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The founding of the first psychiatric hospital in the World in Valencia*

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Several hospitals, countries and cultures claim the privilege of being the first to have provided care to people suffering mental illnesses. Among them, the «Hospital de los Inocentes» (Hospital of the Innocents) founded in Valencia in 1410 stands out due to its originality and there are historic and cultural reasons to recognize its primacy. Furthermore, the organization and functioning of this institution and the model, spread like wildfire through the entire Iberian Peninsula during the 15th Century and shortly after through American Spanish speaking countries. For centuries, these establishments were considered exemplary and were copied in other European Countries. At the beginning of the 19th Century in Spain a forced sale of the Catholic Church properties or their disamortization among other a large number of hospitals establishments took place. This led to a terrible collapse of health care for the mentally. From then on it took more than one century to recover a decent standard. The vicissitudes of the creation and progress of the hospital of Valencia and others which followed the example that allows to affirm that it was really the first psychiatric hospital in the World are analyzed in this present work.

Key words:

Mental hospitals. Mental institutions. History of psychiatry. Mental health care.

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La fundación en Valencia del primer hospital psiquiátrico del mundo

Son varios los hospitales, países y culturas que reclaman para sí el privilegio de haber fundado la primera institución para atender a las personas que padecen enfermedades mentales. De entre todas ellas destaca por su originalidad el Hospital de los Inocentes fundado en Valencia en 1410, y hay razones históricas y culturales para reconocer su primacía. A estas hay que añadir que sus principios y modelo organizativo y funcional se extendieron como un reguero de pólvora por toda la Península

Ibérica y muy poco después por la América Hispana. Durante siglos estos establecimientos se consideraron paradigmáticos y fueron copiados en otros países. Las desamortizaciones de principios del siglo XIX privaron a la Iglesia católica de sus propiedades, entre otras de los establecimientos hospitalarios y de las posibilidades de gestionarlos. Con ello empezó una ruina asistencial que tardó más de un siglo en empezar a recuperarse. En el presente trabajo se estudian las vicisitudes de la creación y desarrollo del hospital de Valencia que permiten sostener que realmente fue el primer hospital psiquiátrico del mundo.

Palabras clave:

Manicomio. Establecimiento psiquiátrico. Historia de la psiquiatría. Asistencia psiquiátrica.

THE «HOSPITAL D'INNOCENTS, FOLLCS I ORATS» OF VALENCIA (HOSPITAL OF THE INNOCENTS, THE INSANE AND THE LUNATICS)

The fate of the mental patients changed forever in the World when Joan-Gilbert Jofré, a religious Mercedarian father, asked his parishioners to provide protection and care for the «insane and innocent». This event took place in Valencia in 1409. The response to the request was the creation of the first psychiatric hospital in the World and, intriguingly enough, the first step for the «Virgen de los Desamparados» (Our Lady of the Forsaken) to become the Holy Patron of the city and of the three provinces of the Kingdom of Valencia.

On Friday, February 24, 1409, father Jofré was on his way from the convent of the Plaza de la Merced to the Cathedral, where he was supposed to give the sermon on the first Sunday of Lent two days later. On his way there, probably on the street of Martín Mengod, the ancient street of the silver workers, next to the church of Santa Catalina, a great uproar caught his attention. A group of children were hitting and making fun of a mentally ill man, shouting «the mad man, the mad man!» in accordance with the then very extended belief that the insane were possessed by the devil. He intervened between the aggressors and the assaulted, protected the man and took him to the convent of the Or-

*This paper is an elaboration of the lecture having the same title given by its author in the «Semana Marañón 2006» in Valencia and dedicated to the work and person of Luis Vives.

der of Mercy, where he was given shelter and cure for his wounds.

The next Sunday in the Cathedral*, fray Jofré devoted a part of his sermon to preach against «the irrational persecution especially crueler the more innocent, impotent and irresponsible the victims were.» The Book of Becerro (manuscript by Manuel Calvo on December 22, 1848, Marco Merenciano, 1950), states it in such terms: «In this city, there are many and very important pious and charitable initiatives. However, one very necessary one is lacking, that is, a hospital or house where the innocent and frenzied would be drawn together because many poor, innocent and frenzied people wander through this city. They suffer great hardships of hunger and cold and harm, because due to their innocence and rage, they do not know how to earn their living nor ask for the maintenance they need for their living. Therefore, they sleep in the streets and die from hunger and cold and many evil persons, who do not have God in their conscience hurt them and point to where they are sleeping, they injury and kill and abuse some innocent women. It also occurs that the frenzied poor hurt many of the persons who are out wandering through the city. These things are known in the entire city of Valencia. Thus, it would be a very holy thing and work for Valencia to build a hostel or hospital where such insane or innocent persons could be housed so that they would not be wandering through the city and could not hurt nor be hurt».

