand, Costa had examined quickly the Amatus editions existent at the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, which do not overlap with the Coimbra ones (Costa, 2013). To undertake a more detailed analysis of the purge of Amatus *Centuriae*, we examined the *Centuriae* II-IV (bound together), published in Lyon in 1565¹² and the *Centuria* VII¹³, published in Venice in 1566, both belonging to the General Library of the University of Coimbra, having confronted them with the *Centuriae* I to IV (bound together) published in Venice in 1557¹⁴ and the *Centuria* VII published in Lyon, 1570¹⁵, apparently not censored, which are available online from Spanish historical libraries. It was useful to use, as reference, a modern Portuguese translation of the 1620 Bordeaux edition of the *Centuriae* (Amato Lusitano, 2010). We noticed that several excerpts have been purged in the Coimbra copies. While we cannot say with absolute certainty that these cuts were done by inquisitors, their look, the nature of scratched themes and the publication dates point to this conclusion. This evidence is reinforced by the appearance, in a handwritten note, on the back of the first page of some editions, that the work has been censored, giving the name of the censor and the date of censorship. In the Lyon 1565 edition existent in Coimbra, one knows through a note of this type that it was censored in 1612, no mention being made to the censor name. We believe that this censorship was done by hand only in a few copies, certainly following general guidelines. The censor's "pencil" was iron gall ink. When it was too concentrated it could even burn the paper; when less concentrated, the censored phrases would be legible. In two copies of the *Centuriae* II-IV of the Lyon edition of 1565, one inspected at the Coimbra library and the other online at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid¹⁶, we found that the black ink and style of "blur" used were similar in the covered excerpts.

The censored phrases refer mainly to affections of human reproduction (sexuality and gynaecology), the remaining being related to religious subjects, indicating that the censor had theological formation. We illustrate this statement with some examples of the purges made in the above-mentioned Coimbra copies of the *Centuriae*.

A case which refers to sexuality is portrayed in *Curatio* XVIII of *Centuria* II. In this *Curatio*, referring to "an individual [a Jew] who could not perform the sexual

act”, part of the prescription indicated by Amatus is erased. We give the omitted text (our translation):

“We admit as certain that fish, being eaten hot and well cooked, although protected by scales or covered by a shell, excite the libido. But it is preferable to pass over in silence those who were forbidden by religion”¹⁷.

Below the drug names used for sexual arousal were deleted. They were considered inconvenient by the officials of a Church which advocated that the sexual organs were not intended for pleasure, but only procreation. In case of illness, they should only be restored to accomplish the correct purpose (Rodrigues, 2005).

In the same *Centuria* II, there are, in *Curatio* XXXIX, some comments on “A young girl who became a man,” with crossed parts, which we quote (our translation):

“When the age arrives when women usually have their first menstruation, instead of this, it started to appear to her and to develop a penis that until that time had been occulted in the interior. Thus she transitioned from female to male, dressed manly and was baptized with the name of Manuel”¹⁸.

This is a cure in which, again, the issue is sexuality, more precisely transsexuality, a dark zone which, at the time, still did not even have a name. The absence of the term indicates the absence of the concept: some events were not supposed to take place at all. Some recent research works are very pertinent on this issue (DeVun, 2008 and 2015; Soyer, 2012; Cleminson, and Vázquez García, 2013).

In *Curatio* XLVII of the *Centuria* II, entitled “From an individual who, tormented by dysentery, made intercourse with a woman and recovered,” Amatus comments were totally erased. Their content is the following (our translation):

“Hippocrates said in the last pages of the books *Morbis Vulgaribus* that dysentery cures with lascivious life. The frequency of brothels is, as he says, an awkward licentiousness, which the cynic Diogenes used when he expected the harlot. Since she had arrived later to him who was expecting her, he presented to her shamelessly and against the commandment of God. The hand had anticipated the celebration of copulation. He had launched the semen on the ground after manipulating the pudenda. On the continence and constancy of this man one should read Galen, in his book 6 *De Locis Affectis*, chapter IV. In fact, this one like the other is worthy of censure in this matter”¹⁹.

These comments refer to masturbation, an act which was considered at the time a mortal sin, with very precise penitential prescriptions. This was cer-

tainly not a topic on which the religious authorities were willing to let a doctor freely transcribe the classics, especially in a book intended for a wide readership (Correia, 1998).

