

## **Causes of violence (I): twelve benefits of the punishment or illegalization of religious heresies**

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**Summary:** I have carried out an exploratory bibliographic search on the material benefits (as opposed to psychological ones) resulting from the illegalization of three groups of conduct: religious heresies, conduct related to illegal drugs and the buying and selling of sexual services. This is the first of three essays to explain the results of this research. Section 1 is an overall introduction to the three essays. Section 2 presents 12 benefits resulting from the punishment or illegalization of religious heresies. Most benefits in this list do not require the punished behavior to be discouraged by the punishment.

**Keywords:** heresy, punishment, violence, law.

*And if a few examples could be made, punishing a few with the penalty of their lives, or with the loss of property and exile, so there of could be no mistake about the seriousness of the business of religion, this remedy would be so much more effective.*

Saint Ignatius of Loyola<sup>1</sup>

*Who could read ten centuries of History without closing it on seeing the same old things with different dates?*

León Felipe<sup>2</sup>

### **1Introduction**

This essay is the first in a series of three essays on the benefits / causes of violence. This introduction serves as a theoretical background which will be useful in understanding the three essays more fully.

According to Hobbes (1651, ch. XLVII), “*Cicero maketh honourable mention of one of the Cassii, a severe Judge amongst the Romans, for a custom he had in Criminall causes, (when the testimony of the witnesses was not sufficient,) to ask the accusers, Cui bono; that is to say, what Profit, Honor, or other Contentment the accused obtained, or expected by the Fact. For amongst Presumptions, there is none that so evidently declareth the Author as doth the BENEFIT of the Action.*” Similarly, to understand the causes of each case of violence we could ask “what are the benefits that it produces?”

Two types of benefit are distinguished: material and psychological. Material benefits are those which are likely to lead to improved reproductive success of the individuals who receive them (material losses are those which produce the opposite effect). Psychological benefits refer to the various modes of pleasure (the brain’s reward system) and pain relief. In hypothetical living beings, perfectly designed for survival and

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<sup>1</sup> Fragment of a letter from Ignatius of Loyola to Pedro Canisio, cited by Artola (1968, p. 308).

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of poem XXXI of “Versos y oraciones de caminante” (León Felipe, 1979, p. 135).

reproduction, the psychological benefits must be related and proportional to the balance between material benefits and losses, i.e. the material net benefit.

But living beings are not “perfectly designed” (according to this criteria) as we suffer from imperfections caused by a diverse range of circumstances. One origin of imperfection is the fact that biological evolution generally tends to be slow in comparison with the speed of environmental change. This means that living beings often have characteristics which are ill-suited to current environmental conditions as they were adapted to suit conditions in which our ancestors lived. Among other things, this implies that current brains are compensated with pleasure for behaviors which are non-optimal in these new environments. This means that they are not the behaviors which maximize the material net benefit (and *possibly not long-term psychological benefits either*). “*Design errors*” is the name given herein to the characteristics of living beings which provoke this imbalance between brain reward and material benefits.

I will assume that, with the exception of the most basic behaviors such as reflexes, humans act to achieve psychological benefits (brain reward or pain relief). Thus, with the above defined terms, human behaviors can be explained to a large extent as a consequence of the balance between material benefits and losses (i.e. the material net benefit) and of design errors<sup>3</sup>.

Each of the three essays presents a set of material benefits which may be produced by the punishment of those who demonstrate certain behaviors or by their illegalization. Given that these punishments generally involve violence, understanding the benefits they produce gives an insight into human violence. Material losses are not listed but it is evident that they also help to understand violence. Furthermore, the lists are by no means exhaustive and are not meant to be; logically it is probably impossible to make such lists. These shortcomings can be justified by the fact that various points relating to the causes of violence are well illustrated in the lists of benefits presented, without them being exhaustive and without knowing about possible losses. These points are: an abundance of motives for one single act of violence; the discrepancy between the real causes / benefits and the alleged ones; the fact that it is impossible for a person imposing a punishment to know the full set of causes of the punishment; the hypothesis that all causes of violence can cause immoralization and outlawing and whether the latter occur or not depends only on the support or opposition there is for this violence (which we call “punishment”); and the fact that some of the benefits of a “punishment” do not depend on it resulting in the punished conduct being discouraged (Cortizo Amaro, 2014, 2015a). Thus, in these essays, *punish* signifies *cause damage*, irrespective of the motives behind it. Furthermore, the expression “*punishment of a certain behavior*” is slightly misleading: it would be closer to the truth to say “*punishment of those who perform a certain behavior.*” Also, the lists of causes are arbitrary: some causes could have been grouped together under one heading and others split into two or more headings. This is an illustration of the artificial nature of many explanations of causes of behaviors.

