

Chapter I

State and Shrine in Iran: Waqf Administration of the Shah ‘Abd al-‘Azim Shrine under the Qajars

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Introduction

The shrines of Shi‘i Imams and their descendants are particularly venerated in Iran. Shah ‘Abd al-‘Azim, a mausoleum of a pious Shi‘i hadith scholar, ‘Abd al-‘Azīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. Zeyd b. al-Ḥasan (died before 868), located in 10 kilometres south of Tehran, is one such shrine. Already during the Safavid period (1501–1736), the shrine was the third most important in Iran after Mashhad and Qom [*Dastūr* 494–496]. Its importance increased after the nineteenth century because Tehran—the closest city to the shrine—became the capital city of Iran under the Qajars (1796–1925). Fath ‘Alī Shāh Qājār (r. 1797–1834) constructed the silver lattice work for the shrine at an expenditure of 10,000 *tomāns* [*Eksīr* 70]. A great many inhabitants of Tehran city would visit the shrine on the Iranian New Year’s Eve [*Gozāresh* 397]. A Qajar courtier, Baṣīr al-Molk, visited the shrine six times in the year 1302 AH (1884–85), and seven times in 1303 AH (1885–86) [*Baṣīr* 73, 92, 102, 107, 114, 115, 125, 134, 157, 176, 179, 188, 205]. The first Iranian railway was constructed between Tehran and Shah ‘Abd al-‘Azim Shrine in 1887, which made people’s pilgrimage easier although some complaints about the railway were recorded in the newspapers [Sa‘dvandiyān 1380: 378–383].

The shrine has a long history. The grave of ‘Abd al-‘Azīm had been venerated as early as the tenth century. A hadith of the tenth Shi‘i Imam was recorded, saying that the visiting the Shrine of Shah ‘Abd al-‘Azim had the same value for believers as visiting the Shrine of Imam Husayn in Karbala [*Kāmil* 324]. The dome (*gonbad*) was built in the eleventh century by a Seljuqid vazir, Majd al-Molk Abū al-Faḍl Barāvestānī Qummī (d. 1098–99) [Mandelung 1982; ‘Aqīlī 1380: 81–88]. Its major waqfs were established during the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. A sayyid family controlled the older waqfs generation by generation, whereas the Safavids (1501–1736) created a new waqf and appointed a waqf administrator of the state waqf alongside the sayyid family [Kondo 2015]. However, the fall of the

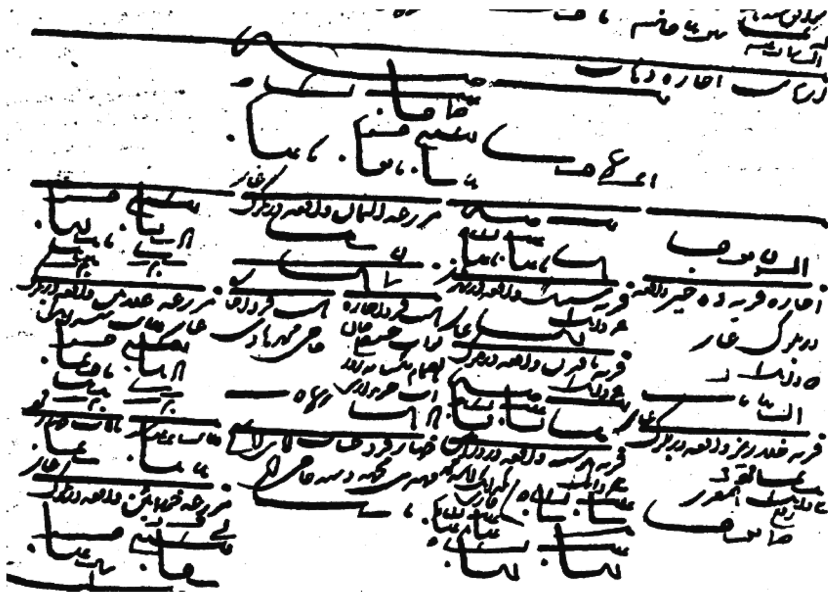


Figure 1: Part of the Fiscal Report from 1879–80 [Ketābche 1296: 2]

Safavids and political confusion during the eighteenth century damaged the shrine's waqf.

The question posed is regarding the manner in which the Qajar state attempted to revive the shrine's waqf. The problem of its management and financial structure will be discussed in this study. In general, a study of a waqf begins from an individual waqf deed. There are a few studies which deal with more than 100 waqf deeds or their summaries.¹ However, unfortunately, waqf deeds cannot be of much help in understanding the management and financial structure of complexes such as shrines because, first, a waqf is a legal contract and its stipulations are not always observed, and second, each waqf deed stipulated only its own waqf property, not all of the waqf properties of the shrine.

Instead, an analysis of the fiscal reports of the shrine from 1874–76 [Ketābche 1290–1291], 1879–80 [Ketābche 1296], 1881–82 [Ketābche 1299], and 1901 [Ketābche 1319]² is particularly useful for this study; no previous historical

¹ See [Kondo 2017: 96–123] and [Werner 2017]. The former looks at 260 waqf deeds from Qajar Tehran, while the latter deals with summaries of 149 waqf deeds on behalf of the Mashhad Shrine.

² The fiscal year ran from the Iranian New Year (*nowrūz*, the vernal equinox) to the next New Year. During the Qajar period, the solar year was named after the duodecimal animal circle in Turkish.

studies on waqfs in Iran have successfully investigated fiscal records, as access to this type of source is quite difficult in Iran. These fiscal records were written in fiscal numerals (*siyāq*), and still have not been utilized by many researchers.³ Also, I believe that I can provide a good case study for comparing waqfs worldwide.

1. Waqf Administrator

As mentioned above, the ‘Abd al-‘Azim Shrine had two waqf administrators during the Safavid period. One was the old-waqf administrator who controlled older waqf property mainly from the fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. The old-waqf administrators belonged to a sayyid family, descended from Sayyed Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥoseyn—a local sayyid living during the fourteenth century. The other was the new-waqf administrator appointed by the Safavids. He controlled the new-waqf property endowed by the Safavid state [Kondo 2015]. This was the same practice as at the Fāṭeme Shrine in Qom and the Safavid Shrine in Ardabil [Modarresī Tabātabā’ī 2535: Vol. 2, 198–202, 242–249; *Afzal* 209; Fragner 1975: 183, 196, 200–201].

By the beginning of the Qajar period, the distinction between old and new waqf vanished. The sayyid family who claimed to be descendants of Sayyed Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥoseyn became the administrators of the whole waqf property of the shrine after 1800. The family held their position until 1872, and the Qajar shahs issued royal edicts to appoint the sayyid family members as the waqf administrators of the shrine. In Table 1, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan, his son, Mīrzā Sayyed ‘Alī, and his grandson, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan were from this sayyid family, and occupied the position of administrator generation after generation.