The sermon was attended by Lorenzo Salom (or Saloni), who, together with other merchants and craftsmen provided the necessary funds to carry the request out. It is worthwhile remembering their names: Bernardo Andreu, Juan Armenguer, Francisco Barceló, Pedro de Bonia, Sancho Calvo, Jaime Domínguez, Fernando García, Pedro Pedrera, Estaban Valenza and Pedro La Plana (Sempere). Shortly after, the General Council of the city approved the initiative. The asylum was located in what had been a house with a garden outside of the city, close to the Torrent gate, which from the on became known as the «Puerta de los Locos» (the Gate of the Insane). The building began on May 9th and the necessary authorizations from King Martín I the Humane, arrived immediately. The first permit was to begin the building (December 1409), the second, the privilege to consider that the properties had been paid off for their maintenance and conservation (February 7, 1410) and finally the Constitutions for its administration and governing (March 15, 1410). Furthermore, Pope Benedict XIII authorized the hospital in an Order issued on May 16, 1410 where he indicates that the hospital could be dedicated to the Innocent Martyr Saints.

On June 1, 1410 the hospital was inaugurated with the name of Hospital d'Innocents, Folles i Orats under the pro-

tection of the Our Lady, Sancta Maria dels Innocents. Citizens immediately started to call it «Hospital de Nostra Dona Sancta Maria dels Innocents (Our Lady St. Mary of the Innocents). It must be stressed that the Innocent Martyr Saints, whose throats were ordered to be cut by Herodes, were children under two years of age. They were canonized even though they were not fully aware of what was being done to them because they had not reached the age of reason. These decisions were meant to show that there is a place in Heaven even for those who have not reached or have lost their reason, the innocents, the insane and the lunatics.

On August 29, 1414, the Lloable Confraria de la Verge Maria dels Innocents, (the Praiseworthy Brotherhood of the Virgin Mary of the Innocents) was created. The confraternity consisted on hundred priests, three hundred women and three hundred men and their role was mainly to collect funds for the running of the hospital.

The members of the confraternity, very generous in fact, extended their activities to take care of the funerals of all the insane, of the members of the brotherhood and to provide spiritual consolation to those sentenced to death and to provide Christian burial after their execution. Doña Maria de Castilla, the wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, allowed the Brotherhood to attend to the castaways, the forsaken and prostitutes. The Brotherhood grew so much that another hospital had to be build to provide shelter and care for all kind of marginalized people. Furthermore, the new hospital provided dowries for orphans, for the incarcerated and the needy, for those abandoned at birth, and to pay for the ransom for those captured «in the land of the infidels» (North Africa). To do so, a decree of Fernando the Catholic in 1493 added that of the Forsaken to the original dedication of Our Lady of the Innocents.

In 1512 the Council of the city of Valencia decided to unite all the hospitals of the city in one «Hospital General» and to extend the coverage to all kind of patients and all types of forsaken. The hospital was destroyed by a fire in 1545, in which thirty patients died, and was replaced by a new building. This, by the way, had a special department for children, an unheard of event in its period. Much later, and in virtue of the law of June 20, 1849, committee appointed by the Provincial Charity Board took care of the direction and administration of the hospital, which since then has been known as the Provincial Hospital.

THE IMAGE OF THE OUR LADY OF THE FORSAKEN

Father Jofré had placed an image of Our Lady in a small chapel built next to the Hospital, were the Capitulet, the members of the brotherhood had been meeting since 1411. According to the tradition, in the year 1414, three young pilgrims offered to carve the statue. The brotherhood member who lived in the house, whose wife was paralytic and blind, received them. The three travelers explained to him

*Some authors state that the scene of the aggression and sermon took place one after the other. However, February 24th was Friday and not the first Sunday of Lent.

that they could sculpt an image of Our Lady in three days if they were given a place to do so and food. They were put in a place known as the Hermitage. Four days later, and after no sounds had been heard from them, some of the members of the brotherhood forced open the door and found the image of the Our Lady. The pilgrims could not be found anywhere and at this precise moment the wife of the member of the brotherhood recovered her sight. Thus, the rumor spread that the image «was made by the angels». In 1416 King Alfonso V the Magnanimous sanctioned «that the image of Our Lady made as titular of the mentioned site should carry two innocents of those sacrificed by Herodes under the folds of the robe».