Dov Front called attention to another interesting case of censorship in the *Centuria* IV, this one published in Lyon in 1580 (Front, 2001). Indeed, in *Curatio* XXXVI, *Centuria* IV, entitled “On the spring in the matrix”, Amatus reports the pregnancy of a nun, discussing the possibility of “virginal conception”. According to Front, that case would have been expurgated by the Inquisition, by the hand of Friar Gaspar de Uzeda, in 1586 (Front, 2001). Amatus, in his comments, based on Averroes and a rabbinic source (*Alphabet of Bem Sira*), admits that cases like that could occur naturally.

In the above-mentioned edition, the censor erased completely *Curatio* XXXVI with black ink, but the respective title was left intact in the final contents list (Front, 2001). In the *Centuria* IV we have examined, published earlier in Lyon, in 1565, belonging to the University of Coimbra collections, that *Curatio* was also completely expurgated. We present in Fig. 4 the corresponding images, which, in the original version, takes up 56 lines spread over three pages. Interesting enough, the text could still be read in spite of the censor efforts. Comparing the two Lyon editions (1565 and 1580) we noticed that *Curatio* XXXVI was excluded with a very similar scribbled style.

In the 1620 Bordeaux version²⁰, this *Curatio*, entitled “On a spring in the matrix”, only comprises 17 sentences. The mention to Averroes appears, but not to the rabbinic source. There are no extended comments and the dubious pregnancy in question is not assigned to a “nun” but to a “girl”, followed by a short remark of the author stating that one should not talk about the case. Probably the Inquisition had ordered to replace “nun” by “girl”. This amputation should not have come from Amatus, but from the hand of a censor. We translate the relevant text of the 1620 edition:

“A certain girl, feeling ill, said she had the impression of something moving inside her body. Therefore, some women claimed that she had a spring in her belly. I did not doubt that this could happen. In fact we know from what Galen says in book 14 of *De Usu Partium*, that a spring or something similar cannot be generated without intercourse with a man, saying: “No one ever saw a woman conceive a spring or anything else without a man”. So I advised them either to conceal the case or to say that it was another kind of disease. Averroes, in his book *Colectorio*, asserts that a woman can get pregnant from male semen left in the bath.”²¹

Figure 4. Excerpt of *Curatio XXXVI, Centuria IV, Venitiis, 1580, pp. 473-475*



The censorship of sentences of religious nature was also is a practice of the Inquisition when the author deviated from orthodoxy. The same happens in the comments of *Curatio XXIII, of Centuria IV*, where some comments were scratched. They say the following (our translation):

“Armelinus – It is an extraordinary and worthy event to be told. However, since I have this present and seen it all, would not now be able to solve it. If I remember correctly and reconstituted, the children of the patient, his wife and the servants murmured against the reverend fathers, whom he had trusted, because, perhaps excited by greed, contempt of fear of God, they intended to bury a man alive since he made lots of money to St. Francis and various other goods to St. Dominic.

Amatus - In my opinion this could have happened more by ignorance than malice since the majority of the brothers attending the sick uneducated and deeply ignorant of this matter.

Armelinus - In any case, it is certain that the friar reverends withdrew sad, threatening and haunted.

Amatus - This should be the case because they had remained several days and nights without sleep, around the patient.”²²

It would be inadequate to be known that a priest wished the death of someone so that the Church could receive a large fortune (Fig. 5).

Another example is the text excerpt expunged in *Curatio XLII, Centuria IV*, which says referring to the Jews: “Then, since they all are very zealous and devoted to God’s law” (Fig. 6). In this case, to aggravate the issue, Jewish customs were the *bête noire* of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions.

Finally, it should be added that, in *Centuria VII*²³, the famous Amatus oath was also victim of censorship (Fig. 7). The original oath (*Amati iusjurandum*), written in Thessalonica in 1559, first appeared as an afterword of *Centuria VII*, 1561, the last one. However, in the Bordeaux 1620 edition parts of the oath were omitted, including the reference to Moses and the Ten Commandments. The first translation into Portuguese was made by Alberto da Rocha Brito in 1937 (Brito, 1937), respecting the original and not the truncated 1620 edition (Rasteiro, 2005).