The problem was that the waqf administrators struggled to revive the shrine and its waqf. In 1811, a Qajar prince, Moḥammad Taqī Mīrzā Ḥoṣām al-Saltāne, issued an edict to the chief state financier, Amīn al-Dowle Ṣadr-e Eṣfahānī, to ask for financial aid to repair the shrine and its waqf property. The prince visited the shrine in person and saw that it was falling into ruin day by day.⁴ In 1865, the administration of the shrine was questioned because someone petitioned Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah that the administrator, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan, and the servants of the shrine had spent more money than stipulated; one-third of the waqf income, which should have been used for the poor and the needy, was not spent properly. The administrator was summoned before the state council and it was decided that the

³ This chapter is also the result of the *siyāq* research project, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) 17H02398.

⁴ Edict of Moḥammad Taqī Mīrzā dated Zīqa‘de 1226AH, published in [‘Aqīlī 1980: 316–318].

waqf revenue be assessed by specialists and the waqf income be spent properly with the consent of the Minister of Sciences and the Minister of Pensions and Waqf [*Dowlat* no. 567: 2–3, dated 12 Ramazān 1281AH].

The royal edict of Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah dated March-April 1865 also related to this situation. Someone deposited a petition into the petition box complaining about confusion in the waqf administration of the shrine and abuse of the waqf income by the administrator. The government checked the Safavid documents and concluded that the administrator used the income properly and the petition was groundless. By the edict, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan was appointed as waqf administrator again.⁵

Table 1: Waqf Administrators of the Shrine during the Nineteenth Century

1200/1800	Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan Motavallī, in a waqf-deed [<i>Ghār</i> 45–47].
1221/1808	Mīrzā Sayyed ‘Alī Ḥoseynī, in the administrator’s edict [‘Aqīlī 1380: 214–215].
1275/1858	Mīrzā Sayyed ‘Alī Ḥoseynī retired and his son Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan was appointed by the royal edict [<i>Hedāyatī</i> 117–118].
1289/1872	Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan Motavallī-bāshī was dismissed. Sayyed Āqā Bozorg was appointed by the royal edict [‘Aqīlī 1380: 342–343].
1297/1880	Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah appointed Āqā Moḥammad Ebrāhīm Amīn al-Soltān I to be the administrator [<i>Sālnāme</i> 1297: 48–49]. ⁶
1301/1884	Mīrzā Esmā‘īl Khān Amīn al-Molk [<i>Sālnāme</i> 1301: 48]. He remained in office at least until 1311–1312/1894–1895 [<i>Sālnāme</i> 1311: 35].
1314/1896	Rūh-ollāh Mīrzā Noṣrat al-Saltāne was appointed governor of Tehran and waqf administrator of the shrine [<i>Īrān</i> no. 898: 2; <i>Qavānīn</i> 4].
1314/1897	Soltān Hoseyn Mīrzā Nayer al-Dowle was appointed governor of Tehran and waqf administrator of the shrine [<i>Īrān</i> no. 903: 2; <i>Qavānīn</i> 4].
1315/1898	Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Khān Neẓām al-Molk was appointed governor of Tehran and waqf administrator of the shrine [<i>Īrān</i> no. 934: 1–2; <i>Qavānīn</i> 4].
1316/1898	Mīrzā Asad-ollāh Khān Nāẓem al-Dowle was appointed governor of Tehran and waqf administrator of the shrine [<i>Īrān</i> no. 941: 2; <i>Qavānīn</i> 4].
1317/1899	Ḥājji Gholām Rezā Khān Āṣef al-Dowle was appointed governor of Tehran and waqf administrator of the shrine [<i>Īrān</i> no. 963: 2; <i>Qavānīn</i> 4].

⁵ Royal edict of Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah, dated Zīqa‘de 1281AH, published in [*Hedāyatī* 119–120].

⁶ According to [*Rūh* vol. 1, 70], the shah appointed him in 1290AH after his first journey to Europe. Actually, the shah returned to Tehran from Europe in Sha‘bān 1295AH/August 1878 [*Mer‘āt* 1819]. However, [*Ketābche* 1296: 3] did not mention the name of Amīn al-Soltān but rather that of Sayyed Āqā Bozorg as waqf administrator.

However, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan did not stay in the administrator's position for long. He was dismissed in 1872 because of confusion in the waqf administration and his poor health. The old sayyid family, administrators from the fourteenth century, now lost control of the waqf property. Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah appointed Ḥājjī Sayyed Āqā Bozorg who belonged to another sayyid family and had held the office of *sar-keshīk* or the chief guardian of the shrine, to the office of waqf administrator.⁷ The first fiscal report we have was compiled during his tenure [*Ketābche 1290–1291*].

More changes were introduced around 1878. After the death of Ḥājjī Sayyed Āqā Bozorg, Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah appointed Ḥājjī Ebrāhīm Amīn al-Soltān (Amin al-Soltan I), who was the shah's favorite Georgian courtier [*Rūh* vol. 1, 70; *Amīn al-Dowle* 60].⁸ In other words, currently, the shrine was not in the hands of the sayyids who had historical ties with the shrine, but in the hands of the shah's favorite courtier who had no connection to the shrine. Amin al-Soltan I was capable, experienced, and good at handling financial matters. Kojūrī praised him and described his twelve achievements for the shrine during his tenure of waqf administrator. 1. He prevented villains from annoying people at the shrine. 2. Alcoholic drinks vanished around the shrine. 3. Thefts vanished around the shrine. 4. He expelled prostitutes from the surroundings of the shrine. 5. He controlled the price of grain at the bazaar adjacent to the shrine. 6. He assessed all the waqf property and increased the waqf income. 7. The attitude of the courtiers who visited the shrine was improved. 8. He bought many donkeys, and lent them to pilgrims at the new gate and the new square. 9. He reorganized the guardians (*keshīk*) into six groups, appointed a chief for each group, and established regulations for them.⁹ 10. The villages near the shrine had prospered. 11. He built a madrasa named after himself and established a waqf for it. 12. Every *takye* and *hoseyniyye* in the city, which were connected to Shi'i mourning ceremonies, acquired waqf property [*Rūh* vol. 4, 128–153]. In other words, he reformed the shrine administration in every aspect.

