



SAFAVID DYNASTY (CONT.)

SAFAVID DYNASTY (continued)

Annotated Bibliography:

This bibliography includes the major sources and studies for the Safavid period but focuses on the ones that have been published since the publication of *Camb. Hist. Iran* VI, which contains an excellent bibliography up to about 1980.

General overviews. R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge, U.K., 1980, until recently the only book-length overview of the entire Safavid period in a Western language, has now been joined by Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, London and New York, 2006. Large parts of H.-R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit: Iranische Geschichte von 1350-1750*, Stuttgart, 1989, and D. Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, London, 1988, are devoted to the Safavids as well. A full discussion of the period can also be found in *Camb. Hist. Iran* VI. In Persian, the Safavids receive comprehensive treatment in A. Tājbaḳš, *Tārik-e Šafawiya*, Tehran, 1994; and R. Ja'fariān, *Šafawiya az zoḥur tā zawāl 905-1135*, Tehran, 1999. M. Karim Yusof Jamāli, *Tārik-e taḥawollāt-e Irān-e 'ašr-e Šafawi. Az Šayḳ Šafi tā Šāh Esmā'il-e awwal*, Isfahan, 2006, discusses the Safavids up to the reign of Shah 'Abbās I.

Recently edited collections on Safavid Persia. These include R. Savory's collected articles published as *Studies on the History of Safavid Iran*, London, 1987; J. Calmard, *Études safavides*, Paris and Tehran, 1993; C. Melville, ed. *Safavid*



Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society, London, 1996; A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, Leiden, 2003; M. Mazzaoui, ed., *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2003; and Maqṣud-ʿAli Ṣādeq, ed., *Irān-zamin dar gostarda-ye tāriḳ-e Ṣafawiya*, Tabriz, 2004, R. Jaʿfariān, ed., *Kāvešhā-ye tāza-e dar bāb-e ruzgār-e Ṣafawi*, Tehran, 2005, as well as in the special issues on Safavid Persia of *Iranian Studies* 7/1-2, (“Studies on Isfahan”) 1974; and 31/2, (“Historiography and Representation in Safavid and Afsharid Iran”) 1998, and in *Ketāb-e māh. Tāriḳ wa joḡrāfiā*, December 2000, pp. 37-38. Other recently published collections of documents are Moḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṣāmlu, *Jong-e Mortazā-qoli Ṣāmlu gerdāvari dar sāl-e 1069 qamari*, ed. I. Afšār, Tehran 2003; and “Tāriḳča-ye Ṣafawiyān (az nosḳa-ye ketābkāna-ye Asḡar Mahdawi,” in I. Afšār, ed. *Daftar-e tāriḳ, daftar-e dovvom*, Tehran, 2005, pp. 5-148.

Cartography. The cartography of the Persian Gulf throughout history, including the Safavid period, has recently been studied in M. R. Sahab et al., *Persian Gulf: Atlas of Old and Historical Maps (3000 B.C. -2000 A.D.)*, 2 vols., Tehran, 2005; and D. Couto, J. -L. Bacqué-Grammont and M. Taleghani, eds.; and Z. Biedermann, coordinator, *Atlas Historique du Golfe Persique (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)/Historical Atlas of the Persian Gulf (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)/Aṭlas-e tāriḳi-e ḳalij-e Fārs (Qarn-e šānzdahom—qarn-e hejddahom)*, Turnhout, 2006.

Genealogies. For Safavid genealogies, see Shaikh Ḥosayn Pirzāda Zāhedī, *Selselat al-nasab-e Ṣafawiya*, ed. K. R. Irānšahr, Berlin, 1924-25. The connection between the Safavids and the Marʿaši dynasty of Māzandarān is examined in M. ʿA. Ḥāʿeri, “Kānedān-e Marʿaši wa salāṭin-e Ṣafawi,” in S. M. Marʿaši-Najafi, ed., *Ganjina-ye šehāb*, 3 vols., 2001, II, pp. 96-110; detailed information on the same family and of the Kiā Sayyeds of Gilān prior to the Safavids is available in Y. Goto, “Der Aufstieg zweier Sayyid Familien am Kaspischen Meer: ‘Volksislamische’ Strömungen im Iran des 8./14. und 9./15. Jahrhunderts,” *WZKM* 89, 1999, pp. 45-84.

Farmāns. A large collection of *farmāns* (q.v.) letters and other official documents is contained in ʿA. Nawāʾi, ed., *Šāh Esmāʾil Ṣafawi. Majmuʿa-ye asnād o mokātebāt-e tāriḳi hamrāh bā yāddāsthā-ye tafṣili*, Tehran, 1989; Idem, ed., *Šāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafawi. Majmuʿa-ye asnād o mokātebāt-e tāriḳi hamrāh bā yāddāsthā-ye tafṣili*, Tehran, 1989; Idem, ed., *Šāh ʿAbbās. Majmuʿa-ye asnād o mokātebāt-e tāriḳi hamrāh bā yāddāsthā-ye tafṣili*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1987; Idem, ed., *Asnād o mokātebāt-e siāsi-ye Irān az sāl-e 1038 tā 1105 h.q. hamrāh bā*



yāddāsthā-ye tafṣili, Tehran, 1981; Idem, ed., *Asnād o mokātebāt-e siāsi-ye Irān az sāl-e 1105 tā 1135 h.q. hamrāh bā yāddāsthā-ye tafṣili*, Tehran, 1984; and D. Tābetiān, ed., *Asnād o nāmāhā-ye tāriki wa ejtemā'i-ye dawra-ye Ṣafawiya*, Tehran, 1964. For *farmāns*, including facsimiles, transcriptions, and translations, as well as letters, also see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden*, Cairo, 1959; B. G. Martin, "Seven Safawid Documents from Azerbaijan," in S. M. Stern, ed., *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 171-254; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, Budapest, 1977, pp. 349-437; B. G. Fragner, "Ardabīl zwischen Sultan und Schah. Zehn Urkunden Schah Ṭahmāsb II," *Turcica* 6, 1975, pp. 177-225; Idem, "Shah Isma'īl's Farmans and Sanads: Tradition and Reform in Persephone Administration and Chancellery Affairs," *Journal of Azarbaijan Studies* 1, 1998, pp. 35-47; Idem, *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden. Publierte Originalurkunden (bis 1848)*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1980, pp. 51-220, with a good bibliography referring, *inter alia*, to the many *farmāns* published by J. Qā'em-maqāmi and published in the journal *Barrasihā-ye tāriki*. R. Schimkoreit, *Regesten publizierter safawidischer Herrscherurkunden*, Berlin, 1982. For Safavid *farmāns* and documents held in the Matanadaran collection in Yerevan, Armenia, see A. D. Papazyan, *Persidskie dokumenty Matenadarana*, 3 vols., Yerevan, 1956-68. Similar material from Georgian collections is assembled in V. Puturidze, ed., *Persidskie istoricheskie dokumntety v knogokhranilishakh Gruzii*, 4 vols., Tiflis, 1961-77, and in M. A. Todua and I. K. Shams, eds., *Tbilisskaya kolleksiya persidskikh firmanov*, 2 vols., Tiflis, 1989. For documents from the Caspian provinces, see M. Dabihi and M. Sotuda, eds., *Az Astārā ta Astrābād*, VI and VII, Tehran, 1965; and F. Nowzād, ed., *Nāmāhā-ye Kān Aḥmad Kān Gilāni nima-ye dovvom-e sada-ye dahom-e hejri*, Tehran, 1994.

The rise of the Safavids. The emergence of the dynasty is the subject of W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1936. M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Šī'ism, Sūfism, and the Ġulāt*, Wiesbaden, 1972, discusses the same period from a mostly religious perspective. A similar approach has been taken by M. K. Yusof Jamāli, *Taškīl-e dawlat-e ṣafawi wa ta'mim-e maḏhab-e tašayo'e davāzdah-emāmi be'onwān-e tanhā-maḏhab-e rasmi*, Tehran, 1993.

The Qezelbāš. For a primary source on the Qezelbāš, see Anon., *Tāriq-e Qezelbāšān*, ed. Mir-Hāšem Moḥaddet, Tehran, 1982. The role of the Qezelbāš tribes in the emergence of the Safavids is the subject of F. Sümer, *Taškīl wa*



tawse'a-ye dawlat-e šafawi, tr. from Turkish, Tehran, 1992. The Qezelbāš are also discussed in: I. Mélikoff, "Le problème *kızılbaş*," *Turcica* 6, 1975, pp. 49-67; J. J. Reid, "The Qarāmānlū: The Growth and Development of a Lesser Tribal Elite in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Persia," *Stud. Ir.* 9, 1980, pp. 195-209; Idem, *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran 1500-1629*, Malibu, Calif., 1983; H.-R. Roemer, "The Qizilbash Turcomans: Founders and Victims of the Safavid Theocracy," in M. M. Mazzaoui and V. B. Moreen, eds., *Intellectual Studies on Islam*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1990, pp. 27-40; and in A. H. Morton, "The *Chub-i tariq* and *Qizilbash* Ritual in Safavid Persia," in J. Calmard, *Études safavides*, pp. 225-45. A thorough study of the *Šāhseven* can be found in R. Tapper, *Frontier Nomads: A History of the Shahsevan*, Cambridge, U.K., 1997.

Shah Esmā'il. The political history of the reign of Shah Esmā'il is covered in Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shah Isma'il Safawi*, Aligarh, 1939; R. Šafawi, *Zendegāni-e Šāh Esmā'il Šafawi*, Tehran, 1962; and, more recently, in M. Pārsādust, *Šāh Esmā'il-e awwal. Pādšāhi bā āttārḥā-ye dirpāy dar Irān wa irāni*, Tehran, 1996. Important for the early period are E. Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qazi Ahmad Qumi*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970; J. Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsideré," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 5, 1988, pp. 1-130, as well as his "Révolution chiite et conservatisme. Les soufis de Lbhejbn, 1500-1514," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 1, 1984, pp. 1-40; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins. Contributions à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient islamique de 1514 à 1524*, Istanbul, 1987; M. Gronke, "Auf den Weg von der geistlichen zur weltlichen Macht. Schlaglichter zur frühen Safavīya," *Saeculum* 42, 1991, pp. 164-83; A. H. Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Isma'il in the *Afzal al-tavarikh* and Elsewhere," in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 27-51; S. A. Arjomand, "The Rise of Shah Esmā'il as a Mahdist Revolution," *Studies in Persianate Societies* 3, 2005, pp. 44-65. The fame of Shah Esmā'il in Europe is the subject of P. Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi: Political Rhetoric and 'Divine' Kingship," in J. V. Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, New York and London, 1996, pp. 331-59; and G. Ponte, "Attorno Leonardo de Vinci. L'attesa popolare del Sofi di Persia in Venezia e Firenze all'inizio del Cinquecento," *Rassegna della Letteratura*, 81, 1977, pp. 5-19. For the Battle of Čālderān, see H. Ḥejāzifar, *Šāh Esmā'il wa jang-e Čālderān*, Tehran, 1995.

Shah Ṭāhmāsp I. His reign is covered by P. Horn, "Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Šāh Ṭāhmāsb von Persien," *ZDMG* 44, 1890, pp. 563-649, and 45, 1891, pp.



245-91; M. Pārsādust, *Šāh Tahmāsb-e awwal*, Tehran, 1998; M. B. Dickson, "Shāh Tahmāsb and the Uzbeks (The Duel for Khurasān with 'Ubayd Khān, 930-940/1524-1540," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1958; and in C. Mitchell, "The Sword and the Pen: Diplomacy in Early Safavid Iran (1501-1555)," Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2002. The short reign of Shah Esmā'il II is discussed in W. Hinz, "Schah Esmā'il II. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Safawiden," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 36, pt. 2, Berlin, 1933, pp. 19-100; and, with that of his successor Moḥammad Ḳodābanda, in M. Pārsādust, *Šāh Esmā'il-e dovvom wa Šāh Moḥammad*, Tehran, 2002. H.-R. Roemer, *Der Niedergang Irans nach dem Tode Isma'īls des Grausamen, 1577-1581*, Würzburg, 1939, covers the period following Shah Esmā'il II's death. Shah Ḳodābanda's administration is the topic of C. P. Mitchell, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Shah Mohammad Khodābanda and the Safavid Dār al-Enshā," *Studies in Persianate Societies* 3, 2005, pp. 66-98.

