

Kindness to Servants during the Mamluk Era

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Abstract

Servants in the Mamluk era, as they were in all other ages, engaged in indispensable service activities. Therefore, there was a need to care for them, be kind to them and to treat them humanely.

In return, those servants were obligated to perform their duties diligently and to be loyal to their masters, and maintain moral courtesy.

Fairness and benevolence to this category of workers, and praise of those masters, who granted them a decent living in spite of political turmoil, are worthy research targets.

A search in available Mamluk sources yields scattered relevant materials that can be collected and contextually used, especially as more topics on social life in that era are needed to highlight this category of workers.

The conditions of the Mamluk society and its various casts indicate that servants were treated kindly by the Mamluk sultans; they have progressed through the ranks and even assumed senior positions. This point was detailed in my paper, *al-Wazyef Allati Taqaladuha al-Khadam fi Al ‘Asr al-Mamlūki (Positions Held by Servants in the Mamluk Era)* (1). However, this is not the immediate concern of this paper, which rather focuses on the humane treatment they received from their patrons, whether they were members of the ruling class-sultans and their deputies, or from other classes of society.

Using available historical resources, this research is divided into two parts: First, Kindness of sultans and their households to their servants; and Second, Kindness of senior princes, dignitaries and others to their servants.

1. Kindness of sultans and their households to their servants:

Some Mamluk Sultans were especially attentive to their servants and provided them with superior humane care; one example is Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars who was known to be benevolent to his servants. He established, in Qal‘at al-Jabal Citadel, a dedicated hall for eunuchs (2), a hall for Naṣir al-Dīn al-Lala (3) and a third hall for the Mehtar, (4) Shuja‘ al-Dīn ‘Anbar. A closer look reveals that those servants played an important role in the upbringing and education of sultans, and in return, they treated them well and provided for them to face the hardships of life (5).

The eunuch, Husam al-Dīn Al-Mughaiṭhī, held a privileged position in the service of Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars, who promoted him and allowed him to sit in a more prestigious position than his Grand Prince Baisārī, in recognition of his old age and appreciation of his favors and long years of service. That was a valued humanitarian gesture from a benevolent master, whose noble qualities made him appreciative of those who served and attended to him (6).

Sultan al-Zāhir was also loyal to another eunuch, Shuja‘ al-Dīn Murshed al-Manṣūri, who sent him two horses after al-Zāhir’s horses were exhausted while he was chased by the Tatars to the city of Famīyah, and thus saved his life (7). This remained as favor that must be repaid, so when al-Zāhir ascended the throne, the eunuch Shuja‘ al-Dīn came to his General Majlis, the sultan “Immediately stood up, greeted him and embraced him tightly, and granted him his request (8).” That was a truly deserved gesture of gratitude for the priceless service the eunuch Shuja‘ al-Dīn provided to the sultan.

Justice, fairness and compassion necessitated that the sultan’s son was committed to the rights of servants. Abu Bakr, son of sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn has interceded for Prince Āqbughā’s servant, with whom he became very angry and had beaten him severely in 742 AH/ 1341 AD. However, but Āqbughā did not give in to the sultan’s son and continued to treat the servant harshly. Hence, when Abu Bakr ascended the throne, he imprisoned Āqbughā and confiscated his properties in revenge for his harsh treatment of servants and for rejecting the intercession of a compassionate man acting on their behalf (9).

A more beautiful and humane picture was portrayed by sultan al-Kāmel Sha‘bān ibn al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn when he wanted to wed a eunuch in his service to one of his bondmaids in zul-Qa‘ada 746 AH/ 1345 AD. The sultan has arranged for them to have a grand and joyous wedding party that was attended by all Sultan al-Kamel's bondmaids. As the bride was wed to the eunuch, the sultan himself showered the bride with gold (10).

In recognition of the plentiful services provided by the eunuch Kāfūr al-Hindī, and the grand status he had with Khūnd (11) Taghāī, she was so grateful to him that she pleaded on his behalf with sultan Sha‘abān ibn

al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn and prevented the latter from confiscating his properties in 747 AH/ 1346 AD. Kāfir and the eunuch ‘Arafāt were "among the inner circles of al-Malik al-Al-Naṣir Muḥammad, who made them very happy "(12).

Taghāī, mother of Anūk, and wife of sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, who died in 749 AH/ 1348 AD as a chaste and dignified woman, cared her servants and treated them kindly as a gesture of both gratitude and benevolence. She set free eighty eunuchs who were in her service: a large number that demonstrates her generosity, righteousness and philanthropy (13).

Sultan al-Ashraf Sha‘bān ibn Ḥussain ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn liked his chief Mamluk, a eunuch named Shazrāwān, so so much that he granted him a lot of money and fine gifts. For example, in Rabie’ al-Awwal 776 AH/ August 1374 AD, he dressed him in luxurious outfits, known as Aqbiah (14), made of embroidered silk, (15).

Eunuch Ṣandal al-Zain al-Manjakī al-Rūmi enjoyed great care and attention from sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq, to the extent that the latter appointed him as Chief Khazindār. Moreover, he brought him closer to his inner circles in acknowledgement of his piety and honesty. During the reign of al-Zāhir, Ṣandal had received a degree of merit, integrity, and inviolability not achieved by his compatriots. This represents a definite indication of al-Zāhir’s knowledge of him and awareness of his loyalty to him. Ṣandal died in Ramadan 801 AH/ May 1399 AD (16).

Some sultans lavishly granted money to their servants, who happily received their generous gifts. A case in point is when sultan Naṣir al-Dīn Faraj ibn Barqūq, who in Shawwal 801 AH/ June 1399 AD, granted each of his Mamluk servants one thousand dirhams, according to the will of his father, al-Zāhir (17).

Likewise, Al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn did not only give grants generously to his servants, but was also keen on giving them such gifts in person. When it was time to distribute his gifts, he made sure that they were delivered to recipients as per his orders, and if he found any negligence on the part of those assigned the distribution of such gifts, he would scold and rebuke them. This shows his keenness to properly deliver his good deeds to servants (18).

