

Duties of Vizier during the Mamlūk Period (648-923 AH / 1250-1517 AD)

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Abstract: The duties of viziers are classified into essential and additional duties. As for the essential duties which were variable and diverse during the period of Mamlūk sultāns. The vizier had to attend the coronation of the sultān. The advice and opinion in management of the sultanate is one of the vizier's duties. Viziers also maintained the sultanate and was choosing employees and presenting them to the sultān.

Among duties of vizier, he wrote letters to sultān issued to princes and sultāns and showing letters to sultān issued to princes and sultāns and showing letters sent to sultān and replying them. Vizier also played role in country stability and ending chaos by celebrating the sultān to his position and maintaining his kingdom. The vizier was to supervise onto the resources of the state in its various forms of customs, taxes, as well as other resources that he used to supervise the salary payments for employers, soldiers and their expenses.

As for the additional duties, the vizier used to undertake seditions and revolutions whether inside or outside the state and calming down disputes. The vizier went with the sultān during hunting trips and had to attend the formal celebrations of sultān.

The viziers of the Mamlūk period paid great attention to the religious establishments and premises that were represented in mosques; where they constructed some mosques by the orders of their sultāns whereas some of the viziers established some mosques in their names to live eternally in their memory. Moreover, the viziers performed a vital role during the plague represented in the rinsing house of the dead that had stood as a great role during the spreading of plague.

The vizier used to hold the duties of the vizierate besides to an additional senior state job such as: al-Ustādārīyah (treasury house), private treasury and al-Dawādārīyah. Actually, both jobs were shared in some duties as vizierate was abolished several times in the Mamūk period and that is why the viziers practiced much of the duties of the Ustādārīyah.

Keywords: The Mamlūk Period, Essential duties, Additional duties, Vizier.

أعمال الوزير في العصر المملوكي (٦٤٨-٩٢٣ هـ / ١٢٥٠-١٥١٧ م)

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الملخص: اشتملت مهام الوزراء على شقين: الشق الأول المهام الأساسية كانت متنوعة خلال العصر المملوكي. كان الوزير يحضر تتويج السلطان، وإعطاء المشورة والرأي في إدارة السلطنة حفاظاً على السلطنة. علاوة على ذلك تنقية الموظفين وتقديمهم إلى السلطان.

من بين مهام الوزير، يكتب خطابات السلطان لتوجيهها للأمرء والسلاطين، كذلك يعرض عليه من الرسائل والخطابات الواردة إليه من السلاطين والأمرء. ومن مهام الوزير القيام بدور في استقرار البلاد وإنهاء الفوضى والحفاظ على السلطنة. وكذلك الحفاظ على موارد الدولة بمختلف أشكالها مثل: الجمارك والضرائب والموارد الأخرى التي استخدمها للإشراف على مدفوعات الرواتب لأصحاب العمل والجنود ونفقاتهم.

الشق الثاني: المهام الإضافية، اعتاد الوزير على القضاء على الفتن والثورات سواء داخل الدولة أو خارجها وتهدة الخلافات. ومن هذه المهام أيضاً زهاب الوزير أثناء قيام السلطان برحلات الصيد، كان يصطحب معه الوزير.

قد أولى الوزراء خلال العصر المملوكي إهتماماً كبيراً بالمنشآت والمباني الدينية التي كانت ممثلة في المساجد؛ حيث قاموا ببناء بعض المساجد بناءً على طلب السلاطين، في حين أن بعض الوزراء كان يطلق أسمائهم على المساجد تخليداً لذكراهم. وعلاوة على ذلك، لعب الوزراء دوراً حيوياً خلال انتشار الطاعون الممئل في بيت الموتى الذي كان له دوراً كبيراً أثناء انتشار هذا المرض.

كان الوزير يقوم بمهامه إلى جانب مهام وظائف إضافية مثل: الأستادارية (المسئول عن بيت المال)، والدوادارية (المسئول عن حمل الدواة). وقد أشتركت وظيفتي الوزارة والأستادارية في بعض المهام، السبب الذي أدى إلي قيام الوزراء بمهام الأستادارية.

الكلمات الدالة: العصر المملوكي، أعمال أساسية، أعمال إضافية، الوزير.

The position of the vizier has remained as exalted and prestigious during the Mamlūk period according to some historians especially during the Bahārī Mamlūk period(648-784 AH / 1250- 1382 AD)and during the times of the Circassians (784- 923AH / 1382-1517 AD).The classifications of the historians which present the position of the vizier, as well as his rank during the Mamlūk period. al-‘Umarī¹ (d. 749 AH / 1348AD), al-Subkī²(d. 771 AH / 1369 AD), Ibn Nāzīr al-Ġayš³ (d. 786AH / 1384 AD), al-Qalqašandī⁴(d. 821 AH / 1418 AD), al-Asadī⁵ (d. 854 AH / 1450 AD) and al-Sahmāwī⁶ (d. 868 AH / 1463 AD), classified vizier position in the second rank after the sultān, and when deputy sultanate (Nā’ib al-Salṭānah) was innovated, they classified vizier position in the third rank after the sultān and deputy sultanate. The duties of the vizier are divided into:

1) Essential duties:

Ibn Šāhīn stated that “who was in charge of vizierate, he had to make efforts to recover Mamlūk Sultanate’s issues by trying to fix things, encouraging the employees, using efficient men and employing them, so that who proved his sincerity, he promoted him and who showed disloyalty, he deposed him and paying attention to revenue sources, guarding the country’s doors adjusting the accounts and set justice in the country taxes”⁷.

The vizier had to attend the coronation of the sultān and give a speech in front of everyone during the coronation as happened in 659AH / 1261AD, the vizier Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā attended the coronation of al-Sultān Baybars⁸.

Powers of vizier were developed in handling affairs of the Islamic Country⁹.The powers given to the vizier were depended on how weak or strong was the Sultān¹⁰.The advice and opinion in management of the sultanate is one of the vizier’s duties¹¹.The

¹ Ahmad ibn Yahya Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, released by Ayman Fu’ād Saiyed(Cairo: IFAO,1985), 59.

² Tāj al-Dīn Abd al-Wahhāb ibnAlī Subkī, *Mu’īd al-ni’am wa mubīd al-niqam*, released by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Naḡḡār and Abū Zaid Šalabī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānǧi, 1948), 27.

³ Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Nāzīr al-Ġayš, *Tatqīf al-ta’rīf bil-muṣṭalaḥ al-šarīf* (Cairo: IFAO, 1987), 141.

⁴ Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Ahmad b. ‘Alī al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a’šā fī šinā’at al-inšā*, IV (Cairo:1913-1915), 28.

⁵ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīl al-Asadī *al-Taisīr wa-l-i’tibār wa-l-tahrīr wa-l-iḥtibār fī-ma yaḡib min ḥusn al-tadbīr wa-l-taṣaruf wa-l-iḥtibār*, released by ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaimāt (Cairo: 1968), 73.

⁶ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Sahmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim fī šinā’at al-kātib wa-l-kātim*, released by Ašraf Muḥammad Anas, I (Cairo: 2009), 391.

⁷ Halīl Ibn Šāhīn al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat kašf al-mamālik wa bayān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālik*, released by Paul Rawis (Paris: 1894), 95.

⁸ Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*, XIII (Cairo: Dar al Marefa, 2000), 235; al-Qalqašandī, *Mā’īr al-ināfah fī ma’ālim al-ḥilāfah*, released by ‘Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Faraḡ, II (Beirut: 1964), 113.

⁹ Ibn Nāzīr al-Ġayš, *Tatqīf al-ta’rīf*, 196; al-Sahmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim*, I, 391; II, 685.

¹⁰ Ibn al-‘Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Šaḍarāt al-ḡahab fī aḥbār man ḡahab*, VIII (Cairo:1931-1932), 22.