Shah 'Abbās I. For the reign of this famous monarch, see L.-L. Bellan, *Chah 'Abbas I, sa vie, son histoire*, Paris, 1932; and N. Falsafi, *Zendegāni-e Šāh 'Abbās-e awwal*, 5 vols. in 3, Tehran, 4th ed., 1990; as well the biography by H. Nahavandi and Y. Bomati, *Shah Abbas. Empereur de Perse 1587-1629*, Paris, 1998. For aspects of Shah 'Abbās' policies see C. Melville, "From Qars to Qandahar: The Itineraries of Shah 'Abbas I," in J. Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*, pp. 195-224; Idem, "Shah 'Abbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad," in idem, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 191-229; C. P. Mitchell, "Shāh 'Abbās, the English East India Company and the Cannonneers of Fārs," *Itinerario* 24, 2000, pp. 104-25. Hellmut Braun, "Das Erbe Schah 'Abbās I. Iran und seine Könige 1629-1694," Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 1967, discusses the period following the reign of Shah 'Abbās I. For Shah 'Abbās II, see Paul Luft, "Iran unter Schah 'Abbās II (1642-1666)," Ph.D. diss., University of Göttingen, 1968.

The Fall of the Safavid dynasty. Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, Cambridge, 1958, is a quasi-exhaustive study of the period of decline of the Safavids ; A different interpretation based on several new sources can be found in R. Matthee, *Persia in Crisis : Safavid Decline and the Fall of Isfahan*, London and New York, forthcoming 2009. See also J. Foran, "The Long Fall of the Safavid Dynasty: Moving beyond the Standard Views," *IJMES* 24, 1992, pp. 281-304. W. Floor, ed., *The Afghan Occupation of Safavid Persia 1721-1729*, Paris, 1988, brings together many of the Dutch sources written around the time of the demise of the Safavid state. R. Ja'fariān, ed., *Elal-e bar-oftādan-e Šafawiyān. Mokāfāt-nāma*,



Tehran, 1993, adds important new Persian source material to the available sources, as does Moḥammad Šāfi' Tehrāni, *Mer'āt-e wāredāt. Tāriḳ-e soqūṭ-e Šafawiān. Payāmadhā- ān va farmānravā'i-e malek Maḥmud Sistāni*, ed. M. Šefatgol, Tehran, 2004. A study of Azarbaijan at the time of the demise of the Safavids, is A. Abdurahmanov, *Azerbaidzhan vo vzaimootnosheniakh Rossii, Turtsii i Irana v pervoi polovinie XVIII v.* (Azarbaijan between Russia, Turkey and Persia in the first half of the 18th cent.), Baku, 1964. A study of Tabriz under the Ottomans is F. Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Tabriz under Ottoman Rule," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991. Relevant primary sources for the later period is also found in the Armenian accounts: see M.-F. Brosset, tr. and ed., *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1876; Zakāria of Agulis, *The Journals of Zakāria of Agulis*, tr. and ed. G. A. Bournoutian, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2003; *The History of Vardapet Arak'el of Tabriz*, tr. and ed. G. A. Bournoutian, vols. 1 and 2, Costa Mesa, 2005 and 2006. P. di Sarkis Gilanentz, *The Chronicle of P. di S. Gilanentz concerning the Afghan Invasion of Persia in 1722*, tr. C. Minasian, Lisbon, 1959. First-hand material from Russia in this period is contained in: P. P. Bushev, *Posol'stvo Artemiia Volynsgovo v Iran v 1715-1718 gg* (The Mission of Artemii Volynski to Iran, 1715-1718) Moscow, 1978; F. Beneveni, *Poslannik Petra I na Vostoke. Posol'stvo Florio Beneveni v Persiiu i Bukhary v 1718-1725 godakh* (An envoy of Peter I in the East. The Mission of Florio Beneveni to Persia and Bukhara in 1718-1725), ed. L. Vais et al., Moscow, 1986; C. P. Sidorko, "'Kampf den ketzerischen Qizilbaş!' Die Revolte des Haḡḡi Dā'ūd (1718-1728)," in R. Motika and M. Ursinus, eds., *Caucasia between the Ottoman Empire and Iran, 1555-1914*, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 133-46; Qoṭb-al-Din Širāzi Nayrizi, *Resāla-ye siyāsi dar taḥlil-e 'elal-e soqūṭ-e dawlat-e Šafawiya wa rāh-e ḥall-e bāzgašt-e ān be qodrat*, ed. R. Ja'fariān, Qom, 1992. Additional information can be found in J. Perry, "The Last Safavids (1722-73)," *Iran* 9, 1971, pp. 59-71; R. Matthee, "Blinded by Power: The Rise and Fall of Fath 'Ali Khan Daghestani, Grand Vizier under Shah Soltan Hoseyn (1127/1715-1133/1720)," *Stud. Ir.* 33, 2004, pp. 179-220.

Local histories of the period. Few such histories from the Safavid period have been edited and published. For Gilān, see Mollā 'Abd-al-Fattāḥ Fowmani Gilāni, *Tāriḳ-e Gilān dar waqāye'-e sālhā-ye 923-1038 h.q.*, ed. M. Sotuda, Tehran, 1970. Much information about Māzandarān is contained in Mir Taymur Mar'aši, *Tāriḳ-e kānedān-e Mar'aši-e Māzandarān*, ed. M. Sotuda, Tehran, 1985. For Khuzestan, see Sayyed 'Abd-Allāh b. Nur-al-Din b. Ne'mat-Allāh Ḥosayni, *Taḍkera-ye Šuštār*, Calcutta, 1924. For Kermān, see Mašizi (Bardsiri), *Tāriḳ-e Šafawiya-ye Kermān*, ed. M. E. Bāstāni-Pārizi, Tehran, 1990;



and Mollā Moḥammad Mo'men Kermāni, *Ṣaḥifat al-Eršād (Tāriḳ-e Afašār-e Kermān)* —*pāyān-e kār-e Safawiya*, ed. M. E. Bāstāni-Pārizi, Tehran, 2005.

Studies of local history include N. N. Tumanovich, *Gerat v XVI-XVIIe vekakh* (Herat in the 16h-17th century), Moscow, 1989; and M. Szuppe, *Entre Timourides, Uzbekes et Safavides. Questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hérat dans la première moitié du XVI siècle*, Paris, 1992; idem, "Les résidences princières de Herat. Problèmes de continuité fonctionnelle entre les époques timouride et safavide (1ère moitié du XVIe siècle)," *Études safavides*, ed. J. Calmard, Paris, 1993, pp. 267-86. For Azarbaijan in early Safavid times, see O. Efendiev, *Azerbaidzhanskoe gosudarstvo Sefevidov v XVI veke* (The Azarbaijani Safavid state in the 16th century), Baku, 1981. A large part of F. Manṣuri, *Moṭāle'āti dar bāra-ye tāriḳ, zabān wa farhang-e Ādarbāyjān*, Tehran, 2000, is also devoted to events and developments in Azarbaijan in Safavid times. For Shirwan (Širvān), see S. Ashurbeili, *Gosudarstvo Shirvanshakhov (VI-XVIIe vv.)* (The government of the Shirvanshahs, VI-XVI cent.), Baku, 1983; and M. Salmāsi-zāda, "Širvān dar dawra-ye Ṣafawi," *Irānšenākt* 3, 1996, pp. 111-42. For Qazvin, see M. Szuppe, "Palais et jardins. Le complexe royal des premiers safavides a Qazvin, milieu XVIe-début XVIIe siècles," in *Res Orientales* 8, *Rites et monuments disparus d'après les témoignages de voyageurs*, ed. R. Gyselen, Bures-sur-Yvette, 1996, pp. 143-77. For Isfahan see: E. Gaube and Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, Wiesbaden, 1980, (with a facsimile of the compendium on caravanserais "Dar dānestan-e karvānserāhā-ye Eṣfahān"); M. E. Bāstāni-Pārizi, *Ganj-'Ali-kān*, 3rd ed., Tehran, 1989, focuses on Kermān. For Hormuz and the Persian Gulf coast, see J. Aubin, "Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle," *Mare Luso-Indicum* 2, 1972, pp. 77-179; Idem, "La politique iranienne d'Ormuz (1515-1540)," *Studia [Centro de Estudios Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisbon]* 53, 1994, pp. 27-43; M. Bāqer Woṭuqi, *Tāriḳ-e mohājerāt-e aqwām dar Kalij-e Fārs*, Shiraz, 2001; and, more recently, W. Floor, *The Persian Gulf. A Political and Economic History of Five Port Cities 1500-1730*, Washington, D.C., 2006. For the Moša'sa' in Khuzestan, see W. Caskel, "Die Wālī's von Huwēzeh. Saijid Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ und seine Nachkommen," *Islamica* 6, 1934, pp. 415-34; and M. 'A. Ranjbar, *Moša'sa'īān. Māhiyat-e fekri-e ejtemā'i wa farāyand-e taḥawwolāt-e tāriḳi*, Tehran, 2003.

Safavid chronicles. Many chronicles of the period have been published in the last twenty-five years, some of them in critical editions. The most important ones are Anon., *Ālamārā-ye Šāh Ṭahmāsb. Zendegi-e dāstāni-ye dovvomin pādšāh-e dawra-ye Ṣafawi*, ed. I. Afšār, Tehran, 1991; Sayyed b. Mortazā



Ḥosayni Astarābādi, *Az Šayḵ Ṣaḡī tā Šāh Ṣaḡī az tāriḳ-e solṭāni*, ed. E. Ešrāqi, Tehran, 1985; S. ‘Abd-al-Ḥosayn Kāṭunābādi, *Waqāye’ al-sennin wa’l a’wām*, ed. M. Bāqer Bahudī, Tehran, 1973. Qāzi Aḥmad b. Šaraf-al-Din Ḥosayn Ḥosayni Qomi, *Kolāṣat al-tawāriḳ*, ed. E. Ešrāqi, 2 vols., Tehran, 1980; Ġiāt-al-Din Kvāndamir, *Ḥabib al-siyar*, ed. M. Dabirsiāqi, 4 vols., Tehran, 1983; Mollā Jalāl-al-Din Monajjem, *Tāriḳ-e ‘abbāsi yā ruznāma-ye Mollā Jalāl*, Tehran, 1987; Moḥammad-Mofid Mostawfi, *Moktaṣar-e mofid*, ed. Sayf-al-Din Najmābādi, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1991; Šaraf-al-Din Bedlisi, *Šaraf-nāma*, ed. V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1861; New ed. Moḥammad ‘Abbāsi, Tehran, 1994; the first vol. of an Eng. tr. has now been published as *The Sharafnama or the History of the Kurdish Nation, 1597*, tr. M. R. Izady, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2005; ‘Abdi Beg Širāzi, *Takmelat al-aḳbār*, ed. ‘A. Navā’i, Tehran, 1990; Amir Maḥmud b. Kvāndamir, *Tāriḳ-e Šāh Esmā’il wa Šāh Ṭahmāsb*, ed. M. ‘A. Jarrāhi, Tehran, 1994. Budaq Monši Qazvini, *Jawāher al-aḳbār*, ed. M. Bahrām-nežād, Tehran, 2000, K’uršāh b. Qobād Ḥosayni, *Tāriḳ-e elči-ye Nežāmšāh*, ed. M. R. Nā’eri and K. Haneda, Tehran, 2000. Moḥammad-Ṭāher Baštāmi, *Fotuḥāt-e Fereyduniya (Šarḥ-e janghā-ye Fereydun Kān Čarkas amir-al-omarā-ye šāh ‘Abbās-e awwal)*, ed. S. S. Mir Moḥammad-Šādeq and M. N. Naširi, Tehran, 2001. Qāzi Aḥmad Tatavi and Ašef Khan Qazvini, *Tāriḳ-e alfī. Tāriḳ-e Irān wa kešvarhā-ye hamsāya dar sālḥā-ye 850-984*, ed. S.-‘A. Āl-e Dāwud, Tehran, 1999. Amir Šadr-al-Din Ebrāhim Amini Heravi, *Fotuḥāt-e Šāhi (Tāriḳ-e Šafawi az āğāz tā sāl-e 920 h.q.)*, ed. M. Režā Nāšeri, Tehran, 2004. For newly published chronicles covering the period after Shah ‘Abbās I, see Moḥammad-Ma’šum b. K’ājegi Ešfahāni, *Kolāṣat al-siyar*, Tehran, 1989; Moḥammad-Ebrāhim b. Zayn-al-‘Ābedin Naširi, *Dastur-e šahriārān (sālḥā-ye 1105 tā 1110 h.q. pādšāhi-ye Šāh Solṭān Ḥosayn Šafawi)*, ed. M. N. Nāšeri Moqaddam, Tehran, 1994; Mirzā Moḥammad-Ḳalil Mar’aši Šafawi, *Majma’ al-tawāriḳ dar tāriḳ-e enqerāz-e Šafawiya wa waqāye’-e ba’d tā sāl-e 1208 h.q.*, ed. ‘A. Eqbāl Āštiāni, Tehran, 1983; and Moḥammad-Moḥsen Mostawfi, *Zobdat-al-tawāriḳ*, ed. B. Gudarzi, Tehran, 1996. Moḥammad-Yusof Wāla Qazvini Ešfahāni, *Irān dar zamān-e Šāh Ṣaḡī wa Šāh ‘Abbās-e dovvom, 1030-1071h.q. (Ḳold-e barin)*, ed. M. Režā Nāšeri, Tehran, 2001; Mirzā Moḥammad Ṭāher Waḥid Qazwini, *Tāriḳ-e Jahān-ārā-ye ‘Abbāsi* [formerly called *‘Abbās-nāma*] ed. S. Sa’id Mir Moḥammad Šādeq, Tehran 2005. M. Moḥammad-Bāqer Sabzavāri, *Rawzat al-anwār-e ‘ābbāsi (dar aḳlāq wa šiwa-ye kešvardāri)*, ed. E. Čangizi Ardahāni, Tehran, 1998; Moḥammad-‘Ali b. Abi Ṭāleb Ḥazin Lāhiji’s “Resāla-ye wāq’at-e Irān o Hend,” ed. E. Esfandiāri, in ‘A. Awjabi, N. Bāqeri Bidhendi, et al., *Rasā’el-e Ḥazin-e Lāhiji*, Tehran, 1998, pp. 185-246. This is mostly extracted from Ḥazin-e Lāhiji’s famous autobiography; see *The Life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin, Written by*



Himself, tr. F. C. Belfour, London, 1830, chap. 33 ff.