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<sup>3</sup> A more extensive explanation of why benefits are often causes and about design errors can be found in Cortizo Amaro (2014, pp. 11-18).

The list of benefits include all the material benefits found in the literature included in this research which produce – or have produced, at some time and in some place – the punishment or illegalization of the specific behaviors in each essay. No explanation is given for the connection between each noted benefit and the probable increase in reproductive success; this connection can easily be imagined, however.

In the lists in each essay some similarities can be seen: all three contain benefits which do not depend on the punished behavior being discouraged; they include the benefit of causing harm to certain types of people and of benefitting others. Examples of this include earning money or reputation as a result of persecuting the behavior of others. Other benefits are more specific to each punished conduct.

“According to the accusatorial system [in force in Europe before the 13th century] a criminal action was both initiated and prosecuted by a private person, who was usually the injured party or his kin” (Levack, 1995, p. 70). If the accused was able to prove their innocence the accuser could have been accused of making false accusations. This system was replaced by the inquisitorial system in the early 13th century. This consisted of a judge or court initiating and carrying out the process and undertaking the necessary investigations, following complaints or *ex officio*. This change was momentous for crimes in which there are no material damages or, if there are, they are for motives which it is preferable not to admit, and the presence of a harmed accuser is no longer necessary. This, to a great extent, is the case with heresies: “It was, in fact, mainly to combat heresy that the Church adopted the new modes of initiation” (Levack, 1995, p. 74). It could also be the case, to some degree, with illegal drugs and prostitution<sup>4</sup>.

These two cases – as in others such as immigration – share the characteristic that in some legislation the behavior itself is not illegal but assisting in doing it is; this is proof that it is not just the damage or harm caused by the behavior which leads to its illegalization.

## **2 Material benefits resulting from punishment or illegalization of religious heresies**

Benefits B1 to B3 require the punishment to discourage heresy. Depending on the specific case, benefit B4 may or may not require the punishment to act as a discouragement. Benefits B5 to B12 do not require the punished heresy to cause harm to the interests of anybody, nor does the punishment need to discourage the conduct. The punished conduct is neutral or maybe even beneficial to those who apply the punishment.

(It should be noted that the vast majority of the information found refers to the Christian religion and its heresies. It is extremely probable that the same conclusions could be extended, to a greater or lesser degree, to apply to other religions and maybe even non-religious heresies.)

Before discussing each benefit, here is the list:

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<sup>4</sup> For example, the authors of an evaluation of the results of a Swedish law criminalizing the buying of sex have doubts as to whether those who sell should be considered, during court proceedings, as witnesses or victims (Swedish Institute, 2010, pp. 11-12).

- B1 Avoiding loss of social cohesion
- B2 Avoiding schisms
- B3 Avoiding other inconvenient practical consequences
- B4 Demonstration of power
- B5 Improving social status by defending one's reputation or harming the reputation of others
- B6 Harming individual competitors or enemies
- B7 Harming competitor or enemy groups
- B8 Weakening rivals in internal struggles
- B9 Distraction
- B10 Earning money or goods as a result of punishment
- B11 Receiving money or other benefits as reward for persecution
- B12 Receiving money or other benefits through extortion and bribery

### **B1 Avoiding loss of social cohesion**

The typical dogmas and beliefs of a religion serve as its identifying traits (Matthews, 2012). By contradicting them, heresies weaken their strength and weaken the social cohesion of the groups for whom they are identifying traits. This may reduce the motivation to fight against a rival group, for example (Atran *et al.*, 2014). According to O'Shea (2002, pp. 13-14), for instance, "the fate of the Cathars can be viewed as the story of a dissidence unprepared for the vigor of its opponents. The Languedoc of the Cathars was too weakened by tolerance to withstand the single-minded certainties of its neighbors." In general, the harm to the identifying traits makes competition with other groups more difficult as one of the primary uses of these traits is to make the group stronger (Cortizo Amaro, 2014, ch. 5).

