

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 Sh h 'Abb s I (reign 995/1587–1038/1629). He moved the capital to E fah n, 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. Sh h 'Abb s incorporated the royal slaves *gholāmān-e khā e-ye sharīfe*=hereafter *gholāms*) 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 *gholāms* were traditionally regarded as absolute slaves who had lost any previous identity and were totally dependent on the Sh h.

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¹ On Safavid Iran, see the general survey of Roemer and Savory: Hans R. Roemer, 'The Safavid Period', in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (eds.), *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 189–350; Roger M. Savory, 'The Safavid Administrative System', in Jackson and Lockhart (eds.), *Cambridge History of Iran*, pp. 351–372.

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.² In fact the rise of Caucasian elites is connected with Safavid frontier policy.³

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.⁴ 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, Nader Shāh reign 1148/1736–1160/1747 and Karīm Khān Zand reign 1165/1751–1193/1779) forced migration policies.⁵ He defined the

² See: MAEDA Hirotake, ‘On the Ethno-Social Background of Four *Gholām* Families from Georgia in Safavid Iran’, *Studia Iranica* 32 (2003), pp. 243–278. On the *gholām* household, see: MAEDA Hirotake, ‘The Household of Allāhverd Khān: An Example of Patronage Network in Safavid Iran’, in T. Gamkrelidze and B. Horcade (eds.), *Georgia and Tbilisi between Europe and Iran* (Paris, forthcoming).

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 (*qezelbāsh* 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. Faḥr al-Dīn Khān al-Esfahānī, *Af al al-tavārīkh*, University of Cambridge, Ms.Dd.5.6 (hereafter Faḥr al-Dīn: *Af al III*), fol. 52b.

⁴ See: MAEDA Hirotake, ‘Exploitation of the Frontier: Shāh ‘Abbās I’ Policy towards the Caucasus’, submitted to the *Proceedings of the Conference ‘Iran and the World in the Safavid Age’*. This article put light on the interaction of the two trends, namely the rise of new Caucasian elites in the Safavid court and the Safavid policy towards the Caucasus.

⁵ John R. Perry, ‘Forced Migration in Iran during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *Iranian Studies* 8 (1975), pp. 199–215.

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 Şarb ij n) and the *cossackisation* of Khor s n. 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 Sh h ‘Abb s’ 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 Sh h ‘Abb s’ 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.⁶ A new book by Babai and others gives a very attractive image that the Caucasian slaves contributed to the Safavid centralisation of power.⁷ 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.⁸

⁶ On the Armenians of New Julfa, see: Edmund M. Herzig, ‘The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: A Study in Pre-modern Asian Trade’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1991); Vazken S. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century* (Atlanta, 1998); Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shāh’s Silk for Europe’s Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530–1750)* (Atlanta, 1999).

⁷ Sussan Babaie et al., *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran* (London, 2004).

⁸ Edmund Herzig, ‘Review of Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shāh’s Silk for Europe’s Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530–1750)* (Atlanta, 1999)’, *Iranian Studies* 37:1 (2004), pp. 170–175.

At any rate, the deportations of this period occurred on a considerable scale. Besides the famous Armenian community in E fah n, Fereidan (P'ereidneli) Georgians still preserve their languages up to today.⁹ 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 Sh h 'Abb s' 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 Fa l Kh z n al-E fah n, an official who was directly in charge of the Safavid policy towards the Caucasus.¹⁰ Fa l quite vividly narrates the events happened in northwest Iran and the Caucasus as a representative of the local administration, namely, he was *vazīr* of Barda' and Kakheti.

⁹ Guram Sherashenidze, *P'ereidneli Gurjebi* (Tbilisi, 1979); Fridrik Thordarson, 'Georgia, ii Language Contact: Shahrestan of Faridan', in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 10 (New York, 2001), pp. 94–95.

¹⁰ Charles Melville, 'New Light on the Reign of Sh h 'Abb s: Volume III of the *Af'al al-Tawārikh*', in Andrew J. Newman (ed.), *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 63–96; Simin Abrahams, 'A Historiographical Study and Annotated Translation of Volume 2 of the *Af'al al-Tawārikh* by Fa l Kh z n al-I fah n' (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1999); MAEDA Hirotake, 'Political Culture of the Safavid Dynasty Reflected in the Third Volume of *Af'al al-tavarikh*: A Preliminary Study', *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 68 (2004), pp. 193–213 (in Japanese with an English abstract available on the internet: <http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/book/journal/journal68.pdf>).