Al-Naṣir Muḥammad did not differentiate between his Muslim and non-Muslim servants: he extended his benevolence and care equally to all of them. For instance, he rebuked Yalbughā for being mean with the Christian Kholi (19), for whom he sent a gift of three rams, but Yalbughā- being so mean- gave him only ten dirhams. When the Kholi went back to al-Naṣir, the Sultan asked him: "Where is your gift?", the Kholi put the ten dirhams in front of Sultan al-Naṣir. The Sultan became angry and sent the Kholi back to Prince Yalbughā with one of his servants to tell him: "the Sultan is telling you may Allah withhold his blessings from you, woe upon you, didn’t you have a Quba’a to throw on my boy? Or let him wear a Ṭard Waḥsh?" (20). When the servant delivered the Sultan’s message to Yalbughā, he felt remorse and apologized, and let the Kholi wear a Quba’a made of Ṭard waḥsh (21).

In spite of the large number of his servants and Mamluks, Sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad knew their names and did not miss anything regarding their affairs. This has certain implications, as the human soul is inherently benevolent, and those who know the names of the poor, and attend to their affairs, will often mingle and joke with them, fulfill their needs and are tolerant to their weakness to carry out assignments beyond their capabilities (22).

Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq was kind to his servants even after his death. He wrote a will dedicated to them in Shawwal 801 AH/ June 1399 AD, along with his wives and concubines, in which he granted them two hundred and twenty thousand dinars. In my opinion, this is indicative of his benevolence and determination to reciprocate their favors, guarantee they lived comfortably against life’s hardships after his demise, and as a gesture of gratitude and recognition of their services and managing his affairs during his life (23).

During the same month of the said year, sultan al-Naṣir Faraj ibn Barqūq was also keen on bringing his servants closer. He ordered that the allowance he allocated them be distributed in his presence. Prince Yalbughā al-Salemi was assigned the task of granting each Mamluk servant working inside the palace sixty dinars, while each artisan who worked outside the palace was given five hundred dirhams (24).

Al-Naṣir Faraj did not even miss to grant his servants feudal lands, such as the lands he bestowed upon the eunuchs: Muqbil, Sa’ad al-Dīn Ṣawwāb, and Shahīn al-Ḥalabi in Ramadan 802 AH/ April 1400 AD (25).

Sultan al-Naṣir Faraj was also very generous to Muqbil al- Rūmi and grateful to the latter’s loyalty to him. In recognition of his goodness, he set him free, but Muqbil continued to be as good and pious as before. Muqbil was an avid learner who studied Islamic jurisprudence under al-Shafi’i Doctrine, then studied Sufism in depth and mastered mathematics. Muqbil died in 802 AH/ 1399 AD (26).

Muqbil al- Zain al-Rūmi al-Ashqatāmri al-Rūmi was well-respected by sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq, who made him his Jamdar (27). Later, his son al-Naṣir Faraj became his patron, brought him up on good faith, love of jurists, and let him study religious sciences as well. He established a school in al-Tabbana and became an example of chastity and righteousness. Muqbil died in the month of Rabi’ al-Thani 819 AH/ May 1416 AD(28).

sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq took good care of a bondmaid named Soul, who was raised and educated in his

house, until she was owned by the historian Taqi al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Ali al-Maqrīzī when she was fifteen years old. She had children by her master. She was subtle and mastered some arts, including writing and Geomancy (29). She was also renowned for nobility, sound judgment, and good management. These assets added to her beauty and brought her closer to her master. She died in 824 AH/ 1421 AD, and was mentioned by her master in his book *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīdah fī tarājīm al-a‘yān al-mufīdah*. Moreover, he wrote her a poem. The opening verses of which were:

After she left me, I learned fortune-telling
So that I may see a form indicating our get-together (30).

The eunuch Kāfūr al-Sarghatāmshī al-Rūmī held a prominent position in sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq' house, served his master's wife wife Khūnd Hajar, daughter of Prince Minkly Būgha. Moreover, he was one of the senior privileged servants, and was still venerated during the reign of Sultan al-Naṣir Faraj, who promoted him to position of Zimam al-Dar (31). Later, he became the Khazindar (32) until his death in Cairo in Rabi' al-Thani 830 AH/ January 1427 AD (33).

Surūr al-Ḥabashī al-Shaqrāwī was servant to Khūnd Shaqrā, daughter of al-Naṣir Faraj, who attended to him and attributed him to her name. This wouldn't have been the case unless she was fully aware of his good morals and kind deeds, as he was keen on fasting on Mondays and Thursdays of every week and used to praise and honor scholars (34).

Benevolence to servants meant their good upbringing and education, as Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Sheikh al-Maḥmūdī did. He was very keen on granting his Mamluk servants the finest education, and promoted them to higher positions, only after a long period of testing their good manners and sincerity (35).

Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy purchased Jelban al-Jarkasiyā, daughter of Prince Yashbak Tattar, who gave birth to his son, Yusūf, who succeeded him as Sultan and was titled al-‘Aziz. He later married her, after the death of his wife Khūnd al-Kubra, the wife of his teacher Duqmāq. She lived in her house and was his favorite. He was even very generous to her family and sent for her brothers, sisters, mother and her relatives from Jarkas (36). He brought in more than ten members of her family, and granted them estates, salaries and employment. Jelban lived dignified and respected with the Sultan until she was poisoned and died in Shawwal 839 AH/ April 1436 AD (37).

In acknowledgement of his servants' honest management of his affairs, Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy gave them his utmost confidence. When he became severely ill in Zul-Qa'da 841 AH/ April 1438 AD, he banned all people from seeing him except for three persons, including his servant, Lala Jawhar, because of his prominent status and closeness to him. He accompanied him in all his travels and was aware of the most intimate of his affairs and circumstances (38).

Furthermore, al-Malik al-‘Aziz Yusūf ibn al-Ashraf Barsbāy was on good terms with his servants, treated them well, and was protective of them. In return, they were grateful and loyal to him. For example, he trusted his servant cook, who helped him escape from the house in which he was imprisoned in Ramadan 842 AH/ February 1439 AD. Al-‘Aziz was dressed as an apprentice cook while his bondmaids made a hole in the wall, with the cook's help from the outside, thus he managed to escape and was free. He was very thankful to his servants, especially the cook, for their loyalty (39).