Michael Servetus's principal heresy was to doubt the dogma of the Holy Trinity; this dogma is difficult to debate as almost nobody understands it. It appears that, at the First Council of Nicaea (AD 325), the discovery of the word *homoousios* (consubstantial, equal in being or essence) was of great significance (Barón Fernández, 1970, p. 48; Mitre Fernández, 2000, p. 15): the three distinct figures are consubstantial. However, looking at the subject with perspective, it doesn't seem to resolve the problem. Barón Fernández (1970, p. 250) suggests that some of the debates between Servetus and Calvin, when the first defended himself against accusations of heresy, had caused "boredom among members of the Council" (the civil court trying the case); this is based on information such as the Council agreeing that both debaters should express themselves in writing: "As it would be tedious to hear the speech here, besides being very confusing subject, it is agreed that ..." Other debates between dogma and heresy are equally difficult to understand. The heresy of Adoptionism, for example, claims that "In his divine form, Christ was the true and proper son of God but in respect to his human nature he was his adopted son" (Mitre Fernández, 2000, p. 46).

But this is not a problem; it is perhaps even beneficial given that beliefs are better as strong identifying traits if they cannot easily be proven as true: if they turn out to be true or false they can be accepted by outsiders or rejected by the in-group's members, respectively (Sperber, 2009). Thus, for this benefit, it is not important that the believers understand and accept the dogma, just that they repeat it without modification.

## **B2 Avoiding schisms**

The following phrase appears in a French edict from 1567: “Just as by divine providence there is no more than one sun and one king in our kingdom, nor should there be, for similar reason, more than one religion in it” (Monroy, 2006, p. 9). The phrase, whilst not a great accomplishment of logical reasoning, does illustrate the common desire of those who identify with a group that the group be homogeneous.

Heresies can lead to schisms: a (religious) subgroup splits from the original group, thereby weakening this original. Furthermore, schisms also particularly harm the personal interests of the leaders of the initial group as the number of their followers decreases.

## **B3 Avoiding other inconvenient practical consequences**

Sometimes religious beliefs are not only identifying traits but have other practical consequences as they give credibility to specific affirmations with practical implications. For example, it can be inferred from the beliefs of the Cathars that the sacraments of the Catholic Church were a hoax and there was therefore no reason to pay any taxes to the Church (O’Shea, 2002, pp. 11-12). Nor did the Cathars believe in Hell (Brenon, 1998, p. 66; O’Shea, 2002, p. 11); this reduced the Church authorities’ ability to manipulate believers with the threat of eternal suffering.

Ridao (2004) suggests that Protestant theologians cast doubt on some non-essential dogmas of the Christian creed, partly in order to question papal infallibility to thereby undermine his authority and justify discontent with the distribution of the newly discovered continent of America between Spain and Portugal. This gives rise to a possible benefit of punishing Protestant heresies: “The orthodox zeal of Carlos V and Felipe II [kings of Spain] may be due, no doubt, to a firm religious conviction. But it may also have been due to the dynasty’s political needs in an attempt to keep their transatlantic domains intact by defending the Pope’s authority” (Ridao, 2004, p. 28).

## **B4 Demonstration of power**

Any aggression can act as a demonstration of power and thus serves to defend or improve one’s status or, from a different perspective, to dissuade others from aggression (Cortizo Amaro, 2014, ch. 7). Vengeance, for example, is a major cause of violence, even in religious wars or punishment for heresy, and often has dissuasion as its motivation.

Something similar happens with suppression of disrespect. Some heretics were disrespectful to opponents of higher status, and this would be a possible motive for them to wish to punish the heresy to avoid damage to their reputation and status (Cortizo Amaro, 2015b).

For example, Servetus returned a book written by Calvin with corrections and calling him blasphemous and sacrilegious (Barón Fernández, 1970, p. 148). Although Servetus later said that Calvin had insulted him previously (Barón Fernández, 1970, p. 238) this is no excuse, even if true, because one’s superiors deserve or demand more respect than their inferiors and Calvin was accustomed to being treated with great respect.