Moḥammad Ṭāher Baṣṭāmī, *Fotuḥāt-e Fereyduniya*, ed. S. S. Mir Moḥammad Ṣādeq and M. N. Nāṣeri-Moqaddam, Tehran, 2001; Budāq Monši Qazvini, *Jawāher al-akbār. Baḵš-e tāriḵ-e Irān az Qaraqyunlu tā sāl-e 984 h.q.*, ed. M. Bahrām Neḡād, Tehran, 1999; M. Sefatgol and K. Nobuaki, eds., *Pejuheši dar bāra-ye maktubāt-e tāriḵi-ye Fārsi-e Irān va Mā-wara' al-nahr (Ṣafawiyān, Uzbakān va Emrāt-e Boḡārā), hamrāh ba gozida-ye maktubāt*, Tokyo, 2006; Solṭān Hāšem Mirzā, *Zabur-e Davudi (Šarḥ-e erteḡāṭ-e sādāt-e Mar'aši bā salāṭin-e Ṣafawiyah)*, ed. 'A.-Ḥ Nawā'i, Tehran, 2000; J. Calmard, "Une famille de Sādāt dans l'histoire de l'Iran: les Mar'aši," *Oriente Moderno*, n.s. 18, 1999, pp. 413-28.

Western accounts of Safavid Persia published in the last twenty-five years. These include Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, ed. A. H. Morton, London, 1993; F. Richard, *Raphaël du Mans missionnaire en Perse au XVIIe s.*, 2 vols., Paris, 1995; J. E. Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs, 1684-1685*, tr. W. Hinz, Leipzig, 1940, repr. Tübingen, 1977; Ange de St. Joseph, *Souvenirs de la Perse safavide et autres lieux de l'Orient (1664-1678)*, ed. and tr. M. Bastiaensen, Brussels, 1985. A. Kroell, ed., *Nouvelles d'Ispahan 1665-1695*, Paris, 1979; Barthélemy Carré, *Le courier du Roi en Orient. Relations de deux voyages en Perse et en Inde 1668-1674*, ed. D. Van der Cruysse, Paris, 2005; Ambrogio Bembo, *Viaggio e Giornale per Parte dell' Asia (1671-1675)*, ed. A. Invernizzi, Turin, 2005; and Ambrosio Bembo, *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo*, tr. C. Bargellini; ed. and annotated A. Welch, Berkeley, 2007.

Studies on the Europeans travelers. These include J. Emerson, "Ex Oriente Lux: Some European Sources on the Economic Structure of Persia between about 1630 and 1690," Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1971; Idem, "Adam Olearius and the Literature of the Schleswig-Holstein Missions to Russia and Iran, 1633-1639," in J. Calmard, *Études safavides*, pp. 31-56; the contributions on Cornelis de Bruyn in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed., *Persepolis en Pasargadae in wisselend perspectief*, Groningen, 1989; the contributions on Engelbert Kaempfer in H. Hüls and H. Hoppe, eds., *Engelbert Kaempfer zum 330. Geburtstag*, Lemgo, 1982; in D. Haberland, ed., *Engelbert Kaempfer. Werk und Wirkung*, Stuttgart, 1993; in S. Klocke-Daffa, Sabine et al., eds., *Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) und die kulturelle Begegnung zwischen Europa und Asien*, Lemgo, 2003; and in D. Haberland, ed., *Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) – Ein Gelehrtenleben zwischen Tradition und Innovation*, Wiesbaden, 2004. S.



Brakensieck, "Political Judgement between Empirical Experience and Scholarly Tradition: Engelbert Kaempfer's Report on Persia (1684-85)," *The Medieval History Journal* 5, 2002, pp. 223-26. D. Carnoy, *Représentation de l'Islam dans la France du XVIIe siècle. La ville des tentations*, Paris, 1998; A. Welch, "Safavi Iran Seen through Venetian Eyes," in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 97-121. S. A. Eurich, "Secrets of the Seraglio: Harem Politics and the Rhetoric of Imperialism in the Travels of Sir Jean Chardin," in G. J. Ames and R. S. Love, eds., *Distant Lands and Diverse Cultures: The French Experience in Asia, 1600-1700*, Westport, Conn., 2003, pp. 47-96; E. Brancaforte, *Visions of Persia: Mapping the Travels of Adam Olearius*, Cambridge, Mass., 2003; Idem, "Seduced by the Thirst for Knowledge. Engelbert Kaempfer's Scientific Activities in Safawid Persia (1683-1688)," *Revista de Cultura / Review of Culture*, international ed. 21, 2007, Macau; 82-99; A. M. Touzard, "Les voyageurs français en Perse de 1600 a 1730," *Eurasian Studies* 4:1 (2005), pp. 41-7; S. Brentjes and V. Schüller, "Pietro della Valle's Latin Geography of Safavid Iran (1624-1628): Introduction," *Journal of Early Modern History* 10/3, 2006, pp. 169-219; H. Tafazoli, *Der deutsche Persien-Diskurs. Von der frühen Neuzeit bis in das neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Bielefeld, 2007; W. Floor, "The Bandar 'Abbas-Isfahan Route in the Late Safavid Era (1617-1717)," *Iran* 37, 1999, pp. 67-94; and R. Matthee, "Safavid Iran through the Eyes of European Travelers," *Journal of Early Modern History*, forthcoming 2009.

Safavid historiography. This has only recently begun to receive its due attention. See J. R. Walsh, "The Historiography of Ottoman-Safavid Relations in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East*, London, 1962, pp. 197-211; B. Spüler, "Die historische und geographische Literatur in persischer Sprache," *HO*, 1. Abteilung, Band IV, 2. Abschnitt, Lieferung 1, Leiden and Cologne, 1982, pp. 101-67; tr. M. I. Marcinkowski as *Persian Historiography and Geography: Bertold Spüler on Major Works Produced in Iran, the Caucasus, Central Asia, India and Early Ottoman Turkey*, Singapore, 2003, chap. 11 "Historians of the Safavid Period." A. A. Mosaddegh and M. E. Bastani-Parizi, "Notes sur les historiographes de l'époque safavide," *Stud. Ir.* 16, 1987, pp. 125-35; A. H. Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*: Notes on a Persian History of Shah Isma'il I," in C. Melville, ed., *Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P. W. Avery*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 179-212; Idem, "The Early Years of Shah Isma'il in the *Afzal al-Tavarikh* and Elsewhere," in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 27-52 ; M. Szuppe, "L'évolution de l'image de Timour et des



Timourides dans l'historiographie safavide du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3-4, 1997, pp. 313-31; C. Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *Tarassul* and the Persian *Insha'* Tradition," *Stud. Ir.* 27, 1997, pp. 173-209; S. Quinn, "Notes on Timurid Legitimacy in Three Safavid Chronicles," *Iranian Studies* 31, 1998, pp. 149-50; idem, "Rewriting Ni'matullahi History in Safavid Chronicles," in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan, eds., *The Heritage of Sufism. Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 201-24; idem, *Historical Writing During the Reign of Shah 'Abbas: Ideology, Imitation and Legitimacy in Safavid Chronicles*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2000; idem, "The Timurid Historiographical Legacy: A Comparative Study of Persianate Historical Writing," in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 19-32; G. Rota, "Three Little-Known Persian Sources of the Seventeenth Century," *Iranian Studies* 31, 1998, pp. 159-76; D. J. Stewart, "The Lost Biography of Bahā'-al-Din al-Āmeli and the Reign of Shah Isma'il II in Safavid Historiography," *Iranian Studies* 31, 1998, pp. 177-206; C. Melville, "New Light on the Reign of Shah 'Abbās: Volume III of the *Afzal al-tavārikh*," in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 63-96. M. Şefatgol, "*Majmu'ah-hā*: Important and Unknown Sources of Historiography of Iran during the Last Safavids-The Case of *Majmu'ah-i Mīrzā Mu'īnī*," in Kondo Nobuaki, ed., *Persian Documents: Social History of Iran and Turan in the Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries*, London and New York, 2003, pp. 73-84; C. M. Amin, "Mujassama-ī būd mujassamah-i nabūd: The Image of the Safavids in 20th-Century Iranian Popular Historiography," in J. Pfeiffer and S. A. Quinn, eds., *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 343-59; M. Sefatgol, "Persian Writing under the Last Safavids: The Historiographers of Decline," *Eurasian Studies* 5, 2006, pp. 319-32.

J. Emerson, "Some General Accounts of the Safavid and Afsharid Periods, Primarily in English," in C. Melville, *Pembroke Papers*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 27-41; J. Emerson, "Some Additions to the Index of *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 1, 1994, pp. 212-21; R. Savory, "Taḥlīlī az tārik va tārik-negāri-ye dawra-ye Şafawiya," *Irān-nāma* 13, 1995, pp. 277-300; M. Szuppe, "L'évolution de l'image de Timour et des Timourides dans l'historiographie safavide, XVI-XVIIIe siècles," in M. Szuppe, ed. *L'héritage Timouride*

Iran-Asie Centrale, Cahiers d'Asie Centrale 3-4, 1997, pp. 313-31;

'A. A. Moşaddeq, "Kandān-e Monamjjem-e Yazdi va tāriknegāri-ye dawra-ye



Şafawi,” *Ketāb-e māh (Tārik)* 37-38, 2000, pp. 4-7; N. Jalāli, “Mo‘arefi-ye noska-ye kaṭṭi-ye Tārik-e Ilči-ye Nezāmašāh,” *Ketāb-e māh (Tārik)* 37-38, 2000, pp. 103-106; H. Zandiya, “Mo‘arefi va barasi-ye noska-ye kaṭṭi-ye fotuhāt-e Homāyun aṭar-e Siyāqi Nezāmi,” *Ketāb-e māh (Tārik)* 48, 2001, pp. 30-40; L. Bottini, ed., *Indici del volume Šah Isma‘il I nie “Diarii” di Marin Sanudo*, Rome, 2005; M. M. Mazzaoui, “A ‘New’ Edition of the Safvat as-Safa,” in J. Pfeiffer and S. A. Quinn, eds., *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 303-10.

