

tual unit with it (*Mahmūd-shāh*). The latter usage is the most common and, though found already in early texts (such as Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*), is anomalous in Neo-Persian; it seems likely that it is either an isolated relic from Middle Persian or else an imitation of Turkish constructions with titles such as *khan*. Compounds with *shāh* (as the first or last element) or indeed *shāh* on its own occur quite frequently as proper names of kings, but also of commoners; the given name of the famous Saljūq ruler Malik Shāh, for example, is formed simply by combining the Arabic and Persian words for "king". As a common noun (without a name) *shāh* is widely used in poetry and non-official prose of all periods to designate potentates who, in their official protocol, styled themselves *malik*, *sulṭān*, *amīr*, *pādshāh* or whatever. It is also used with reference to the kings of pre-Islamic Persia and in works of fiction. Sometimes it is applied to princes (as already in Middle Persian; many references in F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosīs Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 549, 583). In a number of compounds or set phrases *shāh* means "pre-eminent, principal", e.g. in *masʿūd-i shāh* "congregational mosque" (not "king's mosque"), or *shāh-rāh* "principal road, highway". In the Indian subcontinent, *shāh* is appended to the names of persons claiming descent from the Prophet and has today become a surname.

As for the title *shāhān shāh*, this naturally fell into disuse with the collapse of the Sāsānid empire, but it remained in popular memory in its Neo-Persian form *shāhanshāh* (the vowels in the first and last syllables can be shortened when required by the metre; modern Western Persian has also the vulgar form *shāhinshāh*). This is an inseparable compound (from which is derived an adjective *shāhanshāhi*) and in the context of Neo-Persian it can no longer be analysed morphologically, though there has never been any doubt that its meaning is indeed "king of kings". It was adopted as his official title by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (338-72/949-83 [q.v.]), and continued to be used by his successors on their coins and in court documents, sometimes in conjunction with its Arabic equivalent *malik al-mulūk*, despite the objections raised by religious authorities (for details, see LAḤAB and the literature cited there), but after the fall of the Būyids it does not seem to have figured in official protocol until the 20th century, when it was adopted by the self-styled "Pahlawī" dynasty in Persia. It has, however, always been used quite freely by poets. Thus the Ghaznavid Masʿūd I, who would hardly have tolerated such a sacrilegious title in his official documents, had evidently no scruples about his court poet Manūčihri addressing him as *shāhanshāh*, *shāhanshah-i dunyā*, *shāh-i malikān* and the like, and similar expressions are used by the panegyrists of the Saljūks and others after them.

*Bibliography*: Given in the article.

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

**SHĀH ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪM AL-ḤASANĪ**, Abū ʿI-Kāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Shīʿī ascetic and traditionist, well-known under the name of Imām-zāde (Shāh) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm. He is buried in the principal sanctuary of Rayy [see AL-RAYY].

#### 1. The holy man.

Only sparse biographical data are available on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm, who must have been born in Medina before 200/815 and who was a companion of the ninth and tenth Imāms, Muḥammad al-Djawād al-Taḳī (d. 220/835) and ʿAlī al-Hādī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868) [see AL-ʿASKARĪ]. When the latter, at the order of caliph al-Mutawakkil, was forced to go to Sāmarrāʾ in 233/848, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm followed him there. He is said to have

been ordered by al-Naḳī, apparently under the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz, to go to Persia in exile. He stayed in Ṭabaristān, and then in Rayy, where he lived in the *sikka al-mawālī* in the quarter of Sarbānān, hidden in the house of a Shīʿī. He passed his time in prayers, ascetic practices, study and teaching, and visited the tomb of an ʿAlid which was later reputed to be that of Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāzīm (see below). He died perhaps before al-Naḳī (towards 250/864?, see Karīmān, i, 384 ff.) although, according to some Shīʿī sources (Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī, see Madelung, quoted in the *Bibl.*), he also was a companion of the eleventh Imām, Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874 [q.v.]).

In the small Imāmī community of Rayy, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm occupied an important position as *sayyid*, companion of the Imāms, traditionist and teacher. His works, now lost, were used and quoted until the 5th/11th century: *Kitāb Yaum wa-layla* (on the daily rituals); *Riwayāt ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm*; *Kitāb Khujāb Amīr al-muʾminīn* (on the sermons of Imām ʿAlī). His views on the concepts of *ʿadl* and *tawḥīd* (cf. Karīmān, i, 386 ff.) were praised by Ibn ʿAbbād, the Būyid vizier in Rayy. The Imāmī traditionist Ibn Bābūya/Bābawayh [q.v.], who in part continued ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm's efforts, devoted a now lost biography to him, *Akhbār ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Ḥasanī*.

