

JOURNAL OF THE FACULTY OF TOURISM AND HOTELS UNIVERSITY OF SADAT CITY



Journal homepage: https://mfth.journals.ekb.eg/

Cases of Mental Disorder in Mamlūk Egypt and the State's Response (648-923A.H/1250-1517A.D)

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ABSTRACT

Mental disorder was highly recognized in Mamlūk Egypt. They had several terms with different diagnoses. The symptoms of mental disorder differ from one disease to another. The study revealed five different terms in chronicles. Some of these terms are still in use till now for commoners, such as insane $(ma\S{n}\bar{u}n)$, psychopath (muhtall 'aqlyan), melancholia (mālīhūlya), while others are not common in the current time, such as senility (fasād al-'Aql') and fool (mamrūr). Consequently, each disease had its own treatment in accordance with the severity of its symptoms. The study revealed that insanity was the severest type of mental disorder and the mildest ones were Melancholia and senility. Therefore, the state treated each disease differently, such as sending them to asylums, which was the logical response. However, in some other cases of mental disorder, patients were punished, confined, or left without any treatment. The patients received medical treatment at the Mansūrī bimāristān (hospital), which had a section dedicated to mental disorder. Only royals were sent to a different place in case of a mental disorder, such as the sultanate houses. On the other hand, the study proved that sending to the bimāristān was a salvation for some criminals who pretended their insanity to escape from punishment in prisons.

Printed ISSN: 2537-0952 Online ISSN: 3062-5262 DOI: 10.21608/MFTH.20 25.452358

KEYWORDS

Mental disorder, insanity, psychopath, melancholia, senility, fool, bimāristān, Mamlūk period.

حالات الاضطراب العقلي في مصر المملوكية واستجابة الدولة (648-923 ه/1517-1250م)

مروه حمدي طه ابراهيم 1 رانيا أسامه علي فكري 2 مدر س بمعهد الألسن العالي للسياحة والفنادق 2 استاذ مساعد بكلية الآداب حامعة عين شمس

الملخص

عُرفت حالات الاضطراب العقلي في مصر المملوكية وتعددت مصطلحاتها، كما تعدد تشخيص الأعراض المرتبطة بكل مرض. هذا وقد أزاحت الدراسة الستار عن تلك المصطلحات والتي تم حصرها في خمس مصطلحات، لا يزال بعضها مستخدما حتى الأن مثل الجنون واختلال العقل والماليخوليا بينما البعض الآخر لا يستخدم في عالم الطب حاليا مثل فساد العقل وممرور. وقد أوضحت الدراسة طبقاً للوقائع التاريخية أن الجنون كان أكثر تلك الأمراض خطورة، بينما كان فساد العقل والماليخوليا أقلهم خطورة. لذا كان من الطبيعي أن تختلف استجابة الدولة تجاه كل مرض بحسب طبيعته ومدى خطورته أيضاً. فقد ذكرت لنا المصادر أن الدولة كانت عادة ما ترسل المرضى العقليين الى البيمارستان المنصوري لتلقى الرعاية المناسبة، وهو مايعادل مصطلح المستشفى في الوقت الحالى. هذا ولقد استرعى انتباهنا أن بعض الحالات من المرضى كانَّت تَّتعرُّض لعقوبات اختلفت من شخص لأخر أو تم احتجازهم في الترسيم في أماكن متعددة ومنهم من لم يتلقى أي نوع من أنواع العلاج ولم يكن للدولة تجاهه أي دور. وقد كشفت الدر اسة أن سلاطين المماليك ممن قد عانوا من حالات اضطراب عقلي قد تم احتجازهم في أماكن أخري مثل البيوت السلطانية. كما أثبتت الدراسة أن بعض المجرمين تظاهروا بالجنون وأمراض الخلل العقلي للهروب من العقوبة في السجون لينتهي بهم المطاف الى المكوث في مستشفى الأمراض العقلية.

الترقيم الدولى الموحد للطباعة: 2537-0952 الترقيم الدولى الموحد الإلكترونى: 3062-2562

DOI: 10.21608/MFTH.2025.452 358

الكلمات الدالة

الاضطراب العقلي، الجنون، اختلال العقل، الماليخوليا، فساد العقل، ممرور، بيمارستان، العصر المملوكي.

Introduction

Throughout our readings in the Mamlūk sources, we have noticed that different terms were used to indicate mental disorder; they were all used in the chronicles. In other words, terms were used in daily life by the commoners, not physicians. Even the interesting studies of Michael W. Dols¹about insanity focused more on the medical²side of madness rather than the historical one³. The thing that encouraged us to explore and classify the different indications of each term. And, then to display the state's response towards those who suffered from mental illness in the Mamlūk period.

Mental disorder ($idtir\bar{a}b$) in Arabic is derived from the root (d-r-b), which means disorder 4 . It is characterized by a clinically significant disturbance in individual's cognition, emotional regulation, or behavior 5 . Regarding the Medieval era in Egypt, mental patients were sent to an edifice known as $bim\bar{a}rist\bar{a}n^6$, it refers to a hospital. Later on, it deteriorated and was mainly referred to a hospital of insanity. A part of which was dedicated to insane patients who have no other place but the $bim\bar{a}rist\bar{a}n^7$. Mamlūk Sultans gave care to establish $bim\bar{a}rist\bar{a}ns$ such as Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn 8 and Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šay 9 .

¹ Michael W. Dols, Insanity and Its Treatment in Islamic Society, *Medical History*, XXXI/I, January 1987, 1-14; Michael W. Dols, *Majnūn: The Madman in the Islamic Society*, edited by Diana E. Immisch. Oxford, 1992.

² Arab scholars contributed widely to the field of medicine during the Mamlūk era. In this context, we mention Ibn al-Nafīs (d.687/1288), the famous philosopher and physician who worked at the bimāristān of al-Manṣūr. He compiled "Tašrīḥ al-Qānūn"; such a manuscript is conserved in the Zāhirīyah Library in Damascus. It is considered one of the most prominent manuscripts in medicine. Ibn al-Qaff al-Karakī (d. 685/1286) was also among the physicians who contributed to the field of medicine with his manuscript "'Umdat al-Iṣlāḥ fī Ṣinā'at al-Ğarrāḥ", which consists of twenty articles that were translated into German. There is a conserved copy in the research Institute in Aleppo. Munīrah Muḥammad 'Abdullah and Muǧāhid Muḥammad Sa'īd, Al-Ṭibb fī 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk (648-911/1250-1445), Al-Qalzam Journal for Historical and Civilization Studies, XII, January 2022, 127-129.

³ Michael W. Dols, Insanity, *Medical History*, XXXI/I, January 1987, 1.

⁴ Al-Rāzī, (d. 666/1267) Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Muḥtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1989, 332.

⁵ The definition of mental disorder is according to the World Health Organization.

⁶ It is derived from the Persian word *bimār*, meaning sick, and the suffix *istān*, meaning (*baīt al-da'īf*), house of the weak. *Bimāristān*, known also as *māristān*, is the more common term to use in Mamlūk sources. Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣāḥir (711/1317) 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad, *Tašrīf al-Aīyām wal-'Uṣūr fī Sirat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, released by Murād Kāmil. Cairo: Wazārat al-Ṭaqāfah wa-l- Iršād al-Qawmī, 1961, 55, no. 5; Ibn Duqmāq (809/1406) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-'Alā'ī, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah fī -l-Dawlah al-Turkīyah*, released by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī. Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-'Aṣrīyah, 1992, 79, no. 7; Al-Saḥamāwī (d. 868/1464) Šams al-Dīn al-Saḥamāwī, *Al-Ṭaġr al-Bāsim fī Ṣinā'at al-Kātib wa'-l-Kātim*, released by Ašraf Muḥammad Anas. Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub wa-l- Watā'iq al-Qawmīyah, 2009, I, 412.

⁷ Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḫ al-Bimāristānāt fi'-l-Islām*, Windsor: Mū'assasat Hindāwī, 2011, 8; Muḥammad Ḥamzah Al-Ḥaddād, *Al-Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn*. Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1998, 131; Françoise Cloarec, *Bimaritans, lieux de folie et de sagesse*, Paris, 1998, 23.