When Amin al-Soltan I died in 1883, he was succeeded by his son, Mīrzā Esmā'īl Khān Amīn al-Molk. Moreover, when we checked the list of the waqf administrators after Amīn al-Molk [*Qavānīn* 4], we found that they were identical

⁷ Royal edict of Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah, dated 2 Moḥarram 1289AH, published in [‘Aqīlī 1380: 342–343]. This family can be traced back to the Safavid period. Their ancestor, Mīr ‘Aqīl I Sarkeshīk, was mentioned in the royal edict issued by Shah Soltān Ḥoseyn in 1719 [‘Aqīlī 1380: 282–283]. Ḥājjī Āqā Bozorg married Badr Jahān Khānom, sister of Mīr Abū al-Ḥasan [‘Aqīlī 1380: 216]

⁸ For the biography of Amin al-Soltan I, see [Amanat 1989; Bāmdād 1363: Vol. 1, 2–7].

⁹ The six *keshīk* system was maintained in the shrine's regulations of 1901 [*Qavānīn* 12].

with the governors of Tehran province.¹⁰ It means that after 1896 a new rule was established; simultaneously, the governors of Tehran controlled the shrine administration. Now, shrine administration was totally a part of provincial administration, and the sayyid family could not recover their position, although they secured the position of deputy to the waqf administrator.¹¹

The changes in the shrine's administration after 1872 presented a legal problem because the sayyid family had a legitimate right to control the shrine's waqf, as confirmed by the royal edict of 1865. In 1897, 'Abd Allāh Behbahānī, a famous *mojtahed* in Tehran, issued a legal edict to confirm the position of Mīrzā Hedāyat Allāh from the sayyid family as waqf administrator, and two other leading *mojtaheds*, Mīrzā Ḥasan Āshtiyānī and Sheykh Faḏl Allāh Nūrī endorsed the legal edict.¹² Following this edict, Moẓaffar al-Dīn Shah issued a royal edict confirming Mīrzā Hedāyat Allāh's right although the edict appears not to have been implemented.¹³ The sayyids' right was supported by the royal edict of Shah Ṭahmāsp dated 1554, which described conditions of each waqf although most of the original waqf deeds had already been lost at that time [Kondo 2015: 43–46]. In other words, many endowers (*vāqef*) appointed this sayyid family as the waqf administrator. One may say that the Qajar reform after 1872 violated the waqf stipulations, but this reform was effective regarding the maintenance of the shrine, as we see below.

2. Waqf Property

Until the eighteenth century, the Shah 'Abd al-'Azim kept a considerable amount of waqf property. Eleven villages from the fourteenth century¹⁴ and four villages from the sixteenth century¹⁵ belonged to the old-waqf department. The new-(state-) waqf department contained eight villages.¹⁶ Besides, the shrine had urban waqf

¹⁰ The list provided by Qavānīn mentioned Nāẓem al-Dowle before Neẓām al-Molk, but in fact Neẓām al-Molk became governor of Tehran before Nāẓem al-Dowle, as shown in Table 1.

¹¹ Mīrzā Hedāyat Allāh, son of the former waqf administrator, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan, was appointed deputy waqf administrator by the edict of the waqf administrator in 1877–78 [*Hedāyatī* 123–124].

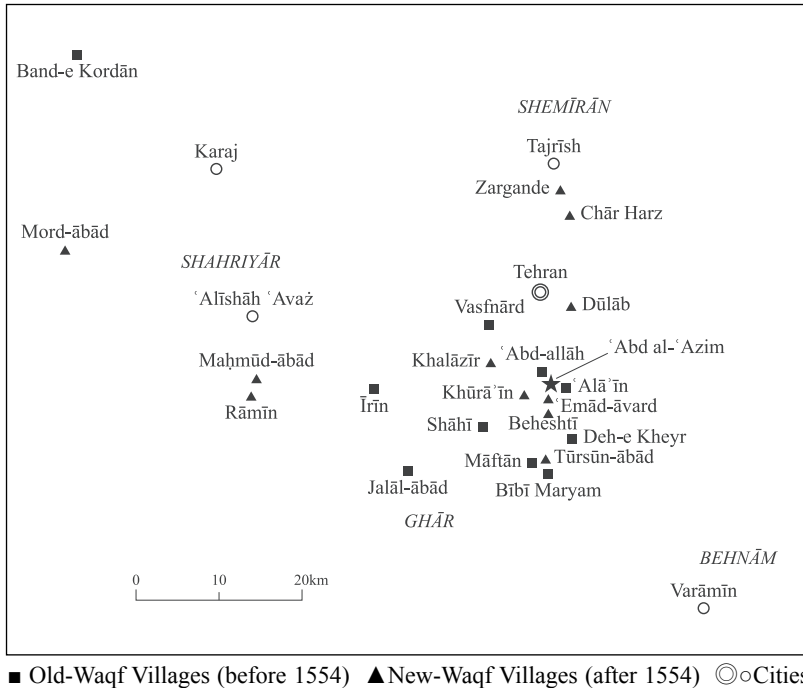
¹² Legal edict of Sayyed 'Abd Allāh Behbahānī dated Rabī' II 1315AH ['Aqīlī 1380: 388–391].

¹³ Royal edict of Moẓaffar al-Dīn Shah dated Rajab 1315AH [*Hedāyatī* 125–126].

¹⁴ Mobārek-ābād/Kheyr-ābād, Īrīn, 'Alā'īn, Ābe/Deh-e Kheyr, Band-e Kordān, Sharqī/ Shāhī, Hūsane, Dez, Māftān, Bībī Maryam, 'Eyn-ābād [Kondo 2015: 44].

¹⁵ Astrūhe, Sayyed 'Abd-allāh Abīz, Jalāl-ābād, Vasfnārd [Kondo 2015: 53–55].

¹⁶ Īlmān, Khūrāzīl, Astrūhe, Dūlāb, Mord-ābād, Askale, Zargande, Chār Harz [Kondo 2015: 49]. Half of Astrūhe belonged to the old-waqf department, and the other half to the new department.



property and income from taxation.

However, by the nineteenth century, the waqf property of the shrine had decreased considerably. The crown and waqf property inventory dated 1843–44 refers to only two villages remaining as waqf property of the shrine: Zargande and Askale in Shemīrān, i.e. the northern suburbs of Tehran [*Khāleše* 152]. They had belonged to the new-waqf department during the Safavid period.