Religion in the Safavid period. The religious history of the Safavids is studied in M. Mir-Aḥmadi, *Din wa maḏhab dar ‘aṣr-e Şafawi*, Tehran, 1984; S. A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi‘ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890*, Chicago, 1984; Idem, “Two Decrees of Shāh Ṭahmāsb Concerning Statecraft and the Authority of Shaykh ‘Alī al-Karakī,” in *Authority and Political Culture in Shi‘ism*, ed. S. A. Arjomand, Albany, N.Y., 1988, pp. 250-62; Idem, “Conceptions of Authority and Transition of Shi‘ism from Sectarian to National Religion in Iran,” in F. Daftary and H. W. Meri, eds., *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*, London, 2003, pp. 388-409; M. M. Mazzaoui, “The Religious Policy of Safavid Shah Isma‘il II,” in M. M. Mazzaoui and V. B. Moreen, eds., *Intellectual Studies on Islam*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1990, pp. 49-56. Rasul Ja‘fariān has recently published many important studies on religious aspects of Safavid history, including references to archives and original documents: See *Din wa siāsat dar dawra-ye Şafawi*, Qom, 1991; Idem, *Şafawiya dar ‘arṣa-ye din, farhang wa siāsat*, 3 vols., Qom, 2000; Idem, *Maqālāt-e tāriki*, 12 vols., Qom, 1996-2003; Idem, ed., *Tarjoma-ye anājil-e arba‘a*, by Mir Moḥammad-Bāqer b. Esmā‘il Ḥosayni Kātunābādi, Tehran, 1996. Also see J. Calmard, “Les rituels shiites et le pouvoir. L’imposition du shiisme safavide: eulogies et malédictions canoniques,” in J. Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*, pp. 109-150; Idem, “Shi‘i Rituals and Power II. The Consolidation of Safavid Shi‘ism: Folklore and Popular Religion,” in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 139-90; A. Newman, “the Nature of the Akhbari/Usuli Dispute in Late Safavid Iran,” *BSOAS* 55/1, 1992, pp. 22-51; 55/2, pp. 250-61; Idem, “Sufism and Anti-Sufism in Safavid Iran: The Authorship of the Ḥadiqāt al-Shī‘a Reconsidered,” *Iran* 37, 1999, pp. 95-108; K. Babayan, “The Waning of the Qizilbash,” Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1993; idem, *Mystics, Monarch, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*, Cambridge, Mass., 2003; R. Stanfield Johnson, “Sunni Survival in Safavid Iran: Anti-Sunni Activities during the



Reign of Tahmasp I,” *Iranian Studies* 27, 1994, pp. 139-90; A. Newman, “Fayd al-Kashani and the Rejection of the Clergy/State Alliance: Friday Prayer as Politics in the Safavid Period,” in L. Walbridge, ed., *The Most learned of the Shi’a*, New York, 2001, pp. 34-52; Idem, “The Vezir and the Mulla: A Late Safavid Period Debate on Friday Prayer,” *Eurasian Studies* 5, 2006, pp. 237-70. On *waqf*, see: R. Ja’fariān, ed., “Waqf-nāma-ye Madrasa-ye Solṭān Ḥosayn ma’ruf be madrasa-ye Āqā Kamāl,” *Mirāt-e eslāmi-ye Irān*, Qom, I, pp. 259-90; M. Sefatgol, “Safavid Administration of *Avqāf*: Structure, Changes and Functions, 1077-1135/1666-1722,” in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 397-408. For Sufism in the Safavid period see A. Newman, “Clerical perceptions of Sufi practices in Late Seventeenth-Century Persia: Arguments over the Permissibility of Singing (ghinā),” in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan, eds., *The Heritage of Sufism. Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 135-64; S. Bashir, “After the Messiah: The Nūrbakhshīyya in Late Timurid and Early Safavid Times,” in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 295-314; I. Eshraqi, “Noqtaviyya a l’époque Safavides” [sic], in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 341-50; and H. Algar, “Naqshbandis and Safavids: A Contribution to the Religious History of Iran and Her Neighbors,” in Mazzaoui, ed., *Safavid Iran and her Neighbors*, pp. 7-48. Institutional aspects of Shi’ite Islam are discussed in E. Glassen “Schah Ismail und die Theologen seiner Zeit,” *Der Islam* 68, 1972, pp. 254-68; M. I. Marcinkowski, “A Brief Demarcation of the Office of *Shaykh al-Islām* Based on the Two Late Safavid Administrative Manuals *Dastūr al-Mulūk* and *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*,” *Islamic Culture* 74/4, 2000, pp. 19-51. M. Şefatgol, *Sāktār-e nehād wa andīša-ye dini dar Irān-e Şafawī. Tāriḳ-e taḥawwolat-e dini-ye Irān dar sadahā-ye dahom tā davāzdāhom-e hejri-ye qamari*, Tehran, 2002; D. Stewart, “The First *Shaykh al-Islam* of the Safavid Capital Qazvin,” *JAOS* 116, 1996, pp. 387-405; Idem, “The Genesis of the Akhbari Revival,” in M. Mazzaoui, ed., *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, pp. 169-93; W. Floor, “The *Şadr* or Head of the Safavid Religious Administration, Judiciary and Endowments and Other Members of the Religious Institution,” *ZDMG* 150, 2000, pp. 461-500. For the debate on the clerical migration and Safavid Iran, see Andrew Newman, “The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Safavid Iran: Arab Shiite Opposition to ‘Ali al-Karaki and Safawid Shiism,” *Die Welt des Islams* 33, 1993, pp. 66-112; R. Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire*, London, 2004; idem, “The Ulama of Jabal ‘Āmil in Safavid Iran, 1501-1736: Marginality, Migration and Social Change,” *Iranian Studies* 27, 1994, pp. 103-22; idem, “New Ropes for Royal Tents: Shaykh Bahā’i and the Imperial Order of Shah Abbas



(1038/1587-1629),” *Studies in Persianate Societies* 1, 2003, pp. 29-56.

D. Stewart, “Notes on the Migration of ‘Āmilī Scholars to Safavid Iran,” *JNES* 55, 1996, pp. 81-104. A virtual cottage industry has emerged of late around the figure of Moḥammad Bāqer Majlesi. See: ‘A. Davāni, *‘Allāma-ye Majlesi. Bozorgmard-e ‘elm wa din*, Tehran, 1991; H. Ṭāromi, *‘Allāma-ye Majlesi*, Tehran, 1996, Eng. tr. as *Allameh Majlesi*, Tehran, 2000; S. Moṣleḥ-al-Din Mahdavi, *Zendeḡi-nāma-ye ‘Allāma-ye Majlesi*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1999; M. Mahrizi and H. Rabbāni, eds., *Yād-nāma-ye Majlesi*, 3 vols., Tehran, 2000; R. Ja‘fariān, et al., “Mizgerd-e *Rawzat al-al-anwār-e ‘Abbāsi*,” *Ā‘ina-ye Mirāt* 13, 2001, pp. 94-101; Moḥammad Zamān Kalb-e ‘Ali Tabrizi, *Farā‘ed al-fawā‘ed dar aḥwāl-e madāres va masājed*, ed. R. Ja‘fariān, Tehran, 1994.

History of institutions and bureaucracy. The manuals of administration include *Tadkerat al-moluk*, ed. V. Minorsky; repr. 1980; Mirzā Rafi‘ā (Moḥammad-Rafi‘ Anṣāri Mostawfi-al-Mamālek), *Dastūr al-molūk*, ed. and tr. M. I. Marcinkowski as *Mirzā Rafi‘a’s Dastūr al-Mulūk: A Manual of Later Safavid Administration*, Kuala Lumpur, 2003. A more complete edition of the *Dastur al-moluk*, including some previously unknown material, has recently been edited by I. Afshar (Afšār), *Daftar-e tāriḡ. Majmu‘a-ye asnād wa manāba‘-e tāriḡi*, Tehran, 2001. This forms the basis for the recent critical edition in translation by W. Floor and H. Faghfoory, *Dastur al-Moluk. A Safavid State Manual*, Costa Mesa, 2007.

Studies on aspects of the Safavid bureaucracy include R. Savory, “The Principal Offices of the Safawid State during the Reign of Ismā‘il I (907-30/1501-24),” *BSOAS* 23, 1960, pp. 91-105; Idem, “The Principal Offices of the Safawid State during the Reign of Shah Ṭahmāsb (930-84/1524-76),” *BSOAS* 24, 1961, pp. 71-79; Idem, “Some Notes on the Provincial Administration of the Early Safawid Empire,” *BSOAS* 27, 1964, pp. 114-28; Idem, “The Office of *Khalifat al-Khulafa* under the Safavids,” *JAOS* 85, 1965, pp. 497-502; and other studies by the same author, collected in his *Studies on the History of Safawid Iran*, London, 1987. See also H. Busse, “Persische Diplomatie im Überblick. Ergebnisse und Probleme,” *Der Islam* 37, 1961, pp. 202-45; K. L. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1966; Idem, “Staatskanzlei und Absolutismus im safawidischen Persien,” *ZDMG* 127, 1977, pp. 313-43; V. B. Moreen, “The Downfall of Mohammad ‘Ali Beg, Grand Vizier of Shah ‘Abbas II (reigned 1642-1666),” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 72, 1981, pp. 81-99; R. Matthee, “The Career of Mohammad Beg, Grand Vizier of Shah ‘Abbas II (r. 1642-1666),” *Iranian Studies* 24, 1991, pp. 17-36; Idem,



“Administrative Stability and Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Iran: The Case of Shaykh ‘Ali Khan,” *IJMES* 26, 1994, pp. 77-98; W. Floor, “The Secular Judicial System in Safavid Persia,” *Stud. Ir.* 29, 2000, pp. 9-60; Idem, *Safavid Government Institutions*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2001; Idem, “The *Khalifeh al-Kholafa* of the Safavid Sufi Order,” *ZDMG* 153/1, 2003, pp. 51-86; N. Falsafi, “Sargozašt-e ‘Saru Taqi’ Maḳdum al-Omarā’ wa Kādem al-foqarā’,” in Idem, ed., *Čand maqāla-ye tāriki wa adabi*, Tehran, 1963, pp. 287-309. W. Floor, “The Rise and Fall of Mirza Taqi, the Eunuch Grand Vizier (1043-55/1633-45),” *Stud. Ir.* 26, 1997, pp. 237-66; Idem, “A Note of the Grand Vizierate in Seventeenth-Century Persia,” *ZDMG* 155 (2005): 435-81; and S.A. Quinn, “Coronation Narratives in Safavid Chronicles,” in J. Pfeiffer and S. A. Quinn, eds., *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 311-31. S. Ṭahmāsbī, “Kārkard-e wozarā-ye iyālāt-e Šafawi,” *Nāma-ye tārik-pejuhān* 1, 2005, pp. 116-29.

M. Šefatgol, “Sākt, kārkard, wa degarguniḥā-ye manšab-e šedārat dar Irān-e ‘asr-e šafawi,” *Tārik* 2/2, 2001, pp. 237-66; K. Babayan, S. Babaie, I. Baghdiantz-McCabe, and M. Farhad, *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran*, London, 2004. M. ‘Alinaqi Naširi, *Alqāb va mawājeb-e dawra-ye salātin-e Šafawiya*, ed. Y. Raḥimlu, Mašhad, 1992. ‘Ali-Rezā Karimi, “Pejuheši dar bāra-ye Šayḵ ‘Ali Ḳan Zangana,” *Ḥokumat-e Eslami*, 1997, pp. 147-58. Idem, “Ḳalifa Solṭān (Soltān-al-‘Olamā) faqih o vazir-e a‘zām-e ‘ašr-e Šafawi,” *Ḥokumat-e Eslāmi*, 1997, pp. 224-48.

Safavid social history. This is a largely unexplored terrain. See I. Afshar (Afšār), ed., *Āšpazi-ye dawra-ye Šafawi*, Tehran, 1981; J. J. Reid, *Studies in Safavid Mind, Society, and Culture*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2000; J. Perry, “Toward a Theory of Iranian Urban Moeities: The Haydariyyah and Ni‘matiyyah Revisited,” *Iranian Studies* 32, 1999, pp. 51-70. R. Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500-1900*, Princeton, N.J., 2005; and S. A. Arjomand, “Coffeehouses, Guilds and Oriental Despotism. Government and Civil society in Late 17th to Early 18th-Century Istanbul and Isfahan, and as Seen from Paris and London,” *Archives européennes de sociologie* 65, 2004, pp. 23-42.

Women in Safavid Persia. Lately there has been substantial research on this topic. See S. Golsorkhi, “Pari Khan Khanom: A Masterful Safavid Princess,” *Iranian Studies* 28, 1995, pp. 143-56; M. Szuppe, “La participation des femmes de la famille royale a l’exercice du pouvoir en Iran safavide au XVIe siècle. L’entourage des princesses de leurs activités politiques,” *Stud. Ir.* 23, pp. 211-58;



and 24, 1995, pp. 61-122; shortened English version: "Status, Knowledge and Politics: Women in Sixteenth-Century Safavid Iran," in G. Nashat and L. Beck, eds., *Women in Islam: From the Rise of Islam to 1800*, Urbana, Ill., 2003, pp. 140-69; Idem, "The Jewels of Wonder: Learned Ladies and Princess Politicians in the Provinces of Early Safavid Iran," in G. Hambly, ed., *Women in the Mediaeval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, New York, 1998, pp. 325-47; K. Babayan, "The Aqā'id al-Nisa: A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture," in G. Hambly, ed., *Women in the Mediaeval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, New York, 1998, pp. 349-81; F. Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Economic Activities of Safavid Women in the Shrine-City of Ardabil," *Iranian Studies* 31, 1998, pp. 247-62; R. Matthee, "Prostitutes, Courtesans and Dancing Girls: Women Entertainers in Safavid Iran," in R. Matthee and B. Baron, eds., *Iran and Beyond: Essays in Middle Eastern History in Honor of Nikki R. Keddie*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2000, pp. 121-50; K. Rizvi, "Gendered Patronage: Women and Benevolence during the Early Safavid Empire," in D. F. Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, Albany, N.Y., 2000, pp. 123-53; 'Abd al-Ḥamid Šojā', *Zan, siāsat va haramsarā dar 'ašr-e Šafawiya*, Tehran, 2005.