The image would become the Mare de Deu dels Folls, Innocents i Desamparats (Our Lady of the Lunatics, Insane and Forsaken). This is how the fervor of the people of Valencia was born for what was to become their Patron Saint. The image was venerated in this same site until it was moved to the Cathedral in 1487.

In 1646 an epidemic extended through the city, even affecting the viceroy, Count of Oropesa, who asked for help to the Our Lady of the Forsaken and immediately the epidemic ended. He decided to consecrate her as the Patron of the city and of the Kingdom and to build in 1667 a temple, the Basilica, next to the Cathedral. Once the new chapel was finished, celebrations for transferring the image to the current basilica were held.

On April 21, 1885, Pope Leon XIII granted a papal bull by which he named Our Lady of the Forsaken as Patron of Valencia. On October 15, 1921, Pope Benedict XV, on request of the cardinal Enrique Reig Casanova, granted the privilege for the coronation of the image. On Saturday, May 12, 1923 the solemn coronary took place on the grounds close to the Royal bridge, in the presence of the Kings of Spain, Don Alfonso X and Doña Victoria, of the Nuncio of Pope Pio XI, Federico Tedeschini, and the Valencian Cardinal Benlloch, Archbishop of Burgos.

The image is very beautiful. It measures approximately 158 cm in height. As it was planned to place it on the coffin of the executed while waiting to be buried, it tilts slightly forward. Thus, it is known as the «La Geperudeta» or «La Ceperuleta», geperudeta or ceperudeta meaning in Valencian language little hunchback. Under her robe two children with a wound in their necks can be seen, they are the Innocent Martyr Saints.

JOAN-GILABERT JOFRÉ

Joan-Gilabert Jofré was born on June 24, 1350, on the street in the center of Valencia that is now named after him. He was baptized in the church of San Martín, close to his home and soon entered into contact with the Mercedarian order that possessed a convent in a centric square of the city.

Jofré studied Law in Lérida and in 1370 requested to join the religious Order of the Mercy in the Monastery of Santa María de El Puig (close to Valencia). He received his habits and five years later, after having studied Theology, he was ordained a priest. The principal activity of the members of the Order of Mercy, founded in the year 1218 by Saint Pedro Nolasco, was to rescue Christians who were prisoners of the Muslims.

Friar Jofré was a brilliant speaker and used a good part of his sermons to ask for support for the needy. In several European courts, in Borgoña and Perpignan, he arranged the release of prisoners and slaves together with their corresponding ransom. As vicar of the convent of Lérida, in 1391 he asked King Juan I to mediate in favor of the prisoners. He intervened in the papal troubles of Avignon. In these activities he was a companion of Saint Vicente Ferrer, a famous character of the history of Valencia. He also dedicated himself to the poor and forsaken. He founded an orphanage for abandoned children in Valencia in 1410 and a hospice for poor pilgrims in the monastery of El Puig in 1416, where he died in 1417. His remains were deposited in the church of this convent. On October 20, 1946, they were moved from the cemetery to the Monastery and for this reason, there was a very solemn gathering of the Cofradía de Caballeros of Nuestra Señora del Puig (Brotherhood of the Knights of Our Lady of the Puig).

Friar Jofré has been one of the most important figures in the Order of the Mercy. On the roof of the memorial built in 1670 in Valencia in memory of Saint Pedro Nolasco, Saint Pedro Pascual and Friar Gilabert Jofré, all of them friars of the Order of the Mercy friars, and Queen Teresa Gil de Vidaure are represented. The monument was destroyed during the French invasions, among many others, in 1809.

There is a statue of Friar Jofre in Valencia that was in the old site of the Hospital Provincial, then in the new building on the Avenida del Cid, until it was returned to its original site in 1977.

VALENCIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XV CENTURY

The fact that it was precisely in Valencia where an institution of the characteristics of the Hospital de Inocentes was built is not unconnected to its prosperity. Only the Valencian Kingdom, among those of the Kingdom of Aragon (in the East of Spain), successfully overcame the economic crisis of the 14th and 15th Centuries. The economic dynamism was due to the richness of its soil, to the demographic and urbanistic growth of the city, to the splendor of the city life and to the commercial and financial potentiality.

