The Forced Migrations and Reorganisation of the Regional Order in the Caucasus by Safavid Iran: Preconditions and Developments Described by Fazli Khuzani*

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Introduction

Two centuries of Safavid rule over the Iranian highlands from the 16th to 18th centuries brought about a substantial change in the indigenous society. Shia Islam became the state religion and rivalry with neighboring powers (Ottomans and Uzbeks) gives a certain socio-political distinction. During this period territorial integrity was also achieved to some extent as a result of the reformations of Shâh ‘Abbâs I (reign 995/1587–1038/1629). He moved the capital to Eşfahân, an old city situated in central Iran and made the heart of the Iranian plateau crown land. Military reform was inevitable to strengthen the central authority facing danger both externally and at home. Shâh ‘Abbâs incorporated the royal slaves gholâmân-e khâs-e-ye sharîfe=hereafter gholâms) into the state administration and this new elite corps mainly consisted of Caucasian converts who contributed much to the creation of a stable regime which replaced the tribal state.1

The Safavid gholâms were traditionally regarded as absolute slaves who had lost any previous identity and were totally dependent on the Shâh.

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Yet as the present author suggested in a study on the ethno-social origins of powerful gholām families, these simple prejudices should be rejected. Indeed given ‘Abbās’ deliberate policy, it was only natural that the ethnic and national ties usually remained intact, or were renewed and modified, rather than being erased. In fact the rise of Caucasian elites is connected with Safavid frontier policy.

The author has previously discussed Shāh ‘Abbās’ policy towards the Caucasus in describing the interaction and mutual dependencies between Caucasian local elites and Safavid central power. The Caucasus was a true frontier and a place of transformation for the Safavids to achieve the consolidation of state power. It should be noted that to know how they integrated into the political elite circles, we must pay attention to the physical transportation of peoples, i.e. forced migrations in the course of the political events. In this paper much attention is paid to the successive forced migrations during Shāh ‘Abbās I’s reign.

Impact of the Forced Migration

Some thirty years ago, J. Perry treated three Iranian monarch’s (Shāh ‘Abbās, Nāder Shāh reign 1148/1736–1160/1747 and Karīm Khān Zand reign 1165/1751–1193/1779) forced migration policies. He defined the

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3 In this paper the ‘Caucasus’ is denoted as the region around and north of Aras river and ‘Caucasians’, roughly indigenous sedentary population besides tribal element (qezelbāš or non qezelbāsh. See also notes 11 and 25). It is interesting to note that in the peace treaty concluded in early ‘Abbās’ reign, the border between Rūm and Qezelbāsh’ land (velāyat) became the river Aras too. Fazlī Khūzānī al-Eṣfahānī, Afżal al-tavārikh, University of Cambridge, Ms.Dd.5.6 (hereafter Fazlī: Afżal III), fol. 52b.


forced migration as ‘the transportation of a considerable number of a population group (whether nomadic or sedentary), normally in family units and accompanied by livestock and chattels, to be permanently resettled in a region remote from their home; and undertaken as an act of policy by the ruler or his agents’. Perry also pointed out two trends: the depopulation of the western provinces (principally Āzarbāijān) and the cossackisation of Khorāsān. He added that the repopulation to central, metropolitan provinces, was incidental, or at any rate secondary to strategic requirements.

Perry’s main concern seems to be to describe how the Iranian nation came out and how forced migration impacted its demographic maps. He used only one Persian chronicle for Shāh ‘Abbās’ case so the study remained only a rough sketch. Nevertheless his suggestions are worth considering for they are directly concerned with the flow of peoples, especially with Shāh ‘Abbās’ forced migration policies in northwest Iran and the Caucasus.

The forced migration policies tended to be researched in separate cases and lack coherent studies. The Julfa merchants’ case is fairly well known but in this famous case too there are two theories, one stressing the result of the scorched-earth strategy as Perry pointed out and one emphasising well planned programs. A new book by Babai and others gives a very attractive image that the Caucasian slaves contributed to the Safavid centralisation of power. They argued that the introduction of Caucasians occurred on purpose, but little attention is paid to the Caucasus region itself. E. Herzig has a negative view of such an exaggerated image of the existence of a forward planned and coherent policy-making as suggested by Baghdiantz, one of the authors of the before-mentioned book, in her work on Julfa Armeians.

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At any rate, the deportations of this period occurred on a considerable scale. Besides the famous Armenian community in Eṣfahān, Fereidan (P‘ereidneli) Georgians still preserve their languages up to today. The forced movement of peoples by the state always reflects certain notions and will of the person in power. So the deliberate policy and the political culture behind it are worth considering.

This study does not intend to offer estimations of number and scale; it is very difficult to grasp precisely the demographic changes. Rather it intends to sketch the development of Shāh ‘Abbās’ forced migration policies and its interaction with both ‘internal’ and ‘external’ factors. At the same time it aims to observe the historical formation of multi-ethnic Caucasian society alongside the foreign impact on the indigenous society which is rarely mentioned before the Russian conquest of the region. This paper also intends to utilise the information of the newly discovered chronicle by Faẓlī Khūzānī al-Eṣfahānī, an official who was directly in charge of the Safavid policy towards the Caucasus. Faẓlī quite vividly narrates the events happened in northwest Iran and the Caucasus as a representative of the local administration, namely, he was vazīr of Bardaʿ and Kakheti.

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Migration and the Transplantation of the Tribal Elements

From chronicle sources, it is clear that immigrants into the Caucasus largely consisted of qezelbāsh tribes. Turkish tribal forces in Anatolia known as qezelbāsh made a great contribution to the establishment of the Safavid dynasty. The earlier Safavid Shāhs settled qezelbāsh tribes along two rivers, the Aras and Kor. They rewarded their loyalists with favorable lands for their services.

Of course it was not only for their livestock. Their move was politically backed up by Safavid authority. There were several indigenous dynasties who strongly opposed the Safavid rule. For example Luarsab I, king of Kartli of Georgia, resisted over some thirty years but finally was killed in 963–964/1556–1557 by Shāhverdī Khān Ziyādoghlu Qājār who was supposedly the first governor-in-general (beglarbegī) of Qarābāgh.

In this regard, we see two specific features of these qezelbāsh groups. As is known, qezelbāshs were confederations of tribes which were politically established. As the names of qezelbāsh confederations like Rūmlū (Anatolians) and Shamlū (Syrians) can be seen only after the emergence of Safavid power, it shows how partly politically-motivated tribal institutions were. Their flexibility as a political unit and superior

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11 It is very difficult to define the ‘tribe’. Yet as from the Eskandar Beg’s category of high-ranked persons at the end of Shāh ‘Abbās’ reign, it is said that the region was strongly politicised as even many non qezelbāsh were listed there (see note 27). At least there would be distinctions between tribes and sedentary population in their socio-economical way of life. Eskandar Monshī, Tārīkh-e ‘ālam-ārā-ye ‘Abbāsī, ed. ‘Īraj Afshār, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1350/1971–1972) (hereafter Eskandar Beg) pp. 1084–1089. Also see: Richard Tapper, Frontier Nomads of Iran: A Political and Social History of the Shāhsevan (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 1–27.

12 Tapper writes that ‘the eastern Transcaucasus has always offered a highly favorable environment for both pastoral and agricultural activities. High mountains, with abundant summer pasturages, command the vast and fertile Shirvān, Qarābāgh and Moghān plains of the lower Aras and Kor rivers, which provide correspondingly extensive winter grazing’. Tapper, Frontier Nomads, p. 72.