Figure 5. Excerpt of *Curatio XXIII, Centuria IV Lugduni, 1565, p. 460* and excerpt of *Curatio XXIII, Centuria IV, Venitii, 1557, p. 555*

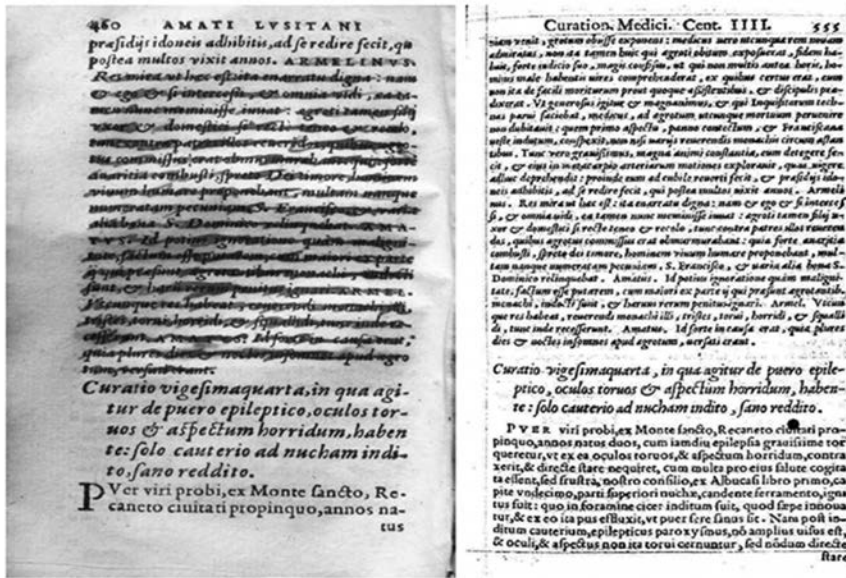
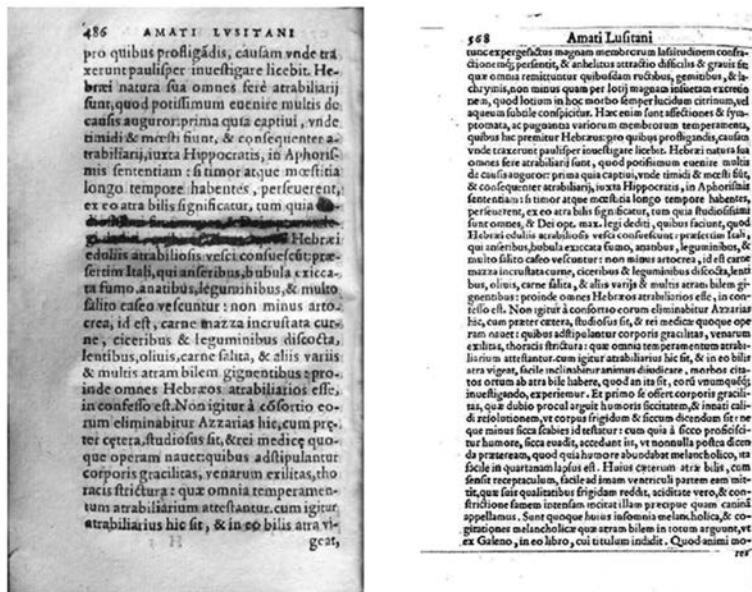


Figure 6. Excerpt of *Curatio XLII, Centuria IV, Lugduni, 1565, p. 486*, and excerpt of *Curatio XLII, Centuria IV, Venitii, 1557, p. 568*

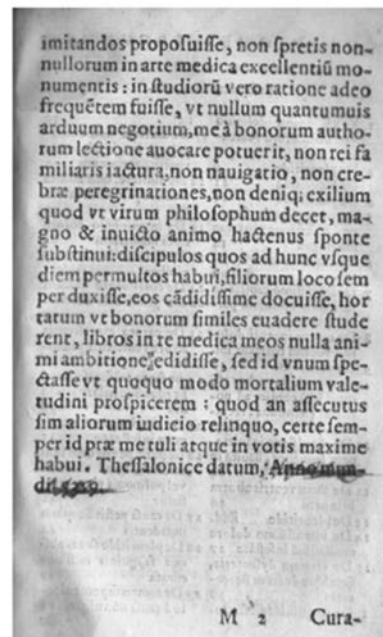
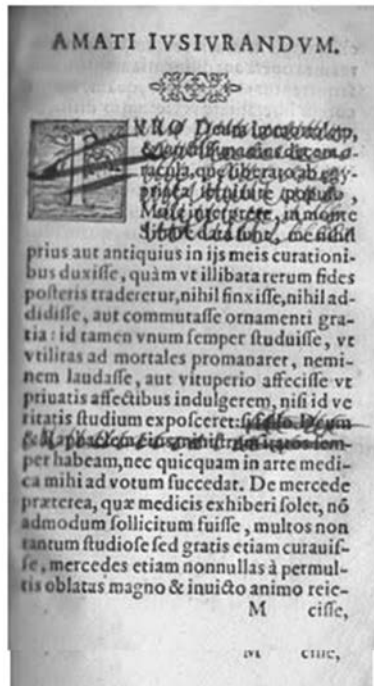