⁸ Al-Maqrīzī (845/1441) Taqī al-Dīn Abū'-l-'Abbās Aḥmad, *Al-Mawā'iz wa-l- I'tibār bi-Dikr al-Hiṭaṭ wa'-l- Āṯār*, released by Ayman Fū'ād Saiyed. London: Mūssasat al-Furqān, 2003, IV/I, 692, 693; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 55, 56

Moreover, the *bimāristān* had two types: a fixed hospital and another mobile one, which resembles the ambulance in the current time; such a type was used during wars and epidemics¹⁰. The *bimāristān* was known in Egypt before the Mamlūk period.

Significance of the Research

The topic of the research is of great importance as it deals with a section of society that suffered from mental disorder in Mamlūk Egypt and the state's response. The thing that would assist tour guides by shedding the light on the insanity in the Mamluk society during their tours in the *bimāristān al-Manṣūr* of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in al-Mu'izz Street.

Methodology

The research followed a descriptive method to an analytic approach to the events. The researchers displayed the mentioned cases of mental disorder, and the treatment of the state to the patients. The study will be tackled from a historical, not medical, point of view.

Objectives

The study aims to:

- Explore mental disorder in Egypt throughout, displaying the different cases that occurred in the chronicles.
- Analyze the role of the state towards the mentally ill patients during the Mamlūk period in accordance with the severity of the medical case.

Bimāristāns in Egypt before the Mamlūk Period

Al-Bimāristān al-'Atīq (the Archaic hospital), known also as al-bimāristān al-A'la (The Upper hospital), was built in al-Fusṭāṭ¹¹by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn in 259/872 or 261/873. According to Ibn Duqmāq, it was the oldest bimāristān¹²built in Egypt¹³. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn endowed many constructions to cover their expenses. He used to visit it each Friday to check the conditions of the patients and the confined insane patients. In this context, sources mention that an insane man called on Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn and asked to release him. He told him, "Listen to me amīr, I am not insane, I cheated them and I want to eat a pomegranate". Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn ordered to bring him a pomegranate immediately. The patient received it with much happiness then; he threw it strongly at Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. And since this accident, he never visited the bimāristān again¹⁴.

⁹ Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448) Šihāb al-Dīn Abī-l-Faḍl b. ʿAlī), *Inbāʾ al-Ġumr bi-Abnāʾ al-'Omr*, released by Hasan Habašī. Cairo: Laǧnat Ihyāʾ al-Turāt al-Islāmī, 1972, III, 173.

¹⁰ Doris Abou Seif, Sylvie Denoix et J.C. Garcin, Le Caire, in the "Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman". Paris, 2000, 194, 195.

¹¹ Al-Qalqašandī (821/1418) Šihāb al-Dīn Abū'-l-'Abbās Aḥmad, *Şubḥ al-A'ša fī Ṣinā'at al-Inšā*. Cairo: *Al-Maṭba'ah al-Amīrīyah*, 1914, III, 337; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 46.

¹² According to Ibn Duqmāq, Zuqāq al-Qanādīl might be the first *bimāristān* in Egypt; it was built in al-Fusṭāṭ in the Umayyad Period. *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār*. Cairo: Al-Maṭba'ah al-Kubra, 1890, IV, 99

¹³ Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār*, IV, 99; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 46.

¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Hiṭaṭ*, IV/I, 691, 692; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāṭ*, 47; Michael W. Dols, *The Madman*, 117; Doris Abou Seif, Sylvie Denoix et J.C Garcin, Le Caire, in the "*Grandes villes*", 194-195.

During the Iḥšidīd Period, another *bimāristān* was built in al-Fusṭāṭ, known as *al-Māristān al-Asfal* (The Lower hospital). This *bimāristān* was built in 346/957 by Kāfūr al-Iḥšīdī during the reign of Abū'l Qāsim Aunǧūr¹⁵. Many constructions were endowed to cover their expenses¹⁶.

Under the Fatimids, a *bimāristān* known as al-Qaššāšīn was built near al-Azhar Mosque¹⁷in an area known as al-Ḥarrāṭīn¹⁸. Another *bimāristān* was built at that time which was called al-Saqṭyīn outside the Gate of Zūwailah¹⁹next to Dār al-Tuffāḥ²⁰south of Cairo²¹. Fatimid Caliph al-Ṭāhir visited the *bimāristān* while disguised to check the conditions of the insane patients. He gave each one fifty dirhams and five hundred for their supervisor. He ordered to cook for them daily after taking their medications²². Unfortunately, sources did not clarify which *bimāristān* he visited.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī built a *bimāristān* known as *al-bimāristān al-Nāṣirī* or *al-bimāristān al-Ṣalāḥī* in 567/1171. He captured the Fatimid palace and turned the hall of Caliph al-'Azīz into a *bimāristān*. Actually, choosing such a hall based on its walls that were covered with qur'ānic verses in addition to a talisman to avoid ants. Therefore, he believed that it would be an appropriate choice for a hospital²³. Food and beverages were offered to the patients in accordance with their needs. There was a section with iron windows dedicated to insane patients²⁴.

¹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Hitat*, IV/I, 692; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 50.

¹⁶ Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār*, IV, 99; Doris Abou Seif, Sylvie Denoix and J. C. Garcin, Le Caire, in "*Grandes villes*", 194-195.

¹⁷ Al-Azhar Mosque is the fourth congregational mosque to be built in Egypt. It was built by the Fatimids under the orders of the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʻizz in Ğumāda I 359/April 790, and it was inaugurated for prayers in Ramaḍān 361/June 972. It is located southeast of Cairo. The mosque had so many additions and restorations starting from the Fatimid period throughout the different periods. See: Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV/I, 90-107; Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, *Tārīḥ w-Āṯār Miṣr al-Islāmīyah*. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1993, 219-237.

¹⁸ Al-Qalqašandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'ša, III, 369.

¹⁹ The Gate of Zūwailah (monument no. 199) is one of the famous Fatimid gates of Cairo. It still exists at the western wall. The gate was built in 485/1092 by Badr al-Dīn al-Ğamālī, the Fatimid vizier. The gate has a pair of semi-circular towers surmounted by a pair of minarets were added later by Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šayh. Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ*, II, 267-271; Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, *Tārīḥ w-Āṯār Misr al-Islāmīyah*, 217.

Dār al-Tuffāḥ: Amongst the commercial establishments. It is a hotel near to gate of Zūwailah. It received the different kinds of fruits that were planted in the orchards in the nearby suburbs. Fruits were displayed outside that dār. It was built after 740/1339 by amir Ţuquztumur and was demolished in 821/1418. Al-Maqrīzī, Ḥiṭaṭ, III, 310, 311; André Raymond, Les marchés du Caire. Cairo: IFAO, 1979, 141; Fahmī 'Abd al-'Alīm, Al-'Īmārah al-Islāmīyah fī 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk al-Ğarākisah. Cairo, 2003, 55-56; Rania Ossama 'Ali Fikri, Les marchés du Caire au temps du Mamluks Baharites (648-784/1250-1382), MA. Thesis, unpublished, Ain Šams University, Faculty of Arts, Tourist Guidance Dept., Cairo, 2006, 58.

²¹ Îbn Abī Uṣaybi'ah (d.668/1269) Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Ḥalīfah ibn Yūnus, 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Tabaqāt Al-Aṭṭibā'. Cairo, 1882, II, 247.

²² Al-Maqrīzī, *It'āz al-Ḥunafa bi-Asmā' al-A'imah al-Ḥulafa*, released by Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad. Cairo: Lağnat Iḥyā' al-Turāt, 1971, II, 143.

²³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV/I, 351; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 51, 52.

²⁴ Ibn Ğubayr (d.614 /1217) Abī' 1 Husain Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Kinānīal-Andalusī, *Riḥlat Ibn Ğubayr*. Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1907, 24; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 52, 53.

Bimāristāns in Egypt during the Mamlūk Period I- The Bimāristān of Sultan Al-Mansūr Oalāwūn

Sultan Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, who built a *bimāristān* in Rabī' I 682/June 1283²⁵. Such as the *bimāristān* of Sultan Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (known also as *al-Māristān al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr*), which was built on the site of the hall of Sett al-Mulk, daughter of the Fatimid Caliph al-'Azīz bi-llah in al-Naḥḥāsīn in Ḥaṭṭ bayn al-Qaṣrayn²⁶. Amir 'Alam al-Dīn Sanğar was in charge of the construction of this *bimāristān* in addition to a madrassa and a dome in Rabī' II 683/June 1284²⁷. The work there was continued for eleven months and a few days²⁸.

Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn endowed many constructions to cover the expenses of the complex. He dedicated a part of the *bimāristān* for the insane patients on two wards: one for men and another for women. Running water was available in the place in addition to places of serving food, beverages, medications and ointments. They guaranteed healthy food and hygiene for the patients. There was a place for the chief physicians to give lessons to the students studying medicine. Moreover, there was a staff to supervise the hospital in addition to the physicians²⁹.

Sources recorded the continuous care of the supervisors of the hospital. For example, Ğamāl al-Dīn Aquš al-Ašrafī³⁰, inspector of the *bimāristān* (*nāzir al-bimāristān*³¹),

²⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV/I, 692, 693; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 55, 56; Linda S. Northrup, Qalāwūn's Patronage of the Medical Sciences in Thirteenth Century Egypt, *Mamluk Studies Review*, V 2001 122

²⁶ Ḥaṭṭ bayn al-Qaṣrayn or the avenue of bayn al-Qaṣrayn: It was an open space during the Fatimid period for a military purpose, as it housed 10.000 soldiers. During the Ayyūbīd period, it turned to be a market for selling assorted products like disserts and fruits and a place for promenade. During the Mamlūk period, it became a very crowded place full of markets and vendors till 806/1403, when all of this vanished. Al-Maqrīzī, Ḥiṭaṭ, III, 81-84.

²⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Dūwal al-Mulūk*, released by Muḥammad Muṣṭafa Zīyādah. Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1936, I/III, 716, 717; Doris Behrens Abouseif, Islamic Architecture in Cairo. Cairo:The American University press, 2005, 95-100; Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-'Imārah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr mundu-1-Fatḥ al-'Arabī ḥattā Nihāyat al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī*. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 2009, 232, 233; Howayda al-Harithy, the Concept of Space in Mamluk Architecture, *Muqarnas*, XVIII, 2001,76.

²⁸ Baibars al-Manṣūrī (725/1325) Rukn al-Dīn b. 'Abdullah, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī'-l-Dawlah al-Turkīyah*, released by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥimdān. Cairo: Al- Dār al-Miṣrīyah al-Lubnānīyah, 1987, 111; Ibn Duqmāq mentioned that the construction work had lasted ten months. *Al-Ğawhar al-Tamīn fī Sair al-Ḥulafā' wa'-l-Mulūk wa-l-Salāṭīn*, released by Saʿīd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āšūr. Umm al-Qura University: Markaz al-Baḥt al-'Ilmī wa Iḥyā' al-Turāt al-Islāmī, 1982, 299; *Al-Nafḥah*, 79.

²⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV/I, 696, 697; Aḥmad 'Isa, *Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt*, 57, 58.

³⁰ Ğamāl al-Dīn Aqūš al-Ašrafī, the deputy of al-Karak. One of the mamlūks of Sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalīl ibn Qalāwūn. He died in 736/1335. Ibn Taġrībirdī (874/1470) Ğamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Maḥāsin, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa'-l- Mustawfī ba'd al-Wāfī*, released by Nabīl Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz. Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmah lil-Kitāb, 1985, III, 27-30; Rānia Ossāma 'Ali Fikri, Liste chronologique des intendants de l'Hôpital Manṣūrī au temps des sultans mamelouks (684-923/1285-1517), *Journal of Association of Arab University for Tourism and Hospitality*, XX/II, 2021, 9, no. 5.

³¹ Nāzir al-bimāristān (Al-Māristān al-Manṣūrī): Such office was classified by al-Qalqašandī as a religious position, the holder of which was allowed to attend in the Sultanate council. Usually, this position was commissioned to men of swords. Ṣubḥ al-A'ša, IV, 38. On the other hand, al-Saḥamāwī, who lived in the 9/15 century, classified this office in the ninth rank among the religious offices. Al-Taġr al-Bāsim, I, 412. Nāzir al-bimāristān was usually commissioned to Atābek al-'Askar. For more

used to visit the *bimāristān* before dawn to check the conditions of the insane patients in person. In this context, al-Ṣafadī states that Ğamāl al-Dīn offered them clothes. helped them in entering the bath, and even offered them singers for pleasure³². Not only did he care about the insane patients but also, he also cared about restoring the bimāristān when needed. In Ğumāda I 726/April 1326, Ğamāl al-Dīn Aquš al-Ašrafī was commissioned to restore the *bimāristān al-Manṣūrī*. So, he ordered not to leave any recovered patient in the hospital. Therefore, the iwans and halls of the hospital were evacuated except for the insane patients and other patients³³. Apparently, the inspector was afraid to release them as they were not qualified to mingle with society. According to the *bimāristān's* deed, physicians and assistants were available all the weekdays. The bimāristān was medically equipped and ready for mental and neurological diseases as well. Their clothes were washed and their places were cleaned. The patient received clothes and pocket money before leaving the bimāristān. In case of death, the bimāristān even commissioned covering the expenses of shrouding the deceased, burying him, transferring his corpse to the burial place. All the previous services were offered to both men and women ³⁴.

Although the best- known hospital for insane patients in Egypt, the deterioration occurred in the $bim\bar{a}rist\bar{a}n$ after the Mamlūk period³⁵.

II- The Bimāristān of Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šayb

It was built by Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šayh, near the Citadel of the mountain³⁶. The work was continued till Rağab 823/August 1420. The *bimāristān* welcomed patients in

details about *Nāzir al-māristān*. see: Rania Ossama, Liste chronologique, *JAAUTH*, XX/II, 2021, 1-43.

³² Al-Ṣafadī (764/1363) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalīl b. Aybak, *A'yān al-'Aṣr wa A'wān al-Naṣr*. Damascus, 1997, I, 578-579, no. 314.

³³ Al-Nūwayrī (732/1332) Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Nīhāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, released by Ibrāhīm Šams al-Dīn. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 2004, XXXIII, 152, 153; Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥaǧǧī, *Al-bimāristān al-Manṣūrī mundu Ta'sīsahu wa ḥatta Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Tāmin al-Hiǧrī al-Rābi' 'Ašr al-Mīlādī, Arab Journal for the Humanities, Kuwait University, VIII/XXIX, 1988, 24; Aḥmad 'Isa, <i>Tārīḫ al-Bimāristānāt*, 61.

³⁴ Watā'iq Waqf al-Sultān Qalāwūn 'ala al-bimāristān al-Manṣūrī, studied, published, and released by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, in the Appendix of Ibn Ḥabīb (779/1377) al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar, Tadkirat al-Nabīh fī Aīyām al-Manṣūr wa Banīh. Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmah lil-Kitāb, 1976, I, 358-368; Aḥmad 'Isa, Tārīḥ al-Bimāristānāt, 92-94; Ḥayāt Nāṣir Al-Ḥaǧḡī, Al-bimāristān al-Manṣūrī, AJH, VIII/XXIX, 1988, 13-15; Aḥmad Maǧdī Sālim, Mawsū'at al-Tanāfusīyah fī'-l-'Imārah al-Mamlūkīyah. Damascus: Nūr Ḥūrān lil-Dirāsāt wa-l- Našr wal-l Turāt, 2024, I, 110.

³⁵ Such deterioration was mentioned by 'Alī Mubārak in the 19th century. The general French leader during the French expedition asked the chief physician to write a report about the *bimāristān*, he reported that it is in a bad condition. Insane patients were in a separate, isolated section with two divisions: one for men and another for women, and both were chained. He also reported that although the hospital had only seventeen patients, fourteen of them were insane; seven men and seven women. But the capacity of the insane section was eighteen cells for men and the same number for women. Their food was only bread, rice and lentils. In 1856, the deterioration of the *bimāristān* reached its peak and it was only dedicated to insane patients. Therefore, they were transferred from place to another till they finally settled down at the hospital that was built for them in al-'Abbāsīyah in 1880. 'Alī Mubārak, *Al-Ḥitaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Ğadīdah l-Miṣr al-Qāḥirah*. Bulāq: Al-Maṭba'ah al-Kubra al-Amīrīyah, 1888 I, 96; Ahmad 'Isa, *Tārīh al-Bimāristānāt*, 69.

³⁶ Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ* III, 173.