The status of religious minorities. The position of Jews in Safavid times is discussed in E. Spicehandler, "The Persecution of the Jews of Isfahan under Shāh 'Abbās II (1642-1666)," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46, 1975, pp. 331-47; V. B. Moreen, "The Persecution of Iranian Jews during the Reign of Shah 'Abbās II (1642-1666)," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 52, 1981, pp. 275-309; idem, *Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism: A Study of Bābāi ibn Lutf's Chronicle (1617-1662)*, New York, 1987. idem, "Risāla-yi Sawā'iq al-Yahūd [the Treatise Lightning Bolts against the Jews] by Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d. 1699)," *Die Welt des Islams* 32, 1992, pp. 177-95; idem, "The Status of Religious Minorities in Safavid Iran 1617-61," *JNES* 40, 1981, pp. 119-34; idem, "The Kitab-e sar guzasht-i Kashan of Bābāi ibn Farhad," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 52, 1985, 141-57; idem, "The Problems of Conversion Among Iranian Jews in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Iranian Studies* 19, 1986, pp. 215-28; V. Moreen, *The Iranian Jewry during the Afghan Invasion*. Stuttgart, 1990; idem, V "The Kitab-i Anusi of Babai ibn Lutf (Seventeenth Century) and the Kitab-i Sar Guzadht of Babai Ibn Farahd (Eighteenth Century): A Comparison of Two Judeo-Persian Chronicles," in M. Mazzaoui and V. B. Moreen, eds., *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, Salt Lake City, pp. 41-48.



Christians are discussed in R. Matthee, "Christians in Safavid Iran: Hospitality and Harassment," *Studies in Persianate Societies* 3, 2005, pp. 3-43.

For Armenians in Safavid Persia, see: M.-F. Brosset, ed., tr., *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1874-76; H. Dirhahaniyan, *Tārik-e Jolfā-ye Eṣfahān*, tr. L. G. Minasian, Tehran, 2000; R. Gulbenkian, "Philippe de Zagly, marchand arménien de Julfa, et l'établissement du commerce persan en Courlande en 1696," *Revue des études arméniennes*, N.S., 7, 1970, pp. 361-426; V. A. Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia Novoi Dzhul'fy v XVII veke: Rol' Novoi Dzhul'fy v irano-evropeiskikh politicheskikh i ekonomicheskikh svyazakh* (The Armenian colony of New Julfa in the 17th century: The role of New Julfa in Iranian-European political and economic relations), Erevan, 1969; Idem, *Naqṣ-e arāmena-ye Irāni dar tejārat-e bayn-al-melali tā pāyān-e sada-ye 17 milādi*, Tehran, 1996; Eng. tr., V. Baibourtian as *International Trade and the Armenian Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, New Delhi, 2004; E. Herzig, "The Deportation of the Armenians in 1604-1605 and Europe's Myth of Shah 'Abbas I," in C. Melville, ed., *Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P. W. Avery*, Cambridge, U.K., 1990, pp. 51-79; Idem, "The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: A Study in Pre-modern Asian Trade," Ph.D. diss., Oxford University 1991; Idem, "The Rise of the Julfa Merchants in the Late Sixteenth Century," in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 305-23; Idem, "Venice and the Julfa Armenian Merchants," in *Gli Armeni e Venezia. Dagli Sceremani a Mechitar: il momento culminante di una consuetudine millenaria*, Venice, 2004, pp. 141-64; S. Troebst, "Isfahan – Moskau – Amsterdam. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des moskauischen Transitprivilegs für die Armenische Handelskompagnie in Persien (1666-1676)," *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas* 41/2, 1993, pp. 179-209; V. S. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century*, Atlanta, Ga., 1998; I. Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Eurasian Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530-1750)*, Atlanta, Ga., 2000; idem, "Princely Suburb, Armenian Quarter or Christian Ghetto?" The Urban Setting of New Julfa in the Safavid Capital of Isfahan (1605-1722)," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, pp. 107-10, 2005, pp. 415-36; S. Aslanian, "From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: Circulation and the Global Trade network of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa, Isfahan, 1606-1747" Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 2006; Idem, "The Circulation of Men and Credit: The Role of the Commenda and the Family Firm in Julfan Society," *JESHO* 50, 2007, 124-71; Idem, "Social Capital and the role of Trust in Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semiformal Institutions at Work,"



Journal of Global History 1/3, 2006, 383-402; Idem, “‘The Salt in a Merchant’s Letter’: The Art of Merchant Correspondence, Courier Networks and Their Role in in Julfan Economy and Society,” *Journal of World History*, 2008, *forthcoming*; and G. Bellingeri, “Sugli Sceriman rimasti a Giulf: devozione agli ultimi Safavidi?,” in G. L. Zekiyan and A. Ferrari, eds., *Gli Armeni e Venezia. Dagli Sceriman a Mechitar: il momento culminante di una consuetudine millenaria*, Venice, 2004, pp. 93-124; Sh. Khachikian, “Typology of the Trading Companies Owned by the Merchants of New Julfa,” *Iran & Caucasus* 2, 1998, pp. 1-4. Šekuh-al-Sādāt-e Ḥašemi, “Elal-e pišraft-e tejjāri-ye Arāmana-ye Jolfā-ye naw dar ‘ašr-e Šafawi,” *Ganjina-ye asnād* 39-40, 2001, pp. 16-27.

Safavid Foreign Policy. Persia’s dealings with the outside world are the topic of the contributions in W. Floor and E. Herzig, eds., *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, London and New York, 2008. On the country’s foreign policy during the Safavids: ‘Ali-Akbar Welāyati, *Tāriḳ-e rawābeṭ-e kāreji-ye Irān dar ‘ahd-e Šāh ‘Abbās-e awwal-e Šafawi*, Tehran, 1995. Idem, *Tāriḳ-e rawābeṭ-e kāreji-ye Irān dar ‘ahd-e Šāh Esmā‘il-e Šafawi*, Tehran, 1996. Ğ. A. Waḥid Māzandarāni, ed., *Majmu‘a-ye ‘ahd-nāmahā-ye tāriḳi-ye Irān*, Tehran, 1971; F. Robinson, “Ottomans, Safavids, Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, 1997, pp. 151-84; A. Soudavar, “The Early Safavids and Their Cultural Interactions with the Surrounding States,” in N. Keddie and R. Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World*, Seattle, 2002, pp. 89-120; W.W. Clifford, “Some Observations on the Course of Mamluk-Safavid Relations (1502-1516/908/922),” *Der Islam* 70, 1993, pp. 245-78

The Ottomans and the Safavids. For documents concerning relations between the Safavids and the Ottomans see: B. S. Kütukoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran siyasi münasebetleri (1578-1590)*, Istanbul, 1962; Idem, *Osmanlı-İran siyasi münasebetleri (1578-1612)*, Istanbul, 1993; M. A. Riyāḥi, ed., *Sefārat-nāmahā-ye Irān: Gozarešhā-ye mosāferat wa ma’muriyat-e safirān-e ‘Oṭmāni dar Irān*, Tehran, 1989; and M. Saray, *Türk-İran münasebetlerinde şüliğin rolü*, Ankara, 1990. Studies on these relations include H. Sohrweide, “Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert,” *Der Islam* 41, 1965, pp. 95-223; M. M. Aktepe, *1720-1724 Osmanlı-İran münasebetleri*, Istanbul, 1970; E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970; Idem, “Machtpolitische Aspekte des osmanisch-safawidischen Kampfes um Baghdad im 16./17. Jahrhundert,” *Turcica* 6, 1975, pp. 103-27; C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism During the Reformation: Europe and the*



Caucasus, New York, 1972; B. Kütukoğlu, “Le relations entre l’empire ottoman et l’Iran dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle,” *Turcica* 6, 1975, pp. 128-45; A. Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Diplomatic Conflict, 906-966/1500-1555*, Berlin, 1983; C. Römer, “Die osmanische Belagerung Baghdads 1034-35/1625-26. Ein Augenzeugenbericht,” *Der Islam* 46, 1986, pp. 119-36; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and C. Adle, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et la Géorgie 1514-1524*, Istanbul, 1991; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, “Etudes turco-safavides, XVI. Quinze lettres d’Uzun Süleyman Paşa, Beylerbey du Diyar Bekir (1533-1534),” *Anatolia moderna* 1, 1991, pp. 137-227; Idem, “The Eastern Policy of Süleyman the Magnificent 1520-1533,” in H. Inalcik and C. Kafadar, eds., *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 219-28; Idem, “Les Ottomans et les Safavides dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle,” in *La Shi’a nell’impero ottomano*, Rome, 1993, pp. 7-24; R. Murphey, “Süleyman’s Eastern Policy,” in H. Inalcik and C. Kafadar, eds., *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 229-48; J. Aubin, “La politique orientale de Selim I^{er},” in R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, eds., *Itinéraires d’Orient. Hommages à Claude Cahen*, Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994, pp. 197-215; R. Kiliç, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri Osmanlı-İran münasebetleri (1520-1566)*, Kayseri, 1994; and R. Matthee, “Iran’s Ottoman Diplomacy During the Reign of Shāh Sulaymān I (1077-1105/1666-1694),” in K. Eslami, ed., *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, Princeton, N.J., 1998, pp. 148-77; Idem, “The Safavid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-e Arab as Seen by the Safavids,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, 2003, pp. 157-76; Idem, “Between Arabs, Turks, and Iranians: The Town of Basra, 1600-1700,” *BSOAS* 69/1, 2006, pp. 53-78; W. Posch, *Der Fall Alkās Mīrzā und der Persienfeldzug von 1548-1549: Ein gescheitertes osmanisches Projekt zur Niederwerfung des safavidischen Persiens*, Würzburg, 2000; Idem, “What is a Frontier? Mapping Kurdistan between Ottomans and Safavids,” in E. M. Jeremiás, ed., *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th-17th Centuries*, Piliscsaba, Hungary [2002] 2003, pp. 203-15; R. Murphey, “The Resumption of Ottoman-Safavid Border Conflict, 1603-1638: Effects of Border Destabilization on the Evolution of State-Tribe Relations,” *Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte. Mitteilungen des SFB “Differenz und Integration”*, 5: Militär und Integration, Halle, 2003, pp. 151-170; R. Shukurov, “The Campaign of Shaykh Djunayd Safawi against Trebizond (1456AD/860H),” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 17, 1993, pp. 127-40.

Georgia. Relations with Georgia and issues relating to Georgians in Iran, Parsadan Gorgidzhanidze, *Istoriia Gruzii* (History of Georgia), tr. R. K. Kiknadze and I.V.S. Puturidze, Tiflis, 1990; M.-F. Brosset, ed., tr., *Histoire de la*



Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle, 2 vols. in 3, St. Petersburg, 1854-57; D. M. Lang, "Georgia and the Fall of the Safavid Dynasty," *BSOAS* 14, 1952, pp. 523-39; "Georgische Teilnahme an den persisch-afghanischen Kriegen 1711-1725 im Spiegel eines Missionsberichtes," *Bedi Kartlisa/Revue de Kartvélogie* 40, 1982, pp. 316-29; M. Svanidze, "Une ambassadrice géorgienne (sur l'histoire du traité de paix turco-persan de 1612)," *Revue des Etudes Géorgiennes* 4, 1988, pp. 109-25; G. G. Beradze and L. P. Simirnova, *Materialy po istorii irano-gruzinskikh vzaimootnoshenii v nachale XVII veka (svedeniia "Ihya al-muluk" o Gruzii)* (Material on the history of Irano-Georgian relations in the early 17th century, information in the *Ehyā' al-moluk* on Georgia), Tiflis, 1988; G. Rota, "Le Favayedo's-Safaviyeh e la storia della Georgia," *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 33, 1994, pp. 427-44; S. Mowliyāni, *Jāygāh-e Gorjihā dar tārik va farhang o tamaddon-e Irān*, Isfahan, 2000, pp. 99-289; H. Maeda, "On the Ethnico-Social Background of Four *Gholām* Families from Georgia in Safavid Iran," *Stud. Ir.* 32, 2003, pp. 243-78; G. Rota, "Caucasians in Safavid Service in the 17th Century," in R. Motika and M. Ursinus, eds., *Caucasia between the Ottoman Empire and Iran, 1555-1914*, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 107-120; G. Beradze and K. Kutsia, "Towards the Interrelations of Iran and Georgia in the 16th-18th Centuries," in R. Motika and M. Ursinus, eds., *Caucasia between the Ottoman Empire and Iran, 1555-1914*, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 121-32. H. Maeda, "Hamza Mirzā and the "Caucasian" Elements at the Safavid Court: A Path toward the Reforms of Shah 'Abbās I," *Orientalist* 1, 2000, pp. 155-71; Idem, "The Forced Migration and Reorganisation of the Regional Order in the Caucasus by Safavid Iran. Preconditions and Developments Described by Fazli Khuzani," in O. Ieda and T. Uyana, eds., *Reconstruction and Interaction of Slavic Eurasia and Its Neighboring Worlds*, Sapporo, 2006, pp. 237-73; V. Gabashvili, "the Uniladze Feudal house in the [sic] Sixteenth to Seventeenth Century Iran According to the Georgian Sources," *Iranian Studies* 40, 2007, pp. 37-58.