¹¹ Ahmad ibn Yahya Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *al-Ta’rīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-šarīf* (Cairo:1894), 93; al-

vizier was supposed to give advice and guidance to the sultān¹, if sultān asked from his vizier his opinion in affairs of state². Mamlūk sultāns were keen on consulting their viziers while appointing³. After death of Tāġ al-Dīn ibn Bint al-A'azz, al-Sultān al-Zāhīr Baybars appointed 'Abd Allah ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣadaqah al-Ṣafrāwī 665AH / 1267AD as the supreme judge by consulting the vizier Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā⁴. Also, al-Sultān al-Zāhīr Baybars appointed 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣā'ig in 669AH / 1270AD in Damascus jurisdiction by consulting his vizier⁵. The vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs advised al-Sultān al-Aṣraf Ḥalīl to appoint Badr al-Dīn in jurisdiction of the Egyptian Mansions after removing Ibn Bint al-A'azz in 690AH / 1290AD⁶. Sultān Lāġīn was acting as per advice of his vizier Faḥr al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥalīlī in 697AH / 1298AD. When the sultān decided to deduct salaries and people were worried, Faḥr al-Dīn advised al-Sultān Lāġīn to change his opinion, indeed the sultān changed his mind to deduct salaries⁷.

Viziers also maintained the sultanate⁸ as happened in 676 AH / 1277 AD, when Badr al-Dīn Bailbak did not reveal the death of al-Zāhīr Baybars al-Bunduqdārī fearing from Mongols' greed and removing power to his son Sa'īd Barakah Ḥān⁹. In most cases, vizier was choosing employees and presenting them to the sultān, as referred by al-Maqrīzī "he was appointing those who are going to take divan and religious positions". So if he found anyone who committed fault by mistake, he punished and deposed him and thank those who did good in their jobs¹⁰.

Among the duties of the vizier, especially if he was working in writing divan (Dīwān al-Inṣā'), which is a job of writing letters to sultān issued to princes and sultāns and showing letters sent to sultān and replying them¹¹, the vizier could do this duty when the sultān was absent¹². When Faḥr al-Dīn ibn Luqmān occupied the vizier position for al-Sultān al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, the Sultān asked about the person who could

Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaġhral-bāsim*, II, 685-686.

¹Ibn Nāzīr al-Ġayṣ, *Tatqīf al-ta'rīf*, 196.

²al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf*, p.93; al-Asadī, *al-Taisīr wa-l-i'tibār*, 107.

³al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 27.

⁴Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāyah*, XIII, 246; Badr al-Deen Mahmud ibn Ahmed al'Aynī, *Iqd al-ġumān fī tāriḥ ahl al-zamān*, released by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, II (Cairo:1988), 48.

⁵al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, VII, 333.

⁶Ibn al-Ġazrī, *Tāriḥ ibn al-Ġazrī*, released by 'Omar 'Abd al-Salām, I (Beirut: 1998), 53. See also: al-Baīyūmī Ismā'īl Shīrbīnī, *Muṣādarat al-amlāk fī al-dawlah al-islāmīyah 'aṣr salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, II (Cairo: 1997), 82.

⁷al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ġumān*, III, 412.

⁸al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaġhral-bāsim*, I, 392.

⁹al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ġumān*, III, 412.

¹⁰al-Asadī, *al-Taisīr wa-l-i'tibār wa-l-tahrīr*, 74; al-Zāhīrī, *Zubdat*, 56; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibā bi-dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-aṭār*, released by Ayman Fu'ād Saiyed, II (London: 2002), 440.

¹¹Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismā'īl Abū Ṣāmāh, *al-Rawḍatīyn fī aḥbār al-dawlatīyn*, I (Beirut: No date), 239.

¹²Abū Ṣāmāh, *al-Rawḍatīyn*, II, 125.

be in his behalf in the writing divan(Dīwān al-Inšā')¹, and appointed the vizier Faḥ al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir in this position in 690AH / 1290AD². Vizier also played role in country stability and ending of chaos by celebrating the sultān to his position and maintaining his kingdom³.

Who studies the vizier position during the Mamlūk sultanate period, he will note that the vizier was in charge of many other important duties. Al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl called for vizier Šams al-Dīn al-A'sar in Rabī' II 689AH / April 1290AD to check citadels⁴. Also, al-Sultān Lāğīn called for his vizier Sunqur al-A'sar in 700 AH / 1300 AD to inspect the fortresses and fit their conditions⁵.

The duties of the vizier were variable and diverse during the period of Mamlūk Sultāns. These duties were represented in equipping the fleet ships; as quipping all the requirements of the armada in wars⁶ and planning the requiring equipments for the soldiers⁷. In regards to the process of equipping the fleet ships by the vizier, it was a habit for the Mamlūk sultāns to assign their viziers to equipe and arrange the ships of the fleet before heading to the field of war. Best example representing this was al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl ibn Qalāwūn assigned to his vizier Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Sal'ūs to equipe warships in 692AH / 1292AD in Alexandria and Damietta. Also al-Sultān al-Nāšir Muḥammad assigned to his vizier 'Izz al-Dīn Aybakal-Bağdādī al-Manšūrī in 702AH / 1303AD to equipe warships to fight crusaders⁸. In 767 AH / 1366 AD al-Sultān Sultān al-Ašraf Nāšir al-Dīn Ša'bān assigned to his vizier Faḥr al-Dīn Māğid ibn Qazwīna to equipe warships to fight the crusaders⁹. Sultān used assign to his vizier at sometimes the mission of equipping the entire requirements of war or fights; as the vizier used to collect the money for the Sultān at the times of war¹⁰.

The vizier also had to help and check status of common people¹¹. In 748AH / 1347AD, the vizier Miņgak went to check common people with sultān al-Nāšir

¹Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Nuğūmal-zāhirah fī mulūk Mišr wa-l-Qāhirah*, released by Muḥammad Ramzī, X (Cairo:2005-2006), 189-191.

²Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ ibn al-Furāt*, released by Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Šammā', VIII (Beirut:1938), 125.

³al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf*, 149; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 90; Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Šaḍarāt*, V, 299-300.

⁴Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Nuğūm*, X, 189-191.

⁵al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi'bi-l-wafiyāt*, IV (Beirut: 1971), 372; al-Kutbī, *Fawāt-al-Wafiyāt wa-l-dail'alaiḥā*, released by Eḥsān'Abbās, II (Beirut:1973), 541; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat dūwal al-mulūk*, released by Muḥammad Muštafā Ziyādah, I (Cairo:1934), 788; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Zāhirī, *Nail al-amal fī dail al-dūwal*, released by 'Abd al-Salām Tadmury, VIII (Beirut: 2002), 16.

⁶al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thağhr-al-bāsim*, II, 686; Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, 156.

⁷Ibn Nāzir al-Ġayš, *Tatqīf al-ta'rīf*, 196.

⁸al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thağhr-al-bāsim*, II, 686; Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, 156.

⁹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 113; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duḥūr*, released by Muḥammad Muštafā Ziyādah, I (Cairo: 2008), 27-28.

¹⁰Baybars al-Dawādārī, *Muḥtār al-aḥbār*, released by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Šāliḥ (Beirut:1993), 115-116; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 907; al-Zāhirī, *Zubdat*, 130. See also: Munīrah, "Le vizirat en a l'epoque mamluk", *Revue Tunisienne de sciene socials* (Tunis: 1973), 102.

¹¹al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 27; al-Asadī, *al-Taisīr wa-l-i'tibār*, 73, 108.

Ḥasan¹. The viziers played a great role in constructing bridges over the River Nile and reforming canals. In 749AH / 1348AD al-sultān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad assigned the vizier Miṅgak al-Yūsufī to supervise the construction of the bridges over the River Nile to help pushing the water from the direction of Giza towards Cairo, where many people complained the drought and dryness of land, beside the high price of water due to this matter; thus it was imposed to collect the required amounts of money to construct this bridge². Al-Sultān Barsbāy ordered his vizier Karīm al-Dīn ibn Kātib al-Manāḥ in 840AH / 1436AD to execute digging Alexandria bay³.

It is worth mentioning that some viziers in the Mamlūk period were known to be significantly genius in the monetary matters and administration that availed then the ability to increase of the state's resources in a remarkable manner⁴. The vizier was to supervise onto the resources of the state in its various forms of customs⁵, taxes, as well as other resources that he used to supervise the salary payments for employers, soldiers and their expenses; that is to say that the vizier was the first responsible official in regards to the monetary affairs of the state⁶.