Ša'bān 823/September 1420. But soon, the *bimāristān* deteriorated after the death of Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šayḫ in Muḥarram 824/ January 1421, according to al-Maqrīzī³⁷. Due to a shortage in funds, patients were discharged from the *bimāristān*, and it was closed down. Then, the place was used as a residence for the messengers of kings from the East, and then it was used as a bar for drinking liquor and a place of fornication. In Rabī' II 825/ April 1422, the place was turned to be a Friday Mosque³⁸. Anyhow, we will not tackle any examples belong to that one as it did not provide any services for the insane patients.

On the other hand, unlike people with disabilities who were exiled outside Cairo, the insane were sent to the hospital to receive the appropriate treatment in Cairo. So, the state treated the insane patients well compared to people with disabilities. In this context, Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars ordered to send people with disabilities (*Ahl al-'āhāt*) to al-Fayyūm in Dū'l Qa'dah 664/August 1266, and he dedicated a city for them to cover their needs. People felt sorry for that. Anyhow, they did not settle down there and they returned to Cairo and the whole of Egypt³⁹. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn ordered to exile lepers (*al-ǧuḍamā' wa-l-burṣān*)⁴⁰to al-Fayyūm in Dū'l Qa'dah 730/September1330⁴¹. Al-Maqrīzī also mentions that in Šawwāl 794/September 1392, Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq ordered to exile those whose hands were cut off upon theft (*al-qiṭ'ān*), and the lepers (*al-burṣān wa-l- ḡuḍamā'*) outside Cairo and its suburbs. Those who disobeyed the orders were threatened by bi-waist⁴².

Regarding Mamlūk Egypt, sources referred to the mental diseases in various terms with different indications as follows:

³⁹ Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār (d. 725/1325) Rukn al-Dīn b. 'Abdullah al-Dawādārī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīḥ al-Hiğrah*, released by Donald S. Richard. Beirut: Al-Šarikah al-Mutaḥidah lil-Tawzī', 1998, 106; Ibn al-Ğazrī, (d.738/1339) Šams al-Dīn Abī Abdullah, *Tārīḥ Ibn al-Ğazrī*, II, released by 'Omar 'Abd el-Salām Tadmury. Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-'Aṣrīyah,1998, 400,401; Hālah al-Saiyed Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Āl, *Al-Muhammašūn fī Miṣr 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk (648-923/1250-1517), Faculty of Arts Journal, Helwan University*, L/I, 2020, 213.

³⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Hitat*, IV/I, 702; Ahmad 'Isa, *Tārīh al-Bimāristānāt*, 110.

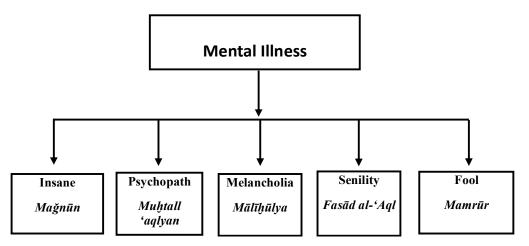
³⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, IV/II, 610.

⁴⁰ *Al-ğudama'* sing. is *ağdam* meaning mutilated. An arm or foot cut off or leper/leprous. *Burṣān* sing. is *abraṣ* was used to name leprosy, maybe in its early phases. Michael W. Dols, The Leper in Medieval Islamic Society, in "*Speculum*", LVIII/IV, 1983, 893.

⁴¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulū*k, II/II, 322, 323.

⁴² Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, III/II, 772; Hālah al-Saiyed Muhammad 'Abd al-'Āl, *al-Muhammašūn*, *Faculty of Arts Journal*, *Helwan University*, L/I, 2020, 214.

Al-tawsīṭ or bi-waist is a type of punishment that was common in Egypt during the Mamlūk Period. It was amongst the mortal ways of punishment. Accordingly, the person sentenced to death was strongly struck with a sword under his waist to be split into two halves. Ibn Taġrībirdī, Ḥawādiṭ al-Duhūr fī mada al-Ayyām wa'-l-Šuhūr, released by Fahīm Muḥammad Šaltūt. Cairo, 1990, I, 114, no. 3; Su'ūd al-'Uṣfūr, Al-Muṣādarah fī Miṣr al-Islāmīyah min al-Fatḥ ḥata Nihāyat 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk (20-923/641-1517). Cairo, 1990, 106, no. 1; Wasā'il al-Ta'dīb fī'-l-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī, Annals of the Faculty of Arts, 'Ain Shams University, XXXI, January-March 2003, 83.



Insane (Mağnūn)

Such a term $ma\check{g}n\bar{u}n$ (pl. is $ma\check{g}\bar{a}n\bar{u}n$) is derived from the root $(\check{g}-a-nn)$. It can be defined as the demise and corruption of the mind⁴³. This term was mentioned frequently in Mamluk sources. In this context, in Gumāda II 753/August 1352, a Cairene person claimed his prophethood. His miracle was marrying a woman who gave birth to a baby boy immediately. Some people who heard him said, "What a bad prophet." he replied "But you, what bad people". The man was arrested, and the incident was investigated. They figured out that the man had left the insane people twelve days ago⁴⁴. As a result, he was sent to the *bimāristān* for being insane⁴⁵. According to the previous example, the person who claimed his prophecy was diagnosed with insanity. Especially, he was among the insane a few days before the incident. And then, he was sent to the *bimāristān*. It seems that the investigations were non-clinical as they investigated first, then, sent him to the bimāristān. Or, they might use a previous medical report that diagnosed his insanity before.

Sources provided us with another example of claiming prophethood. In Ramadan 781/January 1380, a man claimed his prophecy; he believed in both the prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and in his own prophethood as well. He claimed that, although illiterate but the letters of the holy Qur'an are uttered for him. The revelation was sent to him through the different angels, and he received the holy Qur'ān. He claimed to be an Arab Egyptian man. He was authorized to kill infidels and to rule the Turks. Therefore, he was confined at the bimāristān with the insane. Later on, he was released after changing his words and issueing another⁴⁶. It is

⁴³ Butrus Al-Bustānī, *Muhīt al-Muhīt*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1987, 130-131.

⁴⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, II/III, 866-867; 'Abd al-Bāsit al-Zāhirī, *Nail al-Amal*, I/I, 233; Sāmyah 'Alī Muşalhī, Al-Zandaqah fī Mişr wa-l-Šām fī'-l-'Aşr al-Mamlūkī, Journal of Faculty of Arts Banha, XV/I, 2006, 37.

^{45 &#}x27;Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Šāhīn al-Ṣāhirī (920/1514) 'Abd al-Bāsiṭb Ḥalīl, Nail al-Amal fī Dail -l-Dūwal, released by 'Abd al-Salām Tadmury, Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-'Asrīvah, 2002, I/IV, 233; Ahmad 'Abd al-Salām Nāsif, Eddi'ā' al-Hawāriq al-Dīnīyah fī Misr fī'-l-'Asr al-Mamlūkī (648-923/250-1517), Miğallat al-Mū'arih al-Mişrī, Cairo University, Faculty of Arts, LII/II, January 2018, 56-57.

⁴⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, III/I, 368-369; Boaz Shoshan, The State and Madness in Medieval Islam, International Journal of Middle East Studies, XXXV/II, May 2003, 337; Muhammad 'Attīyah, Al-Aḥwāl al-Ṣeḥīyah wa-l-Ṭibbīyah fi Miṣr wa Bilād al-Ṣām fi '-l-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī (648-923/1250-1517),

noticeable here that the penalty of claiming prophethood was being sent to the *bimāristān*. And once again, they did not mention any clinical examinations. But the verb confine refers to their compulsory accommodation there. In other words, sending insane patients to the *bimāristān* was not an option, but it was compulsory to receive the appropriate treatment and to save society as well.

In Ğumāda II 854/July 1450, Abā al-Ḥayr al-Naḥḥās⁴⁷went out of his mind in the prison of al-Daylam⁴⁸; he kept confusing in his saying. The comment of Ibn Taġrībirdī on this news was "he is worth being insane". Actually, at the beginning of his career, he was so humble that, was upgraded to be the decision maker in Egypt and the Levant. And then, he was confiscated and imprisoned⁴⁹.It seems that describing him as insane was used as a metaphor because the rest of the story was only about his investigation, confiscation and exile to Ṭarsūs⁵⁰ without referring to his insanity once again⁵¹.