Migration and the Transplantation of the Tribal Elements¹¹

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.¹²

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 Shāhverd Khān Ziyadoğlu Qajar who was supposedly the first governor-in-general (*beglarbegī*) of Qarabagh.¹³

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.¹⁴ Their flexibility as a political unit and superior

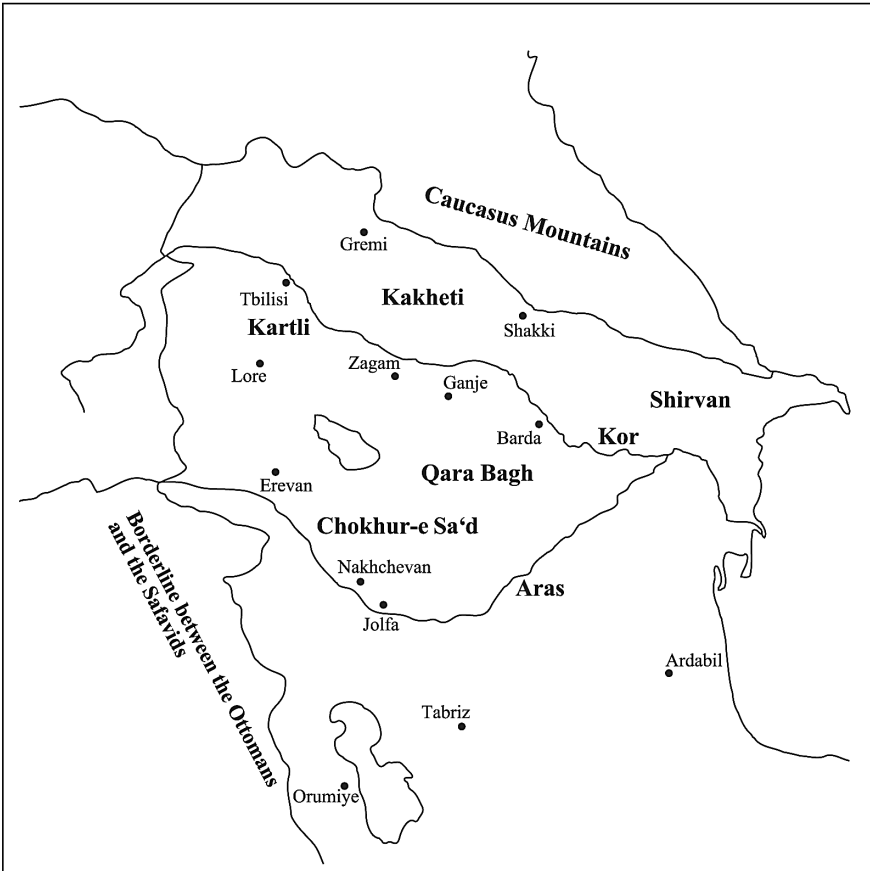
¹¹ It is very difficult to define the ‘tribe’. Yet as from the Eskandar Beg’s category of high-ranked persons at the end of Shāh ‘Abbās’ reign, it is said that the region was strongly politicised as even many non *qezelbāsh* were listed there (see note 27). At least there would be distinctions between tribes and sedentary population in their socio-economical way of life. Eskandar Monsh, *Tārīkh-e ‘ālam-ārā-ye ‘Abbāsī*, ed. ʿAlī 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, Qarabagh and Moghān plains of the lower Aras and Kor rivers, which provide correspondingly extensive winter grazing’. Tapper, *Frontier Nomads*, p. 72.

¹³ Qāsim Aqmad Qomī, *Kholā at al-tavārīkh*, ed. Esmāʿīl Eshraqī, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1359–1363/1980–1985), pp. 383–384.

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 Aqqyunlu incorporated into *qezelbāsh* confederation and consisted of it. John E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Minneapolis, 1999). Eskandar Beg’s following sentence is also

Map 1: Northwest Iran and the Caucasus in the Safavid Era



Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago, 2001).

mobility were of great advantage to penetrate Safavid influence deeply in the Caucasian local society. It is worth mentioning that two large Turkoman tribal federations in Qara Bagh were each called *irm dört* (=24 in Turkish) and *Ot z k* (=32 in the same language).¹⁵

worth mentioning: 'At Present Arabg rli is included in Sh ml '. Eskandar Beg, p. 1084.

¹⁵ On the *Ot z k* and *irm dört* tribe in Qara Bagh, 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.¹⁶ These localised *qezelbāsh* no longer simply obeyed the Safavids. When the Ottomans invaded the region in the very early days of ‘Abb s’ reign, most *qezelbāsh* tribes surrendered without a fight and accepted Ottoman rule to defend their local interests. In the second year of ‘Abb s’ reign, Ottoman commander Farh d Pasha advanced towards Qar b gh through Georgia. Naĉar Sol^a n Qaz qlar in Lore and Pambak was the first to cooperate with the Ottoman army. According to his appeal, Qar m nl s in Akhest b d and Shams od-D nl s in us Ch and Zagam accepted Ottoman rule without a fight. When Mo ammad Kh n *beglarbegī* of Qar b gh lost the war with the Ottomans, the whole of Qar b gh fell into their hands. Most irm dōrts and Jav nsh rs in the region also obeyed the Ottomans.¹⁷

Checking Rulers of Their Loyalty

What kind of policies did ‘Abb s adopt for those tribal elements in the region? Against one’s supposition of suppressing tribal elements (or *qezelbāshs*), Sh h ‘Abb s 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 Q j rs, Sh h Esm ‘ l II pointed out Q j r not the descendants of Sh hverd nor Ziy doghl s.¹⁸ After the reconquest of northwest Iran and the Caucasus, Sh h ‘Abb s partly changed tribal leaders. For example, rulership of

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

¹⁶ Fa l called osein Beg who was close servant of Sh h ‘Abb s: osein Beg Qar b gh Q j r Ziy doghl *qūrchī-ye tarkash*. Fa l : *Af al III*, fols. 39b, 43b; Eskandar Beg, p. 436.