14 Tapper pointed out the Iranian legacy of creating ‘tribes’ by the government citing the example of the foundation of the Khamseh confederacy in Fārs in 1861–1862. Tapper, Frontier Nomads, pp. 10–11. Some tribes under the banner of Aqquyunlu incorporated into qezelbāsh confederation and consisted of it. John E. Woods, The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire (Minneapolis, 1999). Eskandar Beg’s following sentence is also
mobility were of great advantage to penetrate Safavid influence deeply in the Caucasian local society. It is worth mentioning that two large Torkoman tribal federations in Qarābāgh were each called Īğirmīdōrt (=24 in Turkish) and Otūzīkī (=32 in the same language).15

worth mentioning: ‘At Present Arabgīrlū is included in Shāmlū’. Eskandar Beg, p. 1084.

15 On the Otŭzīkī and Īğirmīdōrt tribe in Qarābāgh, see: George A. Bournoutian (trans. and ed.), A History of Qarabagh: An Annotated Translation of Mirza Jamal Javanshir
However, it should be pointed out that once they obtained their fiefdom after transplantation, they soon became ‘local elements’ and played a great role in local politics. These localised qezelbāsh no longer simply obeyed the Safavids. When the Ottomans invaded the region in the very early days of ‘Abbās’ reign, most qezelbāsh tribes surrendered without a fight and accepted Ottoman rule to defend their local interests. In the second year of ‘Abbās’ reign, Ottoman commander Farhād Pasha advanced towards Qarābāgh through Georgia. Nazar Solṭān Qazāqlar in Lore and Pambak was the first to cooperate with the Ottoman army. According to his appeal, Qarābāqīs in Akhestābād and Shams od-DīnĪs in Ṭāus Chāī and Zagam accepted Ottoman rule without a fight. When Moḥammad Khān beglarbegī of Qarābāgh lost the war with the Ottomans, the whole of Qarābāgh fell into their hands. Most Īḡirmīdōrts and Javānshīrs in the region also obeyed the Ottomans.

Checking Rulers of Their Loyalty

What kind of policies did ‘Abbās adopt for those tribal elements in the region? Against one’s supposition of suppressing tribal elements (or qezelbāsh), Shāh ‘Abbās rarely terminated the particular tribe at least in this region. Instead, he replaced their leaders or sometimes temporarily exiled them.

As the local governor was mostly a heritage appointee, there was always a prominent family line. So Safavid authority tried to make use of this principle from the beginning. Trying to control the powerful Qājārs, Shāh Esmāʿīl II pointed out Qājār not the descendants of Shāhverdī nor Ziyādoghlu. After the reconquest of northwest Iran and the Caucasus, Shāh ‘Abbās partly changed tribal leaders. For example, rulership of

Qarabaghi’s Tarikh-e Qarabagh (Costa Mesa, 1994), pp. 44–45.

Faṣlī called Ḥosein Beg who was close servant of Shāh ‘Abbās: Ḥosein Beg Qarābāghī Qājār Ziyādoghlu qūrchī-ye tarkash. Faṣlī: Afḵal III, fols. 39b, 43b; Eskandar Beg, p. 436.

Faṣlī: Afḵal III, fols. 28a–29b; Eskandar Beg, pp. 405–407.

Esmāʿīl II ordered Peykar Solṭān to kill his cousin Yūsof Khalīfe b. Shāhverdī Khān Ziyādoghlu beglarbegī of Qarābāgh. Peykar even killed Yūsof’s mother and brothers expecting appointment as beglarbegī. Then Esmāʿīl II gave the rulership to Emāmqolī from another tribe of Qājārs. After Emāmqolī’s death ‘Abbās appointed Moḥammad Beg grandson of Shāhverdī. Eskandar Beg, p. 385.
İğirmidört was entrusted to Zolfaqar Solṭān. At the Ottoman conquest, his brother Arzānī Beg divānbegī refused to surrender and was killed. Zolfaqar fled to Safavid court with the sons of Arzānī Beg including the future Peykar Khān.¹⁹

At this stage, recognising his week position, ‘Abbās never purged all those who were subordinate to the Ottomans. He saw priority in maintaining order, and no large scale migration took place.²⁰ Yet, after recovering broad territory and establishing more stable rule there, ‘Abbās started to ‘erase’ the opposed elements. In 1021–1022/1612–1613, the leader of Javānshīr and his brother were killed during conflicts with Qājārs. Eskandar Beg attributed this to their sin as ones who once cooperated with the Ottomans. In this year Ḥājīlīr were deported to Māzandarān.

The fate of Qazāqlars is worth mentioning. Moḥammad Khān, son of Naẓar Solṭān (or Pasha as he became an Ottoman subject) was killed by Luarsab II of Georgia. The Shāh permitted his brother Moṣṭafā to succeed him. But Moṣṭafā and his brother were executed by Delū Moḥammad Solṭān Shams od-Dīnlū²¹ by royal order in 1023–1024/1614–1615 after an expedition towards Georgia. Then rulership of Qazāqlars was given to Shamsī Khān (cousin of Moṣṭafā) who came to Safavid court at the beginning of the reconquest in advance of his kinsmen. On this occasion they were ordered to go to Fārs.²² However, after the general revolt in Georgia, they were called back from Dārābjerd (Fārs) to defend Ākhesqe in 1036–37/1627–28, because they had a good knowledge of the region. Shamsī Khān was captured by the Ottomans the following year but was mentioned as one of the qezelbāsh amīr at the end of ‘Abbās’ reign.²³

Towards the end of his reign ‘Abbās also made use of the gholaṃs, new Caucasian elites, to check the tribal powers. For example, when ‘Abbās was reconciled with revolted Georgian king Teimuraz I, he appointed Dāvūd b. Allāhverdī, a son of a famous Georgian general of the

¹⁹ Fazlī: Afzāl III, fols. 48a, 200a. They were given the fief Mehrābād in Sāve in exile.
²⁰ Even Moḥammad Solṭān, a son of Naẓar Solṭān who was the first to betray, was permitted to continue his rule over Lori and Pambak.
²¹ He was one of the most important generals and executors of Safavid policy towards the Caucasus at that period.
²² Fazlī: Afzāl III, fol. 334b; Eskandar Beg, pp. 882–883.
²³ Eskandar Beg, pp. 1061, 1073, 1086.
time as beglarbegī of Qarābāgh.24 Dāvūd had been entrusted with the rule of Tbilisi fortress and made acquaintance with Teimuraz (They conducted joint revolt at the beginning of Shāh Ṣafī’s reign). The Governor of Javānshīr tribe was given to Nourūz Beg, another gholām of Georgian origin (from Tulashvili clan) and brother-in-law of Dāvūd.25 So not only did the ruling family change but also representatives from ‘other flocks’ were appointed. But Qājār tribes themselves were not removed nor transported. As discussed in another paper, ‘Abbās tried to counterbalance the tribes against each other but also considered much of the evaluation of qezelbāshs as ‘the local ruler’s aspect.’26 This is the status quo aspect of ‘Abbās’ policy.

Making New Tribes or Transportations

As mentioned above, ‘Abbās’ policy on the qezelbāsh subject was maintaining the status quo. However, the Transcaucasian plain was also a place intensively populated by ‘non qezelbāsh’ tribal elements.27 So some specific features are observed about the movement of the tribal people, i.e. active reorganisation of tribes.