Surbāy al-Jarkasiyā, mistress of sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, served him for a long time and was loyal to him. She was very pretty, of noble qualities, and was kind-hearted and good-mannered. He loved her so much that she became his favorite and he often gave her very expensive gifts and presents. When she became sick, his protection of her grew even greater, and to help with her recovery, he ordered that she be transferred to Hijaziya to exercise and recuperate in Būlaq. However, her disease worsened and she died in Rabi' al-Thani 852 AH/ June 1448 AD. The Sultan was kind to her even after her death, prayed at her funeral, and felt deep grief for her death. It is rumored that she had left behind countless numbers of ornaments and dresses and a huge amount of money- some fifty thousand dinars (40).

Khūnd Hajar, the wife of Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq and daughter of the Atabeg (41) Minkly Būgha al-Shamsi, emancipated her servant, eunuch Kāfūr al-Hindi, after long years of service in which he was promoted to become Ra'as Nawbat al-Jamadarīah. Kāfūr was faithful to his mistress because of her kindness to him, and when he died in 854 AH/ 1450 AD; she honoured him and ordered to bury him in her own tomb (42).

Eunuch Khushqadam Al-Yashbaki al-Rūmī was emancipated by the Atabeg Yashbak al-Sha'abanī, who raised and educated him, and later promoted in ranks to become Chief Mamluk (Taqdimat al-Mamālīk) (43). He was loved by both scholars and the poor. He lived to the age of ninety and died in 856 AH/ 1452 AD (44).

Sultan al-Zāhir Khushqadam granted Abrak, his loyal servant a great estate confiscated from from Muḥammad Shah al-Khāṣṣakī (45). Abrak was good-mannered, religious, a prudent jurist and knowledgeable of equestrian arts (46).

Kanashbūgha al-Jamous, a Khāṣṣakī servant, was a good and religious man, who avoided appointment to high ranks out of modesty. He was over ninety, and al-Zāhir Khushqadam honored and looked after him until

his death in 869 AH/ 1464 AD (47).

Kūkai al-Zāhirī, another Khāṣṣakī servant, reached the age of seventy and was one of the oldest Mamluks of Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq, who loved him so much and showered him with gifts for being pious, religious, quiet, polite, decent, avoidant of his own clan, and good-natured. When he died in 870 AH/ 1465 AD, the Sultan felt bitter grief (48).

Shukrbāy al-Jarkasīya al-Naṣirīya was a long-time servant of sultan Al- Naṣir. She was one of his concubines but he emancipated her. He loved her so much even though they did not have children. When he passed away, she married Prince Abrak al-Jakmī, by whom she gave birth to a boy and a girl. After his death, she married Khushqadam al-Khāṣṣakī, who fathered her three children. She stayed with him until he became sultan and assumed the title of al-Zāhir. She was as honored as the Grand Khūnd herself, and he loved her so much that he did not have another wife, in spite of her old age and his isolation from her, until she died at almost eighty in Jumada al-Awwal 870 AH/ October 1465 AD (49).

Sultan al-Zāhir Khushqadam prayed at the funeral of his servant Jawhar al-Yashbaki al-Hindi, known as al-Türkmani. Jawhar served in the Sultan's palace, and the Sultan liked him and was close to him. The Sultan promoted him to the rank of Khazindar, honored and took good care of him until his death in 873 AH/ 1468 AD (50).

The eunuch Shahīn al-Rūmi al-Zāhirī Jaqmaq was emancipated by Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq in recognition of his loyalty. He first appointed him as Khazindar, then as a bartender. He was handsome and eloquent, and the Sultan al-Zāhir later made him Ra'as Nawbat al-Jamadarīah. The Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy also favored him, and when Shahīn died in 873 AH/ 1468 AD, Sultan al-Ashraf attended his funeral prayers (51).

Some servants were handsome and had good morals and intelligence. These were close to the Sultans and a source of seduction for women and men alike. The eunuch Shahīn Ghazālī had "exquisite beauty...many women and men were fascinated by him. He was polite, modest, intelligent, alert, subtle, quiet and unhurried, eloquent, knowledgeable and a fine poet, especially in praise, so he was a favorite for the Sultans al-Zāhir and al-Ashraf Ināl "(52).

Daūlat Bai was a bondmaid owned by Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq and was famous for her exquisite beauty, politeness, decency, mindfulness, thoughtfulness and knowledge. The Sultan was not only kind to her, but also married her. When he died, she married the Sultan's Deputy at the Levant, Prince Barqūq, and gave birth to his sons, 'Alibāy and his brother. She died in the month of Shawwal 893 AH/ September 1487 AD, and the Sultan honored her by praying at her funeral (53).

Surūr al-Saifī was remarkable among servants for his good manners, and was close to the Sultan Ashraf Qāyrbāy. When he died in 895 AH/ 1489 AD, the Sultan honored him by attending his funeral's prayer (54).

Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy also liked his eunuch, Sunbūl, and showered him with money. When he died in 896 AH/ 1490 AD, the sultan prayed at his funeral and ordered to bury him in his tomb (55).

In 906 AH/ 1500 AD, Sultan al-Ashraf Qansūh al-Ghawri, keen on making his servants happy on the day of 'Eid al-Adha, ordered that his servants receive some of the meat of his sacrifice, and granted them decent sums of money (56).

When he travelled to al-Fayūm in 918 AH/ 1512 AD, Sultan al-Ashraf showed extra generosity to his princes, followers and servants, who devoted served him. Along the way, he threw banquets full of fine foods and drinks, four times a day. He allowed his servants, errand boys and others to eat at these banquets (57).

In Rabi' al-Thani 919 AH/ 1513 AD, as a kind gesture from sultan al-Ashraf to show his justice and compassion to his people, he splashed his lad servants with his generosity, dreopped their debts, and released all those who were imprisoned. This was a source of great happiness to them (58).

2. Kindness of Senior Princes and Dignitaries to their servants:

Senior princes and other dignitaries have also competed with sultans in acquiring servants. Some of these dignitaries treated their servants with compassion, honor and showed them appreciation. During the reign of Sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad, extreme care was given to the construction of castles that were lavishly adorned. In 702 AH/ 1302 AD, senior princes and other dignitaries went out to see such castles, and took their servants with them so as not to deny them the enjoyment of watching such construction feats, and they had great joy in doing so (59).

The Grand Prince 'Alamuddin Arjwash, Deputy Commander of the Damascus Citadel (60) was well-intentioned and had good faith, when he recommended before his death that all his bondmaids and Mamluks be emancipated, and created an endowment for their benefit throughout their lives (61).