Three other waqf villages were taken over (*zabt*) by the state (*dīvān*): Māftān, Īlmān, and 'Alā'īn [*Khāleše* 153]. Māftān and 'Alā'īn were part of the old waqf while Īlmān belonged to the new-waqf department. The waqf shops and caravansaries (*rebāt* and *khān*) near the shrine were also seized by the state [*Khāleše* 153]. Moreover, a waqf village, Asturiyye in Varāmīn, changed into *khāleše* (royal property) and was bestowed on Abū al-Ḥasan Khān as a benefice (*toyūl*), and another old-waqf village, Hūsane, was actually owned as private property [*Khāleše* 165–166]. This was probably caused by Nadir Shah's confiscation of waqf property and political confusion during the eighteenth century. Moreover, the shrine lost one of the two remaining waqf villages, Zargande, in 1844 as it became the summer residence of the Russian ambassador. Instead, the shrine received the tax income from

Rāmīn village in Shahriyār, which was 7.1 *tomān* cash and five *kharvār* grain.¹⁷

The shrine regained some waqf properties after that. In 1853, Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah issued a royal edict deleting a royal caravansary near the shrine from the royal property and making it a waqf property of the shrine. The waqf income was divided into three equal portions: the first portion should be used for lights at the shrine, the second should be spent for the repair of the shrine and shops, and the third was to be expended for the salaries of the shrine servants. The recovered waqf caravansary was exempted from government taxes.¹⁸

In 1859–60, Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah made complicated arrangements for benefiting the shrine by the shops in the bazaar located in front of the shrine. These shops had belonged to the royal property, and the shah issued an edict in 1859 to make them the private property of ‘Alī Qolī Mīrzā E‘tezād al-Saltāne. The shah expected E‘tezād al-Saltāne to renovate the bazaar, and to profit the shrine by the tax income from it.¹⁹ This transaction caused legal doubts about ownership, probably because these shops had originally been waqf for the shrine, and confiscated by the government. Therefore, E‘tezād al-Saltāne transferred the shops to a *mojtahed*, Mīrzā Moḥammad Šāleḥ ‘Arab, and then the *mojtahed* sold them to E‘tezād al-Saltāne for 1,000 *tomāns*: this sum was spent for the poor. E‘tezād al-Saltāne then divided the ownership of the shops into four equal portions, and sold one portion to the three authorities of the shrine, namely, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan, the waqf administrator, Ḥājī Āqā, the key keeper of the shrine, and Sayyed Āqā Bozorg, the chief guardian. Also, Mīrzā Moḥammad Šāleḥ, in place of the waqf administrator, leased the land of the bazaar to the owners of the shops for 100 years at 300 *tomāns*, which also profited the shrine.²⁰

When we verify the fiscal report from 1874–76, we find that the shrine had recovered four waqf villages, Māftan, Īlmān, ‘Alā‘īn, and Hūsane, before that [*Ketābche 1290–1291*: 1]. However, we also notice that only seven villages among the 22 Safavid waqf villages had survived until then²¹; the shrine lost more than two-thirds of its villages. On the other hand, we find only two villages in the fiscal report which were not in the Safavid documents.²²

¹⁷ Royal edict of Moḥammad Shah dated Rabī‘ II 1260AH [*Hedāyatī* 113–114].

¹⁸ Royal edict of Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah dated Rabī‘ II 1269AH [*Hedāyatī* 115–116]. The Crown Prince Mo‘īn al-Dīn Mīrzā confirmed the edict and issued an edict with the same contents in the same month [‘Aqīlī 1380: 331–332].

¹⁹ Royal edict of Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah dated Jomādā I 1276AH [*Mahd-e ‘Olyā* 33–35].

²⁰ Sale-lease deed dated Jomādā II 1276AH [‘Aqīlī 1380: 336–339; *Mahd-e ‘Olyā* 30–33]. Navā‘ī wrongly named the deed *vaqf-nāme*.

²¹ The three other surviving villages were Deh-e Kheyr, Khalāzīr, and Zargande. As mentioned above, the income from Zargande was in fact substituted by tax income.

²² Khūrā‘īn and Sīnak. Khūrā‘īn is found in a lease deed dated Sonbole 1245/August–September 1829 [‘Aqīlī 1380: 324–325]. Sīnak is mentioned in the crown and waqf property inventory of 1843–44 [*Khāleṣe* 163].

The question may arise regarding why people did not support the shrine by endowing new waqfs during the Qajar period. In fact, they established at least eight waqfs concerning the shrine as follows.

- a. Soleymān Khān Qājār endowed the shrine with a one-fourteenth water share of Qanāt-e Maqṣūd-ābād in Ghār in 1800. The *qanāt* first went through the courtyard, garden, and madrasa of the shrine; one-tenth went to the waqf administrator and supervisor and the remaining share went to the gardens and houses of the shrine's staff, and then to the ordinary people. The administrators were to be the shrine's waqf administrator, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan, and his descendants.²³
- b. Mīrzā Moḥammad Shafī', the grand vazir, endowed the shrine with Qanāt-e Maḥdī-ābād in Ghār in 1807–08. He appointed Mīrzā Sayyed 'Alī, the waqf administrator of the shrine, and his descendants as waqf administrators.²⁴
- c. Moḥammad Qolī Beg Alārdī established a waqf with a two-thirds share of Maḥmūd-ābād hamlet located in Shahriyār county in 1814–15. The first waqf administrator was Moḥammad Qolī Beg, who would be succeeded by his male descendants. After the death of the endower, one *tomān* from the waqf was spent for the lights of the shrine while three *tomāns* were used for different purposes.²⁵
- d. Mīrzā Bozorg Nūrī endowed the *takye* located in the courtyard of the shrine with a one-third of the garden near shrine and Qanāt-e Sa'īd-ābād in 1830. After the maintenance of the endowed property, the one-fifth of the income should be taken by the waqf administrator, and the other four-fifths should be spent for the *takye* for such purposes as mourning ceremonies, food, carpets, and dishes. The waqf administrator was the waqf administrator of the shrine, Mīrzā Sayyed 'Alī and his descendants.²⁶
- e. A woman named Gelandām Khānom endowed the mourning ceremonies at the two *takyes* with a house located in the Ūdlājān district of Tehran city in 1834. The one *takye* was located in the courtyard of the shrine, and the other was in the shrine square in front of the bazaar. The first waqf administrator was herself, and Mīrzā Sayyed 'Alī, the waqf administrator of the shrine, and his descendants would take over after her death.²⁷

²³ Waqf deed of Soleymān Khān Qājār dated Zīqa' de 1214AH [*Ghār* 45–47].

²⁴ Part of the waqf deed cited in a legal edict dated Rajab 1330AH ['Aqīlī 1380: 396–397]. For his other waqf endowments, see [Kondo 2017: 124–126].

²⁵ Waqf deed of Moḥammad Qolī Beg Alārdī dated 1230AH, no. 841. Daftar-e va Shenāsā'ī-e Mowqūfāt, Waqf Organization, Tehran.

²⁶ Waqf deed of Mīrzā Bozorg Nūrī dated 15 Zīqa' de 1245AH [*Ghār* 65–70].