In 1018–1020/1610–1611, ‘Abbās massacred the Barādūst Kurds in Orūmie and Mokrī Kurds in Marāghe.28 ‘Abbās entrusted the rule of

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24 Fazlī: Afzal III, fol. 521b; Eskandar Beg, p. 1062.
25 Bournoutian’s reference to Nourūz contains an error. Eskandar Beg’s description on the amīrs at the end of ‘Abbās’s reign consisted of not ‘qezelbāsh amīrs and gholām amīrs’ but ‘tribal amīrs (including qezelbāsh and non qezelbāsh tribes) and gholāms who were given the right of command and governance of tribes’. Bournoutian, A History of Qarabagh, p. 46. Also see note 27.
26 This aspect is clearly recognised when ‘Abbās gave the two Bagratian princesses to Ganje’s Ziyādoghlu ruler and Barda’s İğirmidört leader in when the latter appointed to the governor of Georgian Kakheti. See: Maeda, ‘Exploitation of the Frontier’.
27 Eskandar Beg listed tribal amīrs at the time of ‘Abbās’ death in 1038/1629. He referred the specific category of ‘non-qezelbāsh amīrs’ (az oymāqāt-e qezelbāsh nīstand va dar selk-e omārā-e ‘ezzām entezām yāfte). Among 8 of them, 5 persons possessed their fief in ‘Āzarbājān’ namely: Āqā Khān Moqaddam, Sārū Khān Solṭān Salmāsī, Kalb Rezā Solṭān Zanūzī, Khalīl Solṭān Sil Söpör, Nūr ol-Dīn Solṭān Pāydār (Also see note 36).
28 Perry accounted for the massacre of the Kurdish tribe Mokrī in the list of forced migration. Perry, ‘Forced Migration’, p. 203.
Orūmie to the Shāmlū representative (later Afshār). Marāghe was given to Āqā Khān Moqaddam. The case of the Moqaddam tribe provides us with a good example of creating a new tribal unit. This was originally the subsidiary tribe of the Otūzikī in Qarābāgh. ‘Abbās gave the rulership of the tribe to Ghāzī Solṭān, an old servant from ‘Abbās’ Khorāsān Prince’s period. According to Fażlī’s description, they originally consisted of only 70 families but Ghāzī’s sons Niyaż and Āqā received great benefits from ‘Abbās and increased in number to 10,000 families during his reign. When Āqā Solṭān, head of Moqaddam moved to Marāghe, it was decided that all Otūzikī tribesmen who wanted to serve Āqā Solṭān could go and a substantial portion chose to do so (according to Fażlī they took 400,000 sheep).

So these moves connected with the re-allotment of space as well as the reorganisation of tribal institutions and political balances in the provinces. In 1030–1031/1621–1622, Āqā Khān received Shāh’s favor once more. Tax revenue of chūpānbeygī (tax on herds of sheep: here the number up to 500,000 per head) was presented to the tribe. Instead, they were ordered to give one soldier per 500 sheep (so in total 1,000 persons). Āqā Khān was given the robe of honor and became Āzarbāijān’s charkhchibāšī.

Of course new tribal organisations were not always created to fill the places where local rulers and inhabitants had been forcibly removed. In 1022–1023/1613–1614 Moḥammad Ḥosein Khān Qorghlū Zolqadar became the governor of Shakkī. He took various Zolqadars in Erāq and Āzarbāijān, namely Qorghlū, Salmānlū, ‘Alībeklū and Kūndashlū there. When ‘Abbās gave Sāliyān and Maḥmūdābd in Shirvān to Shojā‘ al-Dīn Beg, chief of a Kurdish tribe in 1024–1025/1615–1616, Shojā‘ al-Dīn Beg was ordered to gather his fellow tribesmen who were scattered in Āzarbāijān and to settle there with them. In 1029–1030/1620–1621

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30 Fażlī: Afżal III, fols. 168b, 239a, 267b, 345a; Eskandar Beg, pp. 811–814.
31 Fażlī: Afżal III, fols. 239a, 267b, 345a.
33 Fażlī: Afżal III, fols. 325a, 327b–328a, 339b.
34 Fażlī: Afżal III, fol. 345a.
‘Abbās added Kakheti province of Georgia to Peykar Solṭān, the ruler of Barda’. He immigrated with some fifty thousand families of Imūrū Zolqadar, Solaymān Ḥājlū and Kurdish tribes in Āzarbāijān, besides his fellow Īğirmīdört, according to the order.35 Thus extension of qezelbāsh elements in the region are clearly observed in ‘Abbās I’s period too.

Another feature also connects with the local environment, i.e. migration of tribes from Ottoman territory. The flow of people from the west still continued in ‘Abbās’ reign. During the reconquest of Āzarbāijān in 1012–1013/1604–1605 (or next year), Sīl Söpör from Anatolia joined the Safavids. They were at first given the fief in Ray, Sāve, Khwār, Fīrūzkūh. But at the end of ‘Abbās’ reign, their chief Khalīl was mentioned in the list of amīrs who were not qezelbāsh and possessed land in Āzarbāijān.36

The Jalālīs revolt devastated east Anatolia and then made refuge in the Safavid court. According to Faẓlī, their number reached thirty thousand. A grand vizier of the Safavids welcomed them in Tabrīz and escorted them to the capital Eṣfahān. Faẓlī leaves a description of the huge royal banquet held for them in detail.37 Next year some of them were tempted to go back to the Ottomans. Nevertheless, their new leader Qarā Saʿīd was given land in Qarāchedāgh, Angūt and Jūldar (?) in Āzarbāijān.38

We can find the list of Safavid generals who took part in the war against the Ottomans in 1027–1028/1618–1619. Besides Jalālī’s leader Qarā Saʿīd Jalālī, a certain Ūrs Solṭān Shāhīsevan was appointed to the 500 warriors from the central Anatolian regions of Sivas and Divri. He was given land near Arasbār and Ārān.39 It is important to note that this ‘created’ unit was given land in Āzarbāijān and financial support was made from regional incomes.

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35 Faẓlī: Afẓal III, fols. 345a, 414a; Eskandar Beg, p. 955.
36 Faẓlī: Afẓal III, fols. 161b–162a; Eskandar Beg, pp. 648, 1087. Here I interpreted the sentences as 5 in Āzarbāijān and 3 in Khorāsān. However if we take the meaning of Āzarbāijān in a narrow sense, it is not certain Sīl Söpör is included in amīrs in Āzarbāijān.
38 Faẓlī: Afẓal III, fols. 240a–240b, 257a. According to Eskandar Beg, their number decreased dramatically and not more than 500 Jalālī remained in Shāh’s service. Eskandar Beg, p. 802.
In short, Shāh ‘Abbās tried to make use of the local features. To hold tight control over his qezelbāsh subjects, ‘Abbās frequently reorganised and resettled the various qezelbāsh and non qezelbāsh tribes in northwest Iran and the Caucasus. In the course of doing so, he paid close attention to the creation of counter balances to each other. True, Shāh ‘Abbās never placed full confidence in the qezelbāsh amīrs as political elites. However, the qezelbāsh and other tribal elements continued to be deployed as mobilised military units which could be easily relocated to govern local societies. Shāh ‘Abbās continued this policy, making loyal qezelbāsh chiefs emigrate with their fellows.40

Some ‘Pre-conditions’ of the Forced Migrations to Central Iran and the Caspian Coast

How to defend the territory from Ottoman expansion was always a crucial issue for Safavid Shāhs. The scorched-earth policies were ‘traditional’ when the Ottoman army approached Safavid territory. Land was abandoned and the population was forcefully evacuated for not supplying any accommodations and facilities to the enemy. In fact when the front line moved eastward, then this most effective scheme was always adopted. We can observe practices of this strategy from Qārš even to Tabrīz. Īrevān and Nakhjevān were repeatedly mentioned (see appendix 1). However, it should be pointed out that long distance deportation did not always happen. Thus we should consider the conditions of each case on one hand, then the ‘development of ‘Abbās’ policy’ on the other.

As was pointed out, there were two opposite views on ‘Abbās’ transportation policies. Above all, it had been very difficult to estimate the conditions and political climate surrounding forced migration policies. However, Fazlī’s original description contributes to new insight into these problems. Here I stress the two aspects of the events. One is the lessons of time and the other is the specific political climate that led to the

40 As the military equipment evolved, ‘Abbās had to fortify the castles against the Ottoman threat and garrisoned them with Iranian infantry from Erāq-e ‘Ajam who were equipped with firearms. But as a ruling elite of local society, qezelbāshs still possessed superior power.
reconstruction of centralisation policy around 1614 which has been rarely mentioned until now.