Prince Bactumar al-Sāqī was compassionate and kind to his Mamluk followers and to his servants. When Bactumar died in 733 AH/ 1332 AD, Sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn was kind to his Mamluks and servants. Al-Naṣir once said to his Princes "Poor Bactumar, may Allah have mercy upon him, died while asking me to be kind to his Mamluks, brothers and entourage, and I will do this in recognition of the service he

gave to me." This is a clear evidence of his loyalty (62).

Sunbūl Yalli, a eunuch in the service of Prince Yalli, was brought up on piety and righteousness. When his master died, Sunbūl served in the house of Sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, then in the house of his son, al-Manṣour. He continued to serve them and they were kind to him until his death in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal 741 AH/ August 1340 AD (63).

The eunuch Ṣawwāb ibn 'Abdullah, raised on piety and righteousness in the house of Prince Rukn al-Dīn Baybars, was promoted to the renowned rank of Amir 'Asharā (64). He died in Rajab 742 AH/ December 1341 AD (65).

Some servants were emancipated by their masters, princes and other dignitaries. Usually, these servants would have served their master for a long time, during which they had shown good manners and excellent service to their masters. In addition, this emancipation may be due to the servant's righteousness and closeness to God.

The eunuch Khushqadam al-Yashbaki al-Rūmi was emancipated by the Atabeg, Prince Yashbak al-Sha'abanī, after the long time he spent in his service. Throughout his service, he was well-mannered and maintained loyalty and good conduct towards his master (66).

Also, Prince Fayrūz al-Zīmam and Chief Khazindar had served Prince Nawrūz al-Ḥafīzi, and remained in his service for a long time, then asked his master to emancipate him, which he did for the sake of God (67).

Sa'eed al-Ḥabashi was emancipated by the eunuch Bashir al-Jamadar. His master bought him from Makkah and took him to Egypt where he memorized the Koran and studied at the circles of religious scholars. It seems that the cause of emancipation here is the high esteem given to him for his prominent status with his master, which surpassed his peer servants. Sa'eed died in Safar 815 AH/ May 1412 AD (68).

Benevolence did not stop at being kind to servants before they are emancipated, but continued beyond emancipation. Guiding servants to righteousness and making a habit of it was a guarantee for the continued cordial relationship between the two parties, especially when performing a good deed helped achieve a goal in sight. Taqī al-Dīn al-Mazzi loved his servant Shahīn al-Rūmi, raised him to be righteous and then emancipated him. He entrusted him with supervision of his children after his death. Shahīn gave them the best upbringing he could until his death in Dhu al-Hijjah 834 AH/ July 1431 AD (69).

A servant's good behavior or handsome looks may have been a reason for being loved and taken care of by everyone, even when they moved from one master to another. The Turkish bondmaid Guenkebai Khūnd was favored by her master, al-Zāhir Barqūq, and remained in his service for some time, then he married her and she gave birth to his son, al-Manṣour 'Abdul 'Aziz, whom she brought up well after his father's death. Later, she married the Sultanate's Deputy, Timrāz al-Naṣirī, and after he was killed, she married the Atabeg, Baibūgha al-Muẓaffarī, then the Prince Janbak al-Ḥamzawī. She died shortly after, around 835 AH/ 1431 AD, or 836 AH/ 1432 AD. (70) In all her circumstances, her masters honored and appreciated her service.

Times, seasons and events- especially religious ones- may have been an opportunity to show more benevolence from a master to those he loved and appreciated among his servants. Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq loved his servants and showered them with gifts and large sums of money. In Ramadan 842 AH/ February 1439 AD, he presented his servants, including bartenders, Ra'as Nawbat al-Jamadarīah, al-Bajamkadarīa(71) and Sīlahdarīya (72) with luxurious fabrics and Kawamīl (73) made of embroidered velvet with Sable-fur collars (74) and wide embroidered patterns to celebrate the holy month of Ramadan (75) .

It was noted that some dignitaries and scholars were keen on teaching their servants religious jurisprudence, and made sure they acquired fine morals and noble qualities. Judge 'Ali ibn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī al-Malīki emancipated his servant Riḥan al-Ḥabashi, educated him well, and arranged for him to learn Hadīth under senior Hadīth scholars, such as al-Kamal ibn Ḥabīb and al-Jamal al-Amyūfī. Riḥan died in the month of Muharram 847 AH/ 1443 AD (76).

Budūr, the daughter of 'Abdullah, Um Aḥmad al-Muraysīah, child bearer for the dignitary 'Abdulrahmān ibn Abi al-Khair Muḥammad ibn Fahd al-Hashemi, and mother of his daughter, Khadīdja, faithfully served him before she bore his children and looked after the affairs of his household. He taught her and provided her with fine education, until she was approved as a scholar by a group of senior scholars such as 'Aicha, daughter of ibn 'Abdul Hadi, al-Majd al-Laghwi, al-Zain al-Marāghī and al-Jamal ibn Zuhaira. She also studied under Abul Ḥassan ibn Salama, and approved the historian Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī. After her master's death, she was owned by al-Iftikhār Yāqūt ibn 'Abdullah al-Ḥabashi, the emancipated servant of her master's uncle, al-'Imad Yahya ibn Muḥammad ibn Fahd. She bore his children before he died, and she became a widow in Shawwal 850 AH/ December 1446 AD, in Makkah (77).

A servant with good qualities may be transferred to another master as a gift and a gesture of honor, especially if the recipient had prominent status to guarantee a better environment and higher standard of living for the servant. The eunuch Khushqadam al-Rūmi al-Yashbaki, Muqaddam al-māmālīk, was emancipated by al-Alatabeki Yashbak al-Sha'abanī, but was previously owned by the Sultan's Deputy in the Levant, Taghrībīrdī al-Yashbaghawī al-Zāhirī, who gave him as a gift to Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq. His new master liked him and was

kind to him. Later, Yashbak bought him from the sultan's heirs and was so kind to him that he attributed him to his name. When he died, he was buried near the grave of his master Yashbak. Khushqadam died in Shawwal 856 AH/ October 1452 AD (78).