²⁷ Waqf deed of Gelandām Khānom dated 23 Jomādā II 1250AH ['Aqīlī 1380: 326–328].

- f. Hājji Mīrzā Bābā Ṭabīb (physician) endowed the mourning ceremony held at the *takye* located in the shrine square with a grocery, a bakery, and a dyehouse in 1857. He appointed himself the first waqf administrator, to be succeeded by a scholar, Āqā Sheykh Mahdī and his descendants.²⁸
- g. A woman from the Qajar family, Fāṭeme Solṭān Khānom, established a waqf with a one-sixth share of Rāmīn village in Shahriyār county and a one-sixth share of a watermill located near the shrine for mourning ceremonies in 1868. The first administrator was herself, to be succeeded by her son, and the waqf administrator of the shrine, Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan and his male descendants.²⁹
- h. Moḥammad Ebrāhīm Amīn al-Solṭān established a waqf related to the madrasa built by him named Madrased-e Amīniyye in 1879. The building of the madrasa, which was adjacent to the shrine and had 36 rooms, was a waqf for the students. A small bazaar including 33 shops and a caravansary were waqf property on behalf of Madrased-e Amīniyye and Madrased-e ‘Atīqe: the latter was located next to the gate of the shrine. The waqf administrator was the endower’s son ‘Alī Asghar (later known as Amin al-Solṭan II and Atābak-e A‘zam), and his male descendants. The waqf supervisor was the waqf administrator of the shrine.³⁰

Waqf (c) included a part of a village but it was not mentioned in the fiscal report of the shrine. The Qajar waqf for the shrine does not appear to relate much to villages. As for the purpose of the waqf, Waqf (d), (e), (f), and (g) concerned mourning ceremonies (*ta‘ziye-dāri*) and *takye*, the facilities for the ceremonies. In addition, Waqf (h) was on behalf of the madrasas. Therefore, five out of eight waqfs did not support the shrine itself but sponsored the *takyes* and the madrasas attached to the shrine.

Another point is that the administrators of Waqf (c), (f), and (h) were different from the administrator of the shrine. A list of waqf properties which were not part of the waqf property of the main ‘Abd al-‘Azim shrine was compiled in 1901 [*Qavānīn* 16–21].³¹ The list includes waqf property for a congressional mosque, three *takyes*, one small shrine, and two tombs. This indicates that many facilities attached to the shrine had different waqf administrators from that of the shrine.

²⁸ Waqf deed of Hājji Mīrzā Bābā Ṭabīb dated 20 Shavvāl 1273AH [*Ghār* 167–169].

²⁹ Waqf deed of Fāṭeme Solṭān Khānom bt. ‘Alī Shāh Qājār dated Shavvāl 1284 AH [*Ghār* 186–187; *Hedāyatī* 121–122].

³⁰ Waqf deed of Madrased-e Amīniyye dated 25 Rabī‘I 1296AH [*Ghār* 252–259]. The version in [*Rūh* vol. 4, 61–65] includes some mistakes.

³¹ Unfortunately the edited text in Ṣaḥfī and Zamānī-nezhād [1382: 324–326] omitted some lines that were written in *siyāq* script. The text also appears in the note of *Rūh*, where the facsimile of the *siyāq* part is put into the text [*Rūh* vol. 4, 137–139].

For these reasons, Qajar waqfs did not much support the main fiscal account of the shrine. Rather, these waqfs promoted mourning ceremonies and helped the madrasas but were not controlled by the waqf administrator of the shrine. Even in the nineteenth century, the ‘Abd al-‘Azim Shrine financially depended on the older waqfs from the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

3. Financial Structure

The financial structure of the shrine was clearly reflected in the financial reports from 1874–76, 1879–80, 1881–82, and 1901. These reports were compiled after the old sayyid family lost the post of waqf administrator of the shrine, and the Qajar state began intervening in the shrine’s waqf. In other words, the reports indicate the state’s effort to improve the financial situation of the shrine.

3.1. Income

Table 2 concerns the waqf income each year. It indicates that waqf income considerably increased in a quarter of a century. In 1874–76, the income from waqf villages was more than 3,000 *tomāns* per year while the income from urban waqf property was only 350 *tomāns* per year.³² Moreover, it is clear that the real income fall short of the budgeted income in these years. In 1879–80, the urban income increased to almost seven times as much as that in 1874–76, but the village income slightly decreased. In 1879–80, urban income did not change much from 1874–76 while the village income increased 30 percent from 1874–76. In 1881–82, the

Table 2: Shrine’s Waqf Income in Cash³³

	1874–76		1879–80	1881–82	1901
	Budget	Settlement	Settlement	Settlement	Settlement
Urban property	900.0t	350.0t	2,013.4t	2,097.4t	3,929.2t
Villages	2,790.0t	3,045.0t	2,890.0t	3,746.0t	6,892.4t
Total	3,690.0t	3,395.0t	4,903.4t	5,843.4t	10,821.6t

³² *Ketābche 1290–1291* covers two fiscal years. Therefore, for comparing with other years, all the numbers presented here are half of each number in the fiscal report. Only this report indicates the budget income for the year.

³³ Hereafter, I round the amount of money off to one decimal place of *tomān* (=10,000 *dīnārs*).

Table 3: Shrine's Waqf Income in Cash from Villages

	1874–76	1879–80	1881–82	1901
Deh-e Kheyr	1,425.0t	1,300.0t	2,000.0t	2,800.0t
Īlmān	500.0t	836.0t	966.0t	2,167.4t
Khalāzīr	750.0t	559.0t	585.0t	1,200.0t
Māftān	155.0t	30.0t	30.0t	500.0t
Zargande	125.0t	125.0t	125.0t	125.0t
Sīnak	0.0t	40.0t	40.0t	100.0t
Hūsāne	90.0t	0.0t	0.0t	0.0t
Total	3,045.0t	2,890t	3,746t	6892.4t

Table 4: Shrine's Waqf Income in Goods kh: *kharvār*

	1874–76	1879–80	1881–82	1901
Māftān	Cash only	Grain 80kh Straw 80kh	Grain 80kh Straw 80kh	Cash only
Khūrā'in	20kh	Wheat 56kh Barley 28kh	Wheat 56kh Barley 28kh	84kh
'Alā'in	Grain 136kh	Wheat 231kh Barley 115kh	511kh	511kh
Hūsāne	Cash only	Grain 40kh Straw 40kh	Grain 40kh Straw 40kh	Grain 100kh Straw 100kh
Khalāzīr	Cash only	Cash only	Cash only	10kh

income from the urban property did not change much from 1879–80, but the rural income increased 30 percent. Furthermore, both urban and rural income increased considerably in 1901: the former to 67 percent and the latter to 84 percent from 1879–80, respectively. In sum, the waqf income in 1901 was three times as much as that of 1874–76. We must consider inflation, but we can say that the shrine enjoyed more financial stability in 1901, as indicated by the growth in the number of employees as we will see below.