Ibn Ḥaldūn referred to this saying "The vizier is the one who is responsible for collecting the money of state of its various types and forms as in customs, taxes, collection then to disburse the required amounts related to Sultān's expenses or the other estimated amounts⁷". It was mentioned that the vizier Šams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm known as Kātib Arlān; when he was appointed to handle the responsibility of the vizierate position in 785 AH / 1383 AD, he made his duties in such a significant perfect manner⁸, and he managed to enrich the treasury houses with extra money where these treasures held about sixty thousand dinar per month⁹.

¹Abū-l-Fidā, *al-Muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-bašar*, VI (Cairo: No date), 25,32; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-bašar*, II (Cairo: 1985), 432.

²al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 168; Ibn Qāḍī Šuhbah, *Tārīḥ ibn Qāḍī Šuhbah*, released by 'Adnān Darwīš, IV (Damascus:1997),367; al-Saḥāwī, *Waḡīzal-kaḷām fī-l- dāil al-tām 'alā dūwal al-islām*, I (Beirut: 1995),p.371; *al-Dāil al-tām 'alā dūwal al-islām*, I (Kūwait: 1992), 431. See also: Munīrah, "Levizirat", 101; Qāsim' Abduh Qāsim, *Ahl al-ḍimmaḥfī Mišr fī- l- 'uṣūr al-wuṣṭā* (Cairo:1979), 177.

³Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-l-abdān fī tawārīḥ al-zamān*, released by Ḥasan Ḥabašī, III (Cairo: 1970), 381; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, II, 173.

⁴al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 569.

⁵al-Makūs each collected money to Sultān's office or to those land owners or to state employees outside the legitimate taxation. al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 27; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XV, 121.

⁶al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rif*, 149; al-Qalqašandī, *Subḥ*, IV, 28-29. See also: Munīrah, "Levizirat", 99; al-Baīyūmī Ismā'īl Shīrbīnī, *al-Nuḡūm al-mālīyah fī Mišr wa-l-Šām zaman salāṭīn al-mamālīk* (Cairo: 1998), 128.

⁷al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 27; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqadim ibn Ḥaldūn* (Beirut:1993), 132; al-Qalqašandī, *Subḥ*, IV, 29; V, 465; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, II, 214,305.

⁸al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 569.

⁹al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim*, I, 393-394; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XI, 97; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 260. See also: Aḥmad Muṣṭafā', "al-Muḡtama' al-Miṣrī fī-l-'ahd al-mamlūkī wa-aṭar al-ḥayāh al-sīyāsīyah fih", (ph.D. diss., unpublished, Faculty of Dār al-'Ulūm, Department of Islamic History and Islamic Civilization, Cairo University, Cairo: 1988), 209-210.

The vizier is to guarantee the money of the state's treasury¹ annually and perform its related fees and by collecting the required money shall be put in the treasury house². The Mamlūk viziers were famous of their proficiency and sufficiency in financial matters and administration, enabling them to increase the resources of the state³. Moreover the Sultān used to go out with nation to do prayers pleading God for rain when the Nile decreases⁴. In 822 AH / 1419 AD, al-Sultān Mu'ayyad Šayḥ went with nations and his vizier Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Naṣr Allah to do prayers pleading God⁵.

Any of the viziers who were appointed to hold this post was to abide by advancing the missions of the state and the affairs of the sultanate and to bear its burdens, solve its imbalances, fix its stumbling matters, increase its money, utilize the calibers and appoint pious to resume with tasks given and warn them the outcome of committing injustice⁶, observe the status of the state, pay attention and care to keep surveillance, be aware whether secretly or publicly of their words and actions; any of them who shall be found as forgetful of the required duties, dropped apart from their sights and visions or committed mistakes and errors without any purposes shall be alerted; whereas those who shall perform their duties perfectly shall be reaping the fruitful results of their deeds where they should be prioritizing the rights of the nation; such deeds they must be thanked for and shall be granted with high ranks; whilst those who betrayed their covenants and made lose to the pledges given for the state must be subjected to penalties; must be regulating the money and its calculations and adhering to execute justice and fairness⁷. The Sultān is to supervise the missions and duties performed by the vizier and the resulting matters due to such views and planning; thus approving the correct decisions and adjusting those which require this action from his side⁸.

2) Additional duties:

The vizier used to undertake sedition and revolutions whether inside or outside the state, the best example of this was the vizier al-As'ad al-Fā'izī who accompanied a group of soldiers to eradicate the sedition and revolutions of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Baġdādī al-Manšūrī in upper Egypt in 653AH / 1255AD, yet the vizier al-As'ad was able to calm the situation⁹. Also, it was among the vizier's duties, he got out with the Sultān

¹al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf*, 93.

²al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am*, 27; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 90.

³al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 6; al-Asadī, *al-Taisīr wa-l-i'tibār*, 73.

⁴al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 739. See also: Muḥammad Ġamāl al-Dīn Surūr, *Dawlat banī Qalāwūn fī Miṣr* (Cairo: No date), 328-329; 'Uṭmān 'Alī Muḥammad, *al-Azmāt al-iqtisādīyah fī-l-'aṣr al-mamlūkī wa-aṭarihā al-sīyāsī wa-l-iqtisādī wa-l-iġtimā'ī (648-923 AH / 1250-1517 AD)* (Cairo: No date), 174.

⁵Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XIV, 77-79; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, II, 455-456.

⁶al-Asadī, *al-Taisīr wa-l-i'tibār*, 107.

⁷al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf*, 93; al-Saḥmāwī, *al-Thaġhral-bāsim*, I, 358.

⁸Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, IV, 46. See also: Munīrah, "Le vizirat", 115; Ġars al-Dīn Ḥalīl, *Zubdat kaṣf al-mamālīk wa ba'iyān al-ṭuruq wa-l-masālīk* (Beirut: 1997), 78-79.

⁹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 396.

to stand against the rebels on the Sultān, the vizier shall be accompanying the Sultān to face and fight those who revolt or cause riots against him and protect him and keep him away from danger, as the vizier Saṅḡar al-Šuḡā'ī accompanied al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl to force siege of Damascus in 687 AH / 1288 AD¹. The vizier ibn al-Sal'ūs prepared his soldiers to Damscus in Šafar 692AH / January 1293AD then he took the treasures there. Also the vizier Sunqur al-A'sar based on the wish of al-Sultān al-Mansūr Lāḡīn to Damascus to gather people around his sultānate, he was able to handle the entire issue until the Levant surrendered to him².

It was sometimes assigned to the vizier to put down the revolution or sedition. The vizier Sunqur al-A'sar in 700AH / 1300AD accompanied a huge number of Mamlūks according to al-Sultān al-Nāšir's wish to put down the revolution of the orbans ('Urbān)³, those who used to do sedition and revolution in upper Egypt against the Mamlūk Sultān especially upon finding the state occupied with Ġazān movement, the king of Ṭaṭār, so the vizier beat them and killed a large number of them; as al-Maqrīzī described this by saying:"The vizier Šams al-Dīn killed those bunch of corrupting groups,took over the rest horses in the upper lands"⁴. This vizier was able to collect much money which reached hundred thousand dinar⁵.

In 727 AH / 1327 AD there was a sedition in Alexandria; its main reason was that one of the foreign trade men fought with one of the muslim men⁶; when this incident reached Rukn al-Dīn, the ruler of Alexandria⁷,he tried his best to overcome this sedition but, his attempt turned to be a failure. Consequently al-Sultān al-Nāšir Muḡammad ibn Qalāwūn was informed by this matter and asked him to interfere to calm down these eruptings matters⁸.Al-Sultān moreover sent the vizier 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡliṭāy al-Ġamālī to Alexandria to eradicate such sedition until the vizier reached Alexandria and executed the entire of what the Sultān ordered him to⁹.

¹al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*, IV, 372; Baybars al-Dawādār, *al-Tuḡfah al-mulūkīyah fī-l-dawlah al-Turkīyah* (Beirut:1987), 163-164.

²al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*, IV, 372; al-Kutbī, *al-Wafīyāt*, II, 541; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 788.

³'Urbān: The tribes who entered Egypt with the Arab conquest. These tribes were scattered north and south and they did not incorporate with the Egyptians. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'ammā bi arḡi Mišr min al-a'rāb* (Cairo:1989), 7. See also: Māḡid 'Abd al-Rašīd, *al-Qaryah al-Mišrīyah fī 'ašr salāṭīn al-mamālīk* (Cairo:1999), 104.

