

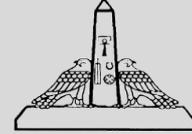


كلية الآداب

حوليات آداب عين شمس (عدد خاص 2018)

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(دورية علمية محكمة)



جامعة عين شمس

Amīr Silāḥ during the Mamlūk Period (648-923/1250-1517)

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Abstract

Amīr silāḥ, grand master of the armour, it consists of two terms which are amīr that is used as a name of a post or referring to an order or rank or a honorary title as it was appeared with these designations in monumental inscriptions upon the Islamic monuments. While the other term is silāḥ, weapon, which is a fighting instrument and it is masculine which can be feminized⁽¹⁾.

This language formula is different from other Mamlūk posts' formulas, which composed of the title amīr such as amīr dawādār⁽²⁾, amīr ra's nawba⁽³⁾, amīr ḥaẓindār⁽⁴⁾. The title amīr is added to the name of silāḥ, weapon instrument, while those other titles have the word amīr which is added to the name of the post⁽⁵⁾ (pen-box holder, dawādār, chief of the corps, ra's nawba, treasurer, ḥaẓindār).

Before the Mamlūk Period

The post of *amīr silāh* was known during the Fatimid period (358-567/969-1171), but the title of the one who is in charge of carrying the caliph's sword was addressed as *ḥāmil al-saīf* and not *amīr silāh*. During the Faṭīmid period, office holders connected with army and belonged to the mamlūk caste were called "men of swords" or *arbāb al-suyūf*. They were nine posts. The fifth post was the holder of the caliph's sword (*ḥāmil al-saīf*). It should be mentioned that this is known as *al-saīf al-ḥāṣ* which was carried with the caliph during the ceremonies where *also al-mazalah* was carried, this caliph's sword had decorations from gold inlaid with jewels, this sword had a great emir, *ḥāmil al-saīf*, who carried it for the caliph during banquets⁽¹⁾.

While the seventh post was the holder of the weapon, *ḥāmil al-silāh*, around the caliph in the banquets. Those officers were referred to them according to their costumes as *al-rakābīyah* and also *ṣubīyān al-rakab al-ḥāṣ* who later referred to them during the Mamlūk period as *al-siāḥdārīyah*⁽²⁾ and *ṭabardārīyah*⁽³⁾. So that during the banquets of the caliph, those *al-rakābīyah*⁽⁴⁾ carried weapons from *ḥizānit al-silāh*, and moved around the caliph; carrying swords, arrows and flags. While the caliph's sword was taken out from *al-ḥizānah* and was carried by the *ḥāmil al-saīf* or the sword bearer who walked to the left of the caliph while *al-rakābīyah* walked behind him to guard him against any attacks⁽⁵⁾.

There was a private sword, *al-saīf al-ḥāṣ*, which was among the imperial equipments which were associated with the great baquets. This sword was carried with the caliph during the banquets, it was decorated with gold and inlaid with jewels. This sword had an emir who was one of the greatest emirs, he carried it when the caliph was found in banquets⁽⁶⁾.

It should be mentioned that after the Faṭīmid period, during the Ayyūbid (564-648/1171-11250) and Mamlūk periods; when the sultan sat at Dār al-^cadl; sword-bearers, *al-siāḥdārīyah*, robe-bearers, *ḡamdārīyah* and bodyguards or select retinue⁽⁷⁾, *al-ḥāṣīkīyah* stood behind him as guards. Also during the Banquets and ceremonies as his ascending to throne or the two feasts, they always accompanied him⁽⁸⁾. During the Ayyūbid period, the title of *amīr silāh* was found but the title *ḥāmil al-saīf* was also used.⁽⁹⁾

During the Mamlūk period

The posts of the Mamlūk kingdom underwent very considerable changes under the rule of the Mamlūks, so that at first they had been taken over the Ayyūbids but under Mongol influence especially during the reign of Baībars al-Bunduqdārī (658-676A.H/1260-1277A.D), new offices were introduced which partially replaced those in use since the Ayyūbids without abrogating them entirely⁽¹⁰⁾.

Since the beginning of the period of sultan Baībars al-Bunduqdārī till the end of the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad⁽¹¹⁾, those effects were widely spread and it's no wonder that this happened due to that Mamlūks were from Middle Asia, so we can see that the new military regime which was established by sultan al-Zāhir Baībars, were greatly influenced by the military Mongolians regime, he built a new strong Mamlūk army to confront the Crusaders.⁽¹²⁾

The military ranks, posts and titles which were introduced by sultan Baībars in the army were very similar to those found in the Mongolian army⁽¹³⁾ as *amīr silāḥ*, *ra's nawba al-nūb*, *amīr maḡlis*⁽¹⁴⁾, and also the posts which didn't have military nature as *al-sāqī*, *al-siāḥdārīyah*⁽¹⁵⁾.

Each post of those posts were entrusted to one person or several people as the Mongolians patterns during *Ġingīz Ḥān*⁽¹⁶⁾, so that the post of *amīr silāḥ* was found at the Mongols who was known as *Qurḡ*, who carried the bows and arrows and other arms which were presented to Mongolian soldiers and leaders during battles⁽¹⁷⁾.

It should be mentioned that the Mongolians were spread in Egypt and Syria during the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, their customs and traditions were widely spread. Despite the care of al-Sulṭān al-Zāhir Baībars to recruit those Mongols to Egypt weither by buying or by migration, and he allocated special areas for them in order that no to be mingled with the Egyptians but this didn't prevent the Mongolians effects to be found in different aspects as military, political, social effects⁽¹⁸⁾.

This military-administrative function have a long history in the Islamic world, going back to the days of the Great *Sulḡūq* sultans, whose state organisation followed early Persian and 'Abbāsīd models. According to *Nizām al-Mulk*, *Siasāt-nāma*, describing the state of the *Sulḡūk* state, lists *al-silāḥdār* as one of the trusted persons in the sultan's palace who was directly responsible to the person of the sultan, and as chief of the army's arsenal, *zardḥānāh*, where the armour and weapers were stored, *al-silāḥdār*, had a military unit under his command and the responsibility of carrying the sultan's weapon⁽¹⁹⁾.

So we can say at the beginning of the Mamūk period, the Mamlūks retained the same title of *al-silāḥdār* which was found at the state of Sulḡūk state, but it in its Arabic form *amīr silāḥ* who was later one the nine most important office holders in the Mamlūk state and ranked among the emirs of thousand, *mīr alf*, which was the highest rank in the military echelon⁽²⁰⁾.

According to Ibn Taḡrībirdī⁽²¹⁾ who mentioned that:

(جعله سلاحداره يعني أمير سلاح).

(He made him his *silāḥdār* which means *amīr silāḥ*)

He explained that the post of *amīr silāḥ* had previously a form which was totally different than Ibn Taḡrībirdī's period(813-874A.H/ 1410-1470 A.D) which means that during his period; *amīr silāḥ* was one of the great posts after *al-amīr al-kabīr*⁽²²⁾. Also al-Maqrīzī supported this opinion as

Masālik al-Abṣār⁽²³⁾ and gave him the title the lofty authority, *al-ḡanāb al-āḷī*. al-Qalqašandī mentioned that *al-silāhdār* was a weapon holder who carried the weapon around the caliph in ceremonies and these who held this post were referred to them as *al-rakbīyah* according to their customs and also *ṣubyān al-rikāb al-ḥāṣ* whom we referred now days as *al-silāhdār*⁽²⁴⁾. Ibn Taḡrībirdī also mentioned that⁽²⁵⁾ :

(وفيهما توفى الأمير قجليس بن عبد الله أمير سلاح... وأنعم السلطان باقطاعه وهو امره مائه على الأمير ساظمش العلائى وكان قجليس من أعيان الديار المصرية . لم يكن أمير سلاح تلك الأيام فى رتبة زماننا هذه ، وإنما كان امره أنه يحمل سلاح السلطان ويناوله إياه فى يوم الحرب وفى عيد النحر ، وكان يجلس حيث كانت منزلته)

(During which Emir Qaḡlīs Ibn 'Abdullah *amīr silāḥ* has died... so al-Sulān gave his *Iqṭā'* which is *imrāt mi'āh* upon Emir Sāṭlamaš al-'Alāī , Qaḡlīs was one of great persons of al-Dīyār al-Miṣṣya , at that time *amīr silāḥ* was not of the rank during our period , so that his duty to carry sultan's weapon and gave him at the war's day ,and sacrifice feast , and he sat at his rank .)

So at the beginning of the Mamlūk period some *umarā' silāḥ* was sometimes entitled as *amīr silāḥ* or can be entitled as *silāhdār* as Saīf al-dīn Qulī⁽²⁶⁾, Saīf al-dīn Baktumur al-Bubkrī⁽²⁷⁾, Saīf al-dīn Kustāyī⁽²⁸⁾ Saīf al-dīn Qaḡlīs⁽²⁹⁾, Bahā' al-dīn Aṣlam⁽³⁰⁾. Those *umarā' silāḥ* were also entitled as *silāhdār* which made little confusion.

Sources mentioned that some of the offices which were introduced by Bāībars al-Bunduqdārī has indeed existed previously but their nature was considerably altered during his reign; so that under Bāībars, *amīr silāḥ*'s function was the supervision of *al-silāhdārīyah* as well as conveying the arms to the sultan in battle and on other occasions such as the feast of sacrifice, *īd al-aḍḥa*, which means at that time the post of *amīr silāḥ* didn't carry the high dignity which it later reached under the Circassians ,i.e, the right to sit as head of left handside, *ra's al-maysarah* in the sultan's presence. That later function was under Bāībars reserved for *al-atābik* and under al-Nāsir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn reserved for chief of the corps ,*ra's nawbat al-umarā'*⁽³¹⁾

al-'Umarī who lived during the reign of sultan al-Nāsir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn mentioned in his chancellery *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣā'*⁽³²⁾ the post of *amīr silāḥ* as one of the great posts of Men of sword, *arbāb al-suyūf* :

al-Nīyābah, al-ḥiḡḡabah, imrat ḡandār, al-ustāddārīyah, Imrat silāḥ, al-dawādārīyah, niqābat al-ḡāīš.

Lists were given by Qalqašandī⁽³³⁾ who lived in the reign of sultan Mu'ayyad Šāīḥ and al-Saḥamāwī⁽³⁴⁾ who lived during the reign of sultan Barsbāy, altogether showing different order of the posts which had direct connexion with army, Men of sword, *arbāb al-suyūf*, although it was not yet

the one stabilized as will be during the Circassian period; *nā'ib al-Saltāna*⁽³⁵⁾ or vice-sultan or viceroy , *atābik al-ʿasākir*⁽³⁶⁾, *ra's nawbat al-umarā'*, *amīr maġlis*, *amīr silāḥ*, *amīr aḥūr*⁽³⁷⁾.

At the close of the Baḥrī period, the order of the offices were⁽³⁸⁾: commander in chief, *atābik al-ʿasākir*, chief of the corps, *ra's nawbat al-umarā'*, grand master of the armour ,*amīr silāḥ*, lord of the audience, *amīr maġlis*.