In 1013/1604 when the recovery operation faced danger from an unexpected advance of the Ottoman Army, a systematic deportation was carried out and Julfa Armenains were given land in Eşfahān at that time. Fazlī’s new information gives us some notion of the ‘anticipated’ forced migration.

According to his description, two years preceding this deportation, people from Tabrīz were gathered around Eşfahān and were given new land to construct the new quarter ‘Abbāsābād (see citation 2). Tabrīz was at that time under Ottoman occupation and the pro-Safavid population might have been scattered inside Safavid territory. Fazlī describes that the land was bought by the Shāh and granted to them. State officers supervised the distribution of the land. Julfa Armenians were given the land just to the side of them. So even if the Julfa’s transportation happened by chance as the result of the scorched-earth tactics, Safavid authority had prepared the conditions in a hope to develop its new capital and experience of inviting and gathering population.

It is important to note that the same year saw the large scale transportation of the Andekhūd population in Khorāsān into Erāq. Eskandar Beg describes how the Safavid authority arranged the total devastation of the land and transported the population into custody physically and psychologically (they became converted to Shia). He argued Safavid authority treated the Muslim ‘hostage’ in a much better way, not like the Ottomans who forced the Tabrīz’s Shia population into slavery during the invasion and sold them to Franks. Eskandar’s notion of not forcing war prisoners into slavery but to ‘protect’ them is important when considering the background of ‘Abbās’ deportation policy. In addition, in the light of practice and experience, accumulation of know-how of city evacuation and registration of population should be worth mentioning at this time.

41 ‘Abbāsābād is known as the quarter of the Tabrizis. See: Herzig, ‘The Armenian Merchants’, p. 71.
42 Eskandar Beg, pp. 628–629.
43 E. Herzig has negative views of the well-planned programs, yet refers to the systematic operation of deportation (registration) and Julfa’s town planning. Herzig, ‘The Armenian Merchants’, pp. 55, 59, 60, 67.
As for the forced deportation into Māzandarān, Faẓlī leaves very interesting notes. According to Faẓlī, settlement in Māzandarān goes back to the early part of ‘Abbās’s reign (see citation 1 in Appendix 2). When Farhād Khān Qarāmānlū was given the governorship of Māzandarān, he ordered Mīr Hāshem Shirvānī and his fellow Shirvān people to go there. Before that they fled to Qezelāḡāj, the base of Qarāmānlū in Āzarbāijān after Ottoman occupation, but they could not work as the land could not produce silk. This village Țāḥūn was developed and later named Faraḥābād. This episode shows that Māzandarān was exploited for economic purposes from the beginning.\(^{44}\) So the first immigration to Faraḥābād was carried out by qaẓelbāš amīr. ‘Abbās probably adopted this policy.\(^{45}\) These episodes show the series of developments of the policy even if it happened by chance at the beginning.

**A Political Change in 1614**

As we see in the table 1, large scale transportation mainly happened during three years in ‘Abbās’ 42-year reign. Many of the population in the Caucasus were deported to central Iran and the coast of the Caspian Sea during ‘Abbās’ military expedition in the Caucasus in 1023–1025/1614–1616.

One of his motives would be to get rid of the opposing elements in the region.\(^{46}\) The local powers of the Caucasians experienced Ottoman rule over twenty years. They should have strongly recognised ‘another choice’; it was a great threat to Safavid authority. Kurds in Orūmīe and

\(^{44}\) It is difficult to know precisely if the deportation was designed as purely for the silk production. See negative view of Herzig on this issue. Herzig, ‘The Armenian Merchants’, pp. 61–62. In any case, as a bureaucrat in Qarābahg, Faẓlī was strongly aware of its economic importance.

\(^{45}\) According to Faẓlī, towards the end of his reign, Seyyed Ḥosein Shirvānī worked as a dārūḡhe of Faraḥābād as cited below and appendix 2–7, 10. Eskandar Beg refers to the date of construction of Faraḥābād and its old name but not to this group. Eskandar Beg, p. 850.

\(^{46}\) While describing Ottoman conquest of Qarābahg, Eskandar Beg wrote that after 20 years those who betrayed Safavids were exiled to Māzandarān to 1. increase the population and cultivation 2. not to cooperate with evils. see: Eskandar Beg, p. 417. Here 20 years is referred to as the symbolic term for the return of Safavid hegemony in the region.
Marāghe were totally eliminated in previous years. Now Georgian and Shirvānīs who coped with the Ottomans waited their turn. When ‘Abbās decided on the operation, he immediately dispatched an envoy to the Ottoman court, informing it that the move was to punish disobedient Georgian rulers and that he did not intend to invade Ottoman territory.47 So it was connected with foreign policy but not directly with scorched-earth tactics. Rather, it was part of his integration policy.

As is repeatedly mentioned, to develop the Māzandarān would be one of the main subjects behind the decision too. The economic interest was of great importance. ‘Abbās’ favor for the climate of Māzandarān is well known.48 It was a place of his maternal ancestor. Farahābād (1020–1021/1611–1612) and Ashraf (1021–1022/1612–1613) were constructed just before those operations. However, the political events inside the court were rarely mentioned in relation to these events.

Before and during these punitive expeditions, most of the influential courtiers were eliminated or left the political scene. Allāhqolī Beg Qājār, who worked as the most prominent courier elite occupying the post of qurchibāšī for twenty years, was blinded with his sons, then executed. Eskandar beg criticised him for corruption.49 It should be pointed out that Allāhqolī was a governor of part of Māzandarān. According to Fazlī, he burned all the documents before arrest so that his servants would not suffer. At the same time, Zainab Beigom, ‘Abbās’ aunt and the most influential person of the inner palace, was excluded from royal haram and ordered to go to Qazvīn. Her fief Kāshān was taken away. The royal seals which were near her, were given to Yūsof Āqā gholām, a Circassian eunuch who became the most powerful person in the haram until Şafi’s reign when his family was purged.50 Maqsūd Beg nāzīr was ordered to arrest Moḥebb ‘Alī Beg and his houses in Eşfahān and ‘Abbāsābād were

47 Fazlī: Afzal III, fol. 321b; Eskandar Beg, p. 869.
49 Eskandar Beg, pp. 858–859.
50 According to Fazlī, the vazīr and dārūḡeh of New Julfa in Eşfahān were also newly appointed around this time (indeed dārūḡeh was a one-year appointee but his immediate predecessor worked for a few years). Fazlī: Afzal III, fols. 316b. In this connection, the known fact that Julfa was the Queen Mother’s property is recalled. See: Ghougassian, The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese, p. 60.
confiscated. All these important events happened just before the expedition towards Georgia.  

Besides those who were forcibly excluded from the scene, we can add the fact that Grand vizier Khātem Beg Naṣīrī Ordūbādī had died from illness a few years earlier. The most powerful amīr of the time and representative of the newly arising gholāms, Allāhverdī Khān qollarāqāsī passed away just after the purge. According to Fazlī, the most powerful religious person of the time Mīr Moḥammad Bāqer Dāmād lost Shāh’s favor too at this time. These severe political changes continued and reached their height in the following year. Crown Prince Şafī (Moḥammad Bāqer) Mirzā was murdered by a Circassian gholām. Eskandar Beg left a brief and very vague description but Fazlī clearly attributes the events as directly ordered by the Shāh.