¹⁷ Fa l : *Af al III*, fols. 28a–29b; Eskandar Beg, pp. 405–407.

¹⁸ Esm ‘ l II ordered Peykar Sol^a n to kill his cousin Y sof Khal fe b. Sh hverd Kh n Ziy doghl *beglarbegī* of Qar b gh. Peykar even killed Y sof’s mother and brothers expecting appointment as *beglarbegī*. Then Esm ‘ l II gave the rulership to Em mqol from another tribe of Q j rs. After Em mqol’s death ‘Abb s appointed Mo ammad Beg grandson of Sh hverd . Eskandar Beg, p. 385.

irm dōrt was entrusted to • olfaq r Sol^a n. At the Ottoman conquest, his brother Arz n Beg *dīvānbeḡī* refused to surrender and was killed. • olfaq r fled to Safavid court with the sons of Arz n Beg including the future Peykar Kh n.¹⁹

At this stage, recognising his weak position, ‘Abb s 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, ‘Abb s started to ‘erase’ the opposed elements. In 1021–1022/1612–1613, the leader of Jav nsh r and his brother were killed during conflicts with Q j rs. Eskandar Beg attributed this to their sin as ones who once cooperated with the Ottomans. In this year j ler were deported to M zandar n.

The fate of Qaz qlar is worth mentioning. Mo ammad Kh n, son of Naċar Sol^a n (or Pasha as he became an Ottoman subject) was killed by Luarsab II of Georgia. The Sh h permitted his brother Mo ³af to succeed him. But Mo ³af and his brother were executed by Del Mo ammad Sol^a n Shams od-D nl ²¹ by royal order in 1023–1024/1614–1615 after an expedition towards Georgia. Then rulership of Qaz qlar was given to Shams Kh n (cousin of Mo ³af) 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 F rs.²² However, after the general revolt in Georgia, they were called back from D r bjerd (F rs) to defend khesqe in 1036–37/1627–28, because they had a good knowledge of the region. Shams Kh n was captured by the Ottomans the following year but was mentioned as one of the *qezelbāsh amīr* at the end of ‘Abb s’ reign.²³

Towards the end of his reign ‘Abb s also made use of the *gholāms*, new Caucasian elites, to check the tribal powers. For example, when ‘Abb s was reconciled with revolted Georgian king Teimuraz I, he appointed D v d b. All hverd , a son of a famous Georgian general of the

¹⁹ Fa 1 : *Af al III*, fols. 48a, 200a. They were given the fief Mehr b d in S ve in exile.

²⁰ Even Mo ammad Sol^a n, a son of Naċar Sol^a n 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 Fa 1 : *Af al III*, fol. 334b; Eskandar Beg, pp. 882–883.

²³ Eskandar Beg, pp. 1061, 1073, 1086.

time as *beglarbegī* of Qar b gh.²⁴ D v d had been entrusted with the rule of Tbilisi fortress and made acquaintance with Teimuraz (They conducted joint revolt at the beginning of Sh h Ṭāf 's reign). The Governor of Jav nsh r tribe was given to Nour z Beg, another *gholām* of Georgian origin (from Tulashvili clan) and brother-in-law of D v d.²⁵ So not only did the ruling family change but also representatives from 'other flocks' were appointed. But Q j r tribes themselves were not removed nor transported. As discussed in another paper, 'Abb s 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 'Abb s' policy.

Making New Tribes or Transportations

As mentioned above, 'Abb s' 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, 'Abb s massacred the Bar d st Kurds in Or mie and Mokr Kurds in Mar ghe.²⁸ 'Abb s entrusted the rule of

²⁴ Fa I : *Af al III*, fol. 521b; Eskandar Beg, p. 1062.

²⁵ Bournoutian's reference to Nour z contains an error. Eskandar Beg's description on the *amīrs* at the end of 'Abbas'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 'Abb s gave the two Bagratian princesses to Ganje's Ziy doghl ruler and Barda's irm dōrt 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 'Abb s' 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 enteāim yāfte*). Among 8 of them, 5 persons possessed their fief in ' Şarb ij n' namely: q Kh n Moqaddam, S r Kh n Sol^a n Salm s, Kalb Re Sol^a n Zan z, Khal l Sol^a n S l Söpör, N r ol-D n Sol^a n P yd r (Also see note 36).

²⁸ Perry accounted for the massacre of the Kurdish tribe Mokr in the list of forced migration. Perry, 'Forced Migration', p. 203.