Some servants were reared on chastity, piety and obedience to God. Her mistress, who provided her with fine upbringing, raised Nassīm al-Ḥabashiyā, emancipated by Khadīdja, daughter of Ṣaleḥ ibn Abul-Manṣūr al-Shaybanī, from early childhood in luxury and wellbeing. She was in constant worship of God until her death in Makkah in the month of Dhu al-Hijjah 859 AH/ November 1455 AD (79).

Another example is Khushkaldī al-Zainī 'Abdul Raḥman ibn al-Kuiz, who was raised by his master as a young boy, then he emancipated him and taught him the Koran. He was promoted to the rank of Khazindār and Dawādār (80), and died in Dhu al-Hijjah 861 AH/ October 1457 AD (81).

Fatīma, daughter of Manjak al-Yusūfī was kind to her servant, 'Abdul Latif al-Rūmī, and raised him on righteousness, piety and humility. He was promoted in service ranks until he became Muqaddam al-māmālīk (82).

Bashīr al-Ḥabashi al-Qahiri was a servant of a merchant named Ya'koub Karat, who treated him kindly. He memorized the Koran and perfected its various readings. He also became a jurist and studied Sufism under many scholars, including Sheikh Muḥammad al-Fuwī, who loved him and let him live in his house. Later, he worked in the trade business, became rich and married the widow of his master. He died of plague in the month of Jumada al-Awwal 864 AH/ February 1460 AD (83).

Some servants had the doors of fortune opened to them. They worked as merchants and became rich, but they also spent generously for charity. The eunuch 'Anbar al-Ḥabashi al-Ṭanbazy was a servant to the merchant Nour al-Dīn al-Ṭanbazy, who was kind to him, raised him and provided him with good education, so he perfected his master's craft, and was a successful merchant. Later, his fortunes changed and he ended up serving Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, who promoted him to the rank of Muqaddam al-Tabāq (84), then Muqaddam al-māmālīk, until he became rich again. 'Anbar died in the month of Muharram 867 AH/ September 1462 AD (85).

Another example is Jawhar al-Shamsi ibn al-Zaman al-Ḥabashi, whose master provided him with the best education. He excelled in trading until he became a dignified merchant (86).

Some servants lived to old age and got afflicted by diseases, a time when real loyalty and appreciation were expressed from masters to their servants, who had shown dedication in their service. Now was the time to pay them back and show them kindness in their times of weakness. 'Aaḍ al-Karim had served her mistress, Sa'eeda, daughter of Imam al-Moḥeb Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Ṭabari, for a long time and then emancipated. She was very religious, well-mannered and humble. When she became sick and was crippled by disease, her mistress did not abandon her. Rather, she looked after her until her death of hemiplegia in 869 AH/ 1464 AD, around the age of seventy (87).

Acknowledgement of their good service is a virtue of merciful, kind-hearted masters, who did not deny appreciation of their service and praised them on every occasion. The midwife, Abrak has served in the house of historian Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, along with her son, from 872 AH/ 1467 AD to 880 AH/ 1475 AD in Makkah and Medina. Al-Sakhāwī praised and appreciated her service. He said: "She was the controller of our house and she was content and tranquil. May God rest her soul in peace and forgive her." (88)

The beauty of some masters lied in their piety, religiosity, love of charity, and in being close to God, especially if they are senior eminent scholars, such as the child bearer of Taqi al-Dīn ibn Fahd al-Hashimi al-Makki, named Yababu Allah, Umm Muḥammad al-Ḥabashiyā. She was well-raised by her master who taught her beneficial knowledge. She was brought to Makkah at the age of ten, in 816 AH/ 1413 AD. Her master arranged for her to study under ibn al-Jazari, ibn Salama and others. She was approved as a scholar by a number of eminent scholars from various places and she approved some of them, such as al-Sakhāwī. She was kind-hearted, pious and used to pray almost all night long. She died in the month of Rajab 881 AH/ October 1476 AD (89).

Some masters had innate kindness to the bondmaid mothers of their children, treating them justly as if they were their free wives. An example is Sa'eeda al-Ḥabashiyā, child bearer of the merchant Shams al-Dīn al-A'qa'q who served him faithfully for a long time, in addition to being the mother of his son, Ḥassan. Her master treated her kindly and graciously and then she married al-Faqih Makky. She died while in his service, after her son's death, in Shawwal 881 AH/ January 1477 AD. As described briefly and beautifully by al-Sakhāwī, "She was a blessing" (90).

Al-Khāṣṣakī, Mīntash al-Norūzī, was rightful, religious and close to his master, who used to shower him with fine gifts. Mīntash died in 887 AH/ 1482 AD (91).

Some masters were fond of their servants, feeling happy for their pleasure and grieving for their losses, especially those who accompanied them. Nour al-Sabah al-Ḥabashiyā had served her master, al-Jamali Abu al-Sa'ud ibn Zāhira for a long time, during which she was kind-hearted and a good housekeeper. She gave birth to some of his children and was one of the dearest people to him. She died in Sha'ban 893 AH/ July 1488 AD, while her master was travelling to the land of Khalīd at Morr Valley. He grieved bitterly for her death (92).

Some servants were assigned difficult tasks for their intelligence and good judgement. Therefore, their masters used to give them worthy treatment. The Sultan's Deputy in the Levant, Prince Qajmas, used to treat his servant Mass'ud al-Ḥabashī very kindly and appointed him as his ambassador to the Sultan because of his good management, strength and courage. The prince appointed him to several positions, such as Mehtar al-Tahtkhanah (93), keeper of the Firāsh Khanah, (94) and so on. He worked in trading later in his life, until he died in 896 AH/ 1490 AD (95).

Some servants had the lion's share in educating their masters' children and attending to their affairs. Therefore, they had a fine stature with their masters, especially if they were well-mannered. Al-Kamal ibn al-Barizī was extremely kind to his servant, Yaqūt al-Ḥabashī. Yaqūt, in return, treated him very kindly. When Yaqūt moved to serve his master's daughter at the house of Jamal al-Dīn, Nazir al-Khāṣṣ (96), he raised her children, especially Kamal al-Dīn, Nazir al-Jaysh (97) and then his son. In fact, he was the educator of most of his master's children. Yaqūt died in Rabie' al-Thani 896 AH/ February 1491 AD (98).

Other masters trained their servants on crafts that benefited them in their life. An example is Mūftah al-Ḥabashī, servant of al-Mūwafaq al-Abī, who educated him and taught him writing and reading, and then taught him the craft of book-binding, which became his life's profession (99).