Another case was mentioned in which they used the term *maǧnūn*. In Rabī' I 877/August 1472, an insane man stood up at the citadel⁵² and kept saying to the Sultan al-Ašraf Qāitbāy, "You are a fair Sultan, but you like life. I'm asking you to release those who are chained and the viceroy, along with his followers, taking their money. And I want to arrange a meeting with the scholars to talk to them". He was granted a sum of money to leave, but he kept repeating what he said before. Amir Yašbak min Mahdī⁵³invited him to his own house, then he hit and confined him with the insane

MA. Thesis, unpublished, Faculty of Arts, History and Archaeology dept., The Islamic University, Ġaza, 2012, 39; Aḥmad 'Abd al-Salām Nāṣif, *Eddi'ā' al-Ḥawāriq*, *Miğallat al-Mū'arriḫ al-Miṣrī*, Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, LII/II, January 2018, 57.

⁴⁷ He was one of the high officials during the reign of Sultan Ğaqmaq. He was even entitled 'Azīz Miṣr as an indication of his status. Riḥāb al-Saiyed Aḥmad, Zain al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥayr al-Naḥḥās, Bulletin of Faculty of Arabic Language, al-Azhar University, Zagazig Branch, XXXVII/III, 2017, 1981, 1982.

⁴⁸ The prison of al-Daylam was first used by the Mamluks, it was called after the alley of al-Daylam. The prison located in the alley was built in the Fatimid Period. Ibn Tagrībird, *Al-Nugūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa'-l-Qāhirah*. Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub wa-l- Waṭā'iq al-Qawmīyah, 2006, XI, 282, 283 no. 2; Hālah Nawwāf Yūsuf al-Rifā'ī, *Al-Sugūn fī Miṣr fī'-l-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī 648-923/1250-1517*, M.A. thesis, unpublished, Faculty of Graduate Studies, Amman, University of Jordan, 2008, 30, 31. This prison is attributed to civil and criminal offences. See: David Ayalon, Discharges from Service, Banishments and Imprisonments in Mamlūk society, collected studies, Tel Aviv, 1979, V, 42; 'Alā' Ṭahah Rizq, *Al-Suğūn wa'-l-'Uqūbāt fī Miṣr 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*. Cairo: 'Ain lil-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buhūt al-Insānīyah wa-l- Iğtimā'īyah, 2002, 33.

⁴⁹ İbn Taġrībirdī, *Ḥawādiṯ al-Duhūr fī Mada al-Aīyām wa-l-Šuhūr*, released by Fahīm Muḥammad Šaltūt. Cairo: Al-Mağlis al-A'la lil-Šu'ūn al-Islāmīyah, 1990, I, 225.

⁵⁰ Tarsūs is a district located on the classical River Cydnus in Turkey. See: *EI*, X, Art. Țarsūs, 306-307.

⁵¹ Ibn Taġrībird, *Al- Nuğūm*, XV, 421-423.

⁵² The Citadel (citadel of the mountain): it was built during the Ayyubid period between 572-579 AH/1176-1183 AD. It was built as a fortification with military towers and walls. It was built by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, but first inhabited by his descendant Sultan al-Kāmil Muḥammad. See: Doris Behrens- Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 78; Ayman Fū'ād Saiyed, *Al-Qāhirah Ḥiṭaṭuha wa Taṭwūrha al-'Umrānī*. Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmah lil-Kitāb, 2015, 210.

⁵³ Yašbak min Mahdī: He was one of the mamlūks of al-Zāhir Ğaqmaq. He held more than prominent offices such as the vizierate, the ustādārīyah and the dawādārīyah. He was assassinated in Ramadān 885/November 1480. See: Ibn Ağa (d. 881/1476) Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥalīl al-Ḥalabī, *Tārīh*

people at the *bimāristān al-Manṣūrī*⁵⁴. In the previous incident, the insane patient was punished by being hit before being sent to the *bimāristān*. And he was punished inside the house of a high official in Egypt. Likely, he was punished for saying bad things about the Sultan, and then he was sent to the *bimāristān* for being insane.

In Ramaḍān 887/November 1482 upon sighting of the crescent, an insane person said offensive words to the judges, and the council was ended⁵⁵.Unfortunately, sources did not mention what their reaction was; it was just mentioned that rare things happened on that day.

Psychopath (Muhtall 'aqlyan)

Such a term, *muḥtall 'aqlyan*, was among the terms used for mental illness. *Muḥtall* is derived from the root (*ḥalal*), which means spoiled. So, *muḥtall 'aqlyan* is the one whose mind was spoiled ⁵⁶. It was used in different cases. For example, in Ğumāda II 753 /August 1352, a man called Abī Bakr b. al-Rammāḥ ⁵⁷was nailed on a camel and wandered the streets of Cairo; he was confined, and his tongue was cut off as well. The reason behind this is claiming that Sultan al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ⁵⁸still alive and, he is Sultan al-Manṣūr himself. He claimed also that amir Ibn Bahādur, who was ordered to kill him, released him instead. And then he escaped for a short period of time to Gaza. According to Ibn Qādī Šuhbah, the man justified his saying, but he showed a disorder in his words, and they found out that he suffered from a mental disorder or something like. As a result, he was confined in the *bimāristān* fue to the impersonation of Sultan al-Manṣūr himself. Nevertheless, the case was dealt with as a political issue.

In Ša'bān 764/June 1362, amīr Yulbuģā⁶⁰decided to depose Sultan al-Manṣūr Muhammad ibn al-Muzaffar Hāǧǧī for being a psychopath. The amīrs agreed then, he

al-Amīr Yašbak al-Zāhirī. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1973, 12; Al-Saḫāwī (903/1497) Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1935, X, 272-274, no. 1077.

⁵⁴ Al-Ṣayrafī (900/1495) al-Ḥaṭīb al-Ğūharī ʿAlī b. Dāwūd, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr*, released by Ḥassan Ḥabašī. Cairo; Al-Hayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmah lil-Kitāb, 2002, 481-482.

^{55 &#}x27;Abd al-Bāsit al-Zāhirī, Nail al-Amal, II/VII, 325.

⁵⁶ Buṭrus Al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al- Muḥīṭ*, 252.

⁵⁷ 'Abd al-Bāsit al-Zāhirī, Nail al-Amal, I/I, 233.

⁵⁸ According to the biography of Sultan al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, ruled in 741AH/1341 AD. Then, he was deposed and replaced by his brother al-Ašraf Kuǧak. He was killed by the orders of amir Qūṣūn in 742 AH/1341 AD in Qūṣ. See: Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah fī-man Walīya al-Salṭanah wa'-l-Ḥilāfah*. Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub wa-l- Waṯā'iq al-Qawmīyah, n.d, II, 117, 118; *al-Dalīl al-Šāfī 'la al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, released by Muḥammad Fahīm Šaltūt. Cairo: Matba'at Dār al-Kutub wa-l- Watā'iq al-Qawmīyah, 1998, II, 823.

⁵⁹ Ibn Qādī Šuhbah (874/1469) Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Dimašqī, *Tārīḥ Ibn Qādī Šuhbah*, released by 'Adnān Darwīš. Damascus, 1994, II, 34; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ṭāhirī, *Nail al-Amal*, I/I, 233; Michael W. Dols, Insanity and Its Treatment, *Medical History*, XXXI/I, January 1987, 2.

⁶⁰ Amīr Yulbuġā b. 'Abdullah Nāṣirī, was one of the high officials who served different Sultans, such as Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥassan, then Muḥammad b. Ḥāġǧī and Sultan al-Ašraf Ša'bān as well. He was killed in 768 /1377. See: Ibn Ḥaǧar al-'Asqalānī (852/1448) Abū'-l-Faḍl Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Tāminah*. Beirut: Dār al-Ğīl, 1993, IV, 438, no. 1218.

was confined in one of the sultanate houses⁶¹ in the citadel. Therefore, he was deposed after being a nominal sultan for two years, three months and six days⁶². We can assume that sultans who suffered from mental illness were confined at the sultanate houses in the citadel and not the *bimāristān*, as commoners.

In Dū'l Ḥiǧǧah 781/March 1380, a soldier mounting a horse came to the Mālikī judge and asked him, "Purify me with a sword as I have apostatized from Islam" he was hit and confined⁶³in the *bimāristān* for being a psychopath. Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Muḥtasib⁶⁴asked the physicians if he is a psychopath or not, but they said that he is insane⁶⁵.It is noticeable here once again using the verb confined, not sent or stayed, so the *bimāristān* was likely a confinement for the insane. On the other hand, the clinical examinations were mentioned in the previous example.