Or mie to the Sh ml representative (later Afsh r²⁹). Mar ghe was given to q Kh n 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 Ot z k in Qar b gh. ‘Abb s gave the rulership of the tribe to Gh z Sol^a n, an old servant from ‘Abb s’ Khor s n Prince’s period. According to Fa l’s description, they originally consisted of only 70 families but Gh z’s sons Niy z and q received great benefits from ‘Abb s and increased in number to 10,000 families during his reign.³⁰ When q Sol^a n, head of Moqaddam moved to Mar ghe, it was decided that all Ot z k tribesmen who wanted to serve q Sol^a n could go and a substantial portion chose to do so (according to Fa l they took 400,000 sheep).³¹

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, q Kh n received Sh h’ 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).

q Kh n was given the robe of honor and became Šarb ij n’s *charkhchībāshī*.³²

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 Mo ammad osein Kh n Qorghl •olqadar became the governor of Shakk . He took various •olqadars in Er q and Šarb ij n, namely Qorghl , Salm nl , ‘Al bekl and K ndashl there.³³

When ‘Abb s gave S liy n and Ma m d b d in Shirv n to Shoj ‘ al-D n Beg, chief of a Kurdish tribe in 1024–1025/1615–1616, Shoj ‘ al-D n Beg was ordered to gather his fellow tribesmen who were scattered in Šarb ij n and to settle there with them.³⁴ In 1029–1030/1620–1621

²⁹ Fa l : *Af al III*, fol. 529b; Eskandar Beg, p. 1085. Also see: KONDO Nobuaki, ‘Qizilbash Afterwards: The Afshars in Urumiya from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century’, *Iranian Studies* 32:4 (1999), pp. 537–556.

³⁰ Fa l : *Af al III*, fols. 168b, 239a, 267b, 345a; Eskandar Beg, pp. 811–814.

³¹ Fa l : *Af al III*, fols. 239a, 267b, 345a.

³² Fa l : *Af al III*, fol. 488a.

³³ Fa l : *Af al III*, fols. 325a, 327b–328a, 339b.

³⁴ Fa l : *Af al III*, fol. 345a.

‘Abbās added Kakheti province of Georgia to Peykar Solṭān, the ruler of Barda’. He immigrated with some fifty thousand families of Imrānī, Qajar, Solaymānī and Kurdish tribes in Şarbījān, besides his fellow ĩrm dōrt, 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 Şarbījān in 1012–1013/1604–1605 (or next year), Sī Söpör from Anatolia joined the Safavids. They were at first given the fief in Ray, Sūve, Khwār, Frāzkh. 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 Şarbījān.³⁶

The Jalīlīs revolt devastated east Anatolia and then made refuge in the Safavid court. According to Faḥrī, their number reached thirty thousand. A grand vizier of the Safavids welcomed them in Tabriz and escorted them to the capital Eḥsān. Faḥrī 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 Qar Sa‘d was given land in Qarchedgh, Angūt and Jldar (?) in Şarbījān.³⁸

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

³⁵ Faḥrī: *Af al III*, fols. 345a, 414a; Eskandar Beg, p. 955.

³⁶ Faḥrī: *Af al III*, fols. 161b–162a; Eskandar Beg, pp. 648, 1087. Here I interpreted the sentences as 5 in *ĀŞarbāijān* and 3 in *Khorāsān*. However if we take the meaning of *ĀŞarbāijān* in a narrow sense, it is not certain Sī Söpör is included in *amīrs* in *ĀŞarbāijān*.

³⁷ Faḥrī: *Af al III*, fols. 232a–238a.

³⁸ Faḥrī: *Af al III*, fols. 240a–240b, 257a. According to Eskandar Beg, their number decreased dramatically and not more than 500 Jalīl remained in Shāh’s service. Eskandar Beg, p. 802.

³⁹ Faḥrī: *Af al III*, fols. 387b–388a. Also see: Richard Tapper, ‘Shāhsevan in Safavid Persia’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41 (1978), pp. 87–123.

In short, Sh h ‘Abb s tried to make use of the local features. To hold tight control over his *qezelbāsh* subjects, ‘Abb s 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, Sh h ‘Abb s 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. Sh h ‘Abb s 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 Sh hs. 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 Q r even to Tabr z. rev n and Nakhjev n 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 ‘Abb s’ policy’ on the other.

As was pointed out, there were two opposite views on ‘Abb s’ transportation policies. Above all, it had been very difficult to estimate the conditions and political climate surrounding forced migration policies. However, Fa l ’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, ‘Abb s 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 Armenians were given land in E fah n at that time. Fa l's new information gives us some notion of the 'anticipated' forced migration.