In a remarkable gesture of the Atabeg Qerqmās, he emancipated all his male and female slaves before his death in 916 AH/ 1510 AD. This prince was loved by all people of various sects, who attended his funeral (100).

Prince Nowrūz was keen on moving all his servants to Mount Sinai to protect them from catching the plague that had spread across Egypt in 919 AH/ 1513 AD (101).

In conclusion, these were examples of gratitude from masters who recognized the rights of their servants, so they were benevolent to them and treated them compassionately in an era marked mostly by political turmoil. What this article has outlined represents but a fraction of what the Mamluks provided of good treatment and charity to a class of workers often overlooked in the social fabric. Highlighting this positive relationship will, perhaps, stimulate the process of granting this group their human rights to live in dignity in every age.

Sources, References and Footnotes

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- (2) . Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, 1990, Ṭawachi (pl. Ṭawashea). were the eunuch Mamluks appointed to serve in the houses and Harems of Sultans, Mu'jam al-alfāz al-tārīkhīyah fī al-'Asr al-Mamlūkī, Published by Dar Al-Fikr, Damascus,.
- (3) Lala is an educator. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, *ibid.* p. 133.
- (4) Mehtar: Meh is a Persian word for "great", while Tara is another Persian word meaning "greatest": a title given to the chief of each category of house servant boys, such as Mehtar of Sharab Kahanah and Mehtar of Taṣt Khanah. Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-a-'sh'a fī sinā'at al-inshā'. Printed by the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, the Egyptian Public Organization for Authoring, Translation, Printing and Publishing, Cairo 1963, Vol. 5, p. 470.
- (5) Ibn Shaddād, Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir, Taḥqīq Aḥmad Huṭayṭ. Published Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, Germany, p. 343.
- (6) Taḥqīq Muḥammad Amin, 1990, al-'Aynī , 'Iqd al-jumān fī tārīkh ahl al-zamān, Published by Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turath at the Egyptian Ministry of Culture; the Egyptian General Book Organization's version, Cairo, Vol.3, p.404.
- (7) Famīyah: a large city in The Levant between Antioch and Homs, built by Seleucus after the death of Alexander the Great. Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, Mu'jam al-buldān, Dar Ṣader, Beirut, 1979, Vol.1, p.227.
- (8) Ibn Shaddad, *ibid.* pp. 292-293.
- (9) Taḥqīq Muḥammad Muṣṭafa Sa'eed 'Ashour 'Abdel Fattah, 1934- 1973,. Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk, Egyptian Public Organization for Authoring, Translation, Printing and publishing of the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, Cairo p.564.
- (10) Al-Maqrīzī, *ibid.* Vol. 2, p.696.
- (11) Khūnd: a Persian word that was also used in Turkish and means master or prince. It is used for addressing both males and females. It was a title of women in the Mamluk era. Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.* Vol.6, p.77.
- (12) Al-Maqrīzī, *ibid.* Vol. 2, p.706.
- (13) Taḥqīq 'Adnan Darwīsh, 1994, Ibn Qadi Shahbah, Tārīkh, Published by the French Scientific Institute for Arab Studies, Damascus; jointly published by this Institute and Jifān for Printing and Publishing, Damascus Vol.2, Part 1, pp. 584-585.
- (14) Quba'a: Mamluk dress, a narrow-sleeved kaftan. Plural, Aqbia, is used to refer to external clothes such as a woman's cloak or burnous. Aḥmed Muḥammad Duhmān, *ibid.* p.121.
- (15) Al-Maqrīzī, *ibid.* vol. 3, p.232.