#### 2. The sanctuary.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm was buried in a garden under an apple-tree (*shadīara tuffāh*), opposite the tomb of Ḥamza b. Mūsā which was situated outside the walls, to the west of al-Rayy, in the partly Sunnī quarter of Bāṭān (see Karīmān, i, 264 ff.). The garden belonged to a certain ʿAbd al-Djabbār, probably a Sunnī (see Karīmān, i, 388; ii, 316). A Shīʿī is said to have heard in a dream the Prophet telling him that one of his descendants of the *sikka al-mawālī* should be buried there. The tomb was venerated by the Shīʿīs at a very early date. According to the Imām al-Naḳī, pilgrimage to there was as meritorious as the one to the tomb of the Imām al-Husayn (Ibn Kulūya, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, see Madelung; Karīmān, i, 386, ii, 51). The sanctuary, mentioned as a *maṣḥad* by Ibn ʿAbbād and known under the name of *Maṣḥad al-Shadīara*, was restored during the Saljūkid period thanks to the patronage of the Shīʿī vizier Maḍjīd al-Dīn Barāwistānī al-Kummī (ʿAbd al-Djalīl Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Naḳd*, in Karīmān, i, 389, ii, 191, 419). Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardāshīr (d. 602/1205-6), the Bāwandid ruler of Māzandarān, used to send every year 200 dinārs to the sanctuary (Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿA. Ikḳāl, Tehran 1320, i, 120).

The most ancient trace of the mausoleum consists of a coffin of precious wood (aloe, betel, walnut), carrying a Kurʿānic inscription, part of which is the *āyat al-kursī* (*sūrat al-baqara*, II, 256). The coffin is a gift of Naḍīm al-Dīn Muḥammad, vizier under the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd (d. 737/1335), see Karīmān, i, 392. The sanctuary was visited by famous Timūrid and Turkmen pilgrims (Karīmān, ii, 225 ff.) and then by the Ṣafawids. Under the patronage of Ṭahmāsp I (1524-76), it was restored. An *iwān* (*aywān*) was constructed in 944/1537. A robust balustrade (*muhadḍjar*) of boxwood was erected around the coffin in 950/1543-4 (Karīmān, i, 390 ff., with reference to a *farmān* by Ṭahmāsp I preserved in the sanctuary) in order to protect it against depredations by the pilgrims. When Shāh ʿAbbās I [q.v.], about to attack the Özbeks in 996/1587-8, fell ill, he recovered his health after a pilgrimage to the sanctuary (Karīmān, ii, 239).

Notwithstanding the interest shown to the sanc-

tuary by notables or rulers up to the Šafawids, it is quite difficult to form a picture of its importance in former days. Since it was called *Mashhad* or *Masjd* al-*Shadjara*, and its cemetery, according to some sources, *Gūristān al-Shadjara* (Karīmān, i, 328 ff.), it must have developed in conjunction with the neighbouring *Imāmzāda* [q.v.] dedicated to Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāzīm. The Šafawids pretended to descend from this *sayyid husaynī-mūsawī*, whose supposed burial place is also located at *Turshīz* or in a village near *Shīrāz*. It is at this last site, and not at Rayy, that they caused a richly endowed mausoleum to be built (*ibid.*, 395 ff.). Until the beginning of the 19th century, the tombs of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm, of Ḥamza and other holy men were situated outside the town of Rayy (*ibid.*, 392 ff.). The sanctuary must have included a rather important garden. On his way to Māzandarān, ʿAbbās II (1643-66) camped there with his suite for nine days in 1070/1659-60 (Muḥammad Tāhir Waḥid Kazwinī, *Abbās-nāma*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dihgān, Arāk 1329, 265 ff.).

The administrator of the sanctuary (*mutawallī*) was designated and appointed by the central government. This practice was continued by Karīm Khān Zand (see J.R. Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand. A history of Iran, 1747-1779*, Chicago 1979, 220) and after that by the Kādjārs. Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh [q.v.], who was an assiduous pilgrim of the sanctuary, had it embellished (Karīmān, i, 392; Algar, 48). The same was the case with Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [q.v.], who in 1270/1853-4 had the cupola covered with gold and the *iwan* decorated with stalactites consisting of mirrors; the latter initiative was due, at least to a certain extent, to his vizier Mīrzā Akā Khān Nūrī (1851-8) (Karīmān, i, 391 ff.; Algar, 159).