Unlike the situation with Servetus, when the person who is disrespectful is part of a significant group of heretics, the punishment can be directed at the entire group rather than just the individual, as a result of the almost universal human inability to distinguish between individuals and groups of individuals (Cortizo Amaro, 2014, p. 61). For example, according to Benlliure Andrieux (2006, p. 40) a fanatic Huguenot (French Calvinist) called Feret was involved in the distribution of posters which said: "... truth terrifies them [the Catholics], and by truth will their reign be destroyed for ever." Francis I, king of France, found one of these posters on the door to his chambers in his castle at Amboise and "considered it to be an affront to his authority and, filled with rage, he ordered the capture of the perpetrators; (...) a total of 160 people [Huguenots from Paris] were imprisoned and many were tortured terribly."

Various heretics insulted the Pope or the Catholic Church. Some of the first Cathars referred to the majority faith as the "harlot of the Apocalypse" and "the church of wolves" (O'Shea, 2002, p. 25). An article from the Huguenot National Synod at Gap in 1603 was incendiary as it stated "the Pope should be recognized as the very *Anti-Christ and the son of perdition* prophesized in the Word of God" (Benlliure Andrieux, 2006, p. 134). Pope Urban VIII, despite a previous friendship with Galileo Galilei, felt insulted by him as many believed that the character *Simplicio* in his book "*Dialogo...*" was based on him (Blázquez Miguel, 1988, p. 122). The Cathars, the Huguenots and Galileo were all persecuted or punished.

Levack (1995, p. 155) cites another instance of suppression of disrespect: "At Salem, for example, the witches who were punished most severely were those who refused to recognize the authority of the court that was trying them."<sup>5</sup>

Heretics, especially witches, were subject to displaced aggression (see B9), a benefit of which is a demonstration of power (Cortizo Amaro, 2014, ch. 7).

### **B5 Improving social status by defending one's reputation or harming the reputation of others**

Reputation is an important part of social status, or a route by which to reach it. Social status can be elevated by improving one's own reputation or damaging that of others; or both simultaneously. (Elevated social status generally leads to possession of greater rights: Cortizo Amaro, 2014, ch. 6).

For example, the obligation of celibacy for Catholic priests was preceded by a time when celibacy was not required but was becoming increasingly important to the Church's leaders and they were the first to adopt it (or at least to declare that they had). According to Ranke-Heinemann (1994, p. 105) the Council of Trent stated: "If someone says that remaining in virginity and celibacy is not better and holier than marrying, let them be excommunicated." The author adds: "This is understandable, because [celibacy supporters] thought that their own worth deserved greater reverence, and this had to be stipulated in an article of faith" (Ranke-Heinemann, 1994, p. 105).

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<sup>5</sup> Witchcraft was considered a case of heresy, mainly because it was presumed that the magical powers of the witches resulted from their renouncing religion and making a pact with the devil (Levack, 1995).

On the other hand, Brenon (1998, p. 17) suggests that one of the motivations for persecuting heretics during a time of growth of religiousness could have been that the monks felt “competition from individuals who were more religious than they themselves<sup>6</sup>.”

On occasion the punishment of a heretic can be beneficial to the reputation of a specific individual. A component of social image is trustworthiness or the fulfillment of promises and threats. After Servetus offered to go to Geneva to rid Calvin of his errors, Calvin wrote (in a 1546 letter): “... if he comes here, if my authority is worth anything, I will never permit him to depart alive” (according to Barón Fernández, 1970, p. 149). Servetus was burned at the stake as a heretic in 1553. What Calvin wrote may well have been a mistake (as believed by Barón Fernández, 1970); however, once said there was a new motive to burn Servetus: fulfilling that which has been promised. In another similar case, the monk Hypatius of Bithynia “prophesized that [Nestorius] would only remain on the Episcopal throne [of Constantinople] for three and a half years” (Teja, 1999, p. 178). Hypatius became a great defender of the idea that the ideas of Nestorius were heretical and should be punished.

Furthermore, Levack (1995, pp. 107, 150 and 249) cites another, very specific benefit of accusations of witchcraft, at least in 16th and 17th century England. There were many poor people begging and the moral of the time demanded that they were given help. Accusations of witchcraft served as a justification to not help them (or also – it can be understood – to discourage begging; this gave people a choice between two bad options: lose money or lose public standing).

### **B6 Harming individual competitors or enemies**

It is likely that certain beliefs of Bishop Nestorius of Constantinople were denounced as heresy to damage the reputation of Nestorius himself. This may have been the aim of the Bishop of Alexandria, who disputed the leadership of Christianity in the East with the Archbishop of Constantinople, as well as of many monks in Constantinople itself who were fighting against the bishop’s orders for them to stay inside their monasteries (Teja, 1999).