In the Circassian period, the sources usually mentioned seven posts in a fixed order; chief of the corps ,*atābik al-ʿasākir*, grand master of the armour *amīr silāḥ*, lord of the audience , *amīr maġlis*, master of stables, *amīr aḥūr*, so that the first four posts were fixed for the whole Circassian period⁽³⁹⁾.

So we can say the office of *amīr silāḥ* is a military post. It was in a high rank at early Mamlūk period but later during the Baḥrī Mamlūk period. It was retarded in the fifth rank among the military posts of the state then again later it was one of the very important posts during the Circassians period. It was one of military offices which officiated to higher rank emir. He was among the masters of swords, *arbāb al-suyūf*⁽⁴⁰⁾. It was always occupied by *amīr mi'āh muqaddam alf*.⁽⁴¹⁾

Although the rank of *amīr maġlis* was at the first Mamlūk period , superior to that of grand master of the armour, *amīr silāḥ*, neither of them was of great significance at that time. At the Circassian period, lord of the audience *amīr maġlis* though inferior to grand master of the armour, *amīr silāḥ*, but was third in importance among the highest amirs of the kingdom.⁽⁴²⁾

The holders of the most important posts of the state were selected from among those emirs , whose total number were twenty four , nine of whom were office-holders as⁽⁴³⁾: commander-in-chief, *atābik al-ʿasākir*, grand master of the armour, *amīr silāḥ*, lord of the audience, *amīr maġlis*, grand dawādār, *dawādār kabīr*, grand master of the stable, *amīr aḥūr kabīr*, chief of the corps of Mamlūks, *ra's nawbat al-nūwb* , grand chamberlain , *ḥāġib al-ḥuġġāb*, grand treasurer *ḥazindār kabīr*, and leader of the Egyptian pilgrim's caravan , *amīr ḥāġġ*⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The total of twenty four were fixed at the time of redistribution of Egyptian land conducted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn. At the days of al-Qalqašandī (756-821A.H/ 1355-1418A.D), their number varied between eighteen and twenty; five among when were included the governor of Alexandria and governors at Northern and Southern Egypt⁽⁴⁵⁾

According to al-ʿUmarī and al-Qalqašandī , *amīr silāḥ* was one of pryncedoms of hundred and emirs of thousand , *al-umarā' al-muqddamīn*, during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn which means that *amīr silāḥ* was *amīr mi'ah muqaddim alf* who occupied the highest posts in the state .

During the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn till the end of the reign of al-Ašraf Šaʿbān ibn Ḥusāin(764-778A.H/ 1362-1376A.D),

there were 24 *muqaddim*, then afterwards they were 18 or 20 *muqaddim*⁽⁴⁶⁾. On 908 A.H /1502-1503 A.D; al-sultān Qānṣūh decided that *al-muqaddmīn* would be *amīr muqaddim alf*⁽⁴⁷⁾. Then later on Muḥarram 920 A.H/ 1514A.D, the number was 27 without the post of *amīr silāh* so that it was vacant since Sūdun al-^cAḡamī on 917 A.H/ 1511A.D.⁽⁴⁸⁾

On Muḥarram 922 A.H/February 1516 A.D, principdoms of hundred and emirs of thousand , *al-umarā' al-muqaddmīn* ,were 26 *amīr muqaddim alf* where *arbāb al-wazā'if* were six as *al-atābik amīr kabīr*, *amīr maḡlis*, *amīr aḥūr kabīr*, *al-dawādār*, *ra's nawbat al-nūb*, *ḥāḡib al-ḥuḡḡāb*, *dawādār kabīr* added to *ustādārīyah al-^calīyah* and *kāšf al-kašāf*, also post of *amīr silāh* was vacant.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Grand master of the armour, *amīr silāh*, was presented during the banquets and ceremonies of the sultan's ascending to throne , with *al-mazalah* holder who was one of the great amirs. Grand master of the armour ,*amīr silāh* ,held the sultan's weapon and then the sultan bestowed upon *al-mazalah* holder, *ḥāmil al-ḡatr*⁽⁵⁰⁾, grand master of the armour ,*amīr silāh* , and grand majordomo, *al-ustādār*⁽⁵¹⁾

As what occurred on Tuesday 23rd Šawwāl 702A.H / May 1302A.D, when al-Sultān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad arrived Cairo , all people came out to watch him till he arrived Bāb al-Nāṣir so all people came out to watch him till he arrived Bāb al-Nāṣir so all the emirs walked to him and the first one who walked was al-amīr Badr al-dīn Biktāš al-Faḥrī *amīr silāh* to carry the weapon of al-sultān . Then al-sultān ordered him to ride his horse and carry the weapon due to his old age , but Badr al-dīn refused to ride and he walked carrying al-sultān weapon and al-amīr Mubāriz al-dīn Sūwār al-Rūmī *amīr šikār*⁽⁵²⁾ carried *al-qubāh* and *al-ṭāṭīr*⁽⁵³⁾ upon the head of al-sultān and other emirs walked according their rank and each carried his instrument⁽⁵⁴⁾. This means that during the Baḥrī period, the post of grand master of the armour ,*amīr silāh*, didn't have the high dignity which it reached under the Circassians which was the right to sit on the head of the left handside, *ra's al-maysarah* in the sultan's presence.⁽⁵⁵⁾

al-Sultān Barqūq nominated Qtlūnbugā al-Kukā'īy *amīr silāh* as *ḥāḡib al-ḥuḡḡāb* on 9th Dū-l-Ḥiḡḡah 783A.H/25th February 1381A.D, which means at that time the post of *amīr silāh* was less than the post of Chamberlain, *ḥuḡḡubīyah*⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Mamlūk sources mentioned the place of sitting of grand master of the armour, *amīr silāh*, and his high position during the Circassian period ; that when Yalbugā al-Nāṣirī returned from his exile at Damascus on 784A.H/1383A.D during the reign of sultan al-Sāliḥ Ḥāḡḡī, so *al-atābik* Barqūq received him and walked to him and gave him principdom of hundred emir of thousand , *imrāt mi'āh and taqtuma alf*, he sat on left

hanside, *ra's maīsarāh*, above ^cAlā' al-dīn Alṭanbuḡā *amīr silāḥ* because before exilation Yalbuḡā was *amīr silāḥ* on the rank of emir of thousand, *muqaddim alf*.⁽⁵⁷⁾

After al-sultān al-Ašraf Barsbāy arrested *al-amir al-kabīr* Baībuḡā Ibn ^cAbdullāh al-Muẓẓafī then released him on Thursday 21st *Dū-l-qiḍāh* 831A.H/ 12th August 1427A.D; he gave him again principedom of hundred emir of thousand, *imrāt mī'āh w-taqdumat alf* and nominated as lord of audience, *amīr maḡlis*, whose position at al-sultān to sit on the second place at the right hand side under commander-in-chief, *atābik al-askr* or *al-amīr al-kabīr* but Baībuḡā sat on the left handside above Ināl al-Ġakmī *amīr silāḥ* because Baībuḡā was once previously *atābik al-askr* and Ināl al-Ġakmī *amīr silāḥ* was one of *al-saīfīyah*⁽⁵⁸⁾, and he was a Mamlūk of one of his fellows inservitude and liberation, *ḥuṣḍašīyah*⁽⁵⁹⁾. So actually by sitting above *amīr silāḥ* this means that his rank was greater than the rank of *al-amīr al-kabīr* can't sit above *amīr silāḥ* except for necessity only⁽⁶⁰⁾.

After the nomination of all the emirs on Monday 12th *Raḡab* 837A.H / 11th February 1433A,D, all came out with robes of honours then sat on *al-maṣṭaba* where *muqaddim al-mamālīk* sat at *Bāb al-Sir*, waiting for the horses which al-sultān Barsbāy gave them with golden saddles and embroidered horses, *kanabābiš zarkaš*. All sat on the *maṣṭaba* one line so that Ināl al-Ġakmī *atābik al-askr* sat above them all then below him sat Aqbuḡā al-Timrāzī *amīr silāḥ* then Ġaḡmaq *amīr maḡlis* then *ḥāḡib al-ḥuḡḡāb* then all rode to their houses⁽⁶¹⁾.

The cortege and the friends of Ġaḡmaq al-^cAlā'y *amīr maḡlis* told him that the post of supervisor of the royal stables, *amīr aḥūr*, was better than that at lord of audience, *amīr maḡlis* or he can be nominated as grand master of the armour, *amīr silāḥ*, as he can compensate the advantages of supervisor of the royal stables, *al-amīr aḥūrīyah*⁽⁶²⁾. This means that the post of lord of audience, *amīr maḡlis* hasn't any materialistic benefit because he should talk to physicians and handle the arrangement of sultan's council. While supervisor of the royal stables, *amīr aḥūr*, should talk about the sultan's stables which has a materialistic benefit. The post of grand master of the armour, *amīr silāḥ*, is almost as lord of audience, *amīr maḡlis*, where both didn't have materialistic benefit but the post of *amīr silāḥ* secured careerist, notable and privileged as he should be one of emirs of thousand, *al-umarā' muqadmīn*, he held weapons in ceremonies and meetings, *amīr silāḥ* was the commander of the weapon-carriers of the royal Mamlūks or *al-muqadim of al-silāḥdārīyah of al-mamālīk al-sultānīyah* and had to be supervisor of arms stores, *Nāẓir ḥāzā'in al-silāḥ ḥanah al-sultānīyah*⁽⁶³⁾.

When al-sultān Barqūq gave Iqtā^c of Qarāḡā al-Ašrafī to his son al-Maqām al-Nāšir Muḥammad and became from emirs of thousands, *umarā' al-ulūf*, on Tuesday 8th *Šawwāl* 842 A.H/17th March 1438A.D; he sat under Ġirbāš al-Karimī *amīr maḡlis* and this is not the habit so that it was usual

during the time of al-malik al-Zāhir Barqūq till the days of Ibn Taḡrībirdī that the son of al-sultān should sit on the head of the left hand side ,*rā's maysarah*, above *amīr silāḥ*, al-malik al-Zāhir did do this due to the disturbance of his state and disobedience some viceroys ⁽⁶⁴⁾ .

After al-sultān al-Zāhir Ğaqmaq nominated al-amīr Inal al-^cAlā'īy al-dawādār al-kabīr as atābik al-^casākir on Thursday 3rd *Ša'ban* 849 A.H / November 1445A.D ; this made lots of troubles because al-sultān surpassed al-amīr Timrāz al-Qurmašī *amīr silāḥ* whose post required his transportation for his recent post directly to *al-atābikīya* and this is unlike the post of al-dawādār⁽⁶⁵⁾.

al-sultān Ināl nominated his son pryncedom of hundred and emir of thousand , *imrat mi'a and taqddumit alf* on Wednesday 10th Rabī' II 857A.H/ 9th June 1453 A.D ,then he made him sit on the head of left hand side,*rā's maysara*,above Tanim Ibn ^cAbdullah *amīr silāḥ*⁽⁶⁶⁾.