Like other *Shīrī* sanctuaries, Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm constitutes a place of asylum reputed to be inviolable for persons (or animals), lawbreakers or others, who are menaced by people in power [see BAST; and J. Calmard, art. *Bast* (sanctuary, asylum), in *EIr*]. When the neighbouring town of Tehran was promoted to be the capital by Āghā Muḥammad Khān in 1786, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary and its use for politico-religious protests, in particular against foreign influence, developed considerably. The project of constructing a railway line between Tehran and the sanctuary made people fear, erroneously, that the extension of the line to Qum would mean the end of this town. The line was indeed constructed and exploited by a Belgian company (8 km between 1888-93) notwithstanding the fact that it was ransacked by a furious crowd in December 1888 (see Algar, 175 ff., 182). Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the sanctuary formed the most important place of *bast*, criminals or debtors, as well as political opponents, finding there protection in several degrees (see E.G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, London 1893, 174). The most ominous violation of the right of *bast* occurred in January 1891 when the Muslim reformist *Djamāl al-Dīn Asābādī* “al-Afghānī” [q.v.] was brutally expelled from the sanctuary (see Calmard, *loc. cit.*). Nāṣir al-Dīn was murdered in the courtyard of the mausoleum on the eve of his jubilee (fifty lunar years) on 1 May 1896 by Mīrzā Ridā Kirmānī, a partisan of al-Afghānī. During the events of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11), about 2,000 ʿulamāʾ (*mullas*, *muḍṭahids*, *tullābs*), opposed to the authoritarian measures of the vizier ʿAyn al-Dawla and financially supported by shopkeepers of the bazaar and several notables or dignitaries who had passed to the opposition, captured the *bast* at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm (mid-December 1905-12 January 1906). The establishment of a *ʿadālat-khāna*

(“house of justice”) in each province was only one of the seven or eight of their demands which did not entail a demand for a constitution (see Martin, 70-6). In February 1907 Sayyid Akbar Shāh, an opponent of the constitution, took refuge in the sanctuary with his partisans. Supported by the governor of Tehran, his initiative had no popular success whatsoever (Martin, 115, 148). On the other hand, the action of the most notorious of the anti-constitutional ʿulamāʾ, the *muḍṭahid* Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī [q.v.], who, probably supported by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [q.v.], took the *bast* of the sanctuary with ca. 500 partisans (June-September 1907), had a durable success among the numerous *Imāmī* ʿulamāʾ (see Martin, 121-38), extending even into the current which assured the triumph of the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1978-9.

The pilgrimage to the sanctuary, which forms a whole with neighbouring *Imāmzādas* dedicated to Ḥamza, Tahir and his son Muṭahhar (Karīmān, i, 395 ff.), now incorporated with Rayy into the great agglomeration of Tehran, was very much frequented in the 19th century (see H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, ii, 403). Although Nadjaf and Karbalā [q.v.] have a greater reputation as burial places, many notables, dignitaries, ʿulamāʾ, members of the Kādjār family, etc., are buried at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm. The most renowned royal tomb is that of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, situated at the western corner at a place known under the name of *Masjd-i Hūlagū*. An imposing mausoleum dedicated to Ridā Shāh Pahlawī [q.v.] was erected on the site of the ancient quarter of Bāṭān, south-east of the sanctuary (Karīmān, i, 395). It was destroyed during the events of the Islamic Revolution.

**Bibliography:** On the bio-hagiography of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm (ancient and modern works) and the principal data of the history of the sanctuary, see H. Karīmān, *Ray-i bāstān*, 2 vols., Tehran 1345-9/1966-70; W. Madelung, art. *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī*, in *EIr*. Above all, see the Šāhib Ibn ʿAbbād, *Risāla fī ahwāl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī*, Baghdād 1374/1955, in Karīmān, i, 385-7; M.B. Kudjūrī, *Djannat al-naʿīm...*, Tehran 1298/1881; M. Rāzī, *Zindagānī-yi Haḍrat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm...*, Tehran 1367/1947. On the modern history of the sanctuary, see H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906*, Berkeley 1969; V. Martin, *Islam and modernism. The Iranian Revolution of 1906*, London 1989 (abundant bibl.). (J. CALMARD)

**SHĀH ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ** [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ AL-DIHLAWĪ].

**SHĀH ʿABD AL-KĀDIR** [see ʿABD AL-KĀDIR DIHLAWĪ].

**SHĀH ʿĀLAM II** (1142-1220/1729-1806, r. 1173-1202/1759-88, 1203-21/1788-1806), later *Mughal* emperor, son of the Mughal Emperor ʿĀlamgīr II.

His original name was Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh, the title ʿAlī Gawhar was conferred in 1168/1754, and that of Shāh ʿĀlam in 1170/1756. As a prince, he led an unsuccessful raid into Bihar in *Djumādā* II 1172/February 1759, and claimed the throne in 1173/1759. He was, however, unable to rule from Dihlī. Becoming an ally of *Shudjāʿ* al-Dawla and Mīr Kāsim [q.vv.], he shared in their defeat at Baksar (Buxar) in 1178/1764 at the hands of the British. In 1179/1765 he granted the *dīwānī* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company, receiving in return Allāhābād (as his seat) and an annual pension of 2.6 million rupees. Seeking to return to Dihlī, Shāh ʿĀlam sought an alliance with the Marāṭhās, and escorted by them rode into his capital Dihlī in Ramaḍān 1185/January 1772. He thereupon lost