According to his description, two years preceding this deportation, people from Tabr z were gathered around E fah n and were given new land to construct the new quarter 'Abb s b d (see citation 2).⁴¹ Tabr z was at that time under Ottoman occupation and the pro-Safavid population might have been scattered inside Safavid territory. Fa l describes that the land was bought by the Sh h 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 Andekh d population in Khor s n into Er q. 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 Tabr z's Shia population into slavery during the invasion and sold them to Franks.⁴² Eskandar's notion of not forcing war prisoners into slavery but to 'protect' them is important when considering the background of 'Abb s' 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.⁴³

⁴¹ 'Abb s b d 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 M zandar n, Fa l leaves very interesting notes. According to Fa l, settlement in M zandar n goes back to the early part of ‘Abb s’s reign (see citation 1 in Appendix 2). When Farh d Kh n Qar m nl was given the governorship of M zandar n, he ordered M r H shem Shirv n and his fellow Shirv n people to go there. Before that they fled to Qezel g j, the base of Qar m nl in Šarb ij n after Ottoman occupation, but they could not work as the land could not produce silk. This village n was developed and later named Fara b d. This episode shows that M zandar n was exploited for economic purposes from the beginning.⁴⁴ So the first immigration to Fara b d was carried out by *qezelbāsh amīr*. ‘Abb s 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 ‘Abb s’ 42-year reign. Many of the population in the Caucasus were deported to central Iran and the coast of the Caspian Sea during ‘Abb s’ 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 Or mie 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 Qar b gh, Fa l was strongly aware of its economic importance.

⁴⁵ According to Fa l, towards the end of his reign, Seyyed osein Shirv n worked as a *dārūghe* of Fara b d as cited below and appendix 2–7, 10. Eskandar Beg refers to the date of construction of Fara b d and its old name but not to this group. Eskandar Beg, p. 850.

⁴⁶ While describing Ottoman conquest of Qar b gh, Eskandar Beg wrote that after 20 years those who betrayed Safavids were exiled to M zandar n 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.

Mar ghe were totally eliminated in previous years. Now Georgian and Shirv n s who coped with the Ottomans waited their turn. When ‘Abb s 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 M zandar n would be one of the main subjects behind the decision too. The economic interest was of great importance. ‘Abb s’ favor for the climate of M zandar n is well known.⁴⁸ It was a place of his maternal ancestor. Fara b d (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. All hqol Beg Q j r, who worked as the most prominent courier elite occupying the post of *qūrchībāshī* for twenty years, was blinded with his sons, then executed. Eskandar beg criticised him for corruption.⁴⁹ It should be pointed out that All hqol was a governor of part of M zandar n. According to Fa l, he burned all the documents before arrest so that his servants would not suffer. At the same time, Zainab Beigom, ‘Abb s’ aunt and the most influential person of the inner palace, was excluded from royal *aram* and ordered to go to Qazv n. Her fief K sh n was taken away. The royal seals which were near her, were given to Y sof q *gholām*, a Circassian eunuch who became the most powerful person in the *aram* until TMaf’s reign when his family was purged.⁵⁰ Maqs d Beg *nā’ēr* was ordered to arrest Mo ebb ‘Al Beg and his houses in E fah n and ‘Abb s b d were

⁴⁷ Fa l : *Af al III*, fol. 321b; Eskandar Beg, p. 869.

⁴⁸ Roger M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 96.

⁴⁹ Eskandar Beg, pp. 858–859.

⁵⁰ According to Fa l, the *vazīr* and *dārūghe* of New Julfa in E fah n were also newly appointed around this time (indeed *dārūghe* was a one-year appointee but his immediate predecessor worked for a few years). Fa l : *Af al 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.⁵¹

Besides those who were forcibly excluded from the scene,⁵² we can add the fact that Grand vizier Kh tem Beg Na r Ord b d had died from illness a few years earlier. The most powerful *amīr* of the time and representative of the newly arising *gholāms*, All hverd Kh n *qollarāqāsī* passed away just after the purge. According to Fa I, the most powerful religious person of the time M r Mo ammad B qer D m d lost Sh h's favor too at this time. These severe political changes continued and reached their height in the following year. Crown Prince Ṭāf (Mo ammad B qer) Mirz was murdered by a Circassian *gholām*. Eskandar Beg left a brief and very vague description but Fa I clearly attributes the events as directly ordered by the Sh h.⁵³

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 'Abb s' 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. Q j rs occupied the post of *beglarbegī* in Qar b gh and rev n. Zainab's mother was of Georgian origin.⁵⁴ All hverd was Georgian too.⁵⁵ Fa I writes that Ṭāf's mother was from Circassian royalty and 'Abb s made a false charge that Prince Ṭāf led Circassians living in Shirv n (probably in this case Circassians meant North Caucasian in general) which according to Fa I, numbered more than 100,000 families, to revolt. Eskandar Beg also refers to Prince's Circassian connection.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Fa I : *Af al III*, fols. 315a–315b, 334b.

⁵² Actually Mo ebb 'Al 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 Fa I : *Af al III*, fol. 337b. As is pointed out in my last paper, Fa I's description has partly shared with that of Mirz Beg the author of Rou at al-Ṭāfavīye. See: Maeda, 'Political Culture'.

⁵⁴ Just one year before his death, 'Abb s 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. Fa I : *Af al III*, fols. 543b–544a.