We transcribe an excerpt of this notable Amatus oath (our translation):

“I swear before immortal God and by his ten most holy commandments, given on Mount Sinai to the Jewish People, through Moses, after the captivity in Egypt, that in my clinic I never had more to my heart than promoting that the faith intact of things would come to the

knowledge of the corners. (...) Always in everything I required the truth; if I am forsworn, let fall upon me the wrath of the Lord and his minister Raphael and let no one never have confidence in the exercise of my art. (...) Often I firmly rejected big salaries, always having more in view that the sick regain health by my intervention than I become richer for their generosity or their money; treat-

Figure 7. Extract from the Amatus Oath, *Centuria VII*, Venitii, 1566, pp. 177 and seq.



ing patients, I never cared to know whether they were Jews, Christians, or followers of the Mohammedan Law; I never run after honours and glories and with equal care I treated poor and born in nobility; I never teased the disease; in prognoses I always said what I felt; I never favoured a pharmacist more than another, unless when at some I recognized, perhaps, more skill in the art and more kindness in the heart, and due to that I preferred him to the others (...) In short, I never did anything that could embarrass an illustrious and egregious physician”.

CONCLUSIONS

The works of the Portuguese physician Amatus Lusitanus have been studied by several researchers from all around the world. Analysing the censorship exerted on Amatus main work, *Curatorum Medicinalium centuriae*, we noticed that his name appears, from late 16th century onwards, in the Church *Indices*: it appears in the Spanish *Indices* from 1583 to 1707, first in a prohibitory *Index* and afterwards in expurgatory ones, and in the Portuguese *Indices* of 1581 and 1624, the first prohibitory but with some general expurge indications and the second both prohibitory and expurgatory. Except for the first appearance in the Spanish *Indices*, Amatus is as an author whose works just needed to be expunged following general instructions inscribed in the Roman *Indices* which appeared after the Council of Trent.

Based on our comparison of the *Centuriae* II-IV published in Lyon in 1565, and the *Centuria* IV, published in Venice in 1566, and not expurgated editions of the same books, we conclude that the censored sentences refer primarily to the affections belonging to the areas of sexuality, gynaecology and obstetrics but also to some topics of strictly religious nature. The way the texts are purged, regarding colour and scabble style, indicates that the censorship was made by the Inquisition. Censored editions were different probably depending on the different censor. There was an evolution in the censorship content and style. For example, while *Curatio* XXXVI was totally expunged in the Lyon editions of 1565 and 1580, in the Bordeaux edition of 1620 the comments appear are short, after an intermediate revision: in the 1580 edition a pregnancy of a nun is extensively discussed, but the nun is replaced by a girl, this only being discussed shortly, in the 1620 edition. We have here clearly a censored edition instead of censored copies as in the previous editions we have examined.

In the present work, after an overview of inquisitorial censorship, in special of medical books, we essayed a microanalysis of some of the Amatus works available at the General Library of the University of Coimbra. Although the inquisitorial censorship, which lasted for centuries, certainly affected science and

society, as it is generally recognized, a broader view is needed for quantitative and qualitative views of its action. Much work remains to be done on the *modus operandi* and, mainly, the effect of censorship in the scientific and cultural development of the Catholic nations where the Inquisition was operating.