The urban-rural income ratio differed every year, but rural income always surpassed urban income. No new village was added to the waqf during these 25 years, but, as seen in Table 3, the income from the main two villages, Deh-e Kheyr and Īlmān, considerably increased during these years. The most important waqf property, Deh-e Kheyr, produced between 26 and 42 percent of all the income; its income increased almost twice from 1874–76 to 1901. The income of Īlmān in 1901 was more than four times as much as that in 1874–76.

Some villages paid the revenue in goods as indicated in Table 4. Again, we can see a slight increase in waqf income.

Table 5: Waqf Income from the Urban Property

	1874–76	1879–80	1881–82	1901
Shops (number)	110.0t	437.7t (13)	448.0t (15)	1,984.2t (21)
Rent for the sites of the shops		8.0t	8.4t	18.0t
Caravansary	150.0t	400.0t	400.0t	
Public bath in the courtyard		383.7t	400.0t	648.0t
Public bath in the square	30.0t	100.0t	100.0t	
Waqf garden for mourning ceremonies	60.0t	25.0t	25.0t	70.0t
Garden at the gate				15.0t
Waqf <i>qanāt</i> for mourning ceremonies		100.0t	125.0t	
Şadrī Qanāt		25.0t	25.0t	
New <i>qanāt</i>				500.0t
Watermill		12.0t	12.0t	24.0t
From the government for stipends of the staff		402.0t	402.0t	402.0t
Rewards for digging graves		120.0t	152.0t	250.0t
Salary of Madrase-e Hāshem as waqf supervisor				18.0t
Total	350.0t	2013.4t	2097.4t	3929.2t

On the other hand, the growth in income from the shops is fairly large. In this case, the number of waqf shops also increased from 13 shops in 1879–80 to 21 shops in 1901. Other urban waqf property comprised a caravansary, two public baths, the rent of the shops' sites, two gardens, water shares of three *qanāts*, and two gardens (*bāgh*). The growth of urban income was more noticeable than that of rural income probably because of the development of the city (*qaşabe*) of Shah 'Abd al-‘Azim.

We also find government stipends for the shrine staff, costing 402.0 *tomāns*. However, no income other than this from the government existed. The fiscal report also mentioned rewards for digging graves as income. This was because many people wanted to be buried in the courtyard of the shrine.³⁴

One can say the waqf income of the shrine had significantly increased after the change of waqf administrator. In particular, the growth of urban waqf income could be the result of the waqf reform.

³⁴ For the graves in the shrine, see [Rāzī n.d.].

Table 6: Expenditure in 1874–76 [*Ketābche 1290–1291*]

Items	Amounts		Details	Amounts	
	Cash	Grain		Cash	Grain
Various expenses	5,090t		Public baths	3090.0t	
			Aid for the poor	2000.0t	
Dredging of the <i>qanāts</i>	839.5t		Deh-e Kheyr	172.0t	
			Khalāzīr	255.0t	
			Īlmān	300.0t	
			Māftān	112.5t	
Repair of waqf property	892.0t	10kh		892.0t	10kh
Salaries et al.	922.0t	312kh	Salaries of 76 servants	702.0t	312kh
			Lights	100.0t	
			Mourning ceremonies	120.0t	
Total	7,733.5t	322kh			

3.2. Expenditure

According to the royal edict dated 1865, until then the waqf income was divided into three equal portions; the first portion being the salary of the waqf administrator, the second portion being used for the salaries of the shrine's staff, and the third portion being spent for the maintenance of the shrine by order of the administrator.³⁵ The official gazette explained it a little differently: the second portion contained not only the staff salaries but also fuel and maintenance, while the third part should be spent for the poor, pilgrims, and passers-by.³⁶ In any case, a one-third should be the salary of the waqf administrator, following the Safavid royal edict dated 1554 [Kondo 2015: 44]. We can compare this distribution of income with the fiscal reports.

As shown in Table 6, the expenditure in the fiscal report of 1874–76 had quite distinctive features. First, the expenditure, 7,733 *tomāns* 5,000 *dīnārs* in two years, considerably surpassed the income, 6,790 *tomāns* in the same years. The expenditure surpassed even the budget shown in the report. Second, the largest expense was for the maintenance of two public baths, 3,090 *tomāns*, which comprised approximately 40 percent of the total expenditure. The shrine also paid 839.5 *tomāns* for dredging the waqf *qanāts*. Apparently, the new-waqf administrator spent much on the maintenance of the public baths and *qanāts* because they had been

³⁵ Royal edict of Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah, dated Zīqa' de 1281AH [*Hedāyatī* 119–120].

³⁶ [*Dowlat* no. 567: 2, 12 Ramāzān 1281AH].

Table 7: Expenditure in 1879–80 [*Ketābche 1296*]

Items	Amounts		Details	Amounts	
	Cash	Grain		Cash	Grain
Salary of 103 servants	1,582.5t	535.5kh		1,582.5t	535.5kh
Expenses such as lights etc.	1,909.9t		Lights around the shrine	336.0t	
			Dinners and <i>eftārs</i>	588.8t	
			<i>Rowzekhānī</i>	124.9t	
			Candles	247.3t	
			Maintenance of <i>qanāts</i> , villages, and hamlets	199.0t	
			Bonus	42.9t	
			Payments for joiners	151.5t	
			Others	219.4t	
Construction works	1,430.3t		Construction works around the shrine	830.3t	
			Payments for constructors	600.0t	
Others	187.0t	1.16kh		187.0t	1.16kh
Total	5,109.7t	536.56kh			

neglected for a while. Moreover, 892 *tomāns* were spent for the maintenance of waqf property. In sum, a total of 4,821.5 *tomāns*, which comprised 62 percent of all expenditure, were expended for repair and maintenance.

The salaries of the staff were 702 *tomāns* in cash and 312 *kharvārs* in grain: the cash salaries comprised 9 percent of the total expenditure. The waqf administrator's salary remained blank in the fiscal report, but it must not have been one-third of the total income as the royal edict of 1865 mentioned because the shrine account had a huge deficit even without this salary, as mentioned above. The shrine employed 81 staff members in 1874–76, which number was approximately three-fourths of that in 1732, when the shrine employed 106 staff members [Kondo 2015: 57]. At this time, the shrine could not employ as many staff members as it had in 1732. Also, the total salary in grain was only a half of that in 1732. In addition, 2,000 *tomāns*, which comprised 26 percent of the total expenditure, were spent by Amin al-Soltan I for the poor. This might be based on the Safavid waqf regulation described in the official gazette, which allowed one-third of waqf income to be

spent for the poor.