Central Asia. For a primary source with information on relations with Central Asia, see Moḥammad-Yusof Monši, *Taḍkera-ye moqimkāni*, ed. F. Šarrāfān, Tehran, 2001. Studies on relations with Central Asia include A. Ġefāri-Fard, *Rawābeṭ-e Šafawiya wa Uzbekān (913-1031h.q.)*, Tehran, 1997; R. D. McChesney, "The Conquest of Herat 995-6/1587-8: Sources for the Study of Safavid/Qizilbash-Shibanid-Uzbek Relations," in J. Calmard, *Études safavides*, pp. 69-108; Idem, "Barrier of Heterodoxy? Rethinking the Ties between Iran and Central Asia in the Seventeenth Century," in C. Melville, *Safavid Persia*, pp. 231-68; Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History 1550-1702*, London, 1997.



The Indian Subcontinent. For Persia's connections with the Indian Ocean basin, see S. Subrahmanyam, "Iranians Abroad: Intra-Elite Migration and Early State Formation," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51, 1992, pp. 340-63; and L. F. Thomaz, "La présence iranienne autour de l'océan Indien au XVI^e siècle d'après les sources portugaises de l'époque," *Archipel* 68, 2004, pp. 59-159. For Persia's relations with Siam see J. Aubin, "Les Persans au Siam sous le règne de Narai (1656-1688)," *Mare Luso-Indicum* 4, 1980, pp. 95-126; M. I. Marcinkowski, "The Iranian-Siamese Connection: An Iranian Community in the Thai Kingdom of Ayutthaya," *Iranian Studies* 35/1-3, 2002, pp. 23-46. For relations between the Safavids and India and the Mughals, see S. Ray, *Humāyūn in Persia*, 1948, repr. Kolkata [Calcutta], 2002; R. Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations: A Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations between the Mughul Empire and Iran*, Tehran, 1970; Idem, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations (1500-1750)*, 2 vols., Tehran and Karachi, 1982; J. N. Sarkar, "Asian Balance of Power in the Light of Mughal-Persian Rivalry in the 16th and 17th Centuries," in H. K. P. M. Joshi and M.A. Nayeem, eds., *Studies in the Foreign Relations of India*, Hyderabad, 1975, pp. 194-222; A. Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artisans in Transition," *Iran* 37, 1999, pp. 49-82; Ishtiyāq Ahmad Zilli, "Early Correspondence Between Shah Tahmasp and Akbar," in *Islamic Heritage in the South Asian Subcontinent*, ed. N. Ahmad and I. H. Siddiqui, II, Jaipur, 2000, pp. 230-45; K. N. Barzegar, *Mughal-Iranian Relations During Sixteenth Century*, Delhi, 2000. Relations between the Safavids and the Qoṭbšāhis of the Deccan are discussed in N. Aḥmad, "Rawābeṭ-e siāsi-ye Šāh 'Abbās bā šāhān-e Qoṭbšāhiya," in Idem, *Qand-e pārsi. Hezḍah goftār-e adabi wa tāriḳi*, Tehran, 1992, pp. 195-224; as well as in C. P. Mitchell, "Sister Shi'a States? Safavid Iran and the Deccan in the 16th Century," *Deccan Studies* 2/2, 2004, pp. 44-72; and in R. Stanford-Johnson, "The Hyderabad Connection in the *Hoseyn-e Kord*," *Deccan Studies* 2/2, 2004, pp. 73-85; M. Haneda, "Emigration of Iranian Elites to India during the 16th-18th Centuries," in M. Szuppe, ed., *L'Héritage timouride-Iran-Asie Centrale XVe-XVIIIe siècles. Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3-4, 1997, pp. 129-46; A. Dadvar, *Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society 1606-1658*, New Delhi, 1999; S. E. Littlefield, "The Object of the Gift: Embassies of Jahangir and Shah 'Abbas," Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1999; H. Jabbari, *Trade and Commerce between Iran and India during the Safavid Period (1505-1707)*, Delhi, 2003.

Safavids and Europe. For commercial and diplomatic relations with European countries, see K. Bayani, *Les relations de l'Iran avec l'Europe occidentale à l'époque safavide (Portugal, Espagne, Angleterre, Hollande et France)*, Paris,



1937; H. R. Roemer, "Die Safawiden. Ein orientalischer Bundesgenosse des Abendlandes im Türkenkampf," *Saeculum* 4, 1953, pp. 27-44; B. von Palombini, *Bündniswerben abendländischer Mächte um Persien 1453-1600*, Wiesbaden, 1968; N. Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade*, Chicago, 1974; 'A. Navā'i, *Rawābeṭ-e siāsi-ye Irān wa Orupā dar 'aṣr-e Ṣafawī*, Tehran, 1993. A study of Safavid perceptions of Westerners can be found in R. Matthee, "Between Aloofness and Fascination: Safavid Views of the West," *Iranian Studies* 31, 1998, pp. 219-24. G. Rota, "Caccia e regalita nella Persia safavide e in Europa occidentale: Alcune osservazioni preliminary," in M. Bernardini and N. L. Tornesello, eds., *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. D'Erme*, Naples, 2005, pp. 943-74.

Spain and Portugal. A comprehensive bibliography of printed material on relations between the Safavids and the Iberian peninsula is W. Floor and F. Hakimzadeh, *The Hispano-Portuguese Empire and its Contacts with Safavid Persia, the Kingdom of Hormuz and Yarubid Oman from 1489 to 1720, A Bibliography of Printed Publications*, Leuven, 2007. Spanish relations with Safavid Persia are now covered in L. G. Fernández, *El imperio Luso-Español y la Persia Safávida, tomo I (1582-1605)*, Madrid, 2006. Portuguese activities in the Persian Gulf are discussed in D. Couto and R. M. Loureiro, eds., *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese Interactions in the Persian Gulf Region in the Early Modern Period*, Wiesbaden, 2008. The mission of Don Juan of Persia is the subject of L. Gil, "Sobre el trasfondo de la embajada de shah Abbas I a los príncipes cristianos: Contrapunto de las *Relaciones* de don Juan de Persia," *Estudios Clásicos* 17, 1985, pp. 347-77. The Spanish embassy of Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa is recounted in C. Alonso, *D. Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, embajador en Persia, 1612-1624*, Badajoz, 1993. For relations with the Portuguese, see R. B. Smith, *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Periplegations in Persia (1507-1524)*, Bethesda, Md., 1970; A. de Gouvea, *Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras e grandes vitórias que alcançou o grande Rey de Persia Xá Abbas, do grão Turco Mahometo, e seu filho Amethe as quaes resultarão das Embaxadas que por mandado da Catholica Real Majestade del Rey D. Felipe II de Portugal fizerão alguns Religiosos da Ordem dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho a Persia*, Lisbon, 1611; Fr. tr. A. de Meneses as *Relation des grandes guerres et victoires obtenues par le roy de Perse Cha Abbas contre les empereurs de Turquie Mahomet et Achmet son fils, ensuite du voyage de quelques religieux de l'ordre des Hermites de Saint-Augustin envoyés en Perse par le Roy catholique Don Philippe second roy de Portugal*, Rouen, 1646; J.



Aubin, ed., *L'ambassade de Gregório Pereira Fidalgo a la cour de Chêh Solten Hosseyn 1696-1697*, Lisbon, 1971; Idem, "Per Viam Portugalensem: Autour d'un projet diplomatique de Maximilien II," *Mare Luso-Indicum* 4, 1980, pp. 45-73; J. Qā'em-maqāmi, "Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar rawābeṭ-e Irān wa Portoḡāl," *Barrasihā-ye tāriki* 3, 1973, pp. 43-58; R. Gulbenkian, *Estudos históricos II, Relações entre Portugal, Irão e Médio-Oriente*, Lisbon, 1995. J. Teles e Cunha, "Sombras no acaso do Emperium Mundi. A família real e la luta pelo pder em ormuz (1565-1622), *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 3 (2002), pp. 177-98.

Papacy and the Safavids. For relations with Italy and the Papal See, see G. Berchet, *La repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin, 1865; M. H. Kāvusi 'Erāqi, ed., *Asnād-e rawābeṭ-e dawlat-e šafawi bā ḥokumathā-ye Itāliā*, Tehran, 2000; A. M. Piemontese, "I due ambasciatori di Persia ricevuti da Papa Paolo V al Quirinale," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 12, 2005, pp. 357-425; Idem, "la diplomazia di Gregorio XIII e la lettera del Re di Persia a Sisto V," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 14, 2007, pp. 363-410; Idem, "les célébrités du Janicule et les diplomates safavides émigrés a Rome," *Eurasian Studies* 5, 2006, pp. 271-96.

Poland. Much work remains to be done on Safavid relations with Poland. See C. Chowanec, "Z dziejów polityki Jana III na Bliskim Wschodzie 1683-1686," (On the history of the policy of Jan III toward the Near East 1683-1686) *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 40, 1926, pp. 150-60; Z. Józefowicz, "Z dziejów stosunków Polsko-Perskich," (On the history of Polish-Persian relations) *Przegląd orientalistyczny* 44:4, 1962, pp. 329-38; and M. Szuppe, "Un marchand du Roi de Pologne en Perse, 1601-1602," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 3, 1986, pp. 81-110.

Sweden. Relations with Sweden have recently received ample attention. See S. Troebst, "Narva und der Aussenhandel Persiens im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum merkantilen Hintergrund schwedischer Grossmachtpolitik," in A. Loit, H. Piirimäe, eds., *Die schwedischen Ostseeprovinzen Estland und Livland im 16.-18. Jahrhundert* Uppsala, 1993, pp. 161-78; idem, *Handelskontrolle – "Derivation"-Eindämmung. Schwedische Moskaupolitik 1617-1661*, Wiesbaden, 1997, pp. 167-203, 369-91, 459-60 and 486-90; Idem, "Die Kaspi-Volga-Ostsee-Route in der Handelspolitik Karls XI. Die schwedische Persien-Mission von Ludvig Fabritius 1679-1700," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 54, 1998, pp. 127-204; B. Sohrabi, "Early Swedish Travelers to Persia," *Iranian Studies* 38, 2005, pp. 631-60.



Russia. Extensive source material for relations with Russia can be found in N. I. Veselovskii, *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh i torgovykh snoshenii moskovskoi Rusi s Persiei* (Records of diplomatic and commercial relations between Muscovite Russia and Persia), 3 vols., in *Trudy Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Archeologicheskogo Obshchestva* (Works of the Eastern Department of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society), St. Petersburg, 1890-98. For modern studies, see especially P. P. Bushev, *Istoriia posol'stv i diplomaticheskikh otnoshenii russkogo i iranskogo gosudarstv v 1586-1612 gg.* (History of missions and diplomatic relations between the Russian and Iranian states, 1586-1612), Moscow, 1976; Idem, *Istoriia posol'stv i diplomaticheskikh otnoshenii russkogo i iranskogo gosudarstv v 1613-1621 gg.* (History of missions and diplomatic relations between the Russian and Iranian states, 1586-1612), Moscow, 1987; Idem, P. P. Bushev, "Puteshestvie iranskogo posol'stva Mokhammeda Khosein Khan-Beka v Moskvu v 1690-1692 vv." (The Journey of the Iranian envoy Moḥammad Ḥosayn Khan Beg to Moscow in 1690-92), *Strany i Narody Vostoka* 18, 1976, p. 135; E. Zevakin, "Konflikt Rossii s Perseie v serednie XVII stoletii" (The Conflict between Russia and Persia in the mid 17th-Century), *Azerbaidzhian v nachale XVIII veka* 8/4, 1929, pp. 24-31; N. G. Kukanova, *Ocherki po istorii russko-iranskikh torgovykh otnoshenii v XVII – pervoi polovine XIX veka* (Essays on the history of Russo-Iranian commercial relations from the 17th to the first half of the 19th century), Saransk, 1977; R. Matthee, "Anti-Ottoman Politics and Transit Rights: The Seventeenth-Century Trade in Silk between Safavid Iran and Muscovy," *Cahiers du monde russe* 35, 1994, pp. 739-61; Idem, "Anti-Ottoman Concerns and Caucasian Interests: Diplomatic Relations between Iran and Russia, 1587-1639," in Mazzaoui, ed., *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, pp. 101-28.