During the reign of al-sultān Saīf al-Dīn Ināl al-'Alā'īy , on Šafar 858 A.H/ January 1454A.D; *arbāb al-waẓīf* were *al-amīr al-kabīr* Tanbak al-Burdbakī al-Zāhirī, al-amīr Ḥuṣqudum al-Nāiširī al-Mū'yyadī *amīr silāḥ*...,etc., Ğāmim *amīr aḥūr* who sat under Ḥuṣqudum al-Nāiširī al-Mū'yyadī *amīr silāḥ* and above the rest of the other amirs they are all emirs of thousand ,*muqadmī ulūf*, their number were less than half of emirs of al-Zāhir Barqūq⁽⁶⁷⁾. This means at that time the post of *amīr silāḥ* was higher than the post of *amīr aḥūr* .

al-sultān Ḥuṣqudum ordered to get emir Tanm min ^cAbd al-Rāziq al-Mū'yyadī previously *amīr silāḥ* from Taḡr Damiette on Tuesday 14th Šafar 866 A,H/ 5th November 1461 A.D, and when he came the sultan ordered him to sit above amīr Qurqmās *amīr silāḥ* then bestowed upon him. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

When al-amīr Qurqmās *amīr silāḥ* came from the prison of Alexandria and went to the Citadel on Monday 16th *Ğumādā* I 872 A.H./ 30th September 1467 A.D , so the sultān al-Zāhir Tamrbugā al-Zāhirī stood up and embraced him, and he sat above *amīr silāḥ* on his left handside then bestowed up on his a complete stable ,*kamiliya sammūr*, as a robe of honour then he descended to his house⁽⁶⁹⁾.

Amīr silāḥ insider, ḥāšikī, amīr silāḥ,outsider,barānī

During the interregnum between the Baḡrī and Circassian periods, at the end of 8th and the beginning of 9th centuries , a period marked by severe political crises and upheavals, we find that all the important offices of the kingdom were occupied jointly by two individuals.The purpose of such an arrangement was, apparently, to prevent the accumulation of excessive power in the hands of single emir bu establishing a counterpoise for each office holder "insider", *ḥāšikkī*, while his companion was but a "partner", *šarik* called "outsider", *barranī*⁽⁷⁰⁾. Ibn Taḡrībirdī in his account of the

appointment of Şarğitmiş al-Aşrafī as *amir silāḥ* insider, *ḥāşşikī* , and of Argūn al-Aḥmadī as *amir kabīr* outsider, *barrānī* . He then adds that thus there were since the reign of al-Aşraf Şaʿbān Ibn Ḥussīn (765-778A.H/1363-1376A.D), there had been *amir kabīr* private, *ḥāş* , *amir kabīr* outsider, *barānī*; *amir silāḥ* private, *ḥāş* , *amir silāḥ* outsider, *barānī* , this is something unheard of .⁽⁷¹⁾ He said that this dualism in the same post as private, *ḥāş* and outsider, *barānī* , reflected the fact of the position of the emirs and the mamlūks and their relation to the sultan⁽⁷²⁾ .

It is clear from this passage that these double offices no longer existed in the days of Ibn Tağrībirdī and that he unearthed their existence only through reading about them in earlier sources .We have, in fact, found no trace of their existence later than the first years of the 9th century .⁽⁷³⁾

Bodyguards and select retinue, *al-Ḥāşikīyah*, were close to al-sulṭān , who can sit in *al-Iwān* at *dār al-ʿAdl* and they accompanied him all time, or they could be from the mamlūks of the ruling sulṭān, *al-mwşṭrawāt* , they were also named as insider, *al-ğūwānīya* . Outsider, *barānī* , were from the emirs or mamlūks who were not from Bodyguards and select retinue of the sultan, *al-ḥāşikīya of al-sulṭān*. Those were also named outsider, *al-ḥarğīya*⁽⁷⁴⁾ .

After the death of al-Nāşir Muḥammad (741A.H/1341A.D) , the chaos spread gradually in the Mamlūk military system due to the presence of weak sultans , and at the same time the senior emirs exceeded their authority and looked forward that's why the emirs tried to increase the number of their mamlūks to their support in adversity despite the fact that the Mamlūk regime specified the number of Mamlūks for each emir so that the high rank which is emir of hundred commander of thousand , *amir mi'āh muqaddim alf* , should not exceed one hundred mamlūk ḥāş to be his private guards and he controlled about one thousand knights during the war⁽⁷⁵⁾ .

So at this mess , the number of the Mamlūk groups increased and fought to have power and authority and this can be proved by the succession of twelve sultans between 742-784A.H/1341-1347A.D , and during this period, the position of the sultanate mamlūks whether insider or outsider , *ḥāşikīya* or *ḥarğīya*, whose numbers increased than the sultanate Mamlūks , and their masters allowed them obsession and promotion , that's why the two groups hated each other . The presence of *amir kabīr ḥāş* and *amir kabīr branī* or *amir silāḥ ḥāş* and *amir silāḥ barānī* reflected the desire of the sulṭān to keep the power of the post for his *ḥāşikīya* who had great numbers of Mamlūks and tried to impose their influence by imposing the presence of parallel posts which can be handled by their followers to be versus those posts occupied by sultan's followers⁽⁷⁶⁾ .

There had been many examples of those : In 769A.H/1464 A.D, Qağmās al-Ṭāzī was nominated *amir silāḥ ḥāşikī* and he can sit at *al-iwān al-kabīr* at *dār al-ʿadl* , and at the same time Saif al-Dīn Ulğāi Ibn ʿAbdullah al-Yūsūfī al-Nāşrī who was also nominated in 769A.H/1464A.D as *amir silāḥ*

barāi⁽⁷⁷⁾, Kuḡuk min Arṭq Šāh who was nominated in 774A.H/1469A.D as *amīr silāḥ barāi*.

It should be mentioned Sarḡatmaš Ibn 'Abdullah al-Ašrafī who was nominated in 775A.H/1470A.D as *amīr silāḥ ḥāšikī* and he can sit at *al-iwān al-kabīr* at *dār al-ʿadl*, Alṭanbuḡā Ṭaṭq or Alṭanbuḡā Abū Qūrah who was also nominated in 775A.H/1470 A.D as *amīr silāḥ barānī* at the same time of the nomination of Sarḡatmaš Ibn 'Abdullah al-Ašrafī⁽⁷⁸⁾

Asandamur al-Dibāḥ al-Sarḡatmāšī al-Nāširī who was *amīr silāḥ ḥāšikī* was nominated in 778A.H/1473A.D, and he had the right to sit on the left handside at *al-iwān al-kabīr* at *dār al-ʿadl*⁽⁷⁹⁾, and at the same time Quṭulbuḡā Ğarkas who was nominated as *amīr silāḥ barānī* also in 778A.H/1473A.D⁽⁸⁰⁾.

Saīf al-dīn Ṭaqtamur was also nominated in 779A.H/1474 A.D as *amīr silāḥ barānī*, Balāṭ al-Saīfī Ulḡāi was also nominated in 779 A.H / 1474A.D as *amīr silāḥ ḥāšikī* at the same time of the nomination of Saīf al-dīn Ṭaqtamur, Balāṭ can sit at *al-iwān al-kabīr* at *dār al-ʿadl*⁽⁸¹⁾.

The Mamlūk army

Amīr silāḥ was one of the office holders who were connected with the Mamlūk army. During the Mamlūk period, the army stationed in Egypt and constituted the main force of the mamlūk kingdom. It was sometimes called *al-ʿasākīr al-islāmīya*⁽⁸²⁾, while during military expeditions were called *al-ʿasākīr al-sulṭānīya* or *al-ʿaskar al-sulṭānī*⁽⁸³⁾. The Egyptian army was known as *al-ʿaskar al-miṣrī* or *al-ʿasākīr al-miṣrīya*⁽⁸⁴⁾.

Aylon mentioned that the Mamlūk forces stationed in Egypt were divided into three main parts⁽⁸⁵⁾. First, The royal Mamlūks which constituted the backbone of the Mamlūk army and formed the main force in all military expeditions.

Second category are the Mamlūks who passed into the service of the ruling sultan from the service of other masters, *mustaḥdamūn*.

Third, the emirs' Mamlūks, *mamālīk al-umarā*⁽⁸⁶⁾ or *aḡnād al-umarā*⁽⁸⁷⁾. The troops of each amir were at first registered in the *dīwān al-ḡayš* but in the days of al-Qalqašandī this arrangement was replaced by separate lists prepared by each of the emirs who would send copies to the *dīwān*⁽⁸⁸⁾. The emirs' Mamlūks constituted no serious political factor in the Mamlūk army.

The Mamlūk army has leaders, those officers were called *amīr*⁽⁸⁹⁾. The rank of officer was called principedom, *imrīya*⁽⁹⁰⁾ or *imrah*⁽⁹¹⁾, which the Mamlūk reached by promotion gradually⁽⁹²⁾.

Those emirs graduated from emirs of five, *amīr ḥamsa*, to emirs of ten, *amīr ʿašarah*, to emirs of forty, *amīr arba ʿin*, to emirs of hundred, *amīr mi'ah*. They were distinguished by the numbers of the soldiers under their

commands. They promoted to the highest rank in the army was that of *amīr mi'ah muqaddam alf*, an emir entitled to keep in his service 100 horsemen and the number might reach 110 to 120 and to command 1000 soldiers⁽⁹³⁾, this rank is considered the highest rank in the Mamlūk army.⁽⁹⁴⁾

The holders of the most important posts of the state were selected from among those emirs, whose total number were twenty four, nine of whom were office-holders in the Mamlūk period which had direct connexion with army and were known as sword holders, *arbāb al-suyūf*. The emirs of this rank were close to the sultan and were called *al-akābir*⁽⁹⁵⁾ who hold the highest posts and were known as the commander emirs of office holders, *al-umarā' al-muqaddmīn arbāb al-wazā'ij*⁽⁹⁶⁾ because they leads the army and prepares and trains the knights, those are arranged according to their positions as; commander-in-chief, *atābik al-ʿasākir*; grand master of the armour, *amīr silāḥ*; lord of the audience, *amīr maḡlis*; grand dawādār, *dawādār kabīr*⁽⁹⁷⁾; grand master of the stable, *amīr aḥūr kabīr*; chief of the corps of Mamlūks, *ra's nawbat al-nawb*; grand chamberlain, *ḥāḡib al-ḥuḡḡāb*⁽⁹⁸⁾; grand treasurer, *ḥazindār kabīr*, and leader of the Egyptian pilgrim's caravan, *amīr ḥāḡḡ*⁽⁹⁹⁾.

