

*glis*, Lithuanian *anglis*, Russian *ugol'*, Polish *wggiel*, Albania *thëngjill*—all with the primary meaning “glowing coal.” The second English word figures in *inglenook*, “the nook or corner beside the hearthfire, chimney corner”; however, influenced by the erotic associations of the homonym, *inglenook* itself acquired the meaning “female pudendum.”

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### INJUSTICE COLLECTING

The Vienna, then New York, psychoanalyst Edmund Bergler (1899–1962) developed the theory that the basic neurosis is psychic masochism, and that homosexuals are neurotic “injustice collectors.” In Bergler’s view the provocative behavior observed in his patients arises in the following manner. They create a situation in which some substitute for the mother of early childhood is perceived as “refusing.” Not realizing that they are themselves to blame, they become aggressive in righteous indignation and self-defense alternating with self-pity, while “unconsciously enjoying psychic masochism.” Under the façade of pseudo-aggression are hidden deep self-damaging tendencies. The psychic masochist in the homosexual “habitually transforms conscious displeasure into unconscious pleasure,” so that he can resign himself to the punishments resulting from the humiliation and insult heaped on him by an intolerant society. Instead of learning to avoid punishment, the homosexual actually enjoys it, and by turning displeasure into pleasure he “takes the sting out of the pain and defeat of his tormented existence.” Such were Bergler’s idiosyncratic views.

While it is true that a homosexual with self-damaging tendencies (and such people do exist) is likely to encounter reprisals from a society permeated with Judeo-Christian homophobia, only a shrinking minority of homosexuals are of this type. Moreover, early writers denying the pathological character of homosexual-

ity pointed to the success with which many closeted homosexuals deceive intolerant heterosexuals in their entourage with the skill of an accomplished undercover agent or spy. But the “injustice collector” mentality may also have had the function of preserving the individual’s self-esteem in the face of society’s condemnation and rejection. Instead of internalizing the values of the homophobic culture, he can in effect say: “You are the wrongdoer, and I am the one to whom the injustice is being done.” The alternative would be to accept the stigma of being a sinner, a criminal, and a monster—which a rational subject could scarcely do without a total loss of self-respect. Whatever therapeutic results Bergler scored with his homosexual analyses seem to have been with individuals whose superego had been unable to ward off society’s castigation of their behavior and the ensuing guilt and self-reproach. Then his very success with them attracted ever more to his couch, so that his “patient universe” became skewed in the direction of such guilt-ridden personalities.

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### INQUISITION

During the Middle Ages the Roman Catholic church established special ecclesiastical courts to detect and punish heretics, blasphemers, witches, and sorcerers. Stemming from the Latin for “investigation,” inquisitions may be divided into the episcopal phase, which began informally by 312, the papal phase, which began in 1232, and the royal phase, which lasted in Spain from 1478 to 1834. It was the royal Spanish Inquisition which was

responsible for most of the burnings at the stake which posterity associates with the Inquisition.

*Episcopal Inquisitions.* In the early centuries, Christians usually punished heresy by excommunication, exclusion from the community of the faithful. Patristic writers generally disapproved of physical sanctions, though after Christianity became the official religion of the Roman empire, rulers often chose to regard heresy as a kind of *lèse-majesté*, an offense to the imperial dignity worthy of loss of property or even death. The collapse of the Roman Empire in the west, in 476, made a uniform imposition of such severity impractical. On the whole, the early medieval church itself kept to a relatively restrained attitude, which lingered in the twelfth century in the precept "Faith is to be secured by persuasion, not by force" of St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

Shortly after the year 1000, however, the western church was threatened by the inception of a new wave of heresy. In due course the new dissidents, who threatened not only the principles of faith but also the prerogatives of the church as an institution, rallied behind the dualism of the Cathars (or Albigensians), which in parts of Europe, notably in southern France, took on the character of a full-fledged counter-church. St. Dominic and his preaching friars tried in vain to win back the heretics to the church. Although the Cathars claimed that their elect members must be strictly celibate, the Catholics regularly accused them of sexual licence, as they had certain heretics before the fall of Rome. That such licence did occur and could be homosexual is shown, among others, by the detailed record of an investigation of sodomy in Pamiers in the south of France. The Cathars were subjected to a bloody crusade called by Pope Innocent III in 1208 and lasting until 1229, which succeeded in driving them partly underground but not extirpating them.

*The Papal Inquisition.* The establishment of a papal mechanism to combat

heresy was gradual. One key step occurred in 1232 when Emperor Frederick II, himself accused of heresy, charged state officials of the Holy Roman Empire with the task of ferreting out and burning heretics. Fearing Frederick's ambitions, but more to suppress the Albigensians, whom the Crusade had failed entirely to exterminate, Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) claimed this office for the church, appointing papal inquisitors. These were chosen, not from the retinue of the bishops who had hitherto dealt with heresy and were now enjoined to cooperate, but from members of the newly-formed mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans.