Calvin, who played an active role in the case against Servetus, could have benefitted from his elimination as he was a talented theological rival (Barón Fernández, 1970).

In Spain, some kings used the Holy Office to neutralize political enemies or inconvenient witnesses by making false accusations against them (Bethencourt, 2009, pp. 320 and 394).

Sometimes, according to Levack (1995, p. 168) “individuals deliberately and maliciously brought charges of witchcraft against their antagonists –political rivals, economic competitors, and sometimes even family members with whom they were in conflict– in order to resolve their differences and bring vengeance upon them.”

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<sup>6</sup> “In 1022 a dozen of the most religious canons of the cathedral of Orleans were burned alive as heretics by order of Capetian [King] Robert II the Pious. It was the first burning alive of the Christian Middle Ages” (Brenon, 1998, p. 14).

### **B7 Harming competitor or enemy groups**

In the case of there being a correlation between professing a belief and belonging to a competitor or enemy group, those who profess that belief can be persecuted and condemned as a means to harm the group. Beliefs are used as a means (albeit imperfect) of identifying rivals. That these rivals embrace heresy is, therefore, beneficial to the persecutors.

An example of this was the temporary ban on religious images by the Catholic authorities as they were seen as idolatrous heresy during a period when the monasteries possessed a vast wealth of these images. Mitre Fernández (2000, p. 31) claims that, with this prohibition “they also wished to deprive the monasteries of their riches and their influence over the masses.”

Teja (1999, p. 226) suggests that one further motive for cracking down on certain heresies was the improved role of women that they allowed; he considers this motive as “decisive in condemning Priscillianism.”

But what happened most frequently during the Middle Ages was that a heresy became associated with a specific social group or with the population of a peripheral province of the empire wishing for decentralization (Mitre Fernández, 2000). Thus, persecution of heresy was used to harm these social groups and peripheral populations.

Benlliure Andrieux (2006, p. 86) says the following about a baron from Les Adrets: “He had entered into the new religion as a result of a judicial process which, according to him, he had lost because of the [leadership of the Catholic party] Duke of Guise and the barbarity of his crimes was such that the leaders of the Calvinist party sent an emissary to control him. His resentment at being spurned was so great that he returned to the Catholic Church.” These facts illustrate that there may be personal motives among the causes that lead to the choice of one side or another and the side chosen is a determining factor in which beliefs are adopted. Once this happens, attacking other beliefs is another way of attacking the enemy.

### **B8 Weakening rivals in internal struggles**

Benlliure Andrieux (2006, p. 146) states that the Spanish Monarchs welcomed war between the Catholics and Huguenots in France and supported the Catholics as a way to weaken France.

The St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre and those of the following days frustrated the Huguenot leaders’ plans to assist the rebels in the Netherlands who had risen against the Spanish, thereby benefiting King Philip II of Spain. This benefit led many Huguenots to believe that King Philip II was one of those behind the massacre. This is a plausible but unproven theory (Elliot, 1976).

### **B9 Distraction**

Various authors believe that one of the benefits of persecuting witchcraft was that it made it difficult for people to direct their attention to the real causes of their ills and to instead blame erroneous causes. According to Harris (2002, p. 214):



“Preoccupied with the fantastic activities of these demons, the distraught, alienated, pauperized masses blamed the rampant Devil instead of the corrupt clergy and the rapacious nobility. Not only were the Church and state exonerated, but they were made indispensable. The clergy and nobility emerged as the great protectors of mankind against an enemy who was omnipresent but difficult to detect. Here at last was a reason to pay tithes and obey the tax collector.”

According to Levack (1995, p. 158), “[b]y conducting a witch-hunt, moreover, administrative authorities could heal, at least temporarily, potentially dangerous divisions in society by focusing the attention of the entire community on a common enemy, and so distract it from more serious (and more real) concerns”. Also according to Levack (1995, p. 168), “[t]he process of scapegoating in response to misfortune was probably the most common trigger of European witch-hunts.”

In general, executing heretics acted as a release of mass aggressivity so that the people would not express their displeasure in ways which would be more harmful to those in power. Blázquez Miguel (1988, p. 135) states that, in Spain “the *autos-da-fé*<sup>7</sup> were highly anticipated and well attended events, comparable in popularity to bullfighting and there are such acts which were attended by about two hundred thousand people, coming to enjoy the spectacle from the most remote places.”