The direct reason for this huge scale purge is not clear. However, we see three common features among them. First, they occupied a high position for many years from early in ‘Abbās’ reign. Second, they possessed large scale economic interests which greatly influenced the state and royal budget. Third, they all related with the Caucasus region and its population. Qājārs occupied the post of beglarbegī in Qarābāgh and Īrevān. Zainab’s mother was of Georgian origin. Allāhverdī was Georgian too. Fazlī writes that Şafī’s mother was from Circassian royalty and ‘Abbās made a false charge that Prince Şafī led Circassians living in Shirvān (probably in this case Circassians meant North Caucasian in general) which according to Fazlī, numbered more than 100,000 families, to revolt. Eskandar Beg also refers to Prince’s Circassian connection.

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51 Fazlī: Afżal III, fols. 315a–315b, 334b.
52 Actually Moḥebb ‘Alī Beg’s disgrace was only temporal, for we see his activity already 1023/1614. See: Babaie et al., Slaves of the Shah, pp. 89–93.
53 Fazlī: Afżal III, fol. 337b. As is pointed out in my last paper, Fazlī’s description has partly shared with that of Mīrzā Beg the author of Rouzat al-Ṣafaviye. See: Maeda, ‘Political Culture’.
54 Just one year before his death, ‘Abbās visited Zainab Beigom, with whom he ‘never met from the date of departure towards Georgian expedition’, and was reconciled with her after more than a decade. Fazlī: Afżal III, fols. 543b–544a.
56 Fazlī: Afżal III, fols. 334b–335a. Eskandar Beg, pp. 850, 855. Fazlī’s description on the
The concrete power change in the Safavid court at this time needs further study. At any rate the expedition was designed to punish those who had the possibility to revolt. In this direction might also be added another cause of Shāh’s strong will to consolidate his own power. In fact the salary system in the state changed in 1026–1027/1617–1618 just after these expeditions.\(^{57}\) Two aims of penetrating the power of central authority into the rebellious land and of establishing the effective rule over all his subjects crossed over into the region north of the Aras River.

These cases also show that, already, how to control the Caucasian elements inside the court was a critical issue for the Safavid authority. So the expedition towards Georgia and deportation of the Caucasian people were not the beginning of the Caucasian’s infiltration towards Safavid authority. The operation was conducted to rearrange the court order and distribution of the powers including Caucasian officials.\(^ {58}\) In these circumstances, the expedition towards Georgia was conducted and many of the population were taken away to Central Iran and the Caspian coast.

Royal Favor\(^ {59}\)

Reigning for nearly thirty years, ‘Abbās now recovered most of the once lost territory both in the east and west. The exploitation of Māzandarān (Caspian) province started around this period and the forced deportations happened simultaneously. But still the vengeance and punishment were the first at least to be described by contemporary historians. Usually Georgians and Armenians are referred to as the victims of this cruel policy, but according to Fāzūlī who was closely connected with the execution of the local policy, 5,000 Muslim families and 1,200 Jewish families were exiled to Māzandarān from the sphere of Georgian kings influenced in

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\(^{57}\) Eskandar Beg, pp. 924–925.

\(^{58}\) For example Prince Ṣaffī’s execution should not be regarded as persecution towards Circassians. Farhād Beg was executed but around the same time, as mentioned before, a Circassian eunuch Yūsūf Āqā held the power in the inner palace.


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1023–1024/1614–1615. Eskandar Beg also wrote that ‘Abbās deported Muslims and Jews and Armenians from Georgian Kakheti. According to him they immigrated during the period of disorder. Many of the population in Shirvān and Qarābāgh, of not only sedentary but also nomadic tribes, were exiled by those guilty of cooperation with the Ottomans. The population of Nakhjevān was also exiled as a result of suspicion of conspiring with the Ottomans, so the policy was adopted on a large scale in the whole eastern Transcaucasia.

We usually consider that prisoners of war were the ones who were forcibly transferred to the new lands. A substantial loss of the local population is clearly seen in Georgia when both Persian authors (Fażlī and Eskandar Beg) reported that more than a hundred thousand Georgians were taken into captivity. When the Kakhetian city Zagam was sacked by the Safavids, about seven hundred people were taken captive. The Shāh renounced his right over one-fifth of looted property, only taking 3 boys and 2 girls. Yet these descriptions on cruel acts show the supervision of the central authority. Fażlī’s description goes a long way to compensate for the previous lack of information and gives us a detailed description of ‘state protection’ (of course from the viewpoint of Safavid authority) towards those persons.

During the above-mentioned raid, 122 Kakhetian Jews were included. They all were liberated and transferred to Farahābād because their leader Khwāje Lālezār already had become the Shāh’s subject before this incident (see citation 4). In this case, they were saved from slave status but went into direct ‘royal protection’ in Farahābād. Fażlī repeatedly describes that emigrants are given financial aid from the state budget (see citations 2, 4, 6, 8, 9).

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60 Eskandar Beg, p. 881. According to him, 15,000 families were deported from Qarābāgh. The Ahmādlū tribe was passive and was plundered and massacred. At the same time, even some Qarāchedāgh’s Sufis were punished and executed. Eskandar Beg, p. 882.
61 Fażlī: Afzāl III, fols. 326b, 352b.
62 Eskandar Beg, p. 900; Fażlī: Afzāl III, fol. 359b.
64 The term ‘enslavement’ cannot be applied easily to each case without detailed investigation. According to Eskandar Beg, not only Christians but also Muslims (probably Sunnis) were enslaved during the recovery operation in Qarābāgh, notwithstanding they were freed by royal order. Eskandar Beg, p. 660. According to Fażlī, when Mokrī Kurds in...
It is pointed out that not only ethnic identity but also social background is reflected in the deportation policy. When the Nakhjevān population was deported to Faraḥābād, the city population was given land Marāghe were massacred, Shāh’s servant Shāh Karam Beg Uryād made a petition to the Shāh for the liberation of his fellow Uryād tribe who were captured with neighbor Mokrīs. Fazlī: *Afzāl III*, fol. 267a.
in the city and farmers in the surrounding villages. Similar descriptions are repeatedly referred to.

According to Fażlī, in 1034–1035/1625–1626, a decade after the forced transportation, a Jewish merchant from Georgia, Khwāje Lālezār, together with ‘not riding (=farmers or clergy?)’ Georgians and Armenian clergies made a petition to the Shāh to give them 300,000 tomān. Already ‘Abbās was relieved that they took root in their new place. He ordered that they be given the right of land (citation 8).65 So the forced deportation to the Caspian coast was conducted at the expense of the state.

Fażlī leaves a symbolic episode just at the end of his work. When ‘Abbās died in Māzandarān, main courtiers left for the capital Eşfahān. At that time Sārū Taqī, the future grand vizier and vazīr of Māzandarān once refused to stay there for he was afraid of the indigenous population revolting and killing him. Courtiers convinced him to order Seyyed Ḥosein Shirvānī dārūghe of Farahābād and Elizbar Beg the Georgian to maintain order. Seyyed Ḥosein was a son of Mīr Hāshem Shirvānī who immigrated there for the first time.66 ‘Abbās’ continuous policy of divide and rule effected not only the Caucasus but also newly deported land.

Conclusion

The result of this study reveals that the regional reorganisation in the Caucasus was closely connected with that of the state order. It is important to understand not just the scale of transportation but how the person in power treated this strategy. We can see in this case the active royal protection and interference toward reorganisations of the ‘living space’ inside and outside the Caucasus. Forced migration means more than just the physical transformation of human beings.

‘Abbās’ basic policy was to divide the space and groups and then let those social units compete against each other. He deliberately let his servants always be conscious of their ‘alternative persons’. He intended to extend this complexity of rivalry in the Caucasus as well as inside the

66 Fażlī: Afzal III, fol. 549b.

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court. When he had a clear intention to punish local elites of the region who had coped with Ottoman authority during occupation, the character of the Caucasian society gave enough incentive to ‘Abbās to reorganise the regional order in conjugation with state reconfiguration using new Caucasian subjects.