NOTES

- Johann Bauhino and Johann Henricus Cherlero, *Historia plantarum universalis, nova, et absolutissima cum consensu et dissensu circa eas*, Ebroduni [Yverdon], 3 vols., 1650-1651, General Library of the University of Coimbra – BGUC Ref. 2-23-12-1. This is considered one of the major books on botanics of the 16th century. The first author is contemporaneous of Amatus, but the book is posthumous to both authors.
- Andreae Vesalii, *De humani corporis fabrica*, Johannes Oporinus, Basileae [Basel], 1543. BGUC Ref. 4 A-21-14-1.
- Caderno de Cultura. Medicina na Beira Interior* (2012), XXVI, pp. 1-165. Accessible in: http://www.historiadamedicina.ubi.pt/cadernos_medicina/vol26.pdf, (retrieved on 18/10/2016).
- Amato Lusitani, *Curatium medicinalium centuriae septem, varia multiplicique rerum cognitione referte*, Burdigalae [Bordeaux], 1620. BGUC Refs. 2-18-7-65 and 4 A-27-20-20 c.2. A similar edition is available on-line, accessible at Universidad Complutense de Madrid: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5327378028;view=1up;seq=24> (retrieved on 05/04/2016) The first complete edition of the *Centuriae* came out in Lyon in 1580. Written in Latin, there is a Portuguese translation by Firmino Crespo, first published in 1983 by the Faculty of Medical Sciences, New University of Lisbon, and republished in Lisbon in 2010 in two volumes by the Portuguese Medical Association (Amato Lusitano, 2010).
- Amato Lusitano. *Curatium medicinalium, centuriae duae tertia et quarta. Cum indice omnium curatium & rerum memorabilium quae ipsis centurijs continentur*. Lugduni [Lyon]: apud Gulielmum Rouillium, sub scuto Veneto, 1565. BGUC Ref. 2-4-1-21.
- Amato Lusitano. *Curatium medicinalium Amati Lusitani... Centuria septima Thessalonice curationes habitas continens, varia multiplicique doctrina referta*. Venetijs [Venice]: apud Vincentium Valgrisium, 1566. BGUC Ref. 2-4-1-20.
- See note 4.
- Amato Lusitano, *Curatium medicinalium centuria prima, multiplici variaque rerum cognitione referta. Praefixa est eiusdem auctoris commentatio in qua docetur quomodo se medicus habere debeat in introitu ad aegrotantem, simulque de crisi, & diebus decretorijs, iis qui artem medicam exercent, & quotidie prosalute agrotorum in collegium descendunt longè utilissima*, Florentiae [Florence], [Ex]cudebat Laurentius Torrentinus. 1551, BGUC Ref. 4-7-41-29.
- Antonio Ribeiro, *Catalogo dos livros que se prohibem nestes regnos & senhorios de Portugal, por mandado do illustrissimo & reuerendissimo senhor Dom Iorge Dalmeida Metropolitano Arcebispo de Lisboa, Inquisidor geral, &c.*, Lisboa [Lisbon]: A. Ribeiro, 1581. Reproduced in Sá, 1983, pp. 652-655.
- Índex Auctorum damnatae memoriae, tu metiam librorum, qui uel simpliciter uel ad expurgationem usque prohibentur, ueldenique iam expurgati permittuntur, editus auctoritate Illmi Domini D. Fernandi Martins Mascaregnas, Algarbiorum Episcopi, regii status Consiliarii ac Regnorum Lusitaniae Inquisitoris Generalis*, Lisboa [Lisbon]: Pedro Craesbeck, 1624. BGUC: 4 A-21-7-16 c.2 and six other copies.
- Amatus Lusitanus, *In Dioscorides Anazarbei De medica materia libros quinque, Amatis Lusitani doctoris medici ac philosophi celeberrimi enarrationes eruditissimae*, Lugduni [Lyon]: apud Theobaldum Paganum, 1558. BGUC R-40-15 Accessible at: <http://goo.gl/mPKiBu> (retrieved on 16/02/2016).
- See note 5.
- See note 6.
- Amatus Lusitanus. *Curatium medicinalium Amati Lusitani medici physici praestantissimi centuriae quatuor: quibus praemittitur Commentatio de introitu medici ad aegrotantem, de crisi & diebus decretorij...* Venetijs [Venice]: apud Balthesarem Constantinum, sub diui Georgij signo, 1557. There are 12 works of Amatus Lusitanus *online* at the Virtual Library Miguel de Cervantes, at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, accessible at <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/buscador/?q=centuriae> (retrieved on 16/02/2016).
- Amatus Lusitanus, *Curatium medicinalium centuria septima: Thessalonicae curationes habitas continens...: accessit index...* Lugduni [Lyon]: apud Gulielmum Rouillium, 1570. Accessible at: <http://data.cervantesvirtual.com/manifestation/276169>, (retrieved on 16/02/2016).

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16. Accessible at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/amati-lusitani-curationum-medicinalium-centuria-dua-tertia-et-quarta-cum-indice-omnium-curationum/> (retrieved on 05/04/2016).
17. *Curatio XVIII, Centuria II, Venitiis* [Venice], 1557, p. 201.
18. *Curatio XXXIX, Centuria II, Venitiis* [Venice], 1557, pp. 274-275.
19. *Curatio XLVII, Centuria II, Venitiis* [Venice], 1557, p. 289.
20. See note 4.
21. *Curatio XXXVI, Centuria IV, Burdigalae* [Bordeaux], 1620.
22. *Curatio XXIII, Centuria IV, Venitii* [Venice], 1557, p. 555.
23. See note 6.

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