- (16) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li ahli al-Qarni al-Tasi', Published by Dar al-Hayat Bookshop, Beirut, n.d., vol.3, pp. 322-323.
- (17) Taḥqīq Ḥassan Ḥabashi, 1970 – 1973. Sayrafi, 'Alī ibn Dāwūd, Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-al-abdān fī tawārīkh al-zamān, Published by Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turath at the Egyptian Ministry of Culture; Dar Al-Kutub version. Cairo Vol. 2, p.14.
- (18) Al-Maqrīzī, ibid. vol.2, p. 532.
- (19) Kholi is a gardener attending gardens. Aḥmed Muḥammad Duhmān, ibid. p.70.
- (20) Ṭard Waḥsh: I could not find a meaning for this term, but I think it is a dress made of wild animal skin.
- (21) Al-Maqrīzī, ibid. vol. 2, p.532.
- (22) Ibid. p.534.
- (23) Ibn Iyās ,1982 – 1984, Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr, Taḥqīq Muḥammad Muṣṭafa Ziyadeh, Published by Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turath at the Egyptian Ministry of Culture; General Egyptian Book Organization's version, second edition photocopied from the first edition, Cairo. Vol.1, Ch.2, p. 525.
- (24) Al-Maqrīzī, ibid. vol.3, p.964.
- (25) Ibid. p.1016.
- (26) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'. Vol. 10, p.168.
- (27) Jamadarīya (singular: Jamadar) is the dresser of a prince or sultan. Aḥmed Muḥammad Duhmān, Ibid. p.54.
- (28) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', Vol. 10, p.167.
- (29) Geomancy is divination by interpreting markings on sand.
- (30) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.12, pp. 66-67. I could not find its meaning in Al-Maqrīzī's book, and what I mentioned was from Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'.
- (31) Zimam al-Dar: a title for the eunuch servant who speaks on the door of a prince or sultan's curtain. The term is a composite of two Persian words: Zanan, which means women, and Dar, which mean holding, meaning that he was assigned to protecting the Harem .Al-Qalqashandī, ibid. vol. 5, pp. 459-460.
- (32) Khazindaria is a title, the attribution of which is the Khazindar who was the keeper of the prince or sultan's treasury and is in charge of the funds and cereals it contains. Al-Qalqashandī, ibid. vol.5, pp. 462-463.
- (33) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol. 6, p. 226; Ibn Tūlūn, Rasā'il , large copy with sporadic content at the Library of Aḥmad III , Turkey, No. 1316, s 68.
- (34) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.3, pp. 245-246.
- (35) Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk miṣr wa'l-qāhira, 1963 - 1972, Published by the Egyptian Public Organization for Authoring, Translation, Printing and Publishing, photocopied edition of Dar Al-Kutub version, Cairo, vol.14, p.112; Ibn Tūlūn, Ibid, p.73.
- (36) Circassians (Jarkas): natives of Circassia, a wide land that included today's North Caucasus. In ancient times, their land had extended from the Gulf of Constantinople to the Western Ocean. Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī. Taqvim al-buldān, Dar al-Ṭiba'a al-Sultāniya, Paris, 1840, p.2.
- (37) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.12, p.17.
- (38) Sayrafi, 'Alī ibn Dāwūd, Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-al-abdān. Vol.3, p.418; Nujūm, vol. 15, p.105.
- (39) Al-Maqrīzī, ibid. vol.4, p. 1117; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm, vol. 16, p.327.
- (40) Taḥqīq Omar 'Abdel-Salam Tadmūrī, published , 2002, Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal, by Al-Maktaba Al-'Asriya, Beirut vol. 5, p.254; Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'. Vol. 12, p. 66; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ḥawāḍith al-duhūr fī madā 'l-ayyām wa 'l-shuhūr. Taḥqīq Muḥammad Fahim Shaltout. Printed by the Ministry of Awqaf, Arab Republic of Egypt, Committee on the Revival of Islamic Heritage, Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, Cairo. Vol. 1, pp. 196 and 198; Al-Sakhāwī, al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk, Published by Al-Azhar Colleges Bookshop, n.d., p.241; Ibn Iyās, Ibid. vol.2 p26..
- (41) Atabeg: the title of a chief soldier, or the commanding general because he was considered the patron of all the princes and soldiers. He was the most prominent prince (Amir Muqaddam) after Nayeb al-Kafel. See: Al-Qalqashandī, ibid. vol.4, p.18; Aḥmed Muḥammad Duhmān, ibid. p.11.
- (42) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.6, p. 226; Ibn Tūlūn, ibid. p. 84.
- (43) Taqdimat al-Mamālīk: the writer speaks of al-Mamālīk al-sultānīyah and their governance. They were usually from ṭawashiya servants or the eunuchs close to the Sultan. Al-Qalqashandī, ibid. vol. 4, p.21.
- (44) Taḥqīq Fahim Shaltout, 1984, Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal, vol.5, p. 370; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ḥawāḍith al-duhūr fī madā al-ayyām wa-al-shuhūr, vol.2, p. 377; Ibn Taghrībirdī; Nujūm, vol. 16, p.20; ; Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Dalīl al-shāfi 'alā al-Manhal al-ṣāfi , Published by Markaz al-Baḥth al-'Elmī, Cairo vol. 1, p. 285; Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa-al-mustawfi ba'd al-wāfi, Taḥqīq Muḥammad Muḥammad Amin, published by Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turath at the Egyptian Ministry of Culture; the Egyptian General Book Organization's version, Cairo 1988, vol. 5, pp. 205-207, Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol. 3, p. 174; Ibn Iyās , ibid, vol. 2, p. 397.
- (45) Al-Khāṣṣakīs: a group of al-Mamālīk al-sultānīyah, who entered the service of sultans as young boys.

They could enter the sultan's rooms without permission, stay with him when he was alone, drive al-Maḥmal al-Sharīf, assigned to high-level tasks and ride with the Sultan day and night. During the reign of sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, there were forty Khāṣṣakīs .Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-turuq wa-al-masālik*, al-Jumhourīyā Press, Paris 1894, p 115-116; Quatreme're: *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*. Paris 1969.I, 2, P.158, n.3.

- (46) Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, vol. 6, p.172.
- (47) Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol. 2, p.431; Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, vol. 6, p. 221.
- (48) Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, vol. 6, p.231; Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol. 2, p.435..
- (49) Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. 12, p. 69.
- (50) *Ibid.* vol. 3, p.86.
- (51) *Ibid.* p.294.
- (52) Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, vol.6, p. 358; Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. 3, p.294; 'Alī Ibn-Dāwūd al-Ṣairafī, *Inbā' al-ḥaṣr bi-abnā' al-'aṣr*, Taḥqīq Ḥasan Ḥabaṣī, Printed and Published by Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabi, Cairo 1970, p.47; Ibn Iyās, *ibid.*, vol.3, p. 26.
- (53) Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. 12, p. 33; Ibn Iyās, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 257; Ibn Shāhīn Al-Zāhirī, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, vol.8, p.125.
- (54) Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*, c 8:00 172-173; Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. 3, p. 246; Ibn Iyās, *ibid.*, vol.3, p. 268.
- (55) Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl al-tām 'alā duwal al-Islām lil-Dhahabī*, Taḥqīq Ḥassan Isma'il Marwa, Published by 'Arouba Bookshop and the Dar Ibn al-'Imad, Kuwait and Beirut, 1997, vol.2, p. 634; Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. 3, p.272.
- (56) Ibn Iyās, *ibid.*, vol.4, p. 12; Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.*, p. 85.
- (57) Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p. 87; Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol.4, p. 293.
- (58) Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol. 4, pp. 317-318; Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p. 90.
- (59) *Iqd al-jumān fī tārikh ahl al-zamān*, Taḥqīq Muḥammad Muḥammad Amin, Published by Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turath, Egyptian General Book Organization, Cairo, 1992, vol. 4, pp. 262-263.
- (60) Damascus Citadel: a well-protected fortress located to the west of the city of Damascus, built by Taj al-Dawlah Tutush ibn Alb Arsalan al- Seljūki in 471 AH/ 1078 AD. He made it his state headquarters and lived therein. His successors enlarged the Citadel. See: Demombynes, (GM), *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamlouks d'après les auteurs Arabes*. Paris 1923,35-37.
- (61) Al-'Aynī, *ibid.* vol.4, p. 204.
- (62) Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāzir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, Taḥqīq Aḥmed Huṭayṭ, 'Alam al-Kutub edition, Beirut, 1986, p. 157.
- (63) Ibn Qadi Shahbah, *ibid.* vol. 2, Ch.1, p.160.
- (64) Amir 'Ashaṛā: a military rank in the Mamluk army, having ten knights under his command. Aḥmed Muḥammad Duḥmān, *Ibid.* p.22.
- (65) Ibn Qadi Shahbah, *ibid.* vol. 2, Ch.1, pp. 266-267.
- (66) Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol.2, p. 297; Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p. 94.
- (67) Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p. 98; Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol. 2, p. 375.
- (68) Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol.3, p. 257.
- (69) *Ibid.* vol.3, p. 295.
- (70) *Ibid.*, vol.12, p. 117.
- (71) Al-Bajamkadarīa: also known as al- Shamaqdarīa: those who carried the shoes of sultans or princes. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ibid.* vol.5, p. 459.
- (72) Silāḥdarīya (singular: Selāḥdar): those assigned to carry a sultan or prince's weapons. They also oversee the Sīḥah Khanahs .Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.* vol.5, pp. 456-462.
- (73) Al-Kawamīl (singular: Kamliyah) type of dress, like Jubba, worn over clothes. Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.* vol.3, p. 276.
- (74) Sable: nocturnal mammalian predator, with expensive silky fur, which kings used as gifts to one another.
- (75) Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, vol.15, p 295.
- (76) Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol.3, pp. 230-231.
- (77) Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p.98; Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol.12, p.12.
- (78) Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol. 12, p. 297; Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol.3, p. 174.
- (79) Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol.12, p. 129.
- (80) Dawādār: a title given to those who held and took care of the inkwell of the sultan or prince or other dignitaries. The term is a compound of two words; Dawāt, Arabic for inkwell and Dar, Persian for holder. A Dawādār was also assigned to deliver messages from the sultan, to inform him of general matters, to tell him stories and present the mail to him, along with the Amir Jandar writer and the secretary. He was also responsible for obtaining the sultan's signature on all circulars and letters. If the sultan decides to issue a decree, he was