As a religious minority or military soldiers, Caucasians suffered direct interference and their homeland was nearly always the battlefield of great powers. How to integrate the Caucasus became directly connected with the agenda of how to integrate the empire. The multiethnic character of Caucasian society was revised according to ‘Abbās’ favor. At the court, the Caucasians rose to counterbalance the qezelbāsh elites. But Caucasians themselves were a diverse group.

It remains unclear whether ‘Abbās possessed a well-planned policy over his Caucasian subjects from the beginning. As Herzig pointed out, later historians tended to exaggerate the Shah’s clear intentions and long term strategy. It is said that at least Fazlī, as a contemporary eyewitness and bureaucrat, sees those events as continuous. As we see in this paper, forced deportation was carried out systematically to some extent. It is also important to stress the political change around 1614. ‘Abbās became more conscious to adopt a forced migration policy to establish his own rule.

Yet we should be careful to rely not only on Fazlī’s new information, for he had a position to stress the state programs as an influential official. Fazlī’s description as the cited number shows was somehow exaggerated and gave no descriptions of victims of this operation nor the privileged status of Julfans. It is interesting to note that while Eskandar Beg referred to the massive forced conversion of Christians in Fereidan that happened in 1030–1031/1621–1622, Fazlī kept silent on this event. Fazlī likely stresses the protection of the Shah’s subjects but Eskandar Beg tried more to draw the figure of a righteous and mighty emperor. Neither source ever referred to the transportation of Georgians to Fereidan at all, probably because they were farmers and it did not directly affect the state budget and courtier life. So Fazlī’s chronicle possesses certain limitation as is usually the case.

It should also be pointed out that these integration policies were partly a result of international tensions, so once the tension between Safavids and Ottomans eased, direct intervention would not have been

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favored. In addition, although the interdependences between the Caucasians and the Safavid court advanced, the intricate surrounding situation of the Caucasus region was never calmed. The modification and reshaping of both self- and social identities after physical transfer is another large theme to be explored in a further study.

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Appendix 1: Miscellaneous events described in Fażlī and Eskandar Beg’s chronicles concerning the migration of peoples around the Caucasus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Move of Tribal Elements</th>
<th>Move of Sedentary Population</th>
<th>Other Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>996–997/1588–1589 (2nd year of ‘Abbās’ reign)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ottoman conquest of the east Transcaucasus by Farhād Pasha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1010–1011/1602–1603 (16)</td>
<td>Tabrīz population who scattered in Erāq gathered in Ešfahān.</td>
<td>People of Andekhūd were totally deported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1012–1013/1604–1605 (18)</td>
<td>Julfa and other Armenian population was forcibly transported to Ešfahān.</td>
<td>Sinan Pasha Jegaloghlu’s invasion (~1013–14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1016–1017/1608–1609 (22)</td>
<td>Jalālīs came to Safavid court. They were given their fiefdom in Qarāchedāgh, Ankūt, Jūldar (?) the following year.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1018–1020/1610–1611 (24)</td>
<td>After the massacre of Mokrīs, Moqaddam moved to rule Marāghe.</td>
<td>Morād Pasha’s invasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1020–1021/1611–1612 (25)</td>
<td>Armenian boys and girls in Āzarbāijān were selected to serve the court.</td>
<td>Construction of Farahbād in Māzandarān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1021–1022/1612–1613 (26)</td>
<td>Leaders of Javānshīr were killed by Qājārs. Hājīlar Zolqadar moved to Astarābād.</td>
<td>Construction of Ashraf in Māzandarān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Location Notes</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1023–1024/1614–1615 (28)</td>
<td>Qazāqlar moved to Fārs, Aḥmadlū were massacred according to the royal order. Moḥammad Ḥosein Khān became the governor of Shakkī and took Zolqadar tribes there.</td>
<td>5,000 Muslim and 1,200 Jewish families from Shirvān transported to Māzandarān. People from Georgia, Shirvān, Ganje received wages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1024–1025/1615–1616 (29)</td>
<td>Sūrere Kurds were given Sāliyān and Maḥmūdābād in Shirvān.</td>
<td>General revolt in Georgia, Shirvān and Kordestān responding to Ottoman march. People of Nakhevān transported to Māzandarān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1026–1027/1617–1618 (31)</td>
<td>Khornabuji Garrison in Kakheti partly transported to Māzandarān (Fażlī contests this happened in the previous year).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1027–1028/1618–1619 (32)</td>
<td>Ors Solṭān Shāhsevan who came to Safavid court from the Ottoman Empire a few years earlier was mentioned for the first time. They received toyūl in Arasbār.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1028–1029/1619–1620 (33)</td>
<td>Christians in Farāḥbād performed the ceremony of Ḥājī Shūshān by the royal order in the new year. Jews in Māzandarān and Julfa Armenians in Eṣfahān were entrusted the Safavid royal silk trade.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1029–1030/1620–1621 (34)</td>
<td>Peykar Khān was appointed to govern of Kakheti. He led some fifty thousand families of Imūrū Žolqadar, Solaymān Ḥājlū and Kurdish tribes in Āzarbāijān, and İğirmīdört.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1034–1035/1625–1626 (39)</td>
<td>Jews, Georgians, Armenians requested and were granted the royal land. After royal wedding between Georgian vālī-king Simon II and ‘Abbās’ granddaughter, general revolt took place in Georgia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1035–1036/1626–1627 (40)</td>
<td>After the compromise, Teimuraz was given Kakheti and a part of Kartli. Georgian gholām Dāvūd became beglarbegi of Qarābāgh and his brother-in-law Nourūz beg Tulashvili ruled the Javānshīr tribe.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Appendix 2: English translation and Persian original description

1. 1004–1005/1596–1597 (10th year) (97b–98a);
All of Māzandarān province became occupied and he (=Farhād Khān Qaramānlū) entrusted it to his servants. He ordered Mīr Ḥāshem Shirvānī to bring 300 Shirvānī families to a village Tāhūn. They ran away from Shirvān under Ottoman rule and fled Qezelāḡāj near the representatives of the Khān but they could not work as the land could not produce silk. Tāhūn situated near Tejīne (Tajan) River. Later it suited the righteous king’s natural (?) taste and was named Farahābabd. At that time laid the foundation of Farahābabd. The first people who reached there were the Seyyed Ḥāshem and Shirvānī people.

2. 1012–1013/1604–1605 (18th year) (170a–171a);
Amīrgūne Khān was ordered to go and burn down the whole land completely and to move the inhabitants to cross the Aras river. Maqsūd Solṭān was also ordered to destroy the regions of Nakhjivevān, Khoī and Salmās. Ṭahmāspqolī Beg Anīs od-Doule was ordered to go to Jolfā and send the Julfans and Armenians around Aras to Esfahān. Money for expenses on route and necessities was given to Ṭahmāspqolī Beg who was charged to give it to them and cross the Aras.

68 Here I tried to gather descriptions of the forced migration in Fazlī’s chronicle. However it is impossible to include all the sentences. For example, the deportation of the Nakhjivevān population covers three folios. As for the case of Georgians, there is ridiculously little about their forced migration (except Muslims, Jews, and Circassians) but Fazlī gives a quite vivid narrative on the general revolt led by Mūrāv Beg/Giorgi Saakadze in 1034/1625. The revolt also connects with forced migration policies but it is difficult to extract a part.
His majesty himself went to the front with the army accompanied. Whole land was burned down and tribes and their livestock were moved to cross the Aras. People of Nakhjevān who kept provisions for Ottomans were executed and all Nakhjevāns were moved and cross the above-mentioned river.