In 1680, the wife of the French ambassador in Spain described in a letter one such *auto-da-fé* which took place in the Plaza Mayor in Madrid. In this act “eighteen stubborn Jews, men and women, two apostates and a Moslem” were sentenced to be burned to death the following night:

“The next night, those who had been condemned to the fire were burned outside the city, in a tumulus built especially for the occasion, where those unfortunate souls had to endure a thousand tortures before being executed; even monks who were present burned them with the flames of small torches with the intention of converting them. Many of the people who went up the mound beat them with their swords while the mob threw a shower of stones at them.”<sup>8</sup>

There are even cases of lynching heretics, especially before the persecution of heretics became better legislated. Fudge (2013, pp. 105-106) states: “Heretics at Cologne in 1143 were dragged to the stake before their case had been legally resolved” (Brenon [1998, p. 34] also cites this episode). There was also lynching of witches in Europe during the era of witch-hunts (Levack, 1995, p. 68).

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<sup>7</sup> The *autos-da-fé* [lit. acts of faith] were ceremonies which finalized the processes of the Inquisition against those accused of heresy. They were normally carried out in the open air and attended by the authorities and the public, in Spain, Portugal and some other places.

<sup>8</sup> Besas and Besas (2008, pp. 132-133). The description comes from: Villars, Madame, “Lettres de Madame de Villars à Madame de Coulanges”. Paris: A. de Courtois, 1868.

### **B10 Earning money or goods as a result of punishment**

As stated in B2 and B3, discouraging heresies could act as a way of avoiding loss of economic income. However, persecution and punishment of heresy could also give rise to economic benefits, independent of whether the heresy was discouraged or not.

The primary means by which this occurs is through fines and confiscation of goods, punishments which were frequently handed down by the Inquisition. The money and goods concerned would remain with the Inquisition (diminishing the need for external financing) or would go to other beneficiaries. Even before the creation of the Inquisition, in 1200 AD, Pope Innocent III promulgated a decree which handed the property of the heretics to their persecutors, and he also “declared that the property of Catholics who refused to hunt heretics was also liable to seizure” (O’Shea, 2002, p. 57). Often the families of those who were condemned would also suffer confiscation of their goods (Mitre Fernández, 2000, p. 83).

### **B11 Receiving money or other benefits as reward for persecution**

Another way of benefitting from the persecution of heresies was the payment for the services of the persecutors and their collaborators (which evidently implies the person who makes this payment obtains some other material or psychological benefits). The Crusade against the French Cathars (1209 - 1229), the first crusade against Christians as opposed to Muslims, is a good example of this.

Firstly, money was offered to those who joined the crusade: “the Crusaders had been promised a full remission of their sins, a moratorium on their debts and a transfer of Church funds to their pockets” (O’Shea, 2002, p. 72). The Pope later legitimized the appropriation of large parts of the Languedoc region by the victors of the crusade; this was where the majority of the French Cathars lived and the justification was that the local landowning nobles had not opposed the heresy (Brenon, 1998, p. 76; O’Shea, 2002). Then the victors returned these favors by re-imposing the tithes that had not been paid or had been diverted to the nobles, and created a new tax for the Pope: “One of Simon’s [Simon de Monfort, leader of the crusade] first measures was to institute an onerous annual poll tax, the proceeds of which went to the pope” (O’Shea, 2002, pp. 109-110).

The Inquisition, set up specifically to finish off the remnants of the Catharist heresy after the crusade, and the official function of which was the persecution of heretics, provided good employment to many people for several centuries<sup>9</sup>. In 1782, with the abolition of the Inquisition in Sicily (Italy), the Senate of Palermo sent a petition to the king for it to be kept with the sole argument that “numerous Sicilian families depended on its existence” (Bethencourt, 2009, p. 417). According to Bethencourt (2009, p. 417) the absence of political or religious arguments either for or against the tribunal is striking: “The petitions of the inquisitors, officials and familiars of the Holy Office confined themselves to claiming privileges of status and jurisdiction traditionally confirmed by the kings.”