In Ša'bān 826/August 1423, a mamlūk of al-Šams al-Ḥuḍarī came to Sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy and claimed that there is a treasure of 100,000 ardeb⁶⁶ of golden dinars in Al-Maḥallah⁶⁷. The Sultan delivered him to Arġūn Šāh, the majordomo⁶⁸ who investigated the case and declared that he was saying nonsensical things, and people testified that he had a mental disorder⁶⁹. But sources did not mention how the state dealt with him. Apparently, psychopathic patients were treated like insane; they were confined at the bimāristān. We exclude the case of the sultan who was sent to the sultanate houses instead. On the other hand, it seems that psychopathic patients have less disorder than

⁶¹ Sultanate Houses: There were a few houses at the citadel known as the Sultanate Houses *al-Buyūt al-Sultānīyah* to fulfill the daily supplies of the sultan. Thus, the royal palaces had number of houses "*ḥawāṣil*", each would supply a certain section of the royal palaces. Most houses were named by adding the Persian term "*ḥānqah*", so that the whole meaning will be the house of something. These houses were as follows: al-*Ḥawā'iğḥānah* or (larder), *al-Šarābḥānah* (buttery), *al-Ṭablaḥānah* or the drummer, al-*Rikābḥānah*: which has the horses' equipment such as saddles and bridles, *al-Ṭištḥānah* or the vestry, *al-Firāšḥānah* or house of lumbers, *al-Silāhḥānah*: (the arsenal), and *al-Maṭbaḥ al-Sultānī* or the royal kitchen. See: Al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ša*, IV, 9; *Daw' al-Ṣubḥ al-Muṣfir wa Ġani al-Dawḥ al-Muṭmir*. Cairo, 1906, I, 243, Dozy, R.P.A, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. Paris,1927, I, 337; Marwa Ḥamdī Ṭahah, *Al-Ustādārīyah in the Mamlūk Period and their Architectural and Artistic Works in Egypt* (648-923 A.H/1250-1517 A.D), Ph.D Thesis, unpublished, Ain Šams University, Faculty of Arts, Tourist Guidance Dept., Cairo, 2013 I, 127-147.

⁶² Al-Maqrīzī, Al-Sulūk, III/I, 82; Unknown, Tārīţ al-Malik al-Ašraf Qāitbāy, released by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī. Sidon: Al-Maktabah al-'Aṣrīyah, 2003, 76; 'Iṣām 'Alī Aḥmad, Salṭanat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥarīyah. Cairo: Nūr al-'Ilm lil-Turāt al-Mamlūkī, 2024, I, 684; Iğlāl 'Alī Surūr, Umarā' al-Ṭablaḥānah 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk bi-Miṣr (648-923/1250-1517). Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣryah al-'Āmah lil-Kitāb, 2024, 183.

⁶³ Al-Magrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, III/I, 373; Boaz Shoshan, Madness, *IJMES*, XXXV/II, May 2003, 337.

⁶⁴ Al-Muḥtasib is the one responsible for applying good and forbidding evil in the supervision of moral behaviour, especially in the markets. See: Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, La ḥisba et le muḥtasib en Égypte au temps des mamluks, *Annales Islamologiques*, XIII, 1977, XVI, 115-178; Sihām Abū Zaid, *Al-Ḥisbah fī Miṣr al-Islāmīyah*. Cairo: Al-Ḥay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmah lil-Kitāb, 1986, 41-42.

⁶⁵ Ibn Hağar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, I, 198; 'Abd al-Bāsit al-Zāhirī, *Nail al-Amal*, I/II, 161-162.

⁶⁶ The *ardeb* is a unit of measurement. It was used to weigh wheat and other crops in Egypt. During the Mamlūk period, it was around 96.6 kg for one *ardeb* of wheat or 65 kg for one *ardeb* of barley, which is nearly 90 liters. Walther Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte, Leiden, 1955, 39-40.

⁶⁷ Al-Maḥallah is a city in the governorate of al-Ġarbīyah nowadays. Muḥammad Ramzī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Ğuġrāfī lil-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah*. Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmah lil-Kitāb, 1994, II/II, 10.

⁶⁸ Al-Saḥamāwī, *Al-Ṭaġr al-Bāsim*, I, 393-394; Marwa Ḥamdī Ṭahah, *Al-Ustādārīyah*, I, 2.

^{69 &#}x27;Abd al-Bāsit al-Zāhirī, Nail al-Amal, I/IV, 134-135.

those insane. The previous cases showed people believing them at the beginning, but when they started to investigate their saying they found out their mental disorder. Medical examinations were not mentioned in such investigations.

Melancholia (Mālīḥūlya)⁷⁰

Such a term was amongst those that terms were used to indicate mental illness. In Šawwāl 841/April 1438, Sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy felt ill, and he asked his physicians to treat him. The Sultan resisted the pain and pretended that he was recovered; he even bestowed robes of honour⁷¹ to his physicians for their treatment. The pain increased to the extent that the sultan's skin turned yellow and he could not even stand up⁷². He thought that the physician could not treat him well and then ordered to bi-waist his physicians; al-'Afīf, the chief physician and Zain al-Dīn Ḥiḍr⁷³ in the citadel⁷⁴. The pain increased, and he lost his appetite for a few months, then suffered from melancholia⁷⁵ and headache. He became delirious at some point and eventually fell into a coma⁷⁶. Such a case was the second royal case that appeared in this study, but sources did not refer to his destiny except that he died⁷⁷.

In Ğumāda II 893/June 1488, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Zāhirī mentions that Sultan Qāitbāy arrested 'Alī b. Abī-l-Fatḥ al-Munūfī, the deputy of Jeddah in *Ṭabaqat al-Zammām*⁷⁸,

Nuch a disease was also diagnosed as depression, a type of mental disorder. Ishāq bin 'Imrān, Maqālah fī-l- Mālīhūlya, released by al-Rādī al-Ğāzī, Tunisia, 2009, 31; Ramadānī Ḥusayn, Al-Mālīhūlya 'ind Abī Bakr bin Zakarīya al-Rāzī, Miğallat al-Rustumīyah, II, October 2020, 79.

⁷¹ Robes of honour (known as *hil'ah* pl. is *hila'*) originally robes of honour were a robe worn by the ruler himself and offered off his own body. Apparently, it was a kind of honouring and somehow a protection from the sultan himself. In the Mamlūk period, the robe of honour (*hil'ah*) became a traditional gift, but in different forms. So, robe of honour was not only the fine clothes given by the Sultan, but they could be of various fine garments, arms, or horses from the sultan's stable. They were given as a gift on different occasions. Al-Qalqašandī, *Şubḥ al-A'ša*, IV, 52-54; L.A. Mayer, Mamluk Costume. Genève, 1952, 56, 57; Yedida Kalfon Stillman, *Arab Dress*. Leiden, 2000, 71; Ibrāhīm Māḍī, *Zīy Umarā' al-Mamālīk fī Miṣr wa'-l-Šām*. Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmah lil-Kitāb, 2009, 237, 256, 257.

⁷² Al-Maqrīzī, Al-Sulūk, IV/II, 1040; Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī, $Inb\bar{a}$ ', IV,73.

Aḥmad 'Isa, *Mu'ğam al-Aṭibā'*. Cairo: Maṭba'at Fatḥallah Nūrī, 1942, 290-291; Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Batanūnī and Aḥmad Kamāl, *Aṭibā' Miṣr 'Abr al-'Uṣūr al-Islāmīyah*. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif lil-Ṭibā'ah wa-l- Našr, 2008, 153, 154.

⁷⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, IV/II, 1041; 'Iṣām 'Alī Aḥmad, *Salṭanet al-Mamālīk al-Burǧīyah*. Cairo: Nūr al-'Ilm lil-Turā<u>t</u> al-Mamlūkī, 2024, 219.

⁷⁵ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, released by Muḥammad Muṣṭafa. Cairo: Al-Dār al-Taqāfiyah lil-Našr, 2008, III, 252, 253.

⁷⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, IV/II, 1047-1049; Al-Sayrafi, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa'-l- Abdān fī Tawārīh al-Zamān*, released by Hasan Habašī. Cairo: Matba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1994, III, 419.