The 15th and 16th centuries are the Golden Age of the Kingdom of Valencia, which during the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous was considered one of the richest and most

learned cities of Europe. It was the principal city of the Iberian Peninsula, open towards Italy and it was the first and primary Spanish port of the Italian Renaissance. It was a commercial large and growing city in all the aspects of the social life and was almost an archetype of European city. Architecture and other arts, poetic and musical arts flourished in it. It is the Valencia of Joanot Martorell, of the Torres de Serrano (the east gateway to the ancient city), of La Lonja and of El Miguelete.

A not very positive political setting and the expulsion of the moriscos, the descendants of Spanish Muslims who Christianize themselves after the conquer of Granada, the last Moorish Kingdom, in 1492. About 500,000 left the Eastern regions of Spain between 1609-1614. The Kingdom of Valencia loss of one third of its population and in 1638 half of its villages were abandoned. The wars of the Germanías (guilds) and the War of Succession (1701-1713) ended the prosperity of the Kingdom, the privileges of its inhabitants and affected the functioning of the hospital and other institutions.

THE ORIGINALITY OF THE HOSPITAL OF VALENCIA

There have been attempts to discredit the achievements of Jofré, saying that what he only aimed to solve was a social problem, that of the high number of the poor, vagrants and insane wandering through the city. However, this is not true. The originality of Jofré is twofold. First, it was an initiative of what we presently call the civil society. Lorenzo Salom and his cofounders were craftsmen and business men and they demanded that the hospital remain independent from the Monarchy, from the Aristocracy and from the Church. The constitutions of Martín I the Human for the administration and management of the hospital of March 15, 1410, already stated that «this work should be totally secular and be made by the common people in regards to the category, jurisdiction and all types of acts, etc.». The intention was to avoid the initiative from being depart from the initial purposes or from being subjected to the unavoidable fate of most of the institutions, which is that follow a path of erosion.

In the second place, the hospital opened in Valencia was a health care establishment, that is why it should be considered as the first psychiatric hospital of the world. The Constitutions of Martín I the Human indicate that medical care should be added to the humanitarian care provided. The inmates were considered to be patients and their activities were aimed at the alleviation of their illnesses and when ever possible, the cure them. Several medical historians coincide in this appreciation: «the cradle of Psychiatry was in Spain where the first convenient and adequate building to hospitalize the insane was constructed» (Alexander and Selesnick, 1970). «It was not Pinel but rather the Spanish psychiatrists in Valencia in 1409 who were the first to remove the chains and establish moral treatment. They used

exercise, games, work, training, diet and hygiene» (Schmitz, 1884-85), «One of the successes that belongs to the Spanish alone is moral treatment to combat mental illnesses and the establishment of comfortable and adequate buildings in the fifteenth century to hospitalize this type of the unfortunate» (Hernández Morejón, 1842). As Bassoe states, quoting Schmitz (1944-45; p. 731-8), the hospital of Valencia was the first to remove the chains on the insane and to establish moral treatment, with exercises, games, occupations, training, diet and hygiene.

However, for more or less chauvinist reasons, others claim this was not true. We now know of hospices for the insane in earlier periods but the presence of specific health care treatment was lacking in all of them. It has been said that «El Cid» the most famous Knight of Spanish history, founded an establishment for the insane in 1068 in Palencia called San Lázaro. In 1326, Georges Hospital of Elbing, belonging to the order of Teutonic Knights, built a few cells, in the so-called Doll-haus (madhouse). These types of cells are mentioned in the documents of the City Hospital of Hamburg in 1375. These also existed in Erfurth, in the large hospital reconstructed in 1385. The Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem or Bedlam in the south of London founded in 1247 by Henry II had housed the insane since 1377. There is evidence in the year 1403 of six mentecapti men, that is, those who were insane, but these inmates did not receive medical care in it until 1473. Similar records exist for the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris, the Hospital of the Holy Trinity of Salisbury, and the hospitals of Bamberg, Nassau and Regensburg. However, all these establishments had a non-medical function, that of housing and locking away the insane. Foucault (1961) was very critical of these establishments, aimed at segregating insanity, precisely in the age of reason.

The fact that up to the 19th century there were no psychiatric hospitals in the English-speaking America is good proof that this was its spirit. In fact, the first modern psychiatric establishment in England was that founded by William Tuke, a Quaker tea merchant and his son Henry, in 1796 in Cork, The Retreat, to use humane care methods to treat the mentally ill. This was the beginning of the moral treatment that extended later on throughout the Anglo-Saxon countries and of the non-restraint policy. Until then, according to Tuke, those confined to the asylums were treated like animals, because they were considered as such. In the USA, the first establishments of this type, built under the influence of Tuke and Pinel, are a division of the Massachusetts General Hospital, presently called the McLean Hospital (1811), the Friends' Asylum at Frankfort, Pennsylvania (1817), the Asylum for the Insane (1818) and The Hartford Retreat for the Insane (1824), now known as the Institute for Living.