Ṭahmāspqolī Beg Anīs was also ordered to spend the winter in Karkar Aldār with the Armenians of Īrevān who were to be brought to Eşfahān. He was ordered after the sovereign’s New Year to allot the traveling expenses and foods and beasts of burden for Armenians of Julfans and Chokhūr-e Saʿd who were destined to go to the sovereign’s place, Eşfahān, then let them depart. An order was issued to Mīrzā Moḥammad vazīr of Eşfahān and Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn Moḥammad Sūkhte (?) who was in charge of the crown land, to give those Armenian merchants the place for building and residence in the other side of Zāyanderūd River in front of the Tabrīzīs. Two years earlier, according to the royal order, Ḩājī ‘Enāyatollāh and Seyyed Ḥasan gathered Tabrīz people who were scattered in Erāq and planed to build ‘Abbāsābād. Each person received land from three jarīb to ten (?) twenty jarīb. One jarīb is 62 zar’. They received it according to their needs and constructed the buildings. His Majesty bought the land near Shamsābād and Padastān (?) and other villages for the buildings from the landowner of Eşfahān and gave it to them. They paid from three thousand to one hundred thousand tomān for buildings according to the situation. About more than two thousand residences were planned. Avenues were projected and many of them had a watercourse among houses. Public baths and gardens were planned and they were making an effort to finish them. Each Armenian should have built houses according to their conditions and needs and strove for trade and profit. After entering Eşfahān Julfa’s kalāntar and representative Khwāje Ṣafar and Khwāje Naẓar69 came in front of the Tabrīzīs and constructed magnificent buildings. Those who could work in agriculture were given farm implements and land near the city and their houses were prepared.

69 Brothers Ṣafar and Naẓar were the first and second kalāntar of New Julfa. Herzig, ‘The Armenian Merchants’, p. 97.
قلی بیگ اینس اندوله را مقرر فرموند که به جلفا رفته جماعت چولاهی و ارامنه کنار ارس را کوچانیده به صفه‌های فرستد و مبلغی جهت دریافت‌های راه ایشان و ضروریات به صیغه اعضا تحول طهماسب قلی بیگ شد که به ایشان داده از آب ارس بگذراند... حضرت علی خوذ با نپذیرفته که همراه بود استقبال نموده تمامی ولایات را او خطبه احیامات و اولست را کوچانیده از آب ارس گذرانندند و جماعت انجایی که غله جهت اذوعه رومی نگهداری شده... بودند جمعی را به قتل آوردند کل نخوان را کوچانیده از آب مذکور عبور فرموند... طهماسب قلی بیگ اینس را نیز فرموند که با جمعی از ارامنه ایران که مقرر شده بود که به صفه‌نام برد در کرکر عادار قشلاق نموده بعد از اوروز سلطانی ارامنه چوجروده به جناب دار السلطنه صفه‌نام مقرر شده خرچه و اندوه و باربادار تعيین نموده روانه ساژد و پرآنی به میرزا محمد وزیر صفه‌نامان و میر جمال الدین محمد سوخته که ریاه و متصدی خالصه بود نوشته که جمعی از ارامنه مذکور قلی را که تاجر دند محل عمارت و خانه در آن طرف رود خانه (1218) زاینده رود که برابر جماعت قلی بیگانه تبریزی بود جا دین ن در سال قبل ازین مقرر شده بود همه حاجی عایت الله و سید حسن متفرقو تبریزی را که در عراق اند جمع نموده طرح عباس اباب اندامان و هر یک از جماعت مذکور از هم جریب تا هم جریب و بیست جریب که هر جریب گرش وندو درخت است فرخور استحیال قزارت عمارت نموده بودند و محل عمارت را ضربت اعلی از اربابان صفه‌نام که قربت شمس آباد و بیدستان (پیدستان؟) و دیگر دهات بود خریده به ابعاد ایشان داده بود و ایشان هر یک فرخور حال از هزار تومان و تا صد تومان خرج عمارت نموده قربی دو هزار خانه به بیشتر به طرح و خیابان که اثبات ایشان آب روان در میان خانه دارند ساخته حمامات و باقی‌های طرح اندکاشته در اتمام آن ساعی بودند. هر یک از ارامنه فرخوز حلال و استطاعت خود خانه ساخته به تجارب و دولت‌نامه خود قیمت نمایند. خواه‌ای صفر و خواه‌ی نظر که کلّانتر و اعیان جولاهی بودند بعد از دخال صفه‌نام در قرار جماعت تبریزی در آمده ایشان نیز عمارت عالی سخن‌دیده و جمعی که قابل زراعت و ایجادی بودند در محل قريب شهر به ایشان مصالح الامالک و زمین داده خانه جهت ایشان ترپیب یکبار مورد فرموند.

3. 1022–1023/1613–1614 (27th year) (323a–323b);

After Begverdi Beg departed to Osetia and Mohammad Soltan to Kartli, Qasem Beg mînbâshî of Mâzendaran and Hosein ‘Ali Beg brother of Peykar Soltan Iğirmîdört were ordered to deport the Circassians and take them to Erâq province with their household goods and tents. They came from Alborz Mountain and Qepchâq Plain and were in Georgia. According to the royal order, Circassian people of Qasîq and Qabarî passed the Kor and Aras together with Shalva Beg and their commanders who were honored by kissing the Shâh’s foot and decided to go to Erâq. It was decided that Hosein ‘Ali Beg would spend the days of winter in Sâve where Mehrbâd was his toyül. There were more than two thousand families. Every necessity on road should be given by vazîrs and administrators of royal land of that province or any palce where they passed, according to the documents written by Hosein [‘Ali] Beg which should be confirmed by mostoufîs for payment. Then Circassians reach to Eşfahân. He (=Hosein ‘Ali Beg) too prepared everything necessary for
them from the royal property which vazīrs of the passing region managed. He even prepared wine and food which a baby too swallowed but in their religion intoxication was legal. In the end one loses his consciousness. Katorekūz and Aláverd and scholars and those who are pious in religion are afraid of short portion of drink led to the drunkenness so they do not drink. He took them to Esfahān. Because of their bravery their presence in the countryside was not good. After the Shah’s return, they were ordered to serve Emāmqolī Khān amīr-e dīvān and departed for Fārs with their own houses. At that time many of them became honored to become Muslim and recite the Koran.

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4. 1023–1024/1614–1615 (28th year) (326b)

Esfandiyār Beg ʿArabgīrlū mīrshekārbāshī, the pillar of the state, was sent to Shirvān to deport the inhabitants who were influential among the Ottomans in their wicked time. They would have financial affairs or work with Ottomans and knew of corruption so were sent to Farahābād. The people of Zagam and Sīdī Khānʿalī of Georgia, up to 5 thousand Muslim families with 1200 Jew families were deported. The Jew’s leader, Khāje Lālezār, transferred household goods from his home to the ordū to the magnitude of forty carts a week. Āqā Jalāl Eṣfahānī kulaghush, the former attendant of Malek ʿAlī Solṭān jārchībāshī was enrolled into the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal servants a few years earlier and worked as the supervisor of the royal
arsenal and had a charge to buy the silk of Ganje Province. It was decided that he took this group to Farahābād, the sovereign’s place. Necessities in the trip were paid by royal expenditure and charged the officials in every spot till Māzandarān. After entering that province, Moḥammad Sāleḥ Beg Ghānāt, vazīr of that province, was ordered to prepare a place suitable for them in and around the city. The whole land of Farahābād was bought from the owners by His Majesty and occupied so that any building could be constructed according to each condition. Land in villages near the city and farming implements were given to those who liked to cultivate and build and make gardens. Forty thousand tomān cash was entrusted to Āqā Jalāl for their necessities. He was promoted to vazīr of foreigners so anything could be given to the deported people from anywhere and the implements could be paid for. Laṭīf Khān Beg davātdār was ordered to go to Qarābāgh and transport the people of the region who were agents of Ottomans to Farahābād.
People from Georgia, Shirvān and Ganje were newly deported to Farahābād, the heaven-related. They enjoyed the Shāh’s favor and robe of honor. It was decreed that necessary money and equipment should be gifted to them from royal treasury. Āqā Jalāl Eşfahānī who supervised the royal arsenal before was promoted to the vazīr of foreigners in Farahābād who were gathered from all around the world. He was ordered to relieve the hearts of those who were in desperate.