⁷⁷ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Al-Nuǧūm*, XV, 105-106.

⁷⁸ *Ṭabaqat al-Zammām*" the barrack of al-Zammām" is the place at which the Mamlūks receive his military training in the citadel. Regarding al-Zammām, it was an office in the Mamluk court. He was among men of the sword, amir of forty. See: Al-Qalqašandī, *Subḥ al-A'šā*, IV, 21; Ḥasan al-Bāšā, *Al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah wa-l-Wazā'if 'alā al-Ātār al-'Arabīyah*. Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabīyah, 1965, II, 567; Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, *Mu'ğam al-Alfāz al-Tārīḥīyah fi'-l-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī*. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1990, 105; Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, *Al-Ğayš al-Miṣrī fī'-l-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī*. Cairo, 1998, 40, 41; Ḥusām Ḥasan 'Abd al-Faḍīl and Mu'taz Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Al-Zammām wal-l Zimāmīyah fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn ala-Mamālīk*, *Journal of the Faculty of Tourism and Hotels*-University of Sadat City, I/I, June 2021, 162-163.

"barrack of al-Zammām" as he suffered from melancholia and insanity. He ordered to talk to him in person, but his answers showed a mental disorder. Therefore, the sultan ordered to remove his clothing and beat him with whips *al-maqāri* '79till some people meditated and testified that he suffers from melancholia. The Sultan ordered to send him to the *bimāristān* with the insane patients naked, without a headgear and his neck was chained. He stayed there for a few days⁸⁰, then some people mediated to get him out of the bimāristān to send him once again to his confinement at the barrack of al-Zammām⁸¹. The previous case shows that in some cases the state treated patients of melancholia by sending them to the bimāristān or incarcerating them in a confinement at the barrack. Evidently, the sultan first ordered to punish the patient and to send him to the bimāristān, then after the mediation of some people, he was sent to confinement in the barrack. As if staying in confinement was a better accommodation compared to the bimāristān. Although not mentioning any reason for such severe punishment, likely that a vital political reason was behind this punishment. Especially that, the insane patient was a deputy of Jeddah, one of the subordinates of the Sultan. It is noticeable here that Ibn Iyas mentioned the term in a different way as $m\bar{a}h\bar{u}lva^{82}$. The same term melancholia, appeared once again in the same year when a soldier hit a gecko to death. He had a fever after that, then a case similar to melancholia; he became delirious and eventually died⁸³. The same term $m\bar{a}h\bar{u}lya$ appeared once again in Dū'l Higgah 902/August 1497, but this time in addition to insanity. Abū'l Fath Muhammad al-Munūfī, the judge at the end of his age he suffered from insanity and melancholia as well till his death⁸⁴.

Senility (Fasād al-'Aql)

Fasād is derived from the root (f-s-d), which means corrupt, spoil and ruin. Literary, it means "corrupt brain" 85. Such a term a appeared in Muharram 701/September 1301 when a man called himself "al-Mahdī" claimed that he was a descendant of al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. He also claimed that he predicts incidents, he was arrested to examine what he says, which appeared to be none sense and he suffers from a mental disorder. The man was punished by $ta'd\bar{t}r^{86}$ discretion then he was released later

⁷⁹Al-maqāri' (Sing. is maqra'ah or a whip) is a tool that was used for punishment. According to Mamluk references, it seems that al-maqra'ah is somehow similar to a whip or a wooden flail. Al-Yūsufī (759/1358), Nuzhat al-Nāzir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Nāsir, released by Ahmad Hutait, Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1986, 121 no. 1; Al-'Uṣfūr, Wasā'il al-Ta'dīb, Annals of the Faculty of Arts, 'Ain Shams University, XXXI, January-March 2003, 66-68.

⁸⁰ Al-Sahāwī determined the number of days as eight days, then he was confined in the madrasa of Kātib al-Sirr. See: Wağīz al-Kalām fī'-l- Dail 'ala Dūwal al-Islām. Beirut, 1995, III, 1030.

^{81 &#}x27;Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ṣāhirī, Nail al-Amal, II/VIII, 1133,114; Ibn Iyās, Badā'i', III, 252-253; Boaz Shoshan, Madness, IJMES, XXXV/II, May 2003, 337.

⁸² Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, III, 252, 253.

^{83 &#}x27;Abd al-Bāsit al-Zāhirī, Nail al-Amal, II/VIII, 120.

⁸⁴ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, III, 369.

⁸⁵ Al-Zabaidī (1205/1790) al-Said Muḥammad Murtada al-Hussainī, Tāğ al-'Arūs min Ğawāhir al-Oāmūs, released by 'Abd al-'Azīz Matar, Kūwait: Matba'at Hukūmat al- Kuwait, 1994, VIII, 496,497.

⁸⁶ $Ta'd\bar{t}r$ is a penalty determined by the judge in accordance with the crime. It could be for a sin that was not mentioned in a penal provision such as cheating, usury, bribery, dishonesty and the like. 'Ala' Ţahah Rizq, Al-Suğūn, 160.

on⁸⁷. Sources did not mention the place where he stayed before being released. In Ramaḍān 841 /March 1437, Sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy issued a decree that preventing women from being outdoors⁸⁸. One month later after the decree, a woman got out of her house for an urgent reason, but she was arrested by the assistance of al-Muḥtasib. She fainted as she was very scared. So, some people asked for her release and not to be punished. She was released to go back home but she suffered from senile and got sick for a time⁸⁹. Apparently, senility patients received familial care and were not sent to the *bimāristān* or the like.

Fool (Mamrūr)90

Such a term was used very limited in Mamluk sources. For example, in Ramaḍān 819/November 1416, a non-Arab man "A'ġam" claimed that he ascended to heaven and he saw God Almighty, who authorized him to run the affairs of the country. He was sent to Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šayḫ, who asked the opinion of scholars; they agreed on an opinion: in case of being sane, he must repent otherwise, he would be killed, but the man refused. The Mālikī judge ordered to testify that he is sane, but he was confined in the bimāristān with the fool mamrūdīn⁹¹, as physicians testified to his insanity⁹². Two years later, in Ğumada I821/July 1418, Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šayḫ went to the bimāristān al-Manṣūrī to check the patients and the insane⁹³. He met the patient mentioned above, who asked the Sultan to release him but, the sultan did not answer⁹⁴. Later on, he was released after the death of Sultan al-Mū'ayyad Šayḫ ⁹⁵. The previous case showed the same destiny of being confined and sent to the bimāristān.

Moreover, yet sources show that sending insane patients to be confined in the bimāristān was common at that time, but claiming insanity was a way to escape from punishment in prisons. The thing clarifies that staying at the bimāristān was much better than staying at the prison, although using the same expression "confined" in both cases. Especially that, the confined patient did not pay the charge known as the tax of prisons (muqarar al-suğūn) that was paid by the prisoners ⁹⁶. In this context, sources mention that Ismā'īl ibn Sa'īd al-Kurdī ⁹⁷was knowledgeable in readings, jurisprudence and grammar; he also used to memorize much of the Torah and the

⁸⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, I/III, 919; Al-'Aynī (d. 855/1451) Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd, '*Iqd al-Ğumān fī Tārīḫ Ahl -l-Zamān*, released by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn. Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmah lil-Kitāb, 1992, IV, 193.

⁸⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, IV/II, 1031, 1032.

⁸⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, Al-Sulūk, IV/II, 1038.

⁹⁰ As for the term *mamrūr*, it was regarded by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn as *dāʾ al-kalb* (Canine Mad). See: *Al-Awqāf wa-l- Ḥayāh al-Iğtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr 648-923/1250-1517*, Cairo, 1980, 162.

⁹¹ It was written that way. See: *Al-Magrīzī*, *Al-Sulūk*, IV/I, 367.

⁹² Ibn Hağar al- 'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, III, 99; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, II, 28-29.

⁹³ Laila 'Abd al-Ğawwād, *Ba'd Adwā' 'Ala Wazīfat Nāzir al-bimāristān al-Manṣūrī*, *Miğallat al-Mū'arriḥ al-Miṣrī*, Cairo University, III/I, March 1995, 217.

⁹⁴ Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, III, 163.

⁹⁵ Ibn Hağar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, III, 99; Hālah Nawwāf, *Al-Suğūn fī Miṣr*, 62-63.