⁴Baybars al-Dawādār, *Muḡtār al-aḡbār*, 115-116; *Zubdataf-fīkrah fī tāriḡ al-ḡīrah*, released by Zubaidah Maḡmūd 'Atā, IX (Cairo: 2001), 335; Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāyah*, XII, 317; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 907,914; Ibn Qādī Šuhbah, *Tāriḡ ibn Qādī Šuhbah*, IV, 149-150; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ḡumān*, IV, 173. See also: Munīrah,"Le vizirat", 102, 104.

⁵al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 907. See also: 'Uṭmān 'Alī Muḡammad, *al-Azamāt al-iqtīšādīyah*, 132.

⁶al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāzirfī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāšir*, released by Aḡmad Ḥuṭait (Beirut:1986), 334-335; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, 284.

⁷Ruler: The one who supervise and governs the governate, where in Egypt there was fourteen governates in in both northern and southern Egypt. The ruler was to be appointed in accordance to an issued decree from the Sultān and to grant him the special uniform, horse at the day of his appointment the basic job of the governate was more like police works. al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḡ*, III, 26-28.

⁸al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāzir*, 335; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, 285.

⁹al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāzir*, 435-436; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, 285-286.

Also, we can not forget the role of the vizier in calming down disputes, as it is clear from the Mamlūk sources in 748 AH / 1347 AD, dispute happened between Vice person (Nā'ib al-saltānah) and vizier Miṅgak's brother who interfered and reconciled between them¹. Also, the vizier Yašbak al-Dawādār went out for fighting more than once against the Orban ('Urbān), those who used to do sedition and revolution against the rule of the Mamlūk Sultāns. He was able to cease these seditions and revolutions within the state with brilliance and efficiency in 873 AH / 1468 AD². Also, the vizier Yašbak al-Dawādār traveled in the same year to al-Baḥarah to fight the Orban ('Urbān) who were not in obedience and deterred them³. In this manner, it is apparent that the viziers of the Mamlūk period played an important role to cease seditions and revolutions within the state with brilliance and efficiency⁴.

A man with a personality, who was favorable to sultān was appointed in the vizierate, this made the vizier expand his duties, until he became dominate over others. The Mamlūk sources fortold, when al-Sultān al-Zāhir Baybars went to the Levant in 659AH / 1261AD, he commissioned to his vizier the matters of the state⁵. When the vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs returned to the vizierate in Muḥarram 690AH / January 1291AD, also al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl commissioned to his vizier the matters of the state⁶. During the reign of al-Sultān al-Nāšir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, he ordered his vizier 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Baḡdādī in 702AH / 1303AD to equip the required ammunition and to get prepared for fighting the Crusaders⁷.

The vizier went with the Sultān during hunting trips⁸. In 661AH / 1262AD, Bahā' al-Dīn went before al-Sultān Baybars to Alexandria to organize everything before the coming of the Sultān to hunt⁹. The vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs accompanied al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl in a hunting trip in Muḥarram 692-693AH / December 1292-1293AD¹⁰. The same happened in 703AH / 1303AD, when al-Sultān al-Nāšir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn went in hunting to the lake, but it was not a lake, it was a well known city in Alexandria in

¹Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *Ḥawādīṭal-duhūr fī madā al-aīyām wa-l- šuhūr*, released by William Popper, II (California: 1990), 574, 577.

²Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *Ḥawādīṭ*, II, 695; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Inbā' al-ḥašr bi-anbā' al- 'ašr*, released by Ḥasan Ḥabašī (Cairo: 1970), 44-45.

³Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *Ḥawādīṭ*, II, 707; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Inbā'*, 46.

⁴Ibn al-Ġazrī, *Tārīḥ ibn al-Ġazrī*, II, 74.

⁵al-Asadī, *al-Taisīr wa-l-i'tibār*, 73; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, X, 27.

⁶Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, X, 27.

⁷Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *al-Durrah al-ḍakīyah fī aḥbār al-dawlah al-turkīyah*, released by Olrich Harmann, VIII (Cairo: 1971), 172; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 931; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, VIII, 156. See also: Ḥasan al-Bāšā, *al-Funūn al-islāmīyah wa-l- waḏā'if 'alā al-āṭār al-'arabīyah*, III (Cairo: 1965), 1335.

⁸al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 262.

⁹Abū Šāmāh, *al-Rawḍatīn*, II, 125; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, released by 'Abd al-'Azīz Ḥūwaitār (Riadh: 1976), 360; al-Nūwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, III (Cairo: 1999), 170.

¹⁰Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *al-Durrah al-ḍakīyah*, VIII, 345.

Egypt, that included many villages¹, and his vizier Muḥammad ibn al-Šayḥī accompanied him to prepare an accommodation to the Sulṭān².

The vizier had to attend the formal celebrations of the Sulṭān. After ending the building of al-Madrasa al-Zāhirīyah, at Bein al-Qaṣrīyn in Cairo 662AH / 1264AD, a big celebration was held for this occasion which was attended by Bahā' al- Dīn ibn Ḥannā. In 674AH / 1276AD the vizier Bahā' al- Dīn ibn Ḥannā attended the marriage party of al-Sa'īd Barakah Ḥān, son of Sulṭān al-Zāhir Baybars, to Gāzīyah Ḥātūn, daughter of Saif al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Alfī. The marriage was in the citadel of the Mountain and the celebration was attended by the Sulṭān, judges, senior employees and princes³. The vizier attended the marriage celebration such as the marriage of Badr al-Dīn Bailbak to the daughter of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', ruler of Al-Mosul⁴. The vizier was honored in celebrations and the citadel's celebrations, especially when considering complaints which the Sulṭān paid attention to viziers 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak, Badr al-Dīn Baidār and 'Alam al-Dīn Saṅṅar al-Šuḡā'ī whose march was better than the Sulṭān's march in 693 AH / 1293 AD as Ibn Taḡrī Birdī said⁵.

The viziers of the Mamlūk period paid great attention to the religious establishments and premises that were represented in mosques; as they constructed some mosques by their Sulṭāns' orders whereas some viziers established some mosques in their names to live eternally in their memory⁶. The viziers of the Mamlūk period were occupied by building mosques as the Mamlūk sources state that the vizier 'Alī ibn Sadīd al-Dīn dedicated most of his time for the establishment of al-Zāhir mosque in al-Ḥisānīyah beside his establishment to al-Nafīsa School and a dome in al-Zuqāq in old Cairo in 667 AH / 1268 AD⁷. On the top of these viziers comes the vizier Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā and his sons; as he spoke with Sulṭān al-Zāhir Baybars in regards to the construction of a mosque in the location of Qāḍī al-Faḍīl establishment and to replace it by a mosque. Al-Zāhir Baybars approved his request then the mosque was established in 671 AH / 1272AD⁸.

We could also know from the Mamlūk sources that the vizier Faḥr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī established the mosque of Dir al-Ṭīn and Ribāṭ al-Aṭār near by al-Ḥabaš lake in addition to his purchasing some of Nabaweya monuments that were estimated with a value of sixty thousand silver dirham⁹. Likewise the vizier 'Alam al-Dīn ibn Saṅṅar al-Šuḡā'ī

¹Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'ğam al-buldān*, released by Farīd 'Abd al-'Azīz, I (Beirut: No date), 417.

²al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ğumān*, IV, 320.

³al-Yūnīnī, *Daīl mir'at al-zamān*, VII (Cairo:1992), 229-230; al-Nūwayrī, *Nihāyat*, XXX, 223; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ ibn al-Furāt*, VII, 51; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, IV, 378-379; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ğumr bi-abnā' al-'umr*, released by Ḥasan Ḥabašī, III (Cairo:1969), 491.

⁴Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 129; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ğumān*, III, 75.

⁵Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, 51.

⁶al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, IV, 427.

⁷Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, I, 128.

⁸al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, IV, 298. See also: Muḥammad al-Šištāwī, *Mutanazihāt al-Qāhirah fī-l-'aṣrīyn al-mamlūkī wa-l-'uṣmānī* (Cairo:1999), 35.