Each emir of those emir of hundred, *amīr mi'ah*, resembled a brief sultan in most cases, so that each one had pen-box holder, *dawādār*; chief of the corps of Mamlūks, *ra's nawba*; lord of the audience, *amīr maḡlis*; master of robes, *ḡamdārīya*; grand master of the stable, *amīr aḥūr*, as well as he had households as the sultan so that the honored sultanate houses are called *ḥawāṣil*, so that during the Mamlūk period, the royal palaces had numbers of *ḥawāṣil* or houses, each took care of a section from the royal palaces' sections⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. Most houses were named by adding the term *ḥānāh*⁽¹⁰¹⁾, so that the whole meaning will be the house of something.

ese houses like vestiary, *al-ṭištḥānāh*⁽¹⁰²⁾; lumber room, *al-firāšḥānāh*⁽¹⁰³⁾; *al-zardḥānāh*⁽¹⁰⁴⁾, *al-maṭbaḥ*⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ and the drummer, *al-ṭablaḥānāh*⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. As well as they had *ḥawāṣil* of horses stables...etc.,⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

The total of twenty four were fixed at the time of redistribution of Egyptian land conducted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, *al-rawk al-nāṣirī*. At the days of al-Qalqašandī, their number varied between eighteen and twenty; five among when were included the governor of Alexandria and governors at Northern and Southern Egypt⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. In 827 A.H/1423A.D, there were eleven emirs of thousand⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

In 861 A.H/1456A.D. they were eleven, In 865 A.H/1460A.D, they were twelve; In 868 A.H/1463A.D, they were thirteen. In 877A.H/1472A.D; they were fourteen. In 908 A.H /1502A.D till the end of the Mamlūk period; between four and twenty seven⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

Upon the head of those emirs was the sultan who was the chief of the state⁽¹¹¹⁾, the sultan appointed a viceroy who was called vice-sultan or viceroy of Egypt, *nā'ib al-sultān* or *nā'ib al-sultānah*, who was also called

as commander-in -chief ,*atābik al- 'askr*⁽¹¹²⁾; he was the senior emir of the Mamlūk emirs who usually succeeds the sultan⁽¹¹³⁾. He was sometimes called commander-in -chief of army, *atābik al-ğāš* or *atābikī al-ğāš* or *al-atābikī*⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

It should be mentioned that *al-silāhdār* has an important role in guarding the sultans during their privacy there were many examples in which *al-silāhdār* killed his sultan during Baḥrī Mamlūk period , other examples showed that the sultan used his *silāhdār* for killing missions.

Sources mentioned that when al-Ašraf Ḥalīl went hunting in 693 AH/ 1293A.D , he was accompanied behind by *two silāhdārīyah* carrying his weapon, those were Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāğīn and Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-^cAlāī. When Lāğīn gave the weapon to Baktūt to alternate their service, suddenly Lāğīn attacked al-sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl and killed him with the sword⁽¹¹⁵⁾. Then After words, they decided to sultanate Badr al-Bīdrā viceroy of sultanate, *nā'ib al-saltāna*, but others refused that so the two groups fought which ended by killing of Bīdrā by Baktumur *al-silāhdār* who cut his stomach and got out his liver then beheaded then Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāğīn escaped while the opposed emirs decided to sultanate al-Nāšir Muḥammad⁽¹¹⁶⁾. In 694 A.H/ 1294A.D, Al-Sultan Zaīn al-dīn Katbuğā nominated Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāğīn *al-silāhdār* as viceroy of sultanate, *nā'ib al-saltānah*⁽¹¹⁷⁾.

In 698A.H/1298A.D, *al-silāhdārīya* of Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāğīn were Saīf al-dīn Nuğāī al-Karmūnī and Kurğī who agreed to kill him. al-Amīr Kurğī covered *al-namğāh*⁽¹¹⁸⁾ of the sultan then both gathered and killed him then Nuğāī used *al-namğāh* to cut Lāğīn's legs⁽¹¹⁹⁾. When al-sultān Lāğīn was killed, the emirs divided into two opinions, one decided to bring al-Nāšir Muḥammad to sultanate him and emir Tuğğī *amīr silāh* became his *nā'ib*; then they decided to write to emīr Biktāš *atābik al-asākir* who was at *Sīs* with the army, they told him what happened. Other emirs decided to Sultanate Tuğğī⁽¹²⁰⁾.

Ibn Tağrībirdī mentioned that in 742 A.H/1341A.D, when al-Malik Ismā'īl became Sultān, he sent emir Maṅğak al-Yūsufī al-Nāširī *al-silāhdār* to *al-Kark* to kill al-Nāšir Aḥmad and cut his head then brought it to him in Egypt⁽¹²¹⁾.

al-Sultān al-Muzzaḥḥar Ḥāğğī sent al-amīr Maṅğak al-Yūsufī *al-silāhdār* in 748A.H/ 1347A.D, to kill Yalbuğā al-Yaḥyāwī viceroy Damascus because he disobeyed the sultan, so he killed him then cut his head and brought it to the sultan⁽¹²²⁾.

In 754 A.H/1353A.D, The sultān decided to kill emir Tuḡbah amīr Mecca, because he refused the reconciliation with his brother emir 'Ġlān, so al-sultān ordered his *silāhdār* Kašlī who arrested him and tied him to Egypt.⁽¹²³⁾

Sources mentioned that on Monday 8th Ša'bān 758A.H/20th July 1356A.D, When al-Sulṭān Ḥasan was sitting at *dār al-ʿAdl* , Qaṭawqāgā or Bāīqāgā who was one of *al-silāḥdārīyah*, he leapt on al-amīr al-kabīr Šaiḥū and beat him with three strokes by the sword on his head, face and arms so he fell down. Then Qaṭawqāgā was arrested and killed. ⁽¹²⁴⁾

The position of *amīr silāḥ* throughout the classifications of the sources

The classifications of the historians present the position of *amīr silāḥ* as well as his rank among the military offices during the Mamlūk period.

al-ʿUmarī arranged the office of *amīr silāḥ* in his Chancellery *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* ⁽¹²⁵⁾ in the first rank among the of great military offices of the country .While al-Qalqaṣandī ⁽¹²⁶⁾ mentioned that *arbāb al-wazāʿif* of *al-umaraʿ al-muqaddmīn* were 25 *muqaddim*. He arranged the office of *amīr silāḥ* in *Ṣubḥ al-ʿAṣā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inṣā* in the fifth rank after *nāʿib al-salṭana* ,*al-atābik* ,*rāʿs al-nawbah*, *amīr maḡlis*.

Also al-Saḥmāwī 9th A.H/ 15th A.D, mentioned that *arbāb al-wazāʿif* of *al-umarāʿ al-muqddamīn* are twelve *muqddam*, he arranged the office of *amīr silāḥ* in his Chancellery "*al-Ṭaḡr al-Bāsim fī Ṣināʿat al-Kātib wa-l-Kātim*" ⁽¹²⁷⁾ in the fifth rank after also *nāʿib al-salṭana*, *al-atābik*, *amīr kabīr* ⁽¹²⁸⁾, *raʿs nawbah*. It should be mentioned that the office of *amīr maḡlis* became in the sixth rank after *amīr silāḥ* which means that the office of *amīr silāḥ* became more important than *amīr maḡlis* during this period. The rank of *amīr maḡlis* was in the first of Mamlūk period, superior to that at *amīr silāḥ*. Although the rank of *amīr maḡlis* was at the first Mamlūk, superior to that of *amīr silāḥ* ,neither of them was of great significance at that time. At the Circassian period, the emir *maḡlis* though inferior to the *amīr silāḥ* but was third in importance among the highest amirs of the kingdom. ⁽¹²⁹⁾

Then the office of *amīr silāḥ* was the second military office among the highest militaries offices at the Mamlūk period, so that Ḥalīl al-Zahirī ⁽¹³⁰⁾ arranged *amīr silāḥ* in his chancellery *Zubdat Kaṣf al-Mamālik* in the second rank after *al-amīr al-kabīr*.

In the Circassian period, the sources usually mentioned seven posts in a fixed order; *atābik al-ʿasākir*, *amīr silāḥ*, *amīr maḡlis*, *amīr aḥūr*, so that the first four posts were fixed for the whole Circassian period ⁽¹³¹⁾.

The previous classification clarify the position at *amīr silāḥ* during the Mamlūk period which was advanced at the very beginning then retarded , then went up to a high position again.

The Tasks of *amīr silāḥ* during the Mamlūk period

According to the Mamlūk sources, the primary tasks of *amīr silāḥ* during the Baḥrī Mamlūk period was totally different than the Circassian period, so that his basic function was the supervision of *al-silāḥdārīyah* as well as conveying the arms to the sultan in battle and on other occasions ⁽¹³²⁾ *amīr silāḥ* was in charge of heading arsenal, *silāḥ ḥānah* ⁽¹³³⁾, and over the emirs

of the arsenal who were called shield makers , *zardkāšīyah*, and whose duty was to guard the arsenal. So that he should be aware of the weapons that he had there⁽¹³⁴⁾. All the weapons were entered or taken or preserved with his orders and supervision.⁽¹³⁵⁾

At the Circassian period, *amir silāḥ* carried the high dignity as he was one of the great posts after *al-amīr al-kabīr*; he had the right to sit at left handside, *ra's al-maysara*, in the sultan's presence.⁽¹³⁶⁾ According to Mamlūk sources the primary tasks of *amīr silāḥ* were extended going out on the head of military campaigns and the army parade .

Besides there was increase in the tasks of *amīr silāḥ* during the Mamlūk period to comprise some secondary tasks which have nothing to do with his primary tasks, such as supervising the irrigation system and canal digging in addition to erecting bridges, religious tasks as leading pilgrims and going out in the ceremony of *al-maḥmal*⁽¹³⁷⁾.

Primary tasks:

According to the Mamlūk sources , the primary tasks of *amīr silāḥ* during the mamlūk period that he has subordinated by few officers like *al-silāḥdārīyah* who were responsible for holding the weapons during the wars or the army parades⁽¹³⁸⁾.

At the beginning of the Mamlūk period , under Baībars, *amīr silāḥ* had a basic function which was the supervision of *al-silāḥdārīyah* as well as conveying the arms to the sultan in battle and on other occasions such as the feast of sacrifice, *ʿid al-aḍḥa*, post of *amīr silāḥ* was at that time had a form which was totally different than the Circassian period, so that *amir silāḥ* carried the high dignity as he was one of the great posts after *al-amīr al-kabīr*; he had the right to sit at left handside, *ra's al-maysara*, in the sultan's presence.⁽¹³⁹⁾

Amīr silāḥ was presented during the banquets , public appearances and ceremonies of the sultan's ascending to throne with chute holder, *al-mazalah* which was carried by one of the great amirs. *Amīr silāḥ*'s duty was to hold the sultan's weapon and then the sultan bestowed upon *ḥāmil al-ḡatr*, *amīr silāḥ* and *al-ustādār*⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. This means that during the Baḥrī period, the post of *amīr silāḥ* didn't have the high dignity which it reached under the Circassian period⁽¹⁴¹⁾.

Amīr silāḥ was in charge of heading arsenal, *silāḥ ḥānah*⁽¹⁴²⁾, and over the emirs of the arsenal who were called shield makers, *zardkāšīyah*, and whose duty was to guard the arsenal. So that he should be aware of the weapons that he had there⁽¹⁴³⁾. All the weapons were entered or taken or preserved with his orders and supervision.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

There were five officers who worked under the command of *amīr silāḥ :silāḥdarīyah Zarkāšīyah Naẓīr ḥazānāt al-silāḥ Šād al-Zardḥānāh Muʿallim al-Zardḥānāh*

al-Silāḥ ḥanah or baīt al-silāḥ

This means weapons' house or the arsenal , also it was called *al-zardḥānāh*, which means shields' house , *al-zard* , or *baīt al-zard* due to it has shields and *zard* and includes kinds of armour as swords , bows , vires ,arrows...*etc*, various kinds of weapons, so that each hall has a certain kind of weapons ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. At *al-silāḥ ḥanah*,there were lots of resident makers who repaired or renovated the shields, these makers were called *zardkāšīyah* which is a Persian word means the maker of shields⁽¹⁴⁶⁾.