⁵⁵ Maria Szuppe, 'La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran Safavide au XVI^e Siècle (1)', *Studia Iranica* 23 (1995), pp. 100–102; Maeda, 'On the Ethno-Social Background', pp. 262–266.

⁵⁶ Fa I : *Af al III*, fols. 334b–335a. Eskandar Beg, pp. 850, 855. Fa I'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 Favor⁵⁹

Reigning for nearly thirty years, 'Abbās now recovered most of the once lost territory both in the east and west. The exploitation of Mazandaran (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 Fa'izī who was closely connected with the execution of the local policy, 5,000 Muslim families and 1,200 Jewish families were exiled to Mazandaran from the sphere of Georgian kings influenced in

murder of Farhād Beg Cherkes *mīrshēkār* is in detail and it is interesting to note that he himself watched the event with his own eyes. Really Farhād's execution happened when the royal camp was in Qarābāgh.

⁵⁷ Eskandar Beg, pp. 924–925.

⁵⁸ For example Prince Ṭāfī'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 Yūsuf held the power in the inner palace.

⁵⁹ See: Maeda, 'Exploitation of the Frontier', especially 2nd paragraph of the Chapter III 'Transplantation of the 'Local Society'.

1023–1024/1614–1615. Eskandar Beg also wrote that ‘Abbas deported Muslims and Jews and Armenians from Georgian Kakheti. According to him they immigrated during the period of disorder. Many of the population in Shirvan and Qarabagh, of not only sedentary but also nomadic tribes, were exiled by those guilty of cooperation with the Ottomans.⁶⁰ The population of Nakhjevan 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 Transcaucasus.⁶¹

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 (Fa’l 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 Shah renounced his right over one-fifth of looted property, only taking 3 boys and 2 girls.⁶² Yet these descriptions on cruel acts show the supervision of the central authority. Fa’l’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 Fara’bad because their leader Khwaje Lalezari already had become the Shah’s subject before this incident (see citation 4).⁶³ In this case, they were saved from slave status but went into direct ‘royal protection’ in Fara’bad. Fa’l repeatedly describes that emigrants are given financial aid from the state budget (see citations 2, 4, 6, 8, 9).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Eskandar Beg, p. 881. According to him, 15,000 families were deported from Qarabagh. The Amadli tribe was passive and was plundered and massacred. At the same time, even some Qarachah’s Sufis were punished and executed. Eskandar Beg, p. 882.

⁶¹ Fa’l: *Af al III*, fols. 326b, 352b.

⁶² Eskandar Beg, p. 900; Fa’l: *Af al III*, fol. 359b.

⁶³ Fa’l: *Af al III*, fol. 357a. Lalezari is mentioned in: Habib Levy, *Comprehensive History of the Jews of Iran: The Outset of the Diaspora*, ed. and abr. Hooshang Ebrami, tr. George W. Maschke (Costa Mesa, 1999), pp. 310–314.

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 Qarabagh, notwithstanding they were freed by royal order. Eskandar Beg, p. 660. According to Fa’l, when Mokr Kurds in

in the city and farmers in the surrounding villages. Similar descriptions are repeatedly referred to.

According to Fa 1, in 1034–1035/1625–1626, a decade after the forced transportation, a Jewish merchant from Georgia, Khw je L lez r, together with ‘not riding (=farmers or clergy?)’ Georgians and Armenian clergies made a petition to the Sh h to give them 300,000 *tomān*. Already ‘Abb s 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.

Fa 1 leaves a symbolic episode just at the end of his work. When ‘Abb s died in M zandar n, main courtiers left for the capital E fah n. At that time S r Taq , the future grand vizier and *vazīr* of M zandar n once refused to stay there for he was afraid of the indigenous population revolting and killing him. Courtiers convinced him to order Seyyed osein Shirv n *dārūghe of Fara ābād* and Elizbar Beg the Georgian to maintain order. Seyyed osein was a son of M r H shem Shirv n who immigrated there for the first time.⁶⁶ ‘Abb s’ 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.

‘Abb s’ 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

⁶⁵ Sh h already granted land to Julfa Armenians in previous years. See: Herzig, ‘The Armenian Merchants’, p.64; Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese*, pp. 208–210; Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shāh’s Silk for Europe’s Silver*, pp. 83–84.

⁶⁶ Fa 1: *Af al III*, fol. 549b.

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.⁶⁷ It is said that at least Faḥrī, 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 Faḥrī’s new information, for he had a position to stress the state programs as an influential official. Faḥrī’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, Faḥrī kept silent on this event.