⁹al-Kutbī, *al-Wafīyāt*, II, 95; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 447; *al-Ḥiṭat*, IV, 92; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuğūm*, VIII, 58.

participated in the construction of the hospital (al-Bimaristān) al-Manṣūrī and a school in the direction between the two castles in the street of al-Mu'iz li-Dīn Allah al-Fāṭimī in a short span of time; reflected a remarkable great work that was ended in 693 AH / 1293 AD¹. The Vizier was responsible for irrigation system and canal digging². Al-Sultān Barsbāy ordered his vizier Karīm al-Dīn ibn Kātib al-Manāḥ in 840 AH / 1436 AD to execute digging Alexandria bay that was filled with sand³; in addition to the dams, that were constructed by the orders of some viziers throughout the Mamlūk period that were constructed in accordance with the orders of the vizier al-As'ad Šaraf al-Dīn al-Fā'izī⁴.

In 668AH / 1298AD, vizier Faḥr al-Dīn ibn 'Umar performed role of judge, chiefdom senate, teaching of law in Cairo and al-Mašhad al-Ḥusainī and his speech in al-Azhar mosque⁵. In 687 AH / 1288 AD the vizier Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Bint al-A'azz performed jurisdiction beside the vizierate⁶. In 690AH / 1291AD, the vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs supervised the readers, šayḥ and judges meeting to celebrate the memorial of Sultān Qalāwūn's death⁷, as it was a great day where money grants were collected⁸. In some occasions the Sultān was responsible for delegating the vizier to appoint judges. In 691 AH / 1291AD, the vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs was delegated as when the sultān issued his decrees in the house of Justice for Ibn al-Sal'ūs to prepare the appointing of Ibn Bint al-A'azz as Judge in Damascus and to prepare for this honoring celebration rituals⁹. In 693AH / 1293AD, Saṅḡar al-Šuḡā'ī attended the jurisdiction of the four judges¹⁰.

Mamlūk sources reveal that among the vizier's duties is to impose taxes, expenses of the Sultān's Kitchen and waterwheels¹¹. The viziers of the Mamlūk period imposed taxes and even worked to increase this imposition in order to collect money for Sultāns via various ways and methods¹²; as the vizier al-As'ad al-Fā'izī had imposed taxes and numerous grievances that he issued to impose onto trade men¹³ to be collected from

¹Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Šadarāt*, IV, 358.

²al-Saḥāwī, *Waḡīz al-kalām*, I, 372; *al-Dail al-tām*, I, 431.

³Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, III, 381; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, II, 173.

⁴al-Qāyāsir: are series of general buildings including industries, housing and mosques for the muslim trade men at the top of its floors for trade men to inhabit. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 89. See also: Muḥammad Ġamāl al-Dīn Surūr, *al-Dawlah al-faṭimīyahfī Mišrsīyāsathā al-dāḥilīyah wa-maḡāhir al-ḥaḍārah fī 'ahdihā* (Cairo:1979), 159.

⁵al-Kutbī, *'Uyūn al-tawārīḡ* (Beirut:1974), 51.

⁶al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 742. See also: Yusrī Aḥmad 'Abd Allah, "al-Fuqahā' wa-l-'āmahfī Mišr wa-l-Šāmfī-l-qamaīyn al-sāds wa-l-sābi' al-ḥaḡrīyn", (Ph.D. diss., unpublished, Faculty of Dār al-'Ulūm, Cairo University, Cairo: 1996), 456.

⁷Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḡ ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 129; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-ḡumān*, III, 75.

⁸Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḡ ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 129; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 774.

⁹Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, X, 191. See also: Ḥasan al-Bāšā, *al-Funūn al-islāmīyah*, III, 1335.

¹⁰al-Nūwayrī, *Nihāyat*, XXIX, 294.

¹¹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 320-321; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, I, 61.

¹²Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Inbā'*, 38. See also: Munīrah, "Le vizirat", 104.

¹³al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 384; *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 90.

their sides adding to establishing the evaluations¹ onto the properties of others to collect collect out of which excess of money, he even imposed taxes onto horses, camels, donkeys and others and onto slaves and maids².

Beside the imposing of taxation by double³ onto Christians and Jews⁴, annual taxes onto what they own of animals and servants were also imposed. To the highest extent of his brutality he used to collect this money by himself. The imposing of taxes reached its highest at the time of the vizier al-As'ad al-Fā'izī to reach 600 thousand dinars, whereas the vizier Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā committed great events where he used to measure the property of lands to collect money based on it⁵; the vizier al-Amir 'Alam al-Dīn Saṅṅar al-Šuḡā'ī imposed huge amounts onto the trade men of Damascus who came to Cairo in 687 AH / 1288 AD⁶. Vizier Sunqur al-A'sar imposed taxes after defeating al-Sulṭān al-Nāšir by the Mongols⁷. Yet other viziers decreased the imposing of such taxation as much as possible and even cancelled some other forms of it; the vizier 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Tāḡ al-Dīn ibn Bint al-A'azz performed a significant role in cancelling the taxes that were extracted from the people's properties every year with a value of two- month fees for the war against the Mongols⁸.

The vizier Badr al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad cancelled the taxes of grains in 799 AH / 1397 AD⁹. The vizier Yašbak al-Dawādār cancelled many taxes in Ġumādā II- Rabī I 873 AH / October-November 1468 AD¹⁰, also in 901 AH / 1495 AD, the vizier Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar annulled various taxes and grievances and if he remained for a long time; the people of Egypt would have lived a better life¹¹. In regards to the above matter, the vizier addressed Šihāb al-Dīn ibn 'Ibādah, representative of the Sulṭān, in taxes affaires and properties to prepare what was needed by Sulṭān¹². Some viziers annulled some women clothes to save some of the disbursed money for the state; the vizier Miṅḡak al-

¹Evaluation is the performed assessment and evaluation to each statistically range of houses in order to avail the process of imposing the taxation onto them, deep-freezing shall carry the same meaning that is to statistically calculate existing houses and real estate in order to perform the same purpose. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 84.

²al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 384; *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 90.

³al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 384.

⁴Its singular is community that is referred to Ahl al-ḍammah (of other religions) they were named as such referring to 'Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb of Arabs lands. al-Qalqašandī, *Subḥ*, III, 462-463.

⁵His period as a vizier (648-655 AH / 1251-1257 AD). al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 370. See also: Munīrah, "Levizirat", 104; Shirbīnī, *Muṣādarat al-amlāk*, I, 236.

⁶al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 739. See also: Muḥammad Ġamāl al-Dīn Surūr, *Dawlat banī Qalāwūn*, 328-329; 'Uṭmān 'Alī Muḥammad, *al-Azamāt al-iqtisādīyah*, 174.

⁷Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, I, 430-431.

⁸Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-'iṣr'an quḍāt Miṣr*, released by Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Miḡīd, II (Cairo:1961), 378.

⁹Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, III, 321; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, I, 446.

¹⁰Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, III, 39.

¹¹Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, III, 39; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, III, 336.

¹²al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ḡumān*, IV, 322.

Yūsufī was best to describe this example; he ordered to annual the most updated forms of cloths of women wear¹.

In 693 AH / 1293 AD Saṅḡar al-Šuḡā'ī was charged of money teller job in Damascus supervision of divan and ruling of Cairo, and also was mandated by al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl to perform Nā'ib al-Saltānah besides the vizierate². The vizier was accompanied the Sultān in his travel and prepared what the Sultān needed³. In the same year al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl ordered his vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs to travel to Alexandria to prepare for residency and the necessary money for his travel⁴. As the Mamlūk sources reveal more about the job of the vizier related to collecting money from the public that took place in 700 AH / 1300 AD when the viziers agreed upon distributing the taxes onto the rich trade men, rich people mandated for this mission Sunqur al-A'sar who conducted his mission of collecting money from people and obtained more than two hundred thousand dinars⁵. Al-Sultān Šalāḥ al-Dīn ibn al-Nāšir Muḡammad ibn Qalāwūn ordered his vizier vizier 'Alam al-Dīn ibn Zanbūr in 753 AH / 1352 AD to prepare him the necessary money for his travel⁶ to al-Šām lands to settle some of the matters thereabouts⁷. The vizier Ibn Zanbūr stated that he got no sufficient money; accordingly he issued for him a decree to impose the required taxation from the trade men, those are group of trade men who traded spices imported from India. They were known by this name as a reference to their place of birth of Karem⁸, thus he sold for them grains with current price and moreover the vizier sent to prince Muḡliṭāy al-Ġamālī in Alexandria and ordered him to impose four hundred thousand silver dirhams, whohe complied to this order and took from the princes much money. It was less than a week that the vizier equipped and prepared all the requirements and needs of the Sultān for his travel⁹.