By contrast, the fiscal report of 1879–80 indicates that the finances of the shrine had been normalized. The deficit of the account decreased to 206.3 *tomāns*. The construction works around the shrine needed 1,430.3 *tomāns*, 28 percent of the total expenditure, which means that the shrine was still carrying out renovations. Daily expenses such as lights, food, mourning ceremonies, and the maintenance of waqf property were 37 percent, 1,909.9 *tomāns*. The salaries of the staff were 1,582.5 *tomāns*, comprising 31 percent. Staff numbers had increased to 103, almost recovering the number of 1732. Again, the salary of the waqf administrator was not mentioned in contrast to the one-third of the total waqf income under the Safavid regulation.

Moreover, the fiscal report of 1881–82 did not show any account deficit but a surplus; the total expenditure was 5,180.2 *tomāns*, which was 663.2 *tomāns* less than

Table 8: Expenditure in 1881–82 [*Ketābche 1299*]

Items	Amounts		Details	Amounts	
	Cash	Grain		Cash	Grain
Debt to <i>tahvildār</i>	1,020.2t				
Salary of 111 servants	1,620.5t	541.5kh		1620.5t	541.5kh
Expenses such as lights etc.	1,490.4t		Dinner and tea	615.0t	
			<i>Rowzekhānī</i>	104.3t	
			Candles	346.0t	
			Maintenance of <i>qanāts</i>	79.1t	
			Grave of the former waqf administrator	48.0t	
			Salary of carriers	125.0t	
			Salary of <i>mohtaseb</i> and his two staff members	72.0t	
			Transport costs for grain and straw	58.5t	
			Others	42.5t	
Construction works	1,049.1t		Construction works	1,049.1t	
Total	5,180.2t	541.5kh			

the income, even after 1,020.2 *tomāns* were paid as debt to purveyors (*taḥvīldār*). In other words, the shrine accounts had so improved that the shrine could pay its debts and still have a surplus that year. One reason for this financial improvement was the decrease in construction works; they needed 1,049.1 *tomāns* (20 percent of the total expenditure), a 27 percent decrease from the amount in 1879–80. The shrine spent 1,490.4 *tomāns* (29 percent of the total) for daily expenses such as food, tea, and lights, which also decreased from the 1,909.9 *tomāns* of 1879–80.

By contrast, the staff salaries increased slightly from the former 1,582.5 to 1,620.5 *tomāns*, which comprised 31 percent of the total. Similar to the previous years, the salary of the waqf administrator was not mentioned at all. Staff numbers reached 111, which means that finally the shrine had completely recovered its staff, over and above the number in 1732.

Finally, the expenditure in 1901, 5,285.8 *tomāns*, had not much changed from that of 1881–82. Since the income had increased to 10,821.6 *tomāns*, a huge

Table 9: Expenditure in 1901 [*Ketābche 1319*]

Items	Amounts		Details	Amounts	
	Cash	Grain		Cash	Grain
Salary of 135 servants	2545.7t	717.0kh		2545.7t	717.0kh
Bonus	112.6t			112.6t	
Daily Expenses	2597.5t	3.6kh	Dinner	1080.0t	
			<i>Eftār</i>	33.0t	
			Tea and coffee	180.0t	
			<i>Rowzekhānī</i>	195.0t	
			Lights and Candles	615.0t	
			5 <i>farrāshs</i> in the street	162.0t	
			5 <i>farrāshs</i> in the courtyard	180.0t	
			Dishes for the former waqf administrator	93.0t	
			Payment for the coffee maker	24.0t	
			Fee for the cook	18.0t	3.6kh
			Others	17.5t	
Others	30.0t		Others	30.0t	
Total	5,285.8t	720.6kh		5,285.8t	720.6kh

surplus remained as much as 5,535.8 *tomāns*. The reason is obvious: the expenditure did not include any construction work or repairs. It is not clear if the 1901 report just ignored them or if in fact the shrine did not need them.

The daily expenses, such as lights, food, and fuel, were 2,597.5 *tomāns*, a 74 percent increase from the amount in 1879–80 and approximately half of the whole expenditure. The staff salaries were 2,545.7 *tomāns* in cash, a 57 percent increase from the amount in 1879–80, which also was approximately half of the whole expenditure. Prince ʿEyn al-Dowle, the waqf administrator, received a modest salary from the shrine; one hundred *tomāns* in cash—less than 2 percent of the whole expenditure—, and five *kharvār* in goods. Staff numbers reached as high as 135, an increase from 111 in 1879–80.

Comparing the data from the four fiscal reports, the deficits found in the reports from 1874–76 and 1879–80 vanished in the report of 1881–82 and 1901. The deficit in 1874–76 was considerable because the shrine needed money for repairs and construction, and money expended was greater than in any other reports. Since the condition of the buildings and facilities was improved in those years, the shrine needed less repair or construction work later. Although the number of shrine staff members and their salaries increased, the fiscal situation of the shrine had improved over 27 years.

3.3. Staff and Salaries

The salaries of the staff were the main expenditure for the shrine. While in 1874–76, the salaries comprised only 9 percent of the total expenditure, they made up 49 percent in 1901. As mentioned above, the number of staff members increased from 76 in 1874–76 to 103 in 1879–80, 111 in 1881–82, and 135 in 1901.

Table 10 indicates the details of the staff. The categories of staff changed after 1874–76. The first category in the later years, *raʿīss*, included a *mojtahed* (Sheykh Mahdī), the seal-keeper (*mohr-dār*), the superintendent of the waqf administration (*nāzem al-towliye*), the vice waqf administrator (*nāʿeb al-towliye*), the chief footman (*farrāsh-bāshī*), the chiefs of guardians (*sar-keshīk*), the shrine key holders (*kelid-dār*), the chief Qurʿan reciter (*sadr al-ḥuffāz*), a preacher (*vāʿez*), a financial officer (*mostowfī*), an accountant (*sarreshte-dār*), a doctor (*tabīb*), and a librarian (*ketab-dār*). In 1879–80 and 1881–82, this group received more than 75 percent of all staff salaries.