⁹⁶ Tax of prisons (*muqarar al-suğūn*): It is a tax imposed on prisoners regardless of the time they stayed at the prisons of Egypt. Isa Mahmoud Alazzam, The (Mukus) Taxes in Egypt during the Mameluke Era (648 AH/1250 AD-923 AH /1517), *Asian Social Science*; IX/IX, 2013, 238.

⁹⁷ His full title is Ismāʻīl ibn Saʻīd al-Kurdī al-Muqri' al-Miṣrī. See: Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar*, I, 367, no. 928.

Bible. But he used to commit sins in public and mention bad things about the prophets⁹⁸, so he became known as Ismail the infidel or Ismail the heretic. As a result, some people complained to the judge Taqī al-Dīn al-Aḥnā'ī⁹⁹as he mentioned Prophet Lūṭ with bad things. When the judge called on him, he pretended insanity to escape from the punishment, but it did not help as he was killed in Ṣafar 720/April 1320 for his heresy¹⁰⁰.

Another example was mentioned when a beggar killed a merchant with a knife in Ša'bān 836/April 1433. The beggar showed his insanity and was sent to the bimāristān. The author's comment on this incident is "the merchant's blood was wasted for nothing" 101.

On the other hand, what would happen if the state did not confine the insane patients ($ma\S n\bar{u}n$). It seems that releasing insane patients without an appropriate medical treatment caused serious societal problems at that time. In this context, sources mention that in $D\bar{u}$ 'l Higgah 664/ September 1266, 'Izz al- $D\bar{u}$ n Aydamur al-Hilli¹⁰², the deputy¹⁰³ and the judges were sitting in $D\bar{u}$ al-'Adl¹⁰⁴ to consider complaints. And then, a man with a complaint showed a knife was hidden under his clothes and stabbed the deputy in his throat. Upon investigating the case, they found that the complainant was somehow insane ($ma\S n\bar{u}n$), who had drugs as well, which made him in a worse condition¹⁰⁵. Another case was mentioned upon the death of Ibn Abī-l-'Izz the chief judge¹⁰⁶ in $D\bar{u}$ 'l Higsah 799/September 1397. But amazingly, that

⁹⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, II/I, 212, 213; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Al-Nuǧūm*, IX, 249,250.

⁹⁹ He died in 750/1349. See: Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, II/III, 814.

Al-Nūwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, XXXII, 247, 248; Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar*, I, 367, no. 928;
 Sāmyah 'Alī Muṣalḥī, *Al-Zandaqah*, *Journal of Faculty of Arts Banha*, XV/I, 2006, 13, 14.
 Ibn Hağar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā*', III, 500.

He was appointed as a deputy in 657/1258 till 658/1259. See: Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Ašqar, *Nā'ib al-Salṭanah al-Mamlūkīyah fī Miṣr*. Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmah lil-Kitāb, 1999, 365. no. 3.

The deputy (*Al-Nā 'ib*) was the highest-ranking *amīr* in the Mamlūk sultanate. He was a substitute for the Sultan. He was in charge of signing the complaints instead of the Sultan and was authorized to grant small feudal charters to amīrs without consulting the Sultan. See: Al-'Umarī (749/1348) Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥīya, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, released by Ayman Fū'ād Saiyed, Cairo: IFAO, 1985, 55-56; al-Qalqašandī, *Şubḥ al-A'ša*, IV, 16; Al-Bāšā, *Al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah*, III, 1230-1236; Al-Ašqar, *Nā'ib al-Salṭanah*, 23-25.

¹⁰⁴ Dār al-'Adl (It means hall of Justice), known also as īwān of the citadel. It was the main throne hall during the Mamluk period, it was used as the place of the ceremony of mamluk parade reviewed by the Sultan, as the reception hall for receiving ambassadors and guests, and a judicial function the hall of justice or Dār al-'Adl. Sultan al-Mansūr Qalāwūn built a new dār al-'Adl within the walls of the citadel, known as al-īwān al-Kabīr. It was renewed by his son Sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalīl. It was pulled down during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and covered with a magnificent dome. Al-Maqrīzī, Ḥiṭaṭ, III, 659; 'Abd al-Rahmān Zakī, Qal'at Salāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī wa mā Ḥawlahā, Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyāh al-'Āmah lil-Kitāb, 1971, 54-55; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, the Citadel of Cairo: Stage on Mamluk Ceremonial, Annales Islamologiques, XXIV, 1988, 35-37; Nasser Rabbat, The Citadel of Cairo. Cairo, 2009, 14-15; Linda S. Northrup, The Baharī Mamlūk Sultanate 1250-1390," in "The Cambridge History of Egypt", I, Cambridge, 1998, 265.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, I/II, 550, 551.

The judge $(Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath})$ is a religious office. He was responsible for settling suits and resolving disputes and dissensions according to the $Qur'\bar{a}n$ and Sunnah. See: Ibn Khaldūn, The Muqaddimah, translated

his insane (maǧnūn) nephew hit him to death¹⁰⁷. Obviously, he was released and not confined anywhere. The danger of the released insane patients appeared once again in Dū'l Qa'dah 897/September 1492. At the time of al-'išā' prayers, noise occurred near the side of Bāb al-Ṣafa¹⁰⁸to the extent that the worshipers interrupted their prayers and thought that the flood was coming. Actually, chaos at the section of women caused by an insane entered there during the prayers, he took a child and knelt on him¹⁰⁹.

According to the previous cases, the state used to confine the insane patients at hospitals and the like to avoid their danger.

The Disease	The Symptoms	The role of the State
Insane (Mağnūn)	Serious mental disorder that	Confined at the bimāristān al-
	would lead to murder	Manṣūrī
Psychopath	Mental disorder	Confined at the bimāristān al-
(Muhtall		Manṣūrī
'aqlyan)		
Melancholia	Deliria, a coma, and mostly	The state did not send them to
(Mālīḥūlya)	it ends with death	bimāristāns as they were not
		dangerous (Familial care).
Senility (Fasād	Mental disorder	The state did not send them to
al-'Aql)		bimāristāns as they were not
		dangerous (Familial care).
Fool (Mamrūr)	Mental disorder	Confined at the bimāristān al-
		Manṣūrī

Conclusion

Based on the study, we conclude that the *Bimāristāns* of insanity were known since the Ṭūlūnīd dynasty in Egypt, then during the successive eras: the Iḫšidīds, the Fatimids, the Ayyubids and the Mamlūk era. The symptoms of mental disorder in the Mamlūk era differed from one case to another. The severest form of them was insanity, and the mildest ones were Melancholia and senility. Actually, the state had an important role only towards insane, psychopathic and foolish patients. They were sent to *al-bimāristān al-Manṣūrī* and confined there. The state had no role in melancholia and senility. On the other hand, the role of the state in cases of blasphemy, such as claiming prophethood, was confinement without any clinical examinations.

The study revealed two Mamluk Sultans suffered from mental disorder: Sultan al-Manṣūr al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar Ḥāǧǧī, who was psychopath, and Sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy who, suffered from melancholia. Only royals were sent to a different place in case of mental disorder, such as the sultanate houses, but not to share the same accommodation as the regular mental patients. In some cases, the patient in some cases would get out of the hospital after receiving the

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and introduced by Franz Rosenthal, (Princeton, 1969), 172-173; Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, *Al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmīyah fī'-l- 'Uṣūr al-Wūsṭa*. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1995, I, 95.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Ḥagar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, I, 5531,532, no.5; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ṭāhirī, *Nail al-Amal*, I/II, 384.

Bāb al-Ṣafā was one of the renovated gates of Fustāt. It was once located to the north of Egypt. It was the place from which the army and tribes departed. It was pulled down during the reign of Sultan al-Zāhir Baibars. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Hitat*, II, 169.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Saḥāwī, *Wağīz al-Kalām*, III, 1265.

appropriate treatment and sometimes not. Regarding the duration of staying in the hospital, it could be a few days to years in some cases.

Moreover, some criminals pretended their mental disorder to escape from prisons to asylums. Sources did not refer to the social status of the patient after receiving the appropriate treatment and leaving the hospital.

The researcher recommends encouraging more studies that would enrich the field of tour guiding through connecting history with civilization and archaeology. Actually, tour guides should be assisted with such type of studies to give a historical background about insanity during their tours to the *bimāristān al-Manṣūrī* on the route of al-Mu'izz Street to make their visit more vivid.

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