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<sup>9</sup> For example, during the entire period of its operation, “the Spanish Inquisition was served by at least 9,000 salaried officials and 60,000 [unpaid] familiars and commissioners; the Portuguese Inquisition recruited about 3,000 salaried employees... and appointed 20,000 familiars (the number of commissioners probably exceeded 3,000)” (Bethencourt, 2009, p. 440).

Bethencourt (2009) also states that the Portuguese courts did a good job of administering the reserve of *clients* (people accusable of heresy, primarily Jewish converts) so that they would last a long time: “The Portuguese Inquisition was well aware of the importance of the communities of New Christians in keeping the tribunals supplied: it always opposed the expulsion of New Christians, even when the king was in favor (specifically in the 1620s), and it never succumbed to the temptation of terror, skillfully managing this potential ‘reserve’, which survived until the mid-eighteenth century” (Bethencourt, 2009, p. 346).

The author’s “terror” refers to a period of intense persecution of Jews after the creation of the court of the Inquisition which did exist in Spain<sup>10</sup>. For this reason the Spanish Inquisition had to adapt and find other types of *client*: “After the campaign of terror against the converted Jews the dwindling number of potential victims meant that new suspects had to be found among the Moriscos and, above all, the old Christians” (Bethencourt, 2009, p. 350). For example, according to Blázquez Miguel (1988, p. 132), although persecution of witchcraft in Spain (as in Portugal and other parts of southern Europe) was relatively weak, there was an increase of this persecution between 1620 and 1640, possibly due to “a lack of other crimes.” The situation was similar in Latin America and also in Italy where it was the “reserve” of Protestants which was exhausted: “The disappearance of the Protestants around 1610 in the northern and central states made it necessary to turn to the minor heresies of the lower classes in the towns and the countryside” (Bethencourt, 2009, p. 352).

In Spain and Portugal the majority of the staff of the Inquisition were not paid for their work (see footnote 9). They did, however, receive other significant benefits including exemption from taxes and military service and the right to use arms (Bethencourt, 2009, pp. 165-166). In these countries the mere fact of being accepted as a servant of the Inquisition (which required an investigation into the origins and status of the candidate) was beneficial in itself: “the successful candidates were in future equipped with a powerful weapon in their status battles with other families or power groups in their village or town” (Bethencourt, 2009, p. 164). Certain positions occupied by the clergy from religious orders were also in high demand despite not being paid posts, “due to the symbolic benefits [which were obtained by the holders of these positions] and the freedom from the duties imposed by the rules of the congregations” (Bethencourt, 2009, p. 160).

Another way of making money from persecution of heresies was related to the modern-day practice of “lobbying.” At the Council of Ephesus (431 AD) Bishop Cyril of Alexandria used part of the riches of the bishopric to gain support, through bribery, for his attempt to condemn Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople as a heretic. The beneficiaries of these bribes were both officers of the imperial court of Constantinople, who were expected to exert influence on the emperor, convener of the Council, as well as ordinary people, who were encouraged to take part in street protests (Teja, 1999, pp. 123ff. and 185). In B6 a motive for Cyril to make these payments is cited.

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<sup>10</sup> The Spanish Inquisition, like the Portuguese one, was relatively independent of the Pope and was set up primarily with the alleged aim of persecuted false Jewish converts (those Jews who, to avoid expulsion from the country, pretended to convert to Catholicism but secretly continued to practice their Jewish faith).

Rewards could also be given for denouncing heresy (Benlliure Andrieux, p. 41), and in the times of the witch hunts “many became professional bounty hunters” (Escotado, 1998, p. 318).

Lastly, one could also persecute heresy to gain favor with needed allies. As Benlliure Andrieux (2006, pp. 39 and 48) states, the French King Francis I either persecuted or favored the Huguenots depending whether he was looking for support from the Pope (who was in favor of persecution) or from Protestant German princes (who were in favor of defending them).

### **B12 Receiving money or other benefits through extortion and bribery**

The inquisitors sometimes used their power to obtain money through extortion or bribery (Lea, 1906). With the introduction of torture into both civil and ecclesiastic courts in the early 13th century, these crimes were easier to commit as it was simple to obtain false confessions and accusations.

In Portugal, the Jewish converts paid “money promised to Philip III on the occasion of the general pardon of 1605,” and “proposed (with supreme audacity) regular payment of a collective rent to the Inquisition in exchange for exemption from confiscation of property” (Bethencourt, 2009, pp. 372 and 371).

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