Faḥrī 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 Faḥrī’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

⁶⁷ Herzig, ‘The Armenian Merchants’, p. 61.

avored. 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 Faẓlī and Eskandar Beg’s chronicles concerning the migration of peoples around the Caucasus

Year	Move of Tribal Elements	Move of Sedentary Population	Other Events
996–997/1588–1589 (2nd year of ‘Abbās’ reign)			Ottoman conquest of the east Transcaucasus by Farhād Pasha
1010–1011/1602–1603 (16)		Tabrīz population who scattered in Erāq gathered in Eṣfahān.	People of Andekhūd were totally deported.
1011–1012/1603–1604 (17)			Shāh ‘Abbās started campaign in Āzarbāijān and Caucasian frontier.
1012–1013/1604–1605 (18)		Julfa and other Armenian population was forcibly transported to Eṣfahān.	Sinan Pasha Jegaloghlu’s invasion (~1013–14)
1016–1017/1608–1609 (22)	Jalālīs came to Safavid court. They were given their fiefdom in Qarāchedāgh, Ankūt, Jūldar (?) the following year.		
1018–1020/1610–1611 (24)	After the massacre of Mokris, Moqaddam moved to rule Marāghe.		Morād Pasha’s invasion
1020–1021/1611–1612 (25)		Armenian boys and girls in Āzarbāijān were selected to serve the court.	Construction of Farahābād in Māzandarān
1021–1022/1612–1613 (26)	Leaders of Javānshīr were killed by Qājārs. Hājler Zolqadar moved to Astarābād.		Construction of Ashraf in Māzandarān
1022–1023/1613–1614 (27)		Shāh ‘Abbās started its punitive expedition towards two Georgian kingdoms. Circassians in Georgia transported to Erāq (finally in Fārs).	Downfall of <i>qurchībāshī</i> and Zainab Beigom. Death of Allāhverdi Khān

1023–1024/1614–1615 (28)	Qazāqlar moved to Fārs. Aḥmadlū were massacred according to the royal order. Moḥammad Hosein Khān became the governor of Shakkī and took Zolqadar tribes there.	5,000 Muslim and 1,200 Jewish families from Shirvān transported to Māzandarān. People from Georgia, Shirvān, Ganje received wages.	Prince Şafi was executed. (1024/1615 Feb.)
1024–1025/1615–1616 (29)	Sürere Kurds were given Saliyān and Maḥmūdābād in Shirvān.	General revolt in Georgia, Shirvān and Kordestān responding to Ottoman march. People of Nakhjevān transported to Māzandarān.	
1025–1026/1616–1617 (30)		Slaughter of Kakhetian population. Georgians, Anīls, Jews transported to Māzandarān.	Moḥammad Pasha's invasion
1026–1027/1617–1618 (31)		Khornabuji Garrison in Kakheti partly transported to Māzandarān (Faḡlī contests this happened in the previous year).	
1027–1028/1618–1619 (32)	Ors Soltān Shāhsevan who came to Safavid court from the Ottoman Empire a few years earlier was mentioned for the first time. They received <i>toyūl</i> in Arasbār.		Khalīl Pasha's invasion
1028–1029/1619–1620 (33)		Christians in Faraḥābād performed the ceremony of Ḥajī Shūshān by the royal order in the new year. Jews in Māzandarān and Julfa Armenians in Eşfahān were entrusted the Safavid royal silk trade.	

THE FORCED MIGRATIONS AND REORGANISATION

<p>1029–1030/1620–1621 (34)</p>	<p>Peykar Khān was appointed to governor of Kakheti. He led some fifty thousand families of Imürü Zolqadar, Solaymān Hājilū and Kurdish tribes in Āzarbāijān, and Īgirmidört.</p>		
<p>1030–1031/1621–1622 (35)</p>		<p>Christian population in Fereidūn suffered forceful conversion.</p>	
<p>1034–1035/1625–1626 (39)</p>		<p>Jews, Georgians, Armenians requested and were granted the royal land. After royal wedding between Georgian vālt-king Simon II and ‘Abbās’ granddaughter, general revolt took place in Georgia.</p>	
<p>1035–1036/1626–1627 (40)</p>		<p>After the compromise, Teimuraz was given Kakheti and a part of Kartli. Georgian gholām Dāvūd became <i>beglarbegī</i> of Qarābāgh and his brother-in-law Nourūz beg Tulashvili ruled the Javānshīr tribe.</p>	

Appendix 2: English translation and Persian original description⁶⁸

1. 1004–1005/1596–1597 (10th year) (97b–98a);

All of Mazandaran province became occupied and he (=Farhad Khan Qarmanli) entrusted it to his servants. He ordered Mr Hshem Shirvani to bring 300 Shirvani families to a village in . They ran away from Shirvan under Ottoman rule and fled Qezelgij near the representatives of the Khan but they could not work as the land could not produce silk. in situated near Tejne (Tajan) River. Later it suited the righteous king's natural (?) taste and was named Farabid. At that time laid the foundation of Farabid. The first people who reached there were the Seyyed Hshem and Shirvani people.