*Torture Introduced.* At first the inquisitors mainly admonished the guilty to confess voluntarily and accept penance. The obdurate were, however, imprisoned under harsh conditions. Influenced by the revival of Roman law, in 1252 Innocent IV authorized the use of torture to break the resistance of the accused. Penalties were confiscation of property, imprisonment either temporary or perpetual, and surrender (relaxation) to the secular arm, which meant death by burning at the stake. The proportion who suffered the supreme penalty was relatively small; out of 613 cases he prosecuted, the famous inquisitor Bernard of Gui "relaxed" 45.

Detection of sodomy per se was not a goal of the papal inquisition, though this prohibited behavior was not infrequently uncovered in the course of investigations conducted on other grounds, and appropriately punished—though rarely with death. The modern notion that the vernacular expression *faggot* derives from a supposed common practice of using male homosexuals as kindling for the burning of witches is fantasy, but English *bugger* comes from *Bulgarus*, the generic designation for adherents of dualistic heresies such as the Bogomils of Bulgaria and the Cathars of Provence.

As late as 1179, the Third Lateran Council decreed only degradation and confinement within a monastery for sod-

omitical clerics, the penalty prescribed by canon law, and excommunication for laymen. Secular laws, feudal and royal, were harsher: the thirteenth-century Castilian law ordering castration and stoning was in 1497 altered by Spanish King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, *los reyes católicos* ("their Catholic Majesties"), to burning with confiscation of property, no matter what the rank or order of the condemned. Sodomy was *mixti fori*, subject to secular as well as regular ecclesiastical courts and after the decree of Pope Nicholas V in 1451 also to the papal Inquisition.

*Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions.* In 1478 Ferdinand and Isabella created the Spanish Inquisition under royal sponsorship with papal approval. In 1524–30 pope Clement VII authorized the Inquisitions of Aragon, Saragossa, Valencia, and Barcelona to pursue sodomites. The Suprema in Madrid, the new capital after 1560, which allowed the accused to choose an "advocate" from members or familiars of the Inquisition as an illusory protection, sold exemptions at very high prices from its penalties such as prison, the galleys, or wearing the *sanbenito* (penitential costume). The grand inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada (1420–1498), of *converso* origin, even proceeded against bishops, who were usually exempt, and a successor did so against the archbishop of Granada, primate of Spain. After 1660 even the Jesuits, exempt from all ordinary authority, became subject to the Inquisition.

The Spanish Inquisition, though more avaricious, contributed less to royal centralization than had the one in France against the Albigensians. It was extended to the Italian provinces in the Spanish empire—Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, and Milan, as well as the Canaries, Mexico, Peru, and New Granada. The rumor that Philip II intended to introduce the Spanish Inquisition to the Netherlands in the 1560s contributed to the outbreak of the Dutch revolt against Spain, then the most powerful country in the world.

The Spanish Inquisition was all-pervasive: It was organized hierarchically—district inquisitors, *comisarios*, and *familiares* (local informers). In the province of Valencia in 1567 the number of *familiares* peaked at 1638 or an average of 1 per 42 inhabitants; they were particularly dense in the smallest hamlets so that social control was well-nigh complete. Spanish inquisitors applied tortures commonly used by contemporary ecclesiastical and secular tribunals: the pulley, water torture, and the rack.

In 1506 at Seville the Inquisition made a special investigation into sodomy, causing many arrests and many fugitives and burning 12 persons, but in 1509 the Suprema in Castile declared that crime not within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. But after a fiery sermon preached by Fray Luis Castellio attributing the pestilence then raging in Valencia to God's wrath against sodomites, the townspeople found four who confessed and were burnt at the stake by order of the court, while a fifth, given a more lenient sentence (*vergüenza*), was torn from the jailers, garroted and burnt by the mob. Alleging that the crime of sodomy had been introduced to Spain by the Moors, the Spanish Ambassador to Rome obtained from Pope Clement VII in 1524 a special commission for the Holy Office to curb its spread by investigating laymen and clergy in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia and proceeding according to local, municipal law in spite of the resistance by local bishops to this usurpation of their authority. In Castile, however, in 1534 and 1575, and in Peru in 1580 and again toward the end of Philip II's reign, royal inquisitors were barred from deciding cases involving only sodomy, but they nevertheless often ordered arrests. Moreover, Castilian secular courts prosecuted sodomites even more vigorously than the Inquisition in Aragon: between the 1580s and the 1650s between 100 and 150 sodomites were executed in Madrid alone. In 1568 Philip II ordered

death for all sodomites in all his realms but Sicily successfully resisted. There the authorities inflicted surprisingly lesser penalties in a large number of cases: imprisonment or banishment for life or for a number of years or fines and degradation from office.