It should be mentioned that the Mamlūks took a great care with the manufacture of the army's weapons , as they took care with the needed raw materials as wood or metals , building factories which was known as *al-silāḥḥānāh* or arsenal or *al-zardḥānāh*⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

According to al-Saḥāwī, *al-silāḥḥānāh* was also portable as he mentioned that in 814A.H/1411A.D, when al-sultān al-Nāṣir Faraḡ , went to Damascus , he took with him the arsenal on the back of 1000camels , in addition to his treasury and the royal kitchen ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾.

Zardkāš

It is a name of a post which consists of two terms ,*zard* which means shield and *kāš* which means maker so the whole meaning is the shield maker , the plural is *zarkāšīyah*⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. They stayed in a large groups at *al-silāḥḥānāh* or *al-zardḥānāh* as they fixed weapons , renewed the used weapons as shields , swords , arrows , maces and sabres ...*etc*, ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾.It seems that this post wasn't occupied by an emir but he was only a maker .

Supervisor of Arms Stores ,Naẓīr ḥazānāt al-silāḥ⁽¹⁵¹⁾

The holder of this office charged with supervising the arsenal and the armament used by the army,he should control the weapons were carried outside or inside the arsenal which was customary on a certain day⁽¹⁵²⁾

Šād al-Zardḥānāh

He was in charge of informing al-sultān with the shortage in the weapons of the arsenal and he called the weapons' types from their destinations as Egypt and Syria . He was the chief of *al-zardkāšīyyah*⁽¹⁵³⁾. He ordred naphtha makers, *al-naftīyah*⁽¹⁵⁴⁾,*al-bārūdīyah*⁽¹⁵⁵⁾, and *al-zardḥānāh* makers⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

Muʿallim al-Zardḥānāh

The supervisor of *al-zardḥānāh* . He was in charge of the technical part of *al-zardḥānāh*. He should be aware of the different material of weapons⁽¹⁵⁷⁾.

The role of *amīr silāḥ* reached its highest importance on 9thA.H /15th A.D, and involved in leading and participation of the military campaigns⁽¹⁵⁸⁾.

Military Tasks

According to Mamlūk sources the primary tasks of *amīr silāh* were extended going out on the head of military campaigns and the army parade, in addition to his original tasks as he was in charge of heading arsenal as he should be aware of the weapons that he had there so that all the weapons were entered or taken or preserved with his orders and supervision.

The Secondary Tasks:

On the otherhand we can trace an increase in the tasks of the *amīr silāh* during the mamlūk period to comprise some secondary tasks which have nothing to do with his primary tasks such as :

Social tasks

Regarding the social tasks, sources mentioned that *amīr silāh* was authorized by supervising the irrigation system and canal digging in addition to erecting bridges,religious tasks as going out in the ceremony of *al-maḥmal*⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ and leading pilgrims⁽¹⁶⁰⁾.

The sultan could delegate *amīr silāh* for some opportunities, on *Muḥarram* 714 A.H /17thApril 1314A.D, al-sultān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad took care of the agricultural lands of Egypt and its canals, so he delegated many emirs to different countries of Egypt, as Saīf al-Dīn Qulī *amīr silāh* to *al-Ṭahāwīyah* and *al-Ašmūnīn*⁽¹⁶¹⁾. On 742A.H/1341A.D, sultan delegated Saīf al-Dīn Arnbugā to supervise erecting a bridge near *Bulāq*⁽¹⁶²⁾

According to Mamlūk sources ,*amīr silāh* played an important role during the inundation of the Nile⁽¹⁶³⁾.He should be there to perform one of the most essential traditions in this celebrations which is cutting the canal. On 755 A.H / 1354 A.D, Saīf al-Dīn Bizlār al-Nāṣirī,cut the canal while the Nile stopped inundation.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

Religious tasks

In addition to the previously mentioned tasks of *amīr silāh* , he was also responsible for leading pilgrims and going out in the ceremony of *al-maḥmal*. In this context Mamlūk sources mentioned that in 707A.H/1307A.D, emir Saīf al-Dīnī Ṭuḡḡī *amīr silāh* led the pilgrimage⁽¹⁶⁵⁾. In 713A.H/1313A.D, al-amir Saīf al-dīn Qulī *amīr silāh* was the leader of pilgrimage⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

The tasks of *amīr silāh* were extended to different fields as some of these tasks were primary and connected to his job while the rest were secondary and having nothing to do with his job and just executed upon the sultans' requests.

المُلخَص:

أمير سلاح في العصر المملوكي (648-923 / 1250-1517)

ياسمين عبد محمد

أمير سلاح، سيد الدرع، ويتكون من مصطلحين هما الأمير الذي يستخدم كاسم لمنصب أو يشير إلى رتبة أو رتبة أو لقب فخري كما ظهر مع هذه التسميات في النقوش الأثرية على النص الإسلامي. آثار. أما المصطلح الآخر فهو "السلاح" وهو أداة قتالية وهو مذكر يمكن تأنيثه.

هذه الصيغة اللغوية تختلف عن صيغ أخرى لمشاركات الممالك، والتي تتكون من عنوان أمير مثل أمير داودار، أمير رع نوبة، أمير حاصندار. يضاف لقب عمرو إلى اسم سيلا، أداة سلاح، في حين أن تلك الألقاب الأخرى تحتوي على كلمة أمير التي تضاف إلى اسم البريد (حامل القلم، الدوادار، رئيس السلك، رأس النوبة، أمين الصندوق، حسندا.)

¹ al-^cUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, realized by Kāmil Salmān al-Gabūrī, Dar al-Kutub al-^cIlmīyah, Cairo, 1924, Vol. III, part VI, pp.304, 307; al-Qalqaṣandī, , *Ṣubḥ al- A ṣā fī Ṣinā^cat al-Inṣā*, Cairo, 1913-1916, VI, p. 18 V, p. 426; al-Saḥmāwī, al-Ṭaḡr al-Bāsim fī Ṣinā^cat al-Kātib-wa-l-Kātim, released by Aṣraf Muḥammad Anas, Cairo., 1430 A.H/ 2009 A.D , I, p. 388; al-Bāṣā , Ḥasan,al-*Funūn al-Islāmīyah wa-l-Wazāif^cala al- Aṭār al-^cArabīyah*, Cairo, 1965,I, pp. 115-173, 225-227.

²The basic function of the *dawādār* was the bearing and keeping of the royal inkwell.al-Qalqaṣandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.16-22; Ibn Taḡrībirdī, *al-Nuḡūm al-Zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah*, released by Muḥammad Ḥusseīn Šams al-Dīn , *Dār al-Kutub al-^cilmīyah*, Beirut, , IV, 1413/1992,p.571; al-Suyūtī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥaḍarah fī Aḥbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah* ,Cairo, II, 1881, pp.19-22;Hiba Maḥmūd Sa'd; *al-Dawādār fī Miṣr al-Mamlūkīyah wa Aham A māluḥ al-Mi māriyah wa-l-Fanīyah*, Unpublished , PH.D Thesis , Faculty of Tourism and Hotels Management, Tourist Guidance Department, Alexandria University, Alexandria,2004,pp.28-37.

³According to al-Qalqaṣandī's definition , this *amīr* had the charge of the Royal Mamlūks ,supervised their conduct , and executed the sultan's or the *amirs'* orders applying to them . He was also responsible for the parades held by the army before it set out on an expedition .al-Qalqaṣandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV , p.18; V, p.455; Ibn Taḡrībirdī, al-Nuḡūm, V, p.295; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks,de l'Égypte*, Paris, II, 1845, p.241;Ayalon, David , "Mamluk Army", *BSOAS*, III, 1954, pp.60-61

⁴*al-ḥāzindār* had charge of the sultan's treasures , including his funds , his precious clothes and the like. al-Subkī , *Mu ṭd al-Ni^cam* , released by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Naḡḡar and Abū Zāid Ṣalabī , Cairo ,1948, p.26;al-Qalqaṣandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV ,p.21; Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army,*BSOAS*, III,p.62; Sāmīyah'Alī Muṣailaḥī , *al-Ḥāzindār fī al-^cAṣr al-Mamlūkī* , Historical events, Center for Research and Historical Studies , Faculty of Arts , Cairo University , February , 2009, no.10, pp. 7- 8.

⁵al-Bāṣā , Ḥasan ,al-*Funūn*, I, p.225.

⁶al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, pp.472, 486 .

⁷*al-Silāḥdār* or *al-silaḥdar* is a name of a post which was famous during Islamic states with a Turkish character. It consists of two terms which *silāḥ* or armour and *dār* which is a Persian word means the holder.i.e: arm-bearer; it is called for the person who holds a weapon that is specialized for war and it belonged to the sultan. The Ottoman Turks retained the same title under its Persian form *silāḥ-dār*. *al-silāḥdār* was the chief official in the Sulṭān's chamber.This military administrative title and function was widely appeared on the Arab monuments despite that this post was not occupied by great amirs and its appearance annexed to the name of an amir may be referred to this amir occupied this post

later. See: al-Nūwarī., *Nihāyat al-Arab fī funūn al-Adab*, Cairo, XXXII, 1926, p.15; al-^cUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, III, part 6, p.293; al-Subkī, Mu^cīd al-Ni^c am, p.34; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.14; VI, p.462; al-Saḥmāwī, al-Ṭağr al-Bāsim, p.386; Mayer. L.A, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, p.5; al-Bāšā, Ḥasan, *al-Funūn wa'l-wazā'if*, II, Cairo, 1966, p.596.

⁸ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, pp.472,486

⁹ Those are the officers of *al-rikābhānāh* who carried the saddles' covers during the sultanate banquets. *al-rikābhānāh* means house of *al-rikāb* having the horses' equipments as saddles coated with gold and silver, bridles; it had a mihtār (chief of the house) known as mihtār *al-rikābhānāh*. al-Bāšā, Ḥasan, *al-Funūn w-l-wazā'if*, 1966, III, pp.1145-1149 .

¹⁰ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, p.484 .

¹¹ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, p.472

¹² Quatremere M., *Histoire*, part ii, p.158; M. Van Berchem, *Materiaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Première Partie, Égypte, 1903, Paris, pp.28, 543; Gaston. Wiet, *L'Égypte Arabe*, Paris, 1937, p.569.

¹³ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.14-16; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Ṭağr al-Bāsim*, pp.380-386.; al-Suyūfī. *Ḥusn*, II, p.130

¹⁴ Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil fī-l-Tārīḥ*, Beirut, 1983, X, p.247 .