The concern for the mentally ill in Valencia has been attributed to the influence of Muslims. It is true that for Islam an insane person is not somebody possessed by the Devil, but someone who, having moved away from the World is

closer to Alah. We have to remember that the Friars of the Order of the Mercy, such as Jofré, had important contacts with Muslims countries due to their activity in rescuing the prisoners. It seems logical to assume that they could have incorporated a positive attitude to the insane and that they would have known the so-called maristans (hospitals-asylums). However, there is much legend about this.

The first maristan, dedicated to the care of patients, was that of Gundishapur (Iran) in the VI century, a city that housed an important Persian medical tradition with contributions from Christian scientists and philosophers expelled from Edessa (in Mesopotamia) or who had come after Justinian closed the Academy of Athens (529). The School of Gundishapur is in the junction of the Greek and Hellenistic medical traditions and of the Persian and Hindu experiences and theories. The city was conquered by the Muslims between 637 and 651 and it continued to exert its influence through them. The Muslim hospitals took the term «maristan» from the Persians. The first ones known are those of Damascus (Al Walid, 706) and that of Baghdad (Harun al-Rashid, 786-803), the latter managed by staff formed in the School of Gundishapur. Other more famous ones were the hospital Adudi in Baghdad, the Nuri in Damascus, the Mansuri in El Cairo and those of Marrakech (1190) and Fez (1286). In the 13th century, there was one in Spain in Algeciras (Abu Ishak Ibrahim), but the most important one of Spain was the maristan of Granada, founded by Muhammad V in the year 1367. This was located in the neighborhood of Axares (Ajšariš). After Granada was conquered in 1492, the building of the maristan was transformed into the mint house and therefore the Catholic Kings had to construct a new building, the Hospital Real (1511) with the double function of curing patients and taking in the poor. In 1935, this hospital began to admit the insane or the innocent, an indication that they had not been taken care of up to then. From then on, the building had several uses until the 19th Century when it was greatly modified and deteriorated. After the sale of ecclesiastical properties by the initiative of the Minister Mendizabal in 1835, the Hospital came under the direction of the county council, who established the Asylum for the Elderly and the House of the Insane. In 1843, the same year in which the Alcaiceria burnt down, the Government of Granada authorized its demolition, but it was reconstructed to contain a house of neighbors, partially torn down in 1984. At present, it is the central headquarter of the University of Granada.

However, neither the «Bar el Maristan» of Baghdad (12th Century), nor the one of Granada (1365-1367) nor that of Fez achieved the grade of specialization reached by the Hospital of Valencia. If Islam had had the primacy, it is unquestionable that there would be clear testimonies in Andalusia, especially in the Córdoba of Abderramán III, which is one of the most brilliant times of the universal culture. There is also no history of medical care to the mental patients in the maristans after the 15th Century which could be compared to the ones of the Spanish Kingdoms and territories.

In words of Marco Merenciano the real singularity of the hospital of Valencia was: «During this historical moment and in this setting, a small Friar dared to say that the insane are patients and that they should be admitted to a hospital to be cured. This unusual fact is the most revolutionary that could occur at that time. The confrontation between a medical concept and religious beliefs and the following social benefits took place in Valencia». And then, «For the first time in History, a genuinely medical concept of insanity is manifested with all its consequences: innocence, lack of legal responsibility, dangerousness of mental illnesses and need for "specialized" treatment».

The originality of the initiative of Jofré is manifested in the name chosen: Hospital of the Innocents, Insane and the Lunatics, which we now would call mentally retarded, psychotics and demented. Instead of the traditional terms of mania, furiosus, mente captus (he whose mind has been kidnapped), inops mentis (he who has mental deficiency) new terms are introduced: Innocent is the child and the adult who, being insane, has no more responsibility than child, and lunatic (from Catalan *orat*, and *orat* is from the Latin word *aura*, «air», «wind»), he who has lost his reasoning.

HUMANITARIAN TRADITION IN SPAIN

The work of father Jofré is not an isolated event nor something imported from his travels to the North of Africa. It is interwoven in a long, typically Spanish tradition of humanitarian consideration toward insanity and mental disease. Its most important milestones are the devotion to the Saints Cosme and Damián (4th Century), the writings of San Isidoro of Seville (6th-7th Centuries) or the legal protection clauses in the Siete Partidas (Seven Laws) of Alfonso X The Wise (13th Century). In these laws the responsibility of the insane was the same as the one of minor (*sicut infantes*). Furthermore we have to consider the role of the monastic orders, the charity of the noblemen and the rich citizens, the donations of people who had made vows of poverty, produced a sudden boom in the charitable institutions.