The papal Inquisition refused cognizance of sodomy and in 1638 Dr. Martí Real claimed that throughout Italy leniency inadequate to the enormity of the offense prevailed. In fact, in 1644 some Franciscans praised the practice.

In Portugal John III obstinately pursued jurisdiction for his Inquisition, which the reluctant papacy granted only in 1562 after his death and as in Aragon only provided that judges proceed according to municipal law. By 1640 the offense was tried like heresy and punished by scourging and the galleys or relaxation. As a result of complaints by the Cortes, the Concordat of 1646 recognized the principle of *mixti fori* so that whichever court proceeded first gained jurisdiction. In all the regions under the Spanish crowns, which included Portugal between 1580 and 1640, squabbles over jurisdiction, procedure, and penalties continued, but torture tended to be freely used even upon the testimony of but one accomplice.

*Valencia.* There were two peak periods of prosecution in Valencia: 1571–90 and 1621–30. The first sodomite was burned by the Inquisition in Valencia in 1572. The accused included 19.5 percent clergy, 5.6 percent nobles and other upper-class groups, 36.7 percent workers and artisans, 18.6 percent slaves and servants, 17.6 percent soldiers, sailors, and vagabonds, and 2.3 percent other groups. Poor boys leaving home to seek their fortunes beginning as early as 8 to 10 were the most frequent objects of desire, but as passives and minors they received much lighter if any sentences than their older and active seducers. Of those brought to trial, 29.1 percent were between 12 and 19 years old and 43.2 percent were under 25. Of the 347 cases of "crimes against nature" between

1566 and 1775, 259 involved homosexuality; minus bestiality the proportion rises from 74.6 percent to 99.2 percent. Prior to 1570 the records show between 10 and 20 cases; from 250 to 260 were found between 1570 and 1700, and only 50 or 60 cases in the eighteenth century. Thus from 320 to 350 cases occurred between 1566 and 1775, of which 50 to 60 resulted in burnings.

A growing reluctance to convict those who, unlike heretics, could not escape by confession and penance led after 1630 to greater leniency and more commutations. Torture decreased: in Valencia 21.4 percent of sodomites were tortured prior to 1630, but only 4.2 percent afterwards. Priests held that only incorrigibility should lead to relaxation, and sodomy was held to be a sin or vice, not a fixed characteristic. The subjects of inquisition then in theory could not be tortured until the church failed after repeated attempts to reform them, for torture should only be used when conviction could lead to death. In the trial of Fray Manuel Sánchez del Castellar y Arbustán in 1684 with two accomplices testifying to consummated acts and others—solicitation, lewd and lascivious acts, and a foul reputation—continual cross-examination, so rarely allowed in such tribunals, revealed inconsistencies, discrepancies, contradictions, jealousies, and enmities; this trial led only to exile and silencing of the distinguished clerk, who had already lingered three years in prison. By the early eighteenth century, greater mildness in regard to those found guilty of sodomy was on the rise.

*Portugal.* The records of the Portuguese Inquisition, which are complete for sodomy from 1567 to 1794, have been carefully studied by Luiz Mott, a leading Brazilian scholar. During this period 4,419 persons confessed to, or were accused of, sodomitical crimes, but of these fewer than ten percent were arrested and tried. Only thirty sodomites were actually burned by the Portuguese Inquisition, so that it seems milder than persecutions in other countries. Throughout western Europe,

however, the strategy of social control of homosexual behavior seems to have been much the same: since there could be no possibility of blanket surveillance, the authorities severely punished in public a few signal cases of sodomy to intimidate others. The accused included a disproportionate number of blacks and mulattoes, reflecting the popular belief that sodomy had been imported from overseas. As in Aragon, in Portugal the persecution of sodomites peaked in the period 1620–34, when as many cases were tried (94) as those recorded for the previous century. In the eighteenth century sodomy trials became uncommon, and the Portuguese Inquisition concentrated on persecuting heretics and libertines.

*Overseas.* Cardinal Jiménez had given bishops inquisitorial power in the Indies in 1516–17. Philip II established tribunals in Lima (1570) and Mexico City (1571). The first auto-da-fé (public burning) took place at Mexico City in 1547, the year of Cortes' death. The Inquisition in America was less active than in Spain, with only some 100 executions in the 250 years of its existence; only 30 were executed in Lima, for example. The Portuguese Inquisition made Goa its overseas capital and in 1571 Philip II had the pope create an "Inquisition of the galleys . . . of fleets and armies." Protestants, even English and French ones, were burned.

Much work needs to be done in evaluating the records of the Iberian Inquisition. However, a glimpse of their treatment of sodomites is afforded by a scene in Seville in 1585. The authorities decided to make an example of a black man who had been accused of sodomy and procuring young boys. They painted his face, adorned him with a lace ruff and a big curled wig, and marched him through the streets to the stake.