Rising the prices of grains during times of crises and the attempts of increasing its profit, to take over the money of people through illegal ways; the matter that led to enlarging the crisis which was one of the reasons during the famine times that hit Egypt in 694 AH / 1295 AD that the stocks were emptied of grains when the Nile water excess ceased at that time due to al-Sultān al-Ašraf Ḥalīl ibn Qalāwūn used to distribute these grains onto princes before his death. After the crisis hit the state resulting from the shortage of River Nile waters; the vizier Faḡr al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥalīl never found any storage thus was obliged to buy provender for storage which consequently led to higher

¹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, 810; *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 322.

²al-Nūwayrī, *Nihāyat*, XXIX, 294.

³al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf*, 115.

⁴Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, X, 27.

⁵Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, I, 430-431, 441.

⁶Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taḡkirat al-nabīḥfī aīyām al-Manšūr wa banīh*, released by Muḡammad Muḡammad Amīn, III (Cairo:1976), 148, 175; al-Qalqašandī, *Subḥ*, IV, 43; Ibn Ḥaḡr al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durarat-kāminah fī a'yān al-mi'ah al-tāminah*, II (Cairo:1954), 302.

⁷al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, 868.

⁸al-Nūwayrī, *Nihāyat*, XXXI, 149.

⁹Ibn al-Ġazrī, *Tārīḡ ibn al-Ġazrī*, I, 389; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, 869.

prices due to this action¹. Some other viziers interfered to determine the prices of some commodities especially grains. The vizier Šams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm was of the most viziers who were caused a lot of harm affecting the prices of grains to a great extent in 788 AH / 1370 AD².

Some of those viziers of the Mamlūk period was represented in abiding by providing the food for some of the poor during the entire length of this period throughout the crisis time³. Some viziers misused the circumstances that an epidemic was spreading resulting the death of many people so as to take over their money despite their inheritance rights for instance what the vizier Faḥr al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥalīlī had committed by taking over a huge amount of inherited money to others which was collected as debts as per observing the statistical daily death in 697 AH / 1298 AD⁴.

Moreover, the vizier Yašbak al-Dawādār performed a vital role during the plague that hit Cairo in 873AH /1468AD, when people used to die on the streets accumulating one over the other and most of them were transferred to places outside the borders of Cairo; to perform washing and burial of the dead during the spreading of an epidemic, he ordered to establish a rinsing house. This rinsing house for the dead lead to the establishment of other huge houses by the vizier Yašbak al-Dawādār during the spreading of the plague at the same time as what happened in 881 AH / 1476 AD which was considered the best establishment the vizier Yašbak al-Dawādār had ever done⁵.

The rinsing house of the dead that was established by him had stood of a great role during the spreading of a plague that took place in the reign of al-Sulṭān Qāitbāy (872-901 AH / 1467-1496 AD) in 897 AH / 1491 AD which continued over a long period of time till it was deconstructed; only remaining few architectural parts of it⁶. It is apparent throughout this display the importance given by the viziers to the religious establishments for being closer to God and to let their memories live eternally⁷.

In 702 AH / 1302 AD the vizier Sunqur al-A'sar made some restoration of al-Azhar mosque⁸. The vizier Muḡliṭāy al-Ġamālī established al-Tuba mosque. It was known with such name due to the spreading of corruption in the location the mosque was built on⁹. Al-Maqrīzī moreover stated in this regards "Its location was the place of corruptive

¹Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 196; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 808-809; 'Uṭmān 'Alī Muḥammad, *al-Azamāt al-iqtisādīyah*, 174.

²al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 553; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā'*, II, 223; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, I, 143; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, I, 379.

³Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, I, 425.

⁴Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ ibn al-Furāt*, VIII, 196; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 808-809. See also: 'Uṭmān 'Alī Muḥammad, *al-Azamāt al-iqtisādīyah*, 174.

⁵Ibn Aḡā, *Tārīḥ al-amīr Yašbak al-Zāhirī*, released by 'Abd al-Qādir Aḡmad Ṭulimāt (Cairo:1973), 18; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, III, 130. See also: Ḥāmid Zaiyān Ġānim, *al-Azamāt al-iqtisādīyah wa-l-awbi'ah fi Mišr 'ašr salāṭīn al-mamālīk* (Cairo:1976), 112.

⁶Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, III, 196. See also: Maḡmūd Rizk Salīm, *Mawsū'at 'ašr salāṭīn al-mamālīk wanitāḡuh al-'ilmīwa-l-adabī*, I (Cairo:1966), 263.

⁷al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 326-327. See also: Muḥammad al-Šištāwī, *Mutanazihāt al-Qāhirah*, 173.

⁸al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 802; *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 304; Ibn Ḥaḡr al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, IV, 314.

⁹Ibn al-Ġazrī, *Tārīḥ ibn al- Ġazrī*, II, 380; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 314.

people and those of view points; and when the vizier 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡliṭāy al-Ġamālī established the Ḥānqāh known by al-Ġamālīyah near by Cairo, he abhorred such locations and consequently destructed them and replaced them by the mosque which was given the name of al-Tuba"¹. The vizier Miṅḡak al-Yūsufī participated in establishing mosques; as stated by Ibn Iyās: "He left a good trace by his participating in building mosques in Egypt and al-Šām"², where he established, during his rule in Egypt, a mosque as identified by al-Maqrīzī under the Citadel of al-Ġabal at the exit door of the vizier"³. As for the Ḥawāniq; the viziers had not given them but minor attention throughout the Mamlūk period. There were three examples only for the construction of Ḥawāniq by the orders given by some viziers at that time back then. First example; the vizier 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡliṭāy al-Ġamālī al-Nāṣirī established Ḥānqāh and availed there a Sheik for mentoring and appointed a salary for him. As al-Nūwayrī described this by stating "Vizier 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡliṭāy al-Ġamālī al-Nāṣirī had established Ḥānqāh before his house in Ras Darb in Cairo; its architecture was completed in 730 AH / 1329 AD"⁴. The other example related to the vizier Miṅḡak al-Yūsufī as Ibn Taḡrī Birdī and Ibn Iyās referred about his death and burial in Ḥānqāh⁵, without referring to any details in regards. As for the third and last example is related to the building that was established by vizier Naḡm al-Dīn Maḡmūd 'Alī Šarwīn known as Wazīr Baḡdād and its location in al-Qarāfah⁶.

The viziers of the Mamlūk period were interested in establishing the cemeteries; the most important of which is Bāb al-Wazīr that was established by the vizier Naḡm al-Dīn Maḡmūd in 742 AH / 1341 AD at the eastern wall to avail people to pass through between the city and the cemetery that is located outside this wall; and it was known since then by the name Bāb al-Wazīr until now⁷. In 770 AH / 1369 AD the vizier Šams al-Dīn 'Abdallah al-Maqṣī renewed al-Maqṣī mosque and painted it; this mosque is considered one of the oldest mosques in Egypt⁸; since it was renewed by the vizier Šams al-Dīn 'Abdallah al-Maqṣī it was thought by the public that it is al-Maqṣī's mosque thinking that he was the one who established it however he had only renewed it⁽⁹⁾. As described by Ibn Taḡrī Birdī by stating "It was a nice mosque filled with religious rituals and mounted by a beautiful minaret"¹⁰. In 814 AH / 1401 AD the vizier Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Bašīrī deconstructed Birkat al-Raṭlī mosque that was named as a reference to

¹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 314-315.

²Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, I, 149.

³al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 32.

⁴al-Nūwayrī, *Nihāyat*, XXXIII, 302-303.

⁵Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XI, 134; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, I, 149.

⁶Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, X, 183.

⁷Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *Hawādīt*, I, 166; *al-Nuḡūm*, I, 180.

⁸This mosque was built by Faṭimīd Caliph al-Ḥākim Bi'amr Allah Abū'Alī Maṣṣūr Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz in 393 AH / 1002 AD onto the Nile bank in al-Maqṣ which was a village known since old times by 'Um Danīn in Cairo looking on the western bay where al-Mu'iz li-Dīn Allah established an industrial house containing six hundred ships that were compared to no others before then. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 121, 195.