¹⁵ Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, 1953, p.67

¹⁶ al-Malik al-Nāsir Muhammad Ibn al-Mansūr Qalāwūn bin 'Abdallah al-Sālihī al-alfī. He ruled three times, first 694AH/ 1294 AD, later he regained the rule secondly in 698-708AH/1298-1308AD. later for a third time in 709-714AH/1309-1340AD which is the longest rule for him in Egypt. See. Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, pp.115, 116., XIX, p.3; Ibn al-'Imād, *Šadarāt al-dahab fī aḥbār man dahab*, Beirut, No date, Vol. III, p.134; Sa'īd 'Abd-l-Fatāh 'Āšūr, *al-Ayyūbiyūn wa-l-mamālik fī Misr wa-l-Šām*, Cairo, 1998, pp.235-250.

¹⁷ Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, 1953, p. 68

¹⁸ Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, II, p.269, Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, 1953, p. 69

¹⁹ *Amīr Mağlis* (Lord of audience), he had charge of the physicians, oculists, and the like. The office was held by only one person. Sources did not indicate the connexion between the rank of *amīr mağlis* and these particular tasks, which seem to be of no special importance. Bāšā, Ḥasan, *al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah*, I, pp.259-264; Ayalon, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, 1954, p.59.

²⁰ Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VII, p. 174, Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, p.70

²¹ He was born 1162 A.D. He was the founder and **Great Khan** (Emperor) of the **Mongol Empire**, which became the **largest contiguous empire** in history after his death. John Man, *Genghis Khan: Life, Death, and Resurrection*, 2004, Bantam. pp. 254-255; Weatherford, Jack, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World*, 2005. p. 23.

²² Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, pp.70 – 71; al-Saīyid Fu'ād, *al-Mağūl fī-l-Tārīḥ*, p.255; Amitai. Reuven, *Mongols and Mamluks*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.110

²³ al-Maqrīzī, al-Ḥiṭaṭ, Cairo, released by Muḥammad Zīnm, 1998, II, p.220; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VI, p.269

²⁴ Nizām al-Mulk, *Siasāt-nāma*, ed. ch. Schefer, Paris, 1891, pp.94-95, 109

²⁵ Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, pp. 68-70; "Amir Silah". EI2, I, pp.445-446 .

²⁶ Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VI, pp.386-387; *al-Manhal al-Šāfi wa-l-Mustawfi ba'd al-Wāfi*, released by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, III, 1984, p.135

²⁷ *al-amīr al-kabīr* or great emir was a military title for an office that was occupied by amīr 100 muqaddim 1000. The title *al-amīrī al-kabīrī* was used also among the glorifying titles .

He was a counselor for the sultan as well. Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ṭağr al-Bāsim*, I, p.388; al-Bāšā, *al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah*, I, pp.229-249

²⁸ al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abšār*, p.179; Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, p. 222; Quatremère, M. *Historie*, II, p.159.

²⁹ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, pp. 554-555; al-Nūwarī, *Nihāyat*, XXXII, p.15

³⁰ Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, IX, p.209

³¹ al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk Li-Maʿrifat Dūwal al-Mulūk*, II, released by Nuḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādr ʿAṭā, *Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah*, Beirut, 1418-1997, pp.473,497, 498, 527; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, p.132, IX, pp.33, 172

³² al-Nūwarī, *Nihāyat*, XXXIII, pp.12-14, 17; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, pp.208, 304, 498; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, p.48, IX, p.274

³³ al-Šuʿāqī, *Tālī Kitāb waḥyāt al-ʿAʿyān*, Damascus, 1974., pp.132, 136; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, p.132, IX, pp.33,34

³⁴ al-Nūwarī, *Nihāyat*, XXXII, pp.153,168, 170 ;XXXIII, pp.21,52 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, pp.458,497 III, pp.24, 108, 110, 147; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, IX, pp.52, 107, 209; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, I, 1960, p.137

³⁵ Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Šāfi wa-l-Mustawfi baʿd al-Wāfi*, released by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, II, 1984, p.456-457; *al-Dalīl al-Šāfi ʿalā al-Manhal Šāfi*, released by Muḥammad Amīn Šaltūt, Cairo I, 1998, p.137; *al-Nuğūm*, X, p.74, 140; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, II, p.309; Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durr al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-miʿah al-Ṭāminah*, Beirut, I, 1414-1993, p.398, no.993; al-Šafādī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-Waḥyāt*, released by Aḥmad al-ʿArnaʿūt & Turkī Mustafā, Beirut, IX, 2000, p.485, no.4211.

³⁶ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.14, 18, 39; *Ḍawʿ al-Ṣubḥ al-Muṣfir wa Ḡanī al-Dawḥ al-Muḥmir*, Cairo, 1906, pp. 245-249; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, p.361; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VII, pp.182-183 al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, V, p.111; Van Berchem, CIA, Egypte, I, p.276; Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, 1954, pp.784-785

³⁷ al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, III, p.309

³⁸ al-Qalqašandī, mentioned in his Encyclopedia "*Ṣubḥ al-A šā*" that they were 25 posts. See: *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.17-20.

³⁹ According to al-Saḥmāwī mentioned in his chancellery "*al-Ṭağr al-Bāsim*" that they were 12 posts. See: *al-Ṭağr al-Bāsim fī Šināʾat al-Kātib wa-l-Kātim*, p.387.

⁴⁰ Until the death of Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, *nāʾib al-sulṭān* was the highest ranking emir in the Mamlūk kingdom, taking precedence even over the atābik. According to one source, it was he who signed, in the names of the sultan, the application of the fiefs (*iqṭāʾāt ḥaḥḥa*) without consulting the sultan. He acted as sultan on a restricted scale, appointing the emirs and the office holders, excepting the highest ones such as that of Wazīr, of qāḍī, and of privy secretary (*kātib al-sirr*). He would ride at the head of the army, diwān al-ğayš was under his supervision. al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, II, pp.8-12; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.16-22; al-Bāšā, Ḥasan, *al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah*, III, pp.1230-1236; David, Ayalon, *Studies*, BSOAS, III, 1954, p.477; Laīla, ʿAbd al-Ğawād, *Nāʾib al-Salṭānah fī-l-Qāhirah ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥarīyah*, Miğalit al-Muʿarriḥ al-Miṣrī, Cairo, I, 1988, pp.59-219.

⁴¹ al-Atābik (Commander in Chief): After the abrogation of the office of *nāʾib al-sulṭān*, *al-atābik* was the first of the Mamlūk emirs. It was common, especially in the Circassian period, for him to succeed the sultan on the throne. He was commander-in-chief of the army. See: Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ Ibn al-Furāt*, released by Quṣṭanṭīn Zuraīq & Nağlā ʿIzz al-Dīn, Beirut VIII, 1942, p.145; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, pp.656-657; Quatremère, *Histoire*, pp.290, 396; Ayalon, David; *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, 1954, p.60, al-Bāšā, Ḥasan, *al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah*, I, pp.545-549.

⁴² *Amīr Aḥūr* was the supervisor of the royal stables. He was generally an Amīr of a thousand and resided in *al-iṣṭābl al-sulṭānī*. He had under his orders three of *Ṭablaḥāna*

and an undetermined number of *Amīr* of Ten and privates . al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV , pp.18-19; al-Suyūfī, Ḥusn , II, pp.16-17;Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army , BSOAS, III, p.63

⁴³Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, V, pp. 349 , 367-368.

⁴⁴Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, VII, pp. 237, 259-260; Ibn Šāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt Kašf al-Mamālik wa Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-l-Masālik* , Paris , 1894, pp.113-114, 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Ġayš al-Miṣrī fi-l-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī*, Cairo , 1998p.97

⁴⁵Office-holders in the Mamlūk period were divided into three categories: Those who belonged to the Mamlūk caste and were called'men of swords' , *arbāb al-suyūf*; those who were civilians and were known as 'holders of administrative offices 'or as ' men of pen ' , *arbāb al-wazā'if al-dīwānīya*, or *arbāb ḥamalāt al-aqlām*;and those who belonged to the clerical class and were called 'holders of religious offices ' or ' men of the turban ' , *arbāb al-wazā'if al-dīnīya*, or *al-muta'ammimūn* .al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, pp.54-59; al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV; Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army , BSOAS, III,1954,p.57.

⁴⁶ The highest rank of the Amirs was *Amir mi'a muqaddam alf*,an emir entitled to keep in his service 100 horsemen the number knight reach 110 to 120, and to commend 1000 soldiers of *al-ḥalaqa* in the field. Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.16-22; V,pp.461-462;VII, pp.158-159; Ibn Taḡrībīrdī ,*al-Nuḡūm*, IV,p.704, Quatremère. M., Histoire, II, p.410, 545.

⁴⁷al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.18, Quatremère. M., Histoire,II,pp.274, 585; Mayer (L.A.), Saracenic, pp.69, 101, Ayalon, David , Studies on the Structure, BSOAS, III, 1954, p. 58.

⁴⁸al- Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, V, p.241; Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XI, p.272; Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army , BSOAS, III, 1954, p.469; 'Abd al-Rāziq, al-Ġayš, p.97

⁴⁹*Amīr Ḥāḡ*, A leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca . See: Jacques Jomier, Le Mahmal et Caravane Égyptienne des Pelerins de Mecque , Le Caire ,1953, pp.1-9,: EI2, Art , Maḥmal , VI, pp.44-46; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Ġatāʿ*, pp.98-99

⁵⁰al-Qalqašandī, *Daw' al-Subḥ*, I , 1906, p.244; al- Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, p.221; Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, IX, p.65.

⁵¹ al-ʿUmarī , *al-Taʿrīf* , pp.93 ,113; al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV , pp.14, 18

⁵² Ibn Iyās, *Bada'i* ʿ, II, p. 702

⁵³ Ibn Iyās, *Bada'i* ʿ,II, p. 908

⁵⁴ Ibn Iyās, *Bada'i* ʿ, II, p. 988

⁵⁵It is *al-mazalah* or the chute which has been expressed by *al-ḡitr* ,it was lifted above the Sultan's head. See: al-Qalqašandī, *Subh*; IV, pp.6-7

⁵⁶al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, III, Part 6, pp. 288-292; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp. 44-45.

⁵⁷*Šikāris* Persian word which means hunt , and so *Amīr šikār* means the master of the hunt. This post was known in the Abbasid period , and famously known during at the Selḡuks then transferred to the Mangols and the Mamlūks. Baībars al-Manšūrī , *Zubdt al-Fikrah fī Tarīḥ al-Hiḡḡrah* , released by Donald Richards , Beirut , 1998, , p.41; al-Bāšā , *al-Alqāb* , I, p.228

⁵⁸*al-Qubh* and *al-Ṭayr* ; This is the chute or *al-mazalah* , it was from the remains of the Fatimid ceremonies so that al-Qlqašandī mentioned *al-mazalah* as *al-ḡitr* which was lifted above the Sultan's head, and was commonly expressed with the name of *al-qubh* and *al-ṭayr* because it consisted of a dome made of yellow Silk embroidered with gold and at its top there is a bird from silver painted with gold. See: al-Qalqašandī, *Subh*; IV, pp.6-7

⁵⁹Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, VIII, p.132

⁶⁰Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XI, pp. 47-118, 125,137; XII, p.82,104 ,195,239, 260;XIII, pp. 3,11,176,195,210,XIV, pp.8, 39,98,15h, 227; XV, pp.10,32, 36,38, 59; VVI, pp. 17,51,64; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* ʿ, I, pp.18,29,37,56,II, p.28, 32, 56, 644; 672, III, pp. 938, 942, 972.