The duty of the servants (*khādem*) is not clear. However, the guardians (*keshīk*) of the shrine who attended the shrine in turn from sunrise to the next sunrise must have been selected from this group. They had the privilege of reading the pilgrimage prayer (*ziyārat-nāme*) and eating dinner in their office. They guarded the shrine all night without sleeping [*Qavānīn* 6–7]. They served not only the ʿAbd

Table 10: Staff Numbers and Their Details

Staff categories (1874–76)	1874–76	Staff categories	1879–80	1881–82	1901
<i>Khādem</i>	28	<i>Ra'īs</i>	23	24	31
		<i>Khādem</i>	18	25	31
<i>Qārī</i>	16	<i>Qārī</i>	16	16	17
<i>Cherāghchī</i>	10	<i>Āstānedār,</i> <i>golābdār,</i> <i>cherāghchī</i> etc.	22	21	18
<i>Mo'azzen</i>	7				
<i>Farrāsh-e ḥaram</i>	2	<i>Farrāsh</i>	24	25	18
<i>Farrāsh-e sahn</i>	11				
<i>Tahvīldār</i>	2	Others			20
Total	76		103	111	135

al-'Azim Shrine but also two adjacent shrines, Emānzāde Hamze and Emānzāde Tāher.

The third group comprised Qur'an reciters (*qārī*). Their number did not change much from 1874–76 to 1901. According to the regulations, every day fourteen reciters gathered in front of the main shrine one hour before sunrise and recited the Qur'an until sunrise. Also one hour after sunset, they gathered in the same place and read the prayer for the twelve Imams for an hour [*Qavānīn* 8–9].

The fourth group contained various staff members such as threshold keepers (*āstāne-dār*), rose-water keepers (*golāb-dār*), lamplighters (*cherāghchī*), mu'azzins, a joiner (*najjārī*), and a watchmaker (*sā'at-sāz*). One threshold keeper, one rose-water keeper and two lamplighters were on duty every week [*Qavānīn* 10–11].

The last group included 25 staff members, including footmen (*farrāsh*), shoe keepers (*kafsh-dār*), and water carriers (*saqqā'*). Footmen had the duty of cleaning up the courtyard and the sanctuary of the shrine and had the right to eat dinner in the guardians' office when they were on duty. Four shoe keepers worked for a week in turn and had the right to receive all gratuities concerning shoes. Water carriers sprinkled water on the courtyard in the morning and evening if necessary [*Qavānīn* 7, 9–10]. These staff duties were never mentioned in the waqf deeds; they were determined by the order of the waqf administrators and the regulations established by them.

The question to be considered now is how much the sayyid family, who had controlled the waqf for several centuries, received from the waqf income after they lost its control. We cannot find any relatives from this sayyid family in the fiscal report of 1874–76. However, in 1879–80, Mīrzā Hedāyat Allāh, the vice waqf administrator of the shrine and one of the leaders of the *keshtk* (the shrine guardians), who was the son of the last administrator from the family, Mīrzā Abū

al-Ḥasan, received a salary of 130 *tomāns* and 10 *kharvārs*. He was the second highest paid staff member at the shrine after Ḥājī Sayyed ‘Alī Farrāshbāshī who received a salary of 149.7 *tomāns* and 15 *kharvārs* [*Ketābche* 1296: 2].

In 1881–82, Mīrzā Hedāyat Allāh received the same amount of salary, less only than Farrāshbāshī. In addition, two daughters of the last administrator from the family received pensions from the shrine: 100 *tomāns* and five *kharvārs* [*Ketābche* 1299: 6–7]. In sum, the cash amount received by the family, 230 *tomāns*, comprised only 4.5 percent of the total waqf income of the shrine. In 1901, Mīrzā Hedāyat Allāh held three posts of vice waqf administrator, leader of the *keshtk*, and servant of the holy lattice (*zarīḥ*). He was the highest paid among the staff members with 200 *tomāns* and 10 *kharvārs*, more than the waqf administrator, ‘Eyn al-Dowle, who had a 100 *tomāns* and five *kharvārs* salary. His sons also received a salary of 80 *tomāns* and seven *kharvārs* [*Ketābche* 1319: 28–29, 38]. The total of the cash salaries, 280 *tomāns*, comprised 5.3 percent of the total expenditure of the year.

According to the regulations, the posts of deceased servants were inherited by their heirs. If the deceased did not have any sons, his daughters inherited the post even though the daughters were not expected to accomplish the deceased’s duty [*Qavānīn* 13–14]. Therefore, the old sayyid family was able to receive some salaries. However, when we consider the content of the royal edict issued in 1865, which authorized the family to receive one-third of the waqf income, we see the financial reform of the shrine was achieved by sacrificing the family’s revenue.

Conclusion

Thus far, the fiscal reports from 1874–76, 1879–80, 1881–82, and 1901 clearly indicate that the fiscal situation of the Shah ‘Abd al-‘Azim waqf gradually improved after the Qajar state changed waqf administrators in 1872. The old sayyid family, who received one-third of waqf income, lost control of the waqf and received salaries or pensions that were worth only 4 or 5 percent of the total waqf expenditure. With the increase in income, the fiscal deficit disappeared in 1881–82, and the number of employees increased from 81 to 135 in 25 years. The shrine, which had suffered from political disturbance during the eighteenth century, finally regained its prosperity.

Two more points must be considered. First, the Qajars did not add much property to the shrine waqf and revived it mainly by administrative reform. A madrasa and a few *takye* were built at the side of the shrine, but their waqfs were separated from the shrine waqf. The shrine waqf shops increased, but no village was endowed with the shrine’s main waqf. The financial problem of the late Qajar government might be the reason. In other words, the state tried to revive the shrine without much expense.

Second, this reform in waqf administration by the state was contested legally by the old sayyid family. As mentioned above, in 1897, Sayyed ‘Abd Allāh Behbahānī, a famous *mojtahed* in Tehran, issued a legal edict (*hokm*) confirming that Hājji Mīrzā Hedāyat Allāh had a legitimate right to be waqf administrator of the shrine and to receive one-third of the total waqf income. Two other famous *mojtaheds* in Tehran, Mīrzā Ḥasan Āshtiyānī and Sheykh Fażl Allāh Nūrī, also endorsed this edict. Moẓaffar al-Dīn Shah even issued a royal edict to appoint Hedāyat Allāh as waqf administrator in the same year following this legal edict. However, in reality, Hedāyat Allāh was not able to recover his rights, as the list of administrators and the fiscal report of 1901 indicate. Again, in 1912, Hedāyat Allāh acquired another legal edict from three prominent *mojtaheds* in Tehran, Hājji Emām Jom‘e Kho‘ī, Mīr Sayyed Ḥasan Modarres, Hājji Sheykh Moḥammad Taqī Gorgānī, to support his position as waqf administrator.³⁷ However, it appears that the state had never given up control of the shrine waqf. The shrine and its prosperity were so important that the state preferred to control it directly, even though this control was legally contested by the old sayyid family.

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³⁷ Legal edict, dated 1 Rajab 1330AH, reprinted in [*Hedāyatī* 43–47] and [‘Aqīlī 1380: 394–398].

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