⁹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 283; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XI, 178.

¹⁰Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XI, 178.

the eastern part of this lake with many palm trees and a person living near by called Ḥalīl-Raṭlī, a man used to manufacture pounds to weigh with; those were used by the trade men, who had constructed some extensions and renewed the building which was originally narrow place with low ceiling¹.

The viziers of the Mamlūk period also showed interest in collecting the monuments. One of the most important of which was the one made by the vizier Tāḡal-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Faḥr al-Dīn Muḥammad and father of Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥannā bear by Bustān al-Ma'sūq; a name for a place filled with trees in Cairo. It was renovated by al-Afḍal ibn Badr al-Ġamālī². As for the reason behind giving it this name, it consisted of a wooden piece and iron with reference that it belonged to the monuments of Prophet Muḥammad- Peace Be Upon Him- that was bought by Tāḡ al-Dīn with an amount of sixty thousand silver dirhams and kept it in the monument safe³.

People used to get their blessing from it and think it will obtain usefulness. As for the description of the traveler Ibn Baṭūṭah, for this wooden safe (ribāṭ), he said "It's a great ribāṭ that was established by the vizier Faḥr al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Alī with precious and great monuments by building this wooden safe (ribāṭ) where food was kept for the comers and leavers"⁴. This ribāṭ building is a house resided by Sufī people who were known to be pious people as in close to God. They were referred to as unified in purpose and would, with similar circumstances, be one of the most important religious parks in Egypt in the Mamlūk period for its significant location where it looked directly onto the Nile surrounded by gardens and agricultural fields. Al-Maqrīzī referred to this by stating "We reached this ribāṭ in joy, where people used to gather finding lots of utilities and interests looking onto the River Nile underneath as the water receded; the adversities occur"⁵.

In the historical sources, it was stated that many examples in regards the appointment of viziers to hold the duties of the vizierate besides to an additional senior state job⁶. The vizier used to combine between the vizierate and the Ustādārīyah⁷ (treasury house). Al-Maqrīzī referred to this matter by affirming the fact that the vizier's rank would not be remarkably high unless holding the Ustādārīyah duties to his vizierate ones⁸, as happened with Miṅḡak al-Yūsufī who settled in the vizierate and the Ustādārīyah in 748 AH / 1347 AD⁹, and the vizier Muḡliṭāy al-Ġamālī combined both

¹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 326-327. See also: Muḥammad al-Šištāwī, *Mutanazihāt al-Qāhirah*, 173.

²al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, III, 159.

³Ibn Ayyak al-Dawādārī, *al-Durr al-fāḥirfī sirat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, released by Hans Robert, IX (Cairo: 1960), 152; al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, I, 218; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 429. See also: Su'ād Māhir, *Masāḡid Miṣr w-awliyā'uhā al-ṣālihūn*, I (Cairo: 1971), 414.

⁴al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 429. See also: Su'ād Māhir, *Masāḡid*, I, 414.

⁵al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 429. See also: Muḥammad al-Šištāwī, *Mutanazihāt al-Qāhirah*, 254.

⁶al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, 96-97.

⁷Ustādārīyah: is a word of Persian origin consisting of two words; referring to the collecting and house refers to the act of collecting itself or the one in charge of collecting money. al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V, 457.

⁸al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, II, 223-224. See also: 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, "Dawlat al-Zāhir Barqūq w-usratuh fī Miṣr", (Ph.D. diss., Unpublished, Faculty of Dār al-'Ulūm, Cairo University, Cairo: 1977), 116.

⁹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, IV, 317; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, X, 192.

the vizierate and the Ustādārīyah duties¹; likewise al-Okzz al-Kiṣlāwī combined between both the vizierate and the Ustādārīyah duties in 770 AH / 1369 AD². And in 833 AH / 1430 AD Karīm al-Dīn ibn Kātib al-Manāḥ settled to perform his duties in the Ustādārīyah in addition to the vizierate missions³. In 901 AH / 1496 AD⁴, al-Sultān Ğān Ğān Balāṭ appointed the vizier Ṭūmānbāy in 904 AH / 1498 AD in the vizierate beside the Ustādārīyah⁵. The same for vizier Miṣrbāy who was appointed by al-Sultān Qānṣūh al-Ġawrī in 906 AH / 1501 AD with such tasks⁶ and vizier Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar who was appointed in 907 AH / 1501 AD⁷.

The vizier was responsible for distributing the daily shares of meat, spices, oil and grains for the sultān's cuisine, princes and religious men. It was often that the viziers, especially in the Mamlūk Period, fell in short to provide such daily shares. The vizier Mīngak al-Yūsufī, when he was appointed to handle the responsibilities and duties of the vizierate in 749 AH / 1348 AD had not found in the treasury house the required money that led to the cease of the matter linked to the state and became tougher to control by the vizier; he sent his complaints to the princes of the numerous salaries; they came to consensus to cut the salaries of many of employees⁸; as the vizier 'Alam al-Dīn ibn Zanbūr had to carry the salaries to the sultanate⁹ and bags¹⁰ of sugar, oil and others¹¹ others¹¹ in 751 AH / 1351 AD not only this but also to open for exchanging by cutting off the numbers of soldiers where he was availed the chance to collect much money¹², that saved a lot for the state to perform its dues and paying off the required salaries¹³. The vizier also played a great role in supervising and preparing sultān's houses as happened during the period of al-Sultān al-Nāṣir Ḥasan when Mīngak al-Yūsufī went to prepare houses of al-Sultān al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in 752 AH / 1351 AD, so he prepared all what the Sultān needed¹⁴.

¹al-Nūwayrī, *Nihāyat*, XXXIII, 70; Ibn Ḥaġr al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, IV, 354; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Dalīl al-al-ṣāfi 'alā al-manhal al-ṣāfi*, released by Muḥammad Fahīm Ṣaltūt, II (Cairo:1998), 738.

²Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, 113; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, I, 99.

³Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XIV, 346; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, II, 135.

⁴Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, III, 336.

⁵Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, III, 445.

⁶Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, IV, 4.

⁷Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī'*, IV, 18.

⁸al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, IV, 321.

⁹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, III, 6. See also: Shirbīnī, *al-Nuzum al-mālīyah*, 267, 270.

¹⁰Meaning the Sultān's table or what is laid onto the ground to avail serving food and to allow others be seated around to take their meals. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, II, 210-211.

¹¹al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, III, 6.

¹²al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, IV, 319, 321. See also: Maḥmūd Rizk Salīm, *'Aṣr salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, I, 111.

¹³al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, IV, 322.

¹⁴al-Ṣaḥmāwī, *al-Thaġhral-bāsim*, I, 417; Ibn al-Ṣaṣrī, *al-Durrah al-mudī'ah fī-l-dawlah al-zāhirīyah*, released by William Brenner (California:1963), 187-188.

The post of Ustādārīyah (treasury house) was added to the duties of the vizierate post, but there were other posts were added like the private treasury that was assigned to plan the general affairs of the state and to appoint employees. There were other posts including reviewing the in warding letters to the Sulṭān and replying them in addition to affixing the Sulṭān's signatures onto them, writing the decrees of the Justice house for it required the consultation matters to be proceeded¹. The vizier Karīm al-Dīn ibn Makānis Makānis held the duties of the vizierate and the private treasury in 783 AH / 1381 AD². The vizier 'Alam al-Dīn Yaḥyā combined both posts of the vizierate and private treasury in 806 AH / 1403 AD³. The vizier Abū-l-Faraġ al-Maqsī combined between essential positions at the same time, then he settled in the vizierate and private treasury. Likewise the vizier Faḥr al-Dīn ibn Ġurāb combined between the vizierate and private treasury in 808 AH / 1406 AD⁴. And the vizier Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm combined both positions of vizierate and private treasury in 815 AH / 1412 AD⁵ the vizier Karīm al-Dīn ibn Kātib al-Manāḥ combined between the vizierate and private treasury in 835 AH / 1432 AD in the period of Sulṭān Barsbāy⁶. Likewise Qāsim Šuġayta combined between the posts of both the vizierate and private treasury in 891 AH / 1486 AD⁷.