The profoundly human perspective of care to the mentally ill preceded the school of thought especially respectful of freedom and the dignity of the person of the so-called School of Salamanca, which resulted in the first chair of Theology of 1416 (Bula Sincere of Benedict XIII that reorganized the Salamanca studies), that is characterized by its contributions to the ethics and rights from a Theology perspective. Two Chairs arose there (Prime and Vespers) of Theology. The first chairs were occupied by Francisco de Vitoria (1526-1546), Melchor Cano (1546-1551), Domingo de Soto (1552-1560), Pedro de Sotomayor (1560-1564), Mancio de Corpore Christi (1564-1575), Bartolomé de Medina (1576-1581) and Domingo Báñez (1581-1604). The same pious understanding towards the mentally ill is also strongly manifested in the writings of Luis Vives (1492-1520), who requested that the insane be treated with charity and that they be wellfed and taught.

The contributions of Spain to the progress of Psychiatry were not limited to the institutional field. Outstanding doctors such as Arnau de Vilanova (1240-1313), professor of the University of Montpellier, contributed to the knowledge of mental disorders. He described hallucinations and epilepsy, having a profound emotional understanding of the mentally ill. His treatise on dreams is worthwhile reading nowadays. Cristobal de Vega, born in 1510, and who was the doctor of Prince Charles, described mania, that was treated with hot baths and cold water on the head, leeches and bleedings close to the brain, melancholy, erotomania, that was given a «moral» treatment. Another very important author is Juan Huarte de San Juan who, in his «Examen de ingenios para las ciencias» (The Examination of Men's Wits) made the first modern description of personality disorders.

THE EXAMPLE OF VALENCIA

Good proof of what I have been saying is that the hospital of Valencia was followed in a short period by others of the same nature in Spain and in Spanish America. The insane who up to then had wandered through the fields, who had been housed in some monasteries or who lived and died outside of the walls of the city, began to receive attention. These hospitals are summaries in the following table 1.

In this same sense Friar Bernardino Álvarez created the religious Order of San Hipólito to «cure the insane», founding hospitals of this type of patients in Oaxtepec, Zolapa, Perote, San Juan de Ulúa, La Habana, Puebla de los Ángeles, Antequera in the valley of Oaxaca, Queretaro and Acapulco.

The person of Juan Ciudad Duarte is important. He was canonized as Saint John of God, founder in 1539 of The Hospitaller Order of Saint John of God. Horrified by the mockeries and cruelties that the insane in Granada were subjected to, in 1537, he pretended to be disturbed and managed to get himself shut away in order to discover what their needs were. During forty days, he was relentlessly hit and tortured by those responsible for the insane in an attempt to make him sane again and after many difficulties, he founded a hospital in Granada, supported by alms-givings. This hospital order was and continues to be the most active in the World.

THE CARE FOR MENTAL PATIENTS IN THE SPANISH HOSPITALS

The rules of the hospital of Valencia, authorized by King Martin indicated «That the Custodian of the Hospital could pick-up the insane found in the city either at will or by force. Not included in this measure were those who were locked up by their parents or caregivers.»

The Custodian (called the Clavario or Hospitaller) was a position held by one of the ten administrators of the establishment. He also had representation functions. The first was Lorenzo Salom. The common people called him the pare dels folls (Father of the insane) the same as there was a «Father of orphans» or a «Father of the poor». The Clavary had two functions, gathering up the insane in the city and maintaining the internal functioning of the hospital.

As far as we know, the inmates were correctly taken care of. The mere fact of placing the insane in an adequate place

Table 1

Year	Hospital	Observations
1409	Hospital de Inocentes of Valencia	Founded by Gilaberto Jofré
1412	Hospital de la Santa Cruz of Barcelona	Founded in 1229, it housed the insane since 1412. Rebuilt in 1680, transformed by Pi i Molist in 1889, it lasted until 1978
1425	Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia of Saragossa	Founded by Alfonso V
1436	Hospital de los Inocentes of Seville	Founded by Marco Sancho, it promoted hydrotherapy
1489 (¿1436?)	Valladolid	Founded by Sancho Velázquez de Cuellar, auditor of the Upper Courts of Justice of the State of the Catholic Kings
1456	Palma de Mallorca	Founded within the Hospital General
1480 (¿1483?)	Hospital de los Inocentes (Casa del Nuncio) of Toledo	The apostolic nuncio Francisco Ortiz donated the lands for the hospital. In its facade, it stated: <i>Mentes integrae Sanitari Procurandi</i>
1489	Hospital de Valladolid	
1527	Hospital Real of Granada	Founded by the Catholic Kings in 1511, it has housed mental patients since 1527
1566	Hospital de Madrid	Founded by Phillip II
1567	San Hipólito – Mexico	Founded by Friar Bernardino Álvarez