⁶¹ The main function of *al-Ḥuḡḡāb* was the administration of justice among the Mamlūks of the emirs . It was also his duty to present guests and envoys to the sultan , and he was incharge of organizing army parades . It was customary to appoint five *ḥuḡḡāb* ; two of whom (*ḥāḡḡīb al-ḥuḡḡāb* and *ḥāḡḡīb tānī*)were amīrs of thousand . al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*,

IV,p.19; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm* ,V, p.189; XI, pp.180-187; al-Suyūtī, *Husn* , II, pp.18-19;Quatremère . M., CIA, L'Égypte, p.567; Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army , BSOAS, III, 1954,p.60; al-Waqqād .Maḥāsin, al-Ḥiġābah Zaman Salātīn alMamālīk, JMIH, III,2003pp.111-112; Ḥamdī. Marwa, al-Ḥiġābah and alḤuġġāb in Mamluk Egypt and their Most Important Architectural and Artistic Works , M.A.Thesis , Unpublished , Faculty of Arts , Tourist Guidannce Section, 'Ain Šams University , Cairo .I-III,2006 ,pp.36-39

⁶²Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*. XI, p. 171.

⁶³*al-Saifīyah* were mamlūks of the amirs who were *muqadmīal-ulūf* and they were transferred to the sultanate diwān due to the death or exiled of their master. See; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, VI, p.425; VII; p.543; al-Nūwarī, Durar, II, p.196; Ibn Šahīn; Zubdt, p.116; Ayalon,David,Studies on the Structure, BSOAS,XV, part 2, 1953, pp.220-221 .

⁶⁴*al-Ḥuṣḍāš* or *ḥuġdāš* was a friend at Mamlūk service of their master. The Mamlūk system of servitude instilled in the mamlūk a feeling of profound loyalty toward his master and liberator *ustādh*, on the other hand , and for his fellows in servitude and liberation, *ḥuṣḍāšīyah* or *ḥuṣḍāšīyn* sing *ḥuṣḍāš* , on the other . This twofold loyalty was one of the principal axes around which revolved the entire military and social system of Mamlūk hierarchy . The sultan and his Mamlūks formed a tighty-knit association .See:Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XIV,pp. 327-328;Ayalon,David; L'Esclavage du Mamelouk , The Israel Oriental Society (Oriental Notes and Studies), Jerusalem , 1951, pp.29-33, 36-37,59,63; Studies on the Structure, BSOAS, part 2, 1953, pp.207-208, 221

⁶⁵Ibn Taġrībirdī,*al-Nuġūm*, XIV; p.154

⁶⁶Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XIV; pp.228-229

⁶⁷ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XIV; p. 300

⁶⁸ al-Maqrīzī,*al-Sulūk*,IV,p. 180, V,p.455,461;Ibn Taġrībirdī,*al-Nuġūm*,XIV, p. 230

⁶⁹ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XV, P.70

⁷⁰Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XV, p.125, al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, p. 122

⁷¹ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XVI, pp.64-65; Ibn Iyās , *Badā'ī'* , I , p.342

⁷²Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XXI, pp. 52-53.

⁷³Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XVI, pp 234-235; Ibn Iyās , *Badā'ī'* , I , p.378

⁷⁴ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XVI, p.343

⁷⁵Ayalon David , Mamluk Army, III, 1954, p.70

⁷⁶Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, V , p.221; Ayalon David,Mamluk Army, III, 1954, p.70

⁷⁷ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, p.51

⁷⁸Ayalon David , Mamluk Army, BSAOS, III, 1954,p.70

⁷⁹ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, p.47

⁸⁰ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, pp.52-53

⁸¹Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, p.51

⁸² al-Maqrīzī,*al-Sulūk*,IV,pp.300-303;Ibn Ḥaġar , *al-Durar* , I ,p.405; no.1045; Inbā' al-Ġumr,I,p.64;IbnTaġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, pp.33-36; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'* , I,pp. 192-194

⁸³ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, pp.51-52

⁸⁴ Ibn Taġrībirdī,*al-Nuġūm*, XI, pp.119 ,124-125

⁸⁵ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, p125

⁸⁶ Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, pp.125-126

⁸⁷Abū-l-Fidā' , *al-Muḥtaṣr fī Aḥbār al-Bašar* , Cairo, IV, p.45; Ibn al-Furāt , *Tārīḥ Ibn al-Furāt* , p.192; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuġūm* , VII, , p.183-184;'Abd al-Rāziq .Aḥmad ,*al-Ġāiš*, p.62

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Furāt ,*Tārīḥ* , released by Qusṭanṭīn Zuraīq IX ,p.270,1942; Ibn Taġrībirdī ,*al-Nuġūm* ,VII,p.91;VII , p.162;*Muntaḥabāt min Ḥawādīṭ al-Duhūr fī Madā al-Aīyām wa-l-Šuhūr* ,released by Muḥammad Kamāl al-dīn 'Izz al-dīn m II,1990, pp. 16 -18; 'Abd al-Rāziq .Aḥmad ,*al-Ġāiš*, p.62

⁸⁹ Ibn al-Furāt , *Tārīḥ* ,VIII,p.223 ; Ibn Taġrībirdī , *al-Nuġūm* VII, pp.67-68 ; Ibn Iyās , *Badā'ī'* , III,p.243

- ⁹⁰ Ayalon, Mamluk Army ,BSOAS, I , 1953,p.204.
- ⁹¹ Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm* , V, p.229; VIII, p.261; 'Abd al-Rāziq .Aḥmad , *al-Ġaiš*,p.69
- ⁹² al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, II p.176.
- ⁹³ al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV, pp.12-16, al-Maqrīzī , *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, II,p.216
- ⁹⁴ Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* ^c, IV , p.205 ; Ayalon David ,Mamluk Army , BSOAS , III,1954, p.467; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġaiš*,p. 93
- ⁹⁵ Ibn Taḡrībīrdī , *al-Nuḡūm* , V ,p.91 ;Ibn Iyās , *Badā'i* ^c, II, pp.25 ,48; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġaiš* , p.94
- ⁹⁶ Ibn Taḡrībīrdī ,*al- Nuḡūm* ,V ,p.536,VI,p.7; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġaiš* , p.94
- ⁹⁷ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* , III, p.173; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġaiš* , p.94
- ⁹⁸ Ibn al-Furāt , *Tārīḥ* , IX , p.393, Ibn Taḡrībīrdī , *al-Nuḡūm* ,V, p,204
- ⁹⁹ al-^cUmarī ,*Masālik* , p.73; al-Qalašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV,p14; *Daw'* , III, p.244; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* ,II, p.215; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.110; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġaiš* , p.96
- ¹⁰⁰ al- Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* , V ,p.239; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.113; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġaiš* , p.97
- ¹⁰¹ al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV , p.16; ; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.113; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġayš* , p.97
- ¹⁰² It was al-Zāhir Baibars who transferred it to a Mamlūk emir of ten . During the Baḥrī period , the dawādār did not rank among the important Amīrs , but under the Circassians he became one of the first-ranking amīrs of the kingdom . One of the *dawādār's* duties during the later Mamlūk period was to decide which of the members of the ḥalqa were worthy of setting out on a military expedition al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.16-22; Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm* , IV , p.571; al-Suyūtī, *Husn* , II, pp.19-22;Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army , BSOAS, III, pp.61-62
- ¹⁰³ al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV,p.19; Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm* ,V, p.189;al-Suyūtī, *Husn* , II, pp.18-19;Quatremère . M., CIA, L'Égypte, p.567; Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army , BSOAS, III, 1954,p.60; Ḥamdī. Marwah, *al-Ḥiḡḡābah* ,pp.35-40
- ¹⁰⁴ al- Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* , V, p.241;Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Nuḡūm* , XI, p.272; Ayalon, David , Mamluk Army , BSOAS, III, 1954, p.469; ^cAbd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġaiš* , p.100
- ¹⁰⁵ al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV, p.9; S.A.'Ašūr , *Miṣr fī 'Aṣr dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥarīyah*, Cairo, 1959,p.125
- ¹⁰⁶The word *ḥānāh* is a Persian word which means house . al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV,p.9; Dozy.R. Supplément , I, p.337; Steinags .F, A Comprehensive Persian English ,London ,1930, p.444
- ¹⁰⁷That means house of basins , it was called so because it had basins for washing the hands and others for washing the sultans' textiles . It is referred to as a place where some stuffs were kept as the textiles for the sultans' robes , different kinds of jewelleries , the seals . al-Nūwaīrī , *Nihāyāt al-Arb* , VIII, p.226; al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV,pp. 10 -11; Ibn Šāhīn , *Zubdt* , VIII, p.124 ; Lane.Poole(S.), History of Egypt in the Middle Ages ,London , 1925, p.248;S.A.'Ašūr . *Miṣr fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al- Mamālīk* , p.126; A.M.Māḡid , *Nuḡūm Dawlit Salāḡīn al-Mamālīk wa Rusūmihim fī Miṣr* ,Cairo , II,1955, p.20.
- ¹⁰⁸That means house of lumbers which had different kinds of lumbers ,carpets , and tents . It was similar to lumber cupboards during the Fatimid period.al-Nūwaīrī , *Nihāyāt al-Arb* , VIII, p.226; al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV,p.11; Ibn Šāhīn, *Zubdt* , VIII, p.125 ; Quatremère.M.,Sultans Mamlouks ,II/1,no.(5),p.115; S.A.'Ašūr ,*Miṣr fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk* , p.126; A.M.Māḡid , *Nuḡūm Dawlit Salāḡīn al-Mamālīk* , II, pp.21-22.
- ¹⁰⁹*al-Silāḡḡānāh* which means house of weapons is also known as *al-zardḡānāh* which means house of *al-zard* and it is a Persian name for the shields .Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*,IV, p.11; Ib Šāhīn , *Zubdt* , VIII, p.125; Quatremère, Sultans Mamelouks , II/1,no.(5),p.115.
- ¹¹⁰The kitchens or *al-maṭābih al-sulṭānīyah* were the places where the food of the sultan was cooked and the large numbers of the citadel's inhabitants. It was described that its fire did not ever put off .Ibn Šāhīn ,*Zubdt* , VIII, p.125;S.A.'Ašūr, *Miṣr fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk* , p.126; Muḥammad. Nabīl.'Abd al-'Azīz, *al-Maṭbah al-Sulṭānī Zaman al-*

Ayyūbīyn w-l-Mamālīk, Cairo ,1989;pp.9-12; S.A.'Ašūr,*al-Muğtama' al-Miṣrī fī 'Aṣr Salāḫīn al-Mamālīk*, Cairo , 1992 , p.62.

¹¹¹That was the department where the royal bands were kept . al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV,p.13; Ibn Šāhīn , *Zubdt*, VIII, p.125 ; QuatremèreM., *Histoire* , I/1,no.(54),p.173; Lane. Poole.S, *History of Egypt*,p.248; S.A.'Ašūr, *al-Muğtama' al-Miṣrī*,p.62; A.M.Māğid , *Nuḏum Dawlit Salāḫīn al-Mamālīk*, II, pp.30-31

¹¹² al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV , p.16; °Abd al-Rāziq , *al-Ġāṣ*, pp.100-101

¹¹³al-Qalqašandī, *Ḍaw'* , p.244; al- Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, p.221;Ibn Tağrībirdī,*al-Nuğūm*, IX, p.65.