assigned to write it. When a letter was received, the Dawādār would receive it and hand it to the sultan, then the secretary would sit and read it for him, then the sultan took his decision on the matter. See: Al-Maqrīzī, *ibid.*, vol.2, p. 222; Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p.19 and vol.5, p. 462; Ibn Tūlūn, Naqd al-ṭālib li-zaghal al-manāshib, Taḥqīq Muḥammad Aḥmed Duhmān and Khālid Duhmā, Published by the Juma'a Al-Majid Center for Culture and Heritage, Dubai, Dar Al-Fikr, Beirut, 1992, p.59; Dozy: *supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes* 2vols, Leden, 1881, I, p.469.

(81) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.3, p. 177.

(82) Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal, vol.6, p. 14; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nujūm. Vol.16, p. 185; al-Dalīl al-shāfi' 'alā al-Manhal al-ṣāfi' vol.1, p. 429, and vol.7, pp. 360-366; Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.4, p. 340; Ibn Iyās, *ibid.* vol. 2, p. 338.

(83) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.3, pp. 16-17.

(84) Muqaddam al-Tabāq: The person, who assumes the overall supervision of the Mamluks's Tabāqs (barracks), which were their places of residence, and had the right to punish disobedient ones. 'Abdel Mon'em Majid, Nuzum dawlat ṣalaḥīn al-māmālik wa rusūmohom fī Miṣr, published by the Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo 1979, vol.1, p. 16.

(85) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol. 6, p. 148.

(86) *Ibid.* vol.3, p. 82.

(87) Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p. 102; Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.12, p. 72.

(88) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol. 12, p. 5.

(89) *Ibid.* p.133.

(90) Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p. 104; Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol. 12, p. 66.

(91) Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal, vol. 7, p. 334; Ibn Tūlūn, *Ibid.* p.111..

(92) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol. 12, 130; Ibn Tūlūn, *ibid.* p.114.

(93) Mehtar al-Ṭashtkhanah: al-Ṭashtkhanah means the house of Ṭashṭ, where hands and clothes were washed. The Mehtar is the leader of the lads who washed clothes in this house. Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.* vol. 3, p. 472 vol. 4, pp. 9-10 and vol. 5, p.470.

(94) Firāsh Khanah: is the warehouse where the tents, rugs, lamps and the like were stored. It was located inside the palace, near the ruler's headquarters. Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.* vol. 3, p. 473; Ibn Shāhīn, Zubdat Kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-ṭuruq wa-al-masālik, pp.124-125.

(95) Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.10, p. 158.

(96) Nazīr al-Khāṣṣ: the official who oversees the sultan's private funds. Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.* vol.5, p. 465.

(97) Nazīr al-Jaysh oversees the army's office responsible for registering the names of princes and leaders. Al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.* vol. 11, pp. 323-325.

(98) Al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.10, p. 214.

(99) Ibn Tūlūn, *Ibid.* p. 107; Al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', vol.10, p. 166.

(100) Ibn Iyās, *Ibid.* vol. 4, pp.197-198.

(101) *Ibid.* vol. 4, p. 299.

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Papers published in peer-reviewed historical journals: (16 papers)

1. "Al-Quds fī ba'd wathā'yeq al-arsheef al-'Osmani" submitted to a seminar entitled: "Jerusalem: Basil of Arab conscience", Organized by the Arab Journal for the Humanities; published by the Council of Scientific Publications, Kuwait University, 2 - 3 November 2009. Peer-reviewed and published in a special edition of the same magazine, 2012. (p. 94).

2. "Jadaliyet al-Mafahīm fī al-Ḥaḍarā al-'Arabiyā al-Islamīyā"; A research paper published in the Egyptian Historian Journal: Studies and Researches in the History and Civilization, Cairo University, Issue No. 33, July 2008. (p. 43).

3. "Al-Wazyef Allati Taqaladuha al-Khadam fī al 'Aṣr al-Mamlūki", History and the Future Journal, Minya University, the number of January 2008. (p.62).

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6. "Al- Jawārī fī al 'Aṣr al-Mamlūki," A peer-reviewed research accepted for publication, published in Dirasat Tarikhiyyah Journal, Damascus University, Nos. 99-100, December 2007. (p. 40).

7. "Al-Barīd fī al 'Aṣr al-Mamlūki," A peer-reviewed research published in the Egyptian Historian Journal: Studies and Researches in the History and Civilization, Cairo University, No. 31, July 2007. (p. 102).
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11. " Al-Munasabaāt wa al-A'yaād fī al 'Aṣr al-Mamlūki," A peer-reviewed research published in Historical Events Journal, Center for Historical Research and Studies, Cairo University, January 2006 (p. 79).
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13. "Al-Al'aāb wa Wasa'el al-Taslīyā fī al 'Aṣr al-Mamlūki," A peer-reviewed research published in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Helwan University, No. 17, January 2005. (p. 104).
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