protecting them from hunger, cold and mistreatments was already an important advance. The treatment was based on occupational therapy: the men in the gardens and the women weaving. Classification criteria soon appeared, especially the distinction between those who could be cured, who received therapeutic efforts, and the incurable, who were given lodging and custody.

The fame of that of Valencia was deduced from the praises made by the famous writer Lope de Vega in two of his plays «Los locos de Valencia» (the Insane of Valencia) and «El Peregrino en su Patria» (the Pilgrim at Home). In the latter, he praised the institution «the greater comfort of cleanliness, tidiness and care of those who lacked them (the wit)». In the first one, he stated:

*Listen: you have to act so crazy
that everyone believes you to be mad
Valencia has a famous hospital,
where the insane are cured
with great cleanliness and careful zeal, ...»*

The Hospital of Valencia was very famous until at least the 16th century. After the fire in 1545 and the decline of Valencia the hospital of Saragossa, it took on the leadership.

THE HOSPITAL OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GRACIA (OUR LADY OF GRACE) OF SARAGOSSA

A few years after the inauguration of the Valencian psychiatric hospital, a similar institution was created in Saragossa. Contrary to the original one, it remained fully active until 1808 and was the leader of the psychiatric reform movement that irradiated throughout Europe at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th Century.

Contrary to other hospitals, that of Saragossa was an initiative of the King. In 1425, King Alfonso V ordered the purchase of some houses to shelter the ill and persons having common or contagious diseases, the insane, those abandoned at birth and unfortunate women. That is why its facade has the legend: *Domus Informorum, Urbi et Orbis* (House of the ill of the city and of the world).

The establishment was set aside to «gather the insane, avoid that insults they received, improve their situation and attempt to make them sane.»

Father Murillo in his book «De las excelencias de Saragossa» (The Good Qualities of Saragossa, 1615; Gorriz, 1936) wrote: «There were two large rooms for the insane (men and women). They were from all the nations. One of the rooms housed the men and the other the women and each one had their own refectory and bedroom. Furthermore, in order to control and restrain them, there were very cautious and sane persons. It was essential to be very cautious and to use common sense to control the insane, especially when there

were usually up to 120 men and more than 180 women. These insane men and women provided great benefit because the women washed the clothes and did the wash and other things in the woman's blocks and the insane men performed some tasks that were so unpleasant that it would be very difficult to do them being sane if not out of great charity.» «Within the House, they will make all the mentally ill men work in all the tasks and services that they can do in accordance with their condition and the mentally ill women in weaving, sewing, threadings and doing other things, all under the supervision of the carers.» «Because we understand that there is much need to be very careful in curing the insane and since they are patients like others, it is fair to apply the necessary remedies.» In other words, labor therapy was the therapeutic activity par excellence.

According to Royo Sarriá (1935-36): «The foundation of the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia marks the point where the mentally ill were no longer considered as special beings and the old way of considering them as possessed by the Devil or as abortions of the Nature, this being followed by considering them as patients, so much so that they were isolated next to the common patients», so that the «mentally ill of Saragossa were never in chains».

Admission to the Hospital Nuestra Señora de Gracia was preceded by an examination in order to know, according to the Rules of the Hospital, if the patient was insane or not. After admission, a Board of psychiatrists determined the way, means and times that were given to the cure. The admission was done in accordance with the following formalities: «to be admitted as insane, all had to bring legal information of insane and also of poverty, if they were to be admitted as poor. And as experience had shown that, the information about insanity may not be correct, a decision was taken. Before ascertaining that somebody is insane or transferring him or her to the corresponding section, he or she had to be admitted to a ward, and were the visiting by physicians will assume the responsibility to stating if the person was insane or not, in order to be admitted or to be sent.»

There was a Father for the men and a Mother for the women, «who would have to take care of dressing them and keeping them clean, changing their shirts and bed linen on time and making them eat on time».