¹¹⁴Ibn Tağrībirdī,*al-Nuğūm* , VII, p.237

¹¹⁵ Ibn Iyās, *Ḥawādīṭ*, IV, pp.281, 344, 452, 631

¹¹⁶ al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ* , IV ,p.18

¹¹⁷This was when the office of *nā'ib al-sulṭān* was abrogated .al-Suyūṭī ,*Ḥusn*, II, pp.8-12 ;al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, IV , pp.16-22. ;XI , p.167

¹¹⁸ Ibn Furāt , *Tārīḥ* , VII , p.147; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* , I , p.172

¹¹⁹al-Qalqašandī , *Ṣubḥ*, VI, p.6; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.112; Ayalon David , *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS , vol.15,Part 2, I, 1953, p.455

¹²⁰al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, pp.303-304;Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm* ,VII, p.83, Ibn Šāhīn, *Zubdt*, pp.312-316; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* °c, I, p.106.

¹²¹ al-Dawādār, *Zubdt al-Fikra fī Tārīḥ al-Ḥiğrah*,Released by Donald Ritchard, Beirut , 1998, pp.298-299; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* °c, p.103

¹²² al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, p. 807; *al-Ḥiğrah*, II, p.239; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* °c, I, p.109; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhr al-Ṭamīn fī Sa'ir Ḥulafā' wal-Mulūk wa-l-Salāḫīn* , relesead by Sa'īd °Abd al-Fattāḥ °Ašūr , Cairo, 1982, p.118; Ibn al-Furāt; *Tārīḥ*, III, p.193; al-Dawādār, *Zubdt al-Fikrah*, p.312

¹²³*al-Namğāh* or *al-Namğā* is a Persian word means a small curved dagger which looks like small sword.See: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, p. 57, note (1)

¹²⁴ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, pp. 300-302; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VII, pp.81-82; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* °c,I, pp.116-117

¹²⁵ al-Nūwārī, *Nihāyat al-Aarb*, p.103;Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-Nihāyah* , Beirut ,XIV, p.3 ;al-Ḥalabī, *Durat al-Aslāk*, p. 141; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taḍkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīyh* , released by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo,I , 1976,p.211; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, p.306; *al-Ḥiğrah*, II, p. 31; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm* , VII, pp.84-86, al-°Aīnī, *Ḥiğrah*, III, pp.421-439

¹²⁶Ibn Tağrībirdī,*al-Nuğūm*, X, p.77

¹²⁷Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, X, pp. 130-131

¹²⁸ al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, IV, p.182

¹²⁹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, IV, p.231;Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, IV, pp.238-239; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* °c, I, p.175.

¹³⁰al-°Umarī, *Masālik* , vol.III,part VI ,p.305

¹³¹al- Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV; P.16; *al-Ḍaw'*; pp. 247

¹³² al-Saḥmāwī ,*al-Ṭağr al-Bāsim* , pp.388-389

¹³³*Amīr Kabīr*, (great amir): It was a military title for the office that was occupied by *amīr mi'ha muqaddim alf* . The title of *amīr kabīr* was used alson among the glorifying titles.See- Bāšā, Hasan, *al- Funūn al-Islāmīyah* I, pp.244-249

¹³⁴al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.18, Qutremènre, CIA, L'Egypt, pp.274, 585; Mayer(L.A.), *Saracenic*, pp.69, 101, Ayalon, David , *Mamluk Army*, BSOAS, III, 1954, p. 58.

¹³⁵al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.114; Garcin. Jean Claude, *The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks*, the Cambridge History of Egypt, Cambridge, 1998, I, p.305.

¹³⁶Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VII, pp.237, 259-260; Ibn Šāhīn, *Zubdt*, pp.113-114; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i* °c, III,pp.218,386; IV, p. 119; V, pp.2-3, 90-91 .

¹³⁷ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.15; *Ḍūw'*, p. 244; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, p. 361; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn*, V, p.111; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Tağr al-Bāsim*, I, p.385

¹³⁸This means weapons' house or the arsenal, also it was called *al-zardḥanāh*, which means shields' house, *al-zard*, or *baīt al-zard* due to it has shields and *zard* and includes kinds of armour as swords, bows, vires, arrows...etc, various kinds of weapons, so that each hall has a certain kind of weapons. al-Nūwairī, *Nihāyat*, XXX, p.30; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar*, p.371; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, p.477; IV, pp.11-12; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.126; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmīyah*, p.190; *al-Ġaiš*, p.136

¹³⁹ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.18; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Tağr al-Bāsim*, I, p.338; Lane Poole, *Saracens*, p.30.

¹⁴⁰ al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-Ni'ām*, p.34; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V, P.462; *Ḍūw'*, p.346; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, p.65; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar*, p.317.

¹⁴¹ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.14, 18, 39; *Ḍūw'*, pp. 245-249; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, p. 361; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn*, V, p.111; Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VII, pp. 182-183; Van Berchem, *CIA, Egypte*, I, p.276; Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army, BSOAS*, III, 1954, pp.784-785.

¹⁴² al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, VI, p.289

¹⁴³ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.18-20; *Ḍūw'*, pp. 244-245; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Tağr al-Bāsim*, I, p.386

¹⁴⁴ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.14, 18, 39; *Ḍūw'*, pp. 245-249; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, p. 361; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn*, V, p.111; Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VII, pp.182-183; Van Berchem, *CIA, Egypte*, I, p.276; Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army, BSOAS*, III, 1954, pp.784-785.

¹⁴⁵ al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, III, Part 6, pp. 288-292; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp. 44-45.

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Tağrībirdī, *al-Nuğūm*, XI, pp. 47-118, 125, 137; XII, p.82, 104, 195, 239, 260; XIII, pp. 3, 11, 176, 195, 210, XIV, pp. 8, 39, 98, 15h, 227; XV, pp. 10, 32, 36, 38, 59; XVI, pp. 17, 51, 64; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, I, pp. 18, 29, 37, 56, II, p. 28, 32, 56, 644; 672, III, pp. 938, 942, 972.

¹⁴⁷This means weapons' house or the arsenal, al-Nūwairī, *Nihāyat*, XXX, p.30; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar*, p.371; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, p.477; IV, pp.11-12; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.126; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmīyah*, p.190; *al-Ġaiš*, p.136

¹⁴⁸ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.18; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Tağr al-Bāsim*, I, p.338; Lane Poole, *Saracens*, p.30.

¹⁴⁹ al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-Ni'ām*, p.34; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V, P.462; *Ḍūw'*, p.346; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, P.65; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar*, p.317.

¹⁵⁰ al-Nūwairī, *Nihāyat*, XXX, p.30; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar*, p.371; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, p.477; IV, pp.11-12; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdt*, p.126; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmīyah*, p.190; *al-Ġaiš*, p.136

¹⁵¹ Ibn Mamāṭī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, Cairo, 1991, p.354; al-Nūwairī, *Nihāyat alArab*, VIII, p.226; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.11-12; *Ḍaw'*, I, p.243; al-*Zubdt*, p.122; Gaudefrou, *Demombynes, La Syrie*, p.86; 'Ašūr, *al-Muğtama' al-Miṣrī*, pp.70-71; 'Abd al-Mun'īm Māğid, *Salāḥīn al-Mamālīk*, II, pp.22-23; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmīyah*, p.190; *al-Ġaiš*, p.136

¹⁵² al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.41; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, III, p.432; 'Abd al-Rāziq, *al-Ġaiš*, p.136

¹⁵³ al-Saḥāwī, *Wağīz al-Kalām*, II, p.413

¹⁵⁴ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.11-12; al-Nūwairī, *Zubdt*, p.114

¹⁵⁵ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, pp.11-12

¹⁵⁶ al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Tağr al-Bāsim*, I, p.412; Ayalon, David, *Mamluk Army, BSOAS*, III, 1954, p.66

¹⁵⁷ al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, p.32

¹⁵⁸ al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tağr al-Bāsim*, I, p.32

¹⁵⁹ They are responsible for the using of *naphta*, *al-naft*. See: Māğid 'Abd al-Mun'īm, *Nuzum al-Mamālīk*, I, p.171

¹⁶⁰ They are responsible for the using of big or small gunpowder canons, Māğid ʿAbd al-Munʿim , *Nuzum al-Mamālīk* , I , p.176

¹⁶¹ al-Sahāwī , *al-Tağr al-Bāsīm* , p.399

¹⁶² al-Sahāwī , *al-Tağr al-Bāsīm* , p.403

¹⁶³ Ibn Tağrībirdī , *al-Nuğūm* , VI, pp. 3590387; al-Nūwaīrī, *Zubdt* , pp.111-116

¹⁶⁴ *al-Maḥmal* is a type of richly decorated palanquin perched on a camel and serving transport pilgrims to Mecca . Annd heade by the help of *amīr ḥāğğ* (leader of the pilgrimage) .See: EI. Art .Maḥmal, VI, pp.44-46; Jomier. Jacques, *Le mahmal et le caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque* , Caire, 1953

¹⁶⁵ al-Maqrīzī , *al-Sulūk* , VI , p.289

¹⁶⁶ al-Maqrīzī , *al-Sulūk* , II, p.361 ;Ibn Tağrībirdī , *al-Manhal* , VII, p.123

¹⁶⁷ al-Maqrīzī , *al-Sulūk* , VI , p.290

¹⁶⁸ Inundation of the Nile, *Wafā' al-Nīl* , In which two processes took place to anoint the Nilometer and the other to cut the canal . When the water reached sixteen cubits , a formal annoucent was sent to the sultan . The preparation of anointment of the Nilometer begins as soon as the sultan receives a word that the water is close to the inundation. On the day of the anointment , the sultan should go out in a procession to the western back of the Nile sailing with boats to cut the canal at same place of celebration . High officials should be there along with the sultan . See: EI2 , *Mawākib* , VI, p.851; Ibrāhīm Ḥasan , *al-Baḥarīyah fī 'Aṣr Salātīn al-Mamālīk* , Cairo , 1983, p.69; al-Šištāwī. Muḥammad , *Muntazahāt al-Qāhirah fī -l-'Aṣraīn al-Mamlūkī wa-l-'Uṭmānī* , Cairo, 1999, pp.302-309; Qāsim 'Abdū Qāsim , *Dirāsāt fī Tārīḥ Miṣr al-Iğtmā'ī* , Cairo , 1999, pp.135-139

¹⁶⁹ al-Maqrīzī , *al-Sulūk* , VI , p.303; Ibn Qādī Šubh , *Tārīḥ* , III, p.331

¹⁷⁰ al-ʿAīnī , *ʿIqd* , IV, p. 471; Ibn Šāhīn , *Zubdt* , p.401

¹⁷¹ al-ʿAīnī , *ʿIqd* , IV, p.434; Ibn Šāhīn , *Zubdt* , p.392