Among the vizier's duties, was the supervision of bureau of private fund (Dīwān al-Mufrad). In 792 AH / 1390 AD, vizier Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū al-Faraġ was appointed as supervisor over bureau of private fund⁸. During period of sulṭān Barqūq, the vizier Sa'd al-Dīn ibn al-Baqarī 792 AH / 1390 AD was supervising the bureau of private fund (Dīwān al-Mufrad)⁹.

It is clearly noted that the specializations in the viziers' duties are various. In the Mamlūk period, viziers were appointed to handle more than one post, which was a proof of inefficiency, inexperience or incapability. This, most evidently, reflected that when some of the viziers used to be appointed for such posts they were totally ignorant of the duties and missions of their jobs; as al-Maqrīzī referred to this by saying "Efficiency is discarded in our age; even if the secret writer post was handled by some ordinary and average people"¹⁰. The best example representing this was Karīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm who was appointed to hold the duties of the vizierate and secret writer in 835 AH / 1432 AD¹¹. Vizier Yašbak al-Dawādār held various posts as the vizierate post and al-Dawādārīyah which is the post relating to hold the inkwell of the Sulṭān; of his

¹al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ*, I, 104; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, IV, 870-871; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XIV, 361; Ibn Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, II, 142.

²al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ*, IV, 28-29; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, III, 411; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, I, 285.

³Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XII, 278; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, I, 679.

⁴Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, I, 751.

⁵al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, IV, 218.

⁶al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ*, I, 104; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, IV, 870-871; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XIV, 361; Ibn Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, II, 142.

⁷Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, III, 223.

⁸al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, I, 871, 878; Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, III, 247.

⁹Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*, XI, 151; XII, 136.

¹⁰al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, IV, 871; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, III, 238.

¹¹Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, III, 238; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, II, 142.

duty is to deliver the correspondences and messages of the Sultān in 877 AH / 1468 AD¹.

The vizier Karīm al-Dīn ibn Kātib al-Manāḥ traveled to northern Egypt in 836 AH / 1433 AD to bring sheep, horses and money required for the travel of Sultān Barsbāy to al-Šām lands². The vizier returned from northern Egypt after obtaining the horses, camels, camels and money³, from thereabout⁴. Of the other missions that were executed by the viziers especially throughout the reign of the Mamlūk Sultāns; travelling to upper Egypt to supervise the cultivation season and head back with the collected grains. This was referred to by Ibn Iyās in Ḥawādīt Ramaḍān 887 AH / October 1482 AD as per his stating "The vizier Ḥuṣqadam al-Aḥmadī directed towards upper Egypt in order to collect grains"⁵. Also vizier Tuḡṭbāy directed towards upper Egypt in 907 AH / 1505 AD to collect grains, through this reflection it appears that during the reign of Mamlūk Sultān⁶.

The vizier was responsible for leading pilgrims⁷ and was authorized to go for pilgrimage with the Sultān as happened in 884 AH / 1479 AD, when vizier Ḥuṣqadam al-Aḥmadī went with Sultān Qāitbāy for pilgrimage and managed pilgrims affairs in a good manner⁸.

Vizier kept playing a great role in deposing sultāns⁹. Vizier al-ʿĀdil Ṭumānbāy deposed al-Sultān Qānṣwah al-Ašraf (904-905AH / 1498-1499AD), he was among the Mamlūks of al-Sultān Qāitbāy. The vizier was interested in the Sultānate and started planning of conspiracies with senior princes against the sultān in 905AH / 1499AD. In the same time, rumors were spread the sultān was intended to arrest the vizier al-ʿĀdil Ṭumānbāy. This rumor was the main reason which led to the desposal of al-Sultān Qānṣwah¹⁰. al-ʿĀdil Ṭumānbāy arrived from upper Egypt to collect money and announced his revolution against the Sultān. Sultān Qānṣwah feared him and started to reinforce the citadel and collected food and weapons to his Mamlūks and waited action from al-ʿĀdil Ṭumānbāy who met princes supporting him and agreed to depose sultān Qānṣwah. They surrounded the citadel and fighting continued for three days. The

¹Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *Ḥawādīt*, III, 702; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʿ*, III, 23; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ*, III, 28-29.

²Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XIV, 368; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, III, 255.

³al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, IV, 889; Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Nuḡūm*, XIV, 372; Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, III, 257.

⁴Ibn Dāwūd al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, III, 257.

⁵Baybars al-Dawādārī, *Zubdat*, IX, 143; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar al-ṭamīn fī siyar al-ḥulafāʾ wa-l-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn*, released by Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀšūr (Cairo:1982), 66; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, II, 40; Ibn Aḡā, *Tārīḥ al-amīr Yašbak*, 11; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ*, III, 196. See also: Maḥmūd Rizk Salīm, *ʿAšr salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, I, 263.

⁶Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ*, IV, 46. See also: Munīrah, "Le vizirat", 115; Ġars al-Dīn Ḥalīl, *Zubdat*, 78-79.

⁷Ibn al-Ġazrī, *Tārīḥ ibn al-Ġazrī*, II, 469-470; al-Ġazrī, *Durar al-fawāʿid al-munazzamah fī aḥbār al-ḥaḡ ḥaḡ wa tāriḥ Makkah al-muʿazzamah* (Cairo:1964), 304-305.

⁸Baybars al-Dawādārī, *Zubdat*, IX, 143; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar al-ṭamīn*, 66; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, II, 40; Ibn Aḡā, *Tārīḥ al-amīr Yašbak al-Zāhirī*, p.11; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ*, III, p.196.

⁹al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf*, 93.

¹⁰Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿīʿ*, III, 434-436.

soldiers of the Sultān were few and the Sultān predicted his defeat, so he escaped from the citadel wearing women clothes as mentioned by Ibn Iyās. al-'Ādil Ṭumānbāy was the hero in that event, he was able to be the sultān in 906AH / 1501AD¹.

Companionship Vizierate (Wazārat al-Ṣuḥbah), was known as accompanying the Sultān in his travels and wars to let the original vizier remain in Cairo, the location of his work. Al-Sultān al-Zāhir Baybars (658-676AH / 1260-1277AD) authorized the vizierate position to al-Ṣāhib Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā in 659AH / 1260AD², and authorized his son Faḥr al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā in companionship vizierate (Wazārat al-Ṣuḥbah)³. Also he was asking for the opinion of companionship vizier (Wazīr al-Ṣuḥbah) Faḥr al Dīn ibn Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā in 666 AH / 1268 AD, when he intended to take a lot of lands from villages and orchards owned by Damascus residents. So al-Sultān al-Zāhir Baybars insisted on taking these lands based on this legal advice. However, his vizier Faḥr al-Dīn ibn Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā advised him to take one thousand dirhams from the village residents and to pay one hundred thousand as an installment of this amount each year. The Sultān approved his opinion⁴. It is worth mention that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (693-694 AH / 1293-1294 AD) appointed vizier of companionship Tāğ al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā 693AH / 1293AD, followed by his cousin Izz al-Dīn in companionship vizierate 701AH / 1301AD. But, it can be said that the companionship vizierate during the Mamlūk period was not a permanent post⁵.

At the end we concluded that the duties of viziers were tackled throughout two axes: the first one presents the essential duties such as supervising the sultanate houses, sultanate treasury and banquets while the other axe presents the additional duties that have nothing to do with his office, but were added to it during the Mamlūk period.

¹Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ir*, III, 434-436. See also: Ġars al-Dīn Ḥalīl, *Zubdat*, 78-79.

²Ibn Abī-l-Faḍā'il, *al-Nahğ al-sadīd wa-l-durr al-farīd fī-mā ba'd tārīḥ ibn al-'Amīd*, XII (Paris:1919), 78-79; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar al-tamīn*, 274. See also: Ḥasan Ibrāhīm, *al-Nuẓum al-islāmīyah* (Cairo:1939), 177.

³Ibn Šaddād, *Tārīḥ al-malik al-Zāhir*, released by Aḥmad Ḥuṭait (Beirut:1981), 234; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ğumān*, II, 67. See also: Munīrah, "Le vizirat", 88.

⁴Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāyah*, XIII, 256-257.

⁵Ibn Abī-l-Faḍā'il, *al-Nahğ*, 78-79; Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Ġawhar al-tamīn*, 274. See also: Ḥasan Ibrāhīm, *al-Nuẓum al-islāmīyah*, 177; Munīrah, "Le vizirat", 107.

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