The hospital had two resident physicians, appointed after an examination, who had to visit each patient twice a day (between 7 and 8 in the morning and again between 2 and 3 in the afternoon). Drug treatment was the last option, since the doctors «were only used to using medication in those who were very violent or frenzy». In addition, there was also «personnel to control them made up of an older father and several younger ones and a clergyman whose job was to supervise that the madmen were assisted and cared for in a timely way. The mad women had an older father and his wife, who served as the principal mother and two inferior mothers».

The model of Saragossa had an enormous influence in French psychiatry during the Revolution and on the English psychiatric reform at the end of the 18th Century of the Tukes. In 1791, The «Mendicancy Committee» of Paris entrusted to Giuseppe M. Iberti a report (Espinosa Iborra, 1964) on the Hospital of Saragossa («Details on the Hospital of Saragossa»), which was known by Pinel, who, almost certainly, went to Spain to see the hospital firsthand. In his trip, he was accompanied by a young Scottish doctor. It has been claimed that this young doctor was the great teacher of the school of Edinburgh and creator of the term neurosis, William Cullen, although this is not likely, since he was much older than Pinel.

The report of Iberti provided valuable information: «In regard to the treatment, fresh water baths, the refreshing ones, were used, but these means are, in general, fruitless. It is also difficult to use remedies during the fits, above all bleedings, since they can take off the dressings. Experience has demonstrated, once and again, in this Hospital that the most effective means is occupation or work that exercises their limbs. Most of the insane people, men and women active in the workshops or in housework are generally cured. The occupation given to these insane in this Hospital are those of house cleaning, except in the ward of the patients, of carrying water, coal, wood. They are employed in harvesting, threshing, grape harvest, in collecting the olives, in pulling the weeds in the field. They are also charged with taking the ill and wounded on the stretches, always under the control of one of the guards who is called father».

Iberti continues further down: «For a insane to be admitted to this Hospital, it is necessary for them to present a certificate signed by the legal officials, priest and doctor of the site, with the declaration of the poverty of the patient and his/her family».

Philippe Pinel (1745-1826) is known in history of psychiatry for having freed the patients of the hospitals of Bicêtre (in 1793) and La Salpêtrière (in 1795) of Paris from their chains, as shown in the pictures by Charles Müller and Tony Robert-Fleury. Although the events are not exactly historical, it is true that the initiative was taken from Spain. Pinel himself states in his «Treatise on Insanity» (1809): «I have always considered it to be a good omen and the most founded hope of a solid curing that the convalescent insane people manifest their primitive likes and exercise their profession, and their zeal and perseverance in these objects. But we still have to envy a neighboring nation one establishment that I cannot praise enough, and that is superior to all of England and Germany. In effect, Spain has an asylum open in Saragossa for all patients, and especially for insane from all countries, from all Governments and all religions, with this simple inscription: «Urbi et Orbi». Hand work has not only been the object of the attention of the founders of the establishment but they have also sought a type of counterweight to the mislaying of the soul, on the de-

light inspired by working the fields, evaluating the natural instinct that induces man to make the land fertile and to thus help their needs with the fruits of their work. Starting in the morning, one can see that some do jobs in the house, others go to their respective workshops and a larger number, divided in teams under the direction of intelligent and trained foremen, they are joyfully distributed throughout several parts of a large area next to the hospital. The work-day passes in a continuous activity, only interrupted for rest periods, and the fatigue makes it possible for them to sleep and be calm at night. Nothing is more frequent than the cures that occur due to this active life. The most constant experience has taught this hospital that these are the safest and most effective ways to cure the insane...».

THE DECADENCE OF THE SPANISH HOSPITALS (AND OF MANY OTHER INSTITUTIONS)

The Hospital of Saragossa was totally destroyed by bombings on August 3, 1808, the eve of the entry of the French troops in the city. This was the beginning of the decline of the psychiatry care tradition in Spain. The care degradation is a consequence of the orders of sale of the church properties (especially those of Godoy of 1798 and Mendizábal of 1836), of the destructions and plundering of the wars, of the financial and social crisis due to the loss of the American territories, and due to other political, moral and intellectual crises that made it practically impossible to establish some rules of political and legal strategies in which, once more, the most unprotected with the insane and the innocent. All of these made it impossible to apply the compensation systems foreseen by the orders of sale of the church lands laws, causing the care institutions to have an almost total lack of means. The Charity Law of January 23, 1820 and its Regulation of February 6, 1822 required the Houses of the Insane to come under the control of the Municipal Boards of Charity, but these lacked means to maintain them. The Spanish psychiatry was reborn from its ashes, never better said, at the end of the 19th Century, but that is another story.

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