*How Many Victims?* Estimates of the total number of victims of the Inquisition vary enormously, and modern critical scholarship has corrected some of the exaggerations of earlier Protestant and anti-

clerical historians. Stanley Paine, in his *History of Spain and Portugal* (Madison, WI, 1973), concluded that in the first century of the Iberian Inquisition (1478–1578), 50,000 conversos were condemned, but that the Spanish Inquisition executed a total of some 3,000 (including a small number of Protestants) over a span of three hundred years (1478–1778). A few executions are recorded from the eighteenth century, and the last hanging occurred in 1826. By contrast, between 1562 and 1684 3,200 individuals were executed for witchcraft in Southwest Germany alone.

Henry Kamen, in *Spain 1469–1714* (New York, 1965), states that about 5.4 percent of those arrested by the Inquisition were accused of Judaizing and 7 percent of Protestant sympathies. Most of the Protestants were foreigners. In all of Spain after 1562 fewer than half a dozen individuals were burned at the stake for Protestantism. In Aragon, Granada, Saragossa, and Valencia most of the accused were moriscos (Moors forcibly converted to a nominal Christianity). Executions amounted to no more than 10 percent a year of those arrested. In much of this period the total number of executions by order of the Inquisition came to only 2 or 3 a year in all of Spain and its American colonies. Kamen further notes that as many as one-third of those arrested in Toledo were accused of extra-marital sexuality—fornication, adultery and the like—over which secular tribunals also had jurisdiction.

The anti-clerical Napoleonic-era historian Juan Antonio Llorente concluded that 31,912 condemned persons were relaxed to the secular authorities and 17,659 were relaxed in effigy because they had already fled, while 291,450 persons were given penitential sentences, thus assigning the Spanish Inquisition a total of 341,021 victims in its three-and-a-half century history.

*Conclusion.* The principle of toleration proclaimed by the Enlightenment caused the Inquisition in Spain first to be

abolished in 1808 by Joseph Bonaparte and although restored by the reactionary Ferdinand VII in 1814, it was abolished by the liberals after they came to power in 1820, and definitively abolished by royal decree in 1834. Its crimes are still remembered as a high-water mark of the attempt to impose uniformity of belief by systematically prosecuting and punishing all who were guilty of "error," and it has served as a sad precedent for totalitarian states of the twentieth century that have demanded the same sort of ideological unanimity from their subjects. The mass purges and atrocities of Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, and other dictatorships that explicitly rejected the legal doctrines of the Enlightenment have revived these horrendous practices of the Old Regime. The Holy Office, responsible for the conduct of the papal Inquisition since 1542, was replaced by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1965.

In retrospect, it must be conceded that the number of homosexual victims of the Inquisition, even at its fiercest, was but a small percent of the whole. Marranos (nominal Christians of Jewish descent), Nicodemites, sundry heretics, and other offenders outside the sexual realm made up the bulk of those persecuted by the inquisitors, while a minority—perhaps only a fifth—of those convicted of sodomy were actually burnt at the stake. The object of the show trials and executions was to intimidate other, potential offenders, not to exterminate an entire segment of the population, since the modern notion of the "exclusive homosexual" did not exist at this time.

It is clear from the historical record that even in that era a few thinkers did everything in their power to calm the irrational panic unleashed by credulity and superstition, so that the peak of intolerance was always followed by a decline in the number of prosecutions and in the severity of the sentences. The Iberian peninsula seems to have reached the height of persecution of sodomy first, in the ear-

lier half of the seventeenth century; France (without the device of Inquisition) in the second half under Louis XIV; Holland in the first half of the eighteenth century, and last of all Protestant England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. By the time such Continental reformers as Beccaria and Voltaire began their attack on the criminal practice of the Old Regime, mass trials and executions for sodomy were largely a thing of the past, and an enlightened public opinion was preparing for the abolition of all offenses motivated by superstition and fanaticism—a step finally taken by the Constituent Assembly during the French Revolution, some time before the persecution of sodomites was to reach its peak in England.

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### INSANITY, MORAL

Moral insanity, defined as "madness consisting in a morbid perversion of the natural feelings, affections, inclinations, temper, habits, moral dispositions, and natural impulses, without any remarkable disorder or defect of the intellect or knowing and reasoning faculties, and particularly without any insane illusion or hallucination," was a widespread psychiatric concept in the nineteenth century. In the English-speaking world it was particularly propagated by James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848), whose fame, however, rests upon his work as an anthropologist and comparative linguist. Educated at Cambridge and then at Oxford, in 1811 he became a physician at Saint Peter's Hospital in Bristol and in 1814 at the Bristol Infirmary, besides which he developed a substantial private practice.