Brandenburg-Prussia. Relations with Brandenburg-Prussia are discussed in M. Hundt, "'Woraus nichts geworden'. Brandenburg-Preussens Handel mit Persien (1668-1720)", Hamburg, 1997.

Netherlands. Much Dutch source material for the early relations between Iran and Holland is assembled in H. Dunlop, ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië 1611-1638*, The Hague, 1930; and W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1610-1729*, 8 vols., The Hague, 1960-88. C. Speelman, *Journal der reis van den gezant der O.I. Compagnie Joan Cuneaus naar Perzië in 1651-1652*, ed. A. Hotz, Amsterdam, 1908, is the day-to-day account of a Dutch mission to the court of Shah 'Abbās II. Modern studies



include M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, "The Earliest Relations between Persia and the Netherlands," *Persica* 6, 1977, pp. 1-50; W. Floor, *Awwalin sofarā-ye Irān wa Holand*, Tehran, 1978. Idem, *Baroftādan-e Šafawiān wa barāmadan-e Maḥmud-e Afḡān*, ed., tr. A. Serri. Tehran, 1986; Idem, *Commercial Conflict between Persia and the Netherlands, 1712-1718*, Durham, U.K., 1988; Idem, "The Dutch and the Persian Silk Trade," in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 323-68; W. Floor and M. H. Faghfoory, *The First Dutch-Persian Commercial Conflict: The Attack on Qeshm Island, 1645*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2004; and R. Matthee, "Negotiating Across Cultures: The Dutch Van Leene Mission to the Court of Shah Sulaymān, 1689-1692," *Eurasian Studies* 3/1, 2004, pp. 35-64. R. Matthee, "A Sugar Banquet for the Shah: Anglo-Dutch Competition at the Iranian Court of Šāh Sultān Husayn (r. 1694-1722)," *Eurasian Studies* 5, pp. 195-218, discusses Anglo-Dutch competition at the late Safavid court.

Britain. For commercial and diplomatic relations with England, scattered information can be found in E. Delmar and C. H. Coote, eds., *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen*, New York, 1886; W. N. Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Ser.*, II, *East Indies, China and Japan, 1617-1621*, London, 1870; III, *East Indies, China and Japan 1622-1624*, London, 1878; IV, *East Indies, China and Persia, 1625-1629*, London, 1884; V, *East Indies and Persia, 1630-1634*, London, 1892; F. C. Danvers and W. Foster, eds., *Letters Received by the East India Company from Its Servants in the East Transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' Series of the India Office Records*, vols. 3-5, 1615-1617, London, 1896-1901; W. Foster, ed., *The English Factories in India, 1622-1660*, 9 vols., Oxford, 1908-21; and Ch. Fawcett, ed., *The English Factories in India, 1670-1677*, Oxford, 1936. For studies see R. W. Ferrier, "The European Diplomacy of Shāh 'Abbās and the First Persian Embassy to England," *Iran* 11, 1973, pp. 75-92; Idem, "British-Persian Relations in the 17th Century," Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1970; Idem, "The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 26, 1973, pp. 38-62; Idem, "The Terms and Conditions under which English Trade was Transacted with Safavid Persia," *BSOAS* 49, 1986, pp. 48-66.

France. Relations with France are covered by A. Kroell, "Louis XIV, la Perse et Mascate," *Le monde iranien et l'Islam* 4, 1976-77, pp. 1-78; and W. Floor, "The Lost Files of Jean Billon de Cancerille and French-Persian Relations at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," *Eurasian Studies* 2/1, 2003, pp. 43-94.

Missionary activities. For Western missionaries in Persia see S. Zaleski, *Misje w*



Persji w XVII I XVIII wieku pod protektoratem Polski, Cracow, 1882; G. Goyau, "L'évêque François Picquet dans Ispahan (Juillet 1682-Mai 1684)," *Revue des études historiques* 102, 1935, pp. 137-58; H. Chick, ed., *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols., London, 1939; J. Krzyszkowski, "Entre Varsovie et Ispahan. Le P. Ignace-François Zapolski S.J.," *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu* 18/35, 1949, pp. 85-117; see also the following works by Carlos Alonso, O.S.A. "Due lettere riguardante i primi tempi delle missioni agostiniane in Persia," *Analecta augustiniana* 24, 1961, pp. 152-201; Idem, "El P. José de Rosario, O.S.A., y la missione augustiniana de Persia," *Analecta augustiniana* 29, 1966, pp. 272-315; Idem, "Nueva documentación inedita sobre las misiones agustinianas en la India y en Persia (1571-1609)," *Analecta augustiniana* 33, 1970, pp. 310-93; Idem, "El convento agustiniano de Ispahan durante el periodo 1621-1671. Documentación inédita," *Analecta augustiniana* 36, 1973, pp. 247-308; Idem, "El P. Antonio de Gouvea O.S.A. y la embajada persa de Dengiz Beg (1609-1612)," *Analecta historicum* 38, 1975, pp. 63-94; Idem, *Misioneros Agustinos en Georgia (siglo XVII). Estudios de historia agustiniana*, Valladolid, 1978; Idem, "El P. Simon de Moreas, Pionero de las misiones agustinianas en Persia (1585)," *Analecta augustiniana* 62, 1979, pp. 343-72; Idem, "La embajada persa de Denguiz-Beg y Antonio de Gouvea osa a la luz de nuevos documentos," *Archivo agustiniano* 44, 1980, pp. 49-115; Idem, "Cartas del P. Melchor de los Angeles, OSA, y otros documentos sobre su actividad en Persia (1610-1619)," *Analecta augustiniana* 44, 1981, pp. 249-98; Idem, "Cautiverio en Argel y liberación de Antonio de Gouvea, O.S.A. ob. tit. de Cirene (1620-21)," *La Ciudad de Dios Real Monasterio de el Escorial* 194/2-3, 1981, pp. 475-91; "El convento agustiniano de Ispahan durante el periodo 1690-1702," *Archivo agustiniano* 47, 1983, pp. 41-83; Idem, "Novísimo florilegio documental sobre los Agustinos en Persia (1608-1622)," *Analecta augustiniana* 50, 1987, pp. 45-119; Idem, "Una embajada de Clemente VIII a Persia (1600-1609)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 34, 1996, pp. 7-125; Antonio de Gouvea, O.S.A. *Diplomático y visidador apostólico en Persia (†1628)*, Valladolid, 2000. A. Hartmann, "William of St. Augustin and His Time," *Analecta augustiniana* 20, 1970, pp. 181-234, 580-636; J. Metzler, "Nicht erfüllte Hoffnungen in Persien," in Idem, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, I/1, Rome, 1971, pp. 680-706; A. Eszer O.P., "Sebatian Knab O.P. Erzbischof von Naxijewan (1682-1690). Neue Forschungen zu seinem Leben," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 43, 1973, pp. 215-86; F. Richard, "Un Augustin portugais renégat apologiste de l'Islam chiite au début de XVIIIe siècle," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 1, 1984, pp. 73-85; Idem, "L'apport des missionnaires européens a la



connaissance de l'Iran en Europe et de l'europe a l'Iran," in C. Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*, pp. 251-66; L. Gil, "Las misiones luso-espacolas en Persia y la Christianidad armenia (1600-1614)," *Sefarad* 46, 1986, pp. 207-18. Z. Pucko, "The Activity of Polish Jesuits in Persia and Neighboring Countries in the 17th and 18th Centuries," in C. Melville, ed., *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*, pt. 2, Wiesbaden, 1999, pp. 309-15. R. Gulbenkian, "Relações religiosas entre os Arménios e os Agostinhos portugueses na Pérsia no século XVII," *Anais*, 2nd ser., 37, 1998, pp. 305-52; M. Sotuda and I. Afšār, ed., *Asnād-e pāderiyān-e Kārmeli: Bāzmānda az 'aṣr-e Šāh 'Abbās-e Šafawī*, Tehran, 1383/2004; F. Richard, "Le père Aimè Chezaud controversite et ses manuscrits persans," *Nāma-ye Bahārestān* 6-7 (Spring-Winter 2005-2006), 7-18.

Economy and trade. For aspects of the Safavid economy see: M. Kh. Geidarov, *Resmeslennoe proizvodstvo vo gorodakh Azerbaidzhana v XVII v.* (Crafts production in the cities of Azarbaijan in the 17th Century), Baku, 1967; M. Keyvani, *Artisans and Guild Life in the Later Safavid Period: Contributions to the Social-economic History of Persia*, Berlin, 1982; K. K. Kutsiia, *Sotsialno-ekonomicheskaiia struktura I sotsialnaia bor'ba v gorodakh Sefevidskogo Irana* (The socioeconomic structure and the social struggle in the cities of Safavid Iran), Tiflis, 1990; R. Matthee, "Politics and Trade in Late Safavid Iran: Commercial Crisis and Government Reaction under Shah Solayman (1666-1694)," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1991; W. Floor, *The Economy of Safavid Persia*, Wiesbaden, 2000; H. Amiri, "Taškīlāt-e māli-ye ḥokumat-e Šafawīya," *Irānšenākt* 18, 2000, pp. 146-73. For the economic organization of New Julfa, see E. Herzig, "The Family Firm in the Commercial Organisation of the Julfa Armenians," in J. Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*, pp. 287-304; and I. Bagdiantz-McCabe, "Silk and Silver: The Trade and Organization of New Julfa at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Revue des études arméniennes* 25, 1994-95, pp. 389-416. On textiles, see the contributions in C. Bier, ed., *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart*, Washington D.C., 1987; R. Matthee, "The East India Company Trade in Kerman Wool, 1658-1730," in Calmard, ed., *Etudes safavides*, pp. 343-83; W. Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry in Historical Perspective 1500-1925*, Paris, 1999. Safavid taxation is explained in W. Floor, *A Fiscal History of Iran in the Safavid and Qajar Periods, 1500-1925*, New York, 1998. Merchants and trade are studied in E. Herzig "The Volume of Iranian Raw Silk Exports in the Safavid Period," *Iranian Studies* 25, 1992, pp. 61-80; R. Klein, "Trade in the Safavid Port City of Bandar Abbas and the Persian Gulf Area (ca. 1600-1680). A Study of Selected



Aspects,” Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1993-94; Idem, “Caravan Trade in Safavid Iran (First Half of the 17th Century), in J. Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*, pp. 305-18; A. Kroell, “Bandar ‘Abbās à la fin du règne des Safavides,” in J. Calmard, ed., *Études safavides*, pp. 319-42; S. Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600-1750*, Cambridge, U.K., 1994; R. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600-1730*, Cambridge, U.K., 1999; Idem, “Merchants in Safavid Iran: Participants and Perceptions,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 4, 2000, pp. 233-68; H. Jabbari, *Trade and Commerce between Iran and India during the Safavid Period*, Delhi, 2003. For the trade and consumption of coffee see R. Matthee “Coffee in Safavid Iran: Commerce and Consumption,” *JESHO* 37, 1994, pp. 12-32. Minting, coinage and monetary issues are discussed in H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, Medals, and Seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941*. Hertford, U.K., 1945; Idem, *Album of Coins, Medals, and Seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1941)*, Oxford, 1951; M. A. Dobrynin, “Stikotvornye legendy na monetakh Sefevidov,” *Epigrafika Vostoka* 8, 1952, pp. 63-76; A. M. Radzhabli, “Iz istorii monetnogo dela v sefevidskom gosudarstve,” *Trudy Muzeia Istorii Azerbaidzhana* 4, 1961, pp. 44-67; T. S. Kuteliia, *Gruziya i sefevidskii Iran (po dannym numizmatiki)*, (Georgia and Safavid Iran, on the basis of numismatic data) Tiflis, 1979; S. Album, *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, 2nd ed., Santa Rosa, Calif., 1998; W. Floor and P. Clawson. “Safavid Iran’s Search for Silver and Gold,” *IJMES* 32, 2000, pp. 345-68; R. Matthee, “Between Venice and Surat: The Trade in Gold in Safavid Iran,” *Modern Asian Studies* 34, 2000, pp. 223-55; Idem, “Mint Consolidation and the Worsening of the Late Safavid Coinage: The Mint of Huwayza,” *JESHO*, 2001, pp. 505-39; Idem, “The Safavid Mint of Huwayza: The Numismatic Evidence,” in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 265-91. Technology in the Safavid period is covered in P. Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources en Iran du 7e au 19e siècle*, Paris and Tehran, 1996. On medicine see C. Elgood, *Safavid Surgery*, Oxford, 1966; Idem, *Safavid Medical Practice*, London, 1970; A. Newman, “Bāqir al-Majlisī and Islamicate Medicine: Safavid Medical Theory and Practice Re-examined,” in Idem, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 371-96; and W. Floor, “The Import of Indian Textiles into Safavid Persia,” *Eurasian Studies* 5, 2006, pp. 107-42; M. Subtelny, “Making a Case for Agriculture: The Irshad al-Zira‘a and its Role in the Political Economy of Early Safavid Iran,” in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, Rome, 1995, pp. 685-700.