Darvīš Beg brought influential persons of Nakhjivān together with Rashīd Beg their kalāntar to the supreme gate. They were granted the honor of an audience with His Majesty who favored them and gave them robes of honor. [Vazīr?] of Māzandarān was ordered that after their arrival in Farahābād, those who worked as merchants and artisans and hoped to live in the city, should be given land for residence and necessities and buildings should be constructed for them according to their situation. Those who spent time farming should not be included in the city population. They should be given implements for farming and cultivating and a village provided for them around the city. They were 4,200 families. Those who settled in the city were given one to hundred tomān according to their bussines. The Shāh himself spent his winter days in Farahābād with happiness and good fortune. After settling the problems about places, Darvīsh Beg and Rashīd Beg were permitted to leave so that they went and were brought to Farahābād after the empire’s New Year.
7. 1033–1034/1624–1625 (24th year) (483a)

Sārū Taqī Eṣfahānī was nicknamed king of Māzandarān by His Majesty. He was honored to kiss the sublime foot with Mīrzā Khān Beg Qājār dārūḡhe of Ashraf and Seyyed Hosein Shirvānī dārūḡhe of Farahābād and slaves and servants and Jews and Georgians and Armenians who were living in the province and whose number reached about 40,000 families. They received the sovereign’s graces [...] daughter of Farāmarz Beg Amīlākhor the Georgian who is famous for the name Ṭūmār [...].

8. 1034–1035/1625–1626 (39th year) (490b–491a)

Around this time Khwāje Lālezār the Jew and ‘not riding (=farmers or clergy?)’ Georgians and Armenian clergies who were living in that province made a petition to the Shāh with the help of Sārū Taqī vazīr of that province and dārūḡhes. The entire demand which reached about 300,000 tomān was decided to be gifted to them. It was ordered that documents on debts of each person should be removed from the royal account book after the confirmation of vazīr of Māzandarān so that they could pray for a dynasty of eternity in a comfortable situation. Prices for the land which was allotted to each of them for the building according to their situation, were also gifted to them. His elegancy, Sheikh Šadrā, sheikh ol-eslām of Māzandarān, wrote the document of conveyance from His Majesty who had bought it and gave it to them. The objective of the

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The forced migrations and reorganisation

Transfer was for them not to become afraid of the royal claim and depart from Farahābād. People of the town constructed their houses on the soil allotted to them and gardens and streets became full of greenery. Villages and farmland in the desert also produced gardens of mulberry and fruit trees and agricultural land. In farming and cultivation it became highly productive. Because they became married and had children, and made kinships with each other and abandoned hope for their old homeland, they were relieved from fear of their escape, all was gifted to them. So they felt relief from royal request, on the other hand, they became confident of their settlement. Main merchants of that group are people of Nakhjevān and Zagam and the Jews. They are ordered that those who had been given credit from the court through partnership collected the profit. The close retainer Khwāje Ya’qūb a son of Khwāje Lālezār the Jew enjoyed the honor of becoming a Muslim afterwards and was called Mohammadqolī Beg. He decided to go to India for commerce. Merchants of Ganje hoped to join the party. His Majesty intended to promote friendship with His Majesty, Khalīfe’s located, the Son-in-law (gūrgānī), King Nūr ol-Dīn Jahāngīr. He wrote him a letter and entrusted it to Khwāje’s son. He sent a clock for that brilliant crown’s jewellery (=Jahāngīr). That clock was sent from Europe to His Majesty. When the hour became full, it automatically chimed and made obvious what time it was of day or night. (His Majesty) favored much of the indigenous population of Māzandarān and permitted free enclosure of land and measuring for three years. Sārū Taqī was ordered not to inspect their crops and levy the same tax as before, during the whole year. Letter of His Majesty […].
و به هر کس تحویلی از سرکار خاصة شریف داد سپیل مضاربه قسمت

مثال(؟) را باز یافت نمایند و عمده الافراد خواهه یعقوب ولد خواهه لاله زار یهوده کر در تانی الحال به
شرف اسلام مشرف گرنده محمد قلی بیگ خطاب یافت ارادة تجارت هندوستان نمود و جمعی را تجار
گنجه نیز میل رفته ای کردن حضیرت ان جهته ازدیاد محیت و الگه که قیام کرده حضرت و
خلافت پناه نور الین جهانگیر پادشاه گورگانی بود رفعه مصوب حواجی زاده مذکور نوشته وقت
ساعته که به جهته حضیرت اعلی از فرنگ فرستاده بودند که هر وقت ساعت تمام میشد خود به خود
صدای داده ظاهر می ساخته که چند ساعت و چند دقیقه از روز یا شب گننده جهته این گوهر اکثر
پادشاهی فرستاد و توجهات بسیار نیز به جماعت بومی مانند هم نموده طناب بندی بلوك و زمین یمای
ایشان را تا سه سال به انعم مقرر داشته سارو نه که مقرر داشتن که تا سال بازدید محصولات
ایشان نموده به دستور سابق بازیافت نمایند رقه حضرت اعلی...

9. 1034–1035/1625–1626 (39th year) (499b)

According to the supreme order, it was decided that Georgians living in Kakheti (should be transported) like people who had been transported and deported to Fara Ḩābād before, and now became the owner of land and property and crops and buildings and many of whose children became the Shāh’s servants. Sepahsālār brought these groups of tāvāt and aznāvar and sepāhī into Shāh’s service and be informed the court of their conditions so that they would gain the rank of gholāms according to the custom. If they were glākhī and farmers, they were given land and farm implements in Fara Ḩābād and cultivated [...] let them decide to go to Fara Ḩābād like Georgian families who became owners of property there, and whose number is 25,000, excluding Zagamīs, Jews, and Armenians [...].

حسب الامر اعلی مقرر شد که گرجیان سکنه کاشت را به دستور جمعی که سابقا کوجانی به
فرحاباد برندی و حال در انجا صاحب ملک و املاک و حاصل و عرمان شده اکثر اول آیشان در سلک
بندگان شاهی قیام دارند این جماعت را نیز آنان از تاوات و ازناوار و سپاهی بوهد باشنده سپه سالاری در
سلک بندگان شاهی در اورده حقیقت حال ایشان را عرض نمایند که به دستور در سلک غلامان باشند و
آنچه گلاخی و رعیت اند در فرحاباد ملک و مصالح الاملاک داده رعیتی فرمایند. قرار توجه فرحاباد
به دستور بست و پنجهزار خانه گرجی سواب زمگی و یهود و ارمنی که در انجا صاحب حال شده بوندن
به خود داده...
On Monday 29th of that month preparations for the trip were finished. Pillars of state ordered Sārū Taqī to stay in Māzandarān to maintain order in the province and calm the inhabitants. He did not consent and said that during the lifetime of heaven-burial (Shāh ‘Abbās) this slave possessed all the power and influence. I killed many rebellious persons in Māzandarān. If Māzandarān people come to harm and kill me, confusion will spread over this province. Pillars of state ordered Ḩosein Shirvānī who was an old inhabitant of the region, originally from Shirvān and lately also governor of Farahābād, to stay with Elizbār Beg who was fully trusted among Georgians in that region […]. They ordered them not to make the heart of inhabitants of that glorious land confused. They ordered him to govern Māzandarān and let him be confident.