Military History. Military issues are covered in J. Qozanlu, *Tārīḫ-e neẓāmi-ye Irān*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1936; L. Lockhart, “The Persian Army in the Safavid



Period,” *Der Islam* 24, 1959, pp. 89-98; R. Savory, “The Sherley Myth,” *Iran* 5, 1967, pp. 73-82; M. Haneda, *Le Chah et les Qizilbāš. Le système militaire safavide*, Berlin, 1987; Idem, “L’évolution de la garde royale des Safavides,” *Moyen-Orient et Océan Indien* 1, 1984, pp. 41-64, Eng. tr. in *Iranian Studies* 22, 1989, pp. 57-86; R. Matthee, “Unwalled Cities and Restless Nomads: Firearms and Artillery in Safavid Iran,” in Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 389-416; and in W. Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, Costa Mesa, 2001, pp. 124-280; M. Gronke, “The Persian court between Palace and Tent: From Timur to ‘Abbas I,” in L. Golombek and M. Subtelny eds., *Timurids Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, *Muqarnas*, suppl. 6, 1992, pp. 18-22; M. T. Emāmi, “Šolh-e Amāsiya az didgāh-e mowarrekin-e Tork,” *Motāle‘āt-e tāriki, žamima-ye Majalla-ye Daneškada-ye adabiyat va ‘olum-e ensāni* 7-8, 2005, pp. 19-32.

Language and literature. Moḥammad Ṭāher Naṣrābādi, *Taḍkera-ye naṣrābādi*, ed. M. Nāji Naṣrābādi, 2 vols., Tehran, 1999. W. Heinz, *Der indische Stil in der persischen Literatur*, Wiesbaden, 1973. A. R. Zakāwati Qavaguza, *Gozida-ye aš‘ār-e sabk-e hendi*, Tehran, 1993; J. Perry, “Persian during the Safavid Period: Sketch for an *Etat de Langue*,” in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 269-84; P. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighani*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1998; Idem, “The Palace of Praise and the Melons of Time: Descriptive Patterns in ‘Abdi Bayk Širāzī’s Garden of Eden,” *Eurasian Studies* 2/1, 2003, pp. 1-30; Idem, “‘The Equal of Heaven’s Vault’: The Design, Ceremony, and Poetry of the ‘asanābād Bridge,” in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*, ed. B. Grundler and L. Marlow, Wiesbaden, 2004, pp. 195-216; J. Calmard, “Popular Literature under the Safavids,” in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 341-50; S. Dale, “A Safavid Poet in the Heart of Darkness: The Indian Poems of Ashraf Mazandarani,” in M. Mazzaoui, ed., *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, pp. 63-80; and E. Echraqi, “Les alentours du Palais du gouvernement safavide a Qazvin dans les poèmes d’ ‘Abdi Beg Navīdī,” *Eurasian Studies* 5, 2006, pp. 79-92; T. Gandjei, “Turkish at the Safavid Court of Isfahan,” *Turcica* 21-23, 1991, pp. 311-18.

The Arts of the Book. An important original source for Safavid art is Qāzi Aḥmad’s treatise, tr. V. Minorsky as *Calligraphers and Painters*, Washington, D.C., 1959. Important editions of illustrated manuscripts include the *Šāhnāma-ye Ṭahmāsb* (earlier known as the *Houghton Šāhnāma*), by Stuart Welch and Martin Dickson in *The Houghton Shahnameh*, Cambridge, 1981, and the Safavid copy of the *Haft Awrang*, reproduced by Marianne Simpson in *Sultan*



Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran, New Haven, Conn., 1997. For studies of different aspects of Safavid art see: A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, ed., *Le chant du monde. L'art de l'Iran safavide 1501-1736*, Paris, 2007. A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Paintings at the Imperial Center of Iran*, New Haven, Conn., 1976; Idem, *Persian Painting: Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1976; Idem, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501-1576*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979; and Idem, "Worldly and Otherworldly Love in Safavid Painting," in R. Hillenbrand, ed., *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, pp. 301-17. See also M. Farhad, "Safavid Single Page Painting, 1629-1666," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987; Idem, "The Art of Musavvir: A Mirror of His Times," in S. R. Canby, ed., *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, Bombay, 1990, pp. 113-28; C. Adle, "Autopsie in absentia. Sur la date de l'introduction de l'album de Bahrâm Mîrzâ par Dûst Mohammad en 951/1544-45," *Stud. Ir.* 19, 1990, pp. 219-56; B. W. Robinson, "Muhammadi and the Khurasân Style," *Iran* 30, 1992, pp. 17-29; A. T. Adamova, "On the Attribution of Persian Paintings and Drawings at the Time of Shah 'Abbās I: Seals and Attributory Inscriptions," in R. Hillenbrand, ed., *Persian Paintings from the Mongols to the Qajars*, London, 2000, pp. 19-38; Idem, "Persian Portraits of the Russian Ambassadors," in S. Canby, ed., *Safavid Art and Architecture*, pp. 49-53; S. R. Canby, "Farangi Sāz: The Impact of Europe on Safavid Painting," *Hali Annual*, 1996, pp. 46-59; Idem, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan*, London, 1996; Idem, *The Golden Age of Persian Art, 1501-1722*, London, 1999; Idem, "The Pen or the Brush? An Inquiry into the Techniques of Late Safavid Drawings," in R. Hillenbrand, ed., *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, pp. 75-82; Idem, ed., *Safavid Art and Architecture* London, 2002; A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, New York, 1992; E. Bahari, *Bihzad, Master of Persian Painting*, London and New York, 1996; D. J. Roxburgh, "Kamal al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting," *Muqarnas* 17, 2000, pp. 119-46; Idem, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*, Leiden, 2001; A. Soudavar, "The Age of Muhammadi," *Muqarnas* 18, 2000, pp. 53-72; B. D. Wood, "The Shahnama-i Isma'il: Art and Cultural Memory in Sixteenth-Century Iran," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2002; the relevant contributions in J. Thompson and S. C. Canby, eds., *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran*, New York and Milan, 2003; A. T. Adamova, "Muhammad Qāsim and the Isfahan School of Painting," in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 193-212; and R. Y. Shami, "the Lion Image in Safavid Mi'raj Paintings," in A. Daneshvari, ed., *A Survey of Persian*



Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present, vol. XVIII, Costa Mesa, 2005, pp. 265-426. On manuscript production see: M. S. Simpson, "The Making of Manuscripts and the Workings of the Kitab-khana in Safavid Times," *Studies in the History of Art* 38, 1993, pp. 104-21; and L. Uluç, "Selling to the Court: Late Sixteenth-Century Manuscript Production in Shiraz," *Muqarnas* 18, 2000, pp. 73-96; and D. J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400-1600 From Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven and London, 2005. On ceramics see: I. Luschey-Schmeissen, "Engel aus Qazvin. Frühsafavidische Kachelbilder," *AMI N.S.* 9, 1976, pp. 299-311; L. Golombek, R. B. Mason and P. Proctor, "Safavid Potters' Marks and the Question of Provenance," *Iran* 39, 2001, pp. 207-36; Y. Crowe, *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum 1501-1738*, Geneva, 2002. On metal work see: A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Le *kashkūl* safavide, vaisseau à vin de l'initiation mystique," in J. Calmard, *Études safavides*, pp. 165-94; J. W. Allen, "Silver Door Facings of the Safavid Period" *Iran* 33, 1995, pp. 123-38. M. Shreve Simpson, "The Morgan Bible and the Giving of Religious Gifts between Iran and Europe/Europe and Iran during the Reign of Shah Abbas I," in Colum Hourihane, ed., *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, Princeton, 2005, pp. 141-50 covers both diplomatic and artistic relations; idem, "Shah 'Abbas and His Picture Bible," in W. Noel and D. Wiess, eds., *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, London and Baltimore, 2002, pp. 120-43; D. Weiss, et al., *Die Kreuzritter Bible/The Morgan Crusader Bible/La Bible des Croisades*, Lucerne, 1999.

Architecture. On architecture see: W. Kleiss, "Der safavidische Pavillon in Qazvin," *AMI* 9, 1976, pp. 299-311; Idem, "Safavid Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23, 1993, pp. 269-80; R. McChesney, "Four Sources on Shah 'Abbas's Building of Isfahan," *Muqarnas* 5, 1988, pp. 103-34; B. O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavillions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design," *Ars Orientalis* 23, 1993, pp. 249-68; G. Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23, 1993, pp. 303-42; S. Babaie, "Shah 'Abbas II, the Conquest of Qandahar, the Chihil Sutun, and Its Wall Paintings," *Muqarnas* 11, 1994, pp. 125-42; and Idem, "Building on the Past: The Shaping of Safavid Architecture, 1501-76," in J. Thompson and S. Canby, eds., *Hunt for Paradise*, pp. 27-48; M. Haneda, "The Character of the Urbanisation of Isfahan in the Later Safavid Period," in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*, pp. 369-88; Idem, "Maydan et Bag: Reflexion a propos de l'urbanisme du Šah 'Abbas," *Documents et Archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. Akira Haneda, Kyoto, 1990, pp. 87-99; S. P. Blake, *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590-1722*,



Costa Mesa, Calif., 1999; W. Floor, "The Talar-i Tavila or Hall of Stables, A Forgotten Safavid Palace," *Muqarnas* 19, 2002, pp. 149-63. For studies on the shrine of Ardabil see: A. H. Morton, "The Ardabil Shrine in the Reign of Shah Tahmasp," *Iran* 12, 1974, pp. 31-64; 13, 1975, pp. 39-58; K. Rizvi, "Its Mortar Mixed with the Sweetness of Life: Architecture and Ceremonial at the Shrine of Safi al-Din Ishaq Ardabili during the Reign of Shah Tahmasb I," *Muslim World* 90, 2000, pp. 232-51; Idem, "Transformation in Early Safavid Architecture: The Shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din Ishaq Ardabili in Iran (1501-1629)," PhD. diss., MIT, 2000; R. Hillenbrand, "The Tomb of Shah Isma'il I, Ardabil," in S. Canby, ed., *Safavid Art and Architecture*, pp. 3-8; Idem, "The Sarcophagus of Shah Isma'il at Ardabil," in A. Newman, ed., *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East*, pp. 165-85. On gardens, see M. Alemi, "The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models," in A. Petruccioli, ed., *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, Leiden, 1997; Idem, "Safavid Royal Gardens and Their Urban Relationships," in A. Daneshvari, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. XVIII, Costa Mesa, 2005, pp. 1-23; and Amy Landau, "Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan: The Court Painter Muhammad Zaman, the Armenians of New Julfa and Shah Sulayman (1666-1694)" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford, 2007. S. Babaie, "Safavid Palaces at Isfahan: Continuity and Change (1590-1666)," Ph.D. diss. Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1993; idem, "Building for the Shah: the Role of Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī (Sarū Taqī) in Safavid Royal Patronage of Architecture," in S. Canby, ed., *Safavid Art and Architecture*, London, 2002, pp. 20-26; H. Walcher, "Between Paradise and Political Capital: the Semiotics of Safavid Isfahan," in J. Albert and al., eds., *Transformations of Middle Eastern Natural Environments*, New Haven, 1998, pp.330-48; R. Moqtader, "Naqš-e maydān dar 'aṣr-e Ṣafawī," *Irān-nāma* 19, 2001, pp. 279-93.