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2. 1012–1013/1604–1605 (18th year) (170a–171a);

Amrgne Khan was ordered to go and burn down the whole land completely and to move the inhabitants to cross the Aras river. Maqsud Sol^a was also ordered to destroy the regions of Nakhjevan, Kho and Salmis. ahm spqol Beg An sod-Doule was ordered to go to Jolf and send the Julfans and Armenians around Aras to Efan. Money for expenses on route and necessities was given to ahm spqol 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 Fa'li's chronicle. However it is impossible to include all the sentences. For example, the deportation of the Nakhjevan population covers three folios. As for the case of Georgians, there is ridiculously little about their forced migration (except Muslims, Jews, and Circassians) but Fa'li gives a quite vivid narrative on the general revolt led by Mr v 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 Nakhjev n who kept provisions for Ottomans were executed and all Nakhjev ns were moved and cross the above-mentioned river.

ahm spqol Beg An s was also ordered to spend the winter in Karkar Ald r with the Armenians of rev n who were to be brought to E fah n. 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 Chokh r-e Sa'd who were destined to go to the sovereign's place, E fah n, then let them depart. An order was issued to Mrz Mo ammad *vazīr* of E fah n and Mr Jam l al-D n Mo ammad S khte (?) who was in charge of the crown land, to give those Armenian merchants the place for building and residence in the other side of Z yander d River in front of the Tabr z s. Two years earlier, according to the royal order, j 'En yatoll h and Seyyed asan gathered Tabr z people who were scattered in Er q and planed to build 'Abb s b d. Each person received land from three *jarīb* to ten or (?) twenty *jarīb*. One *jarīb* is 62 *zar*'. They received it according to their needs and constructed the buildings. His Majesty bought the land near Shams b d and Padast n (?) and other villages for the buildings from the landowner of E fah n 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 E fah n Julfa's *kalāntar* and representative Khw je TMafar and Khw je NaĀar⁶⁹ came in front of the Tabr z s 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 TMafar and NaĀar were the first and second *kalāntar* of New Julfa. Herzig, 'The Armenian Merchants', p. 97.

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

After Begverd Beg departed to Osetia and Mo ammā Sol^a n to Kartli, Q sem Beg *mīnbāshī* of M zandar n and osein ‘Al Beg brother of Peykar Sol^a n irm dōrt were ordered to deport the Circassians and take them to Er q province with their household goods and tents. They came from Alborz Mountain and Qepch q Plain and were in Georgia. According to the royal order, Circassian people of Qas q and Qabar passed the Kor and Aras together with Shalva Beg and their commanders who were honored by kissing the Sh h’s foot and decided to go to Er q. It was decided that osein ‘Al Beg would spend the days of winter in S ve where Mehr b d was his *toyūl*. There were more than two thousand families. Every necessity on route should be given by *vazīrs* and administrators of royal land of that province or any palce where they passed, according to the documents written by osein [‘Al] Beg which should be confirmed by *mostoufīs* for payment. Then let Circassians reach to E fah n. He (= osein ‘Al 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. Katorek z and Al verd 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 E fah n. Because of their bravery their presence in the countryside was not good. After the Shah's return, they were ordered to serve Em mql Kh n *amīr-e dīvān* and departed for F rs with their own houses. At that time many of them became honored to become Muslim and recite the Koran.

(323)

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

Esfandiy r Beg 'Arabg rl *mīrshēkārbāshī*, the pillar of the state, was sent to Shirv n 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 Fara b d. The people of Zagam and S d Kh n'al of Georgia, up to 5 thousand Muslim families with 1200 Jew families were deported. The Jew's leader, Kh je L lez r, transferred household goods from his home to the *ordū* to the magnitude of forty carts a week. q Jal l E fah ni *kulahgush*, the former attendant of Malek 'Al Sol^a n *jārchībāshī* was enrolled into 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 Fara b d, the sovereign's place. Necessities in the trip were paid by royal expenditure and charged the officials in every spot till M zandar n. After entering that province, Mo ammad S le Beg Gh n t, *vazīr* of that province, was ordered to prepare a place suitable for them in and around the city. The whole land of Fara b d 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 q Jal l 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. La^a f Kh n Beg *davātdār* was ordered to go to Qar b gh and transport the people of the region who were agents of Ottomans to Fara b d.

5. 1023–1024/1614–1615 (28th year) (340a)

People from Georgia, Shirvān and Ganje were newly deported to Fāra b d, 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. q Jal l E fah n who supervised the royal arsenal before was promoted to the *vazīr* of foreigners in Fāra b d who were gathered from all around the world. He was ordered to relieve the hearts of those who were in desperate.

6. 1024–1025/1615–1616 (29th year) (353a–b)

Darv sh Beg brought influential persons of Nakhjevān together with Rash d 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. [Vaz r?] of M zandar n was ordered that after their arrival in Fāra b d, 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 Fāra b d with happiness and good fortune. After settling the problems about places, Darv sh Beg and Rash d Beg were permitted to leave so that they went and were brought to Fāra b d after the empire's New Year.

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7. 1033–1034/1624–1625 (24th year) (483a)

S r Taq E fah n was nicknamed king of M zandar n by His Majesty. He was honored to kiss the sublime foot with M rz Kh n Beg Q j r *dārūghe* of Ashraf and Seyyed osein Shirv n *dārūghe* of Fara b d 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 Far marz Beg Am l khor the Georgian who is famous for the name m r [...].⁷⁰

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

Around this time Khw je L lez r the Jew and ‘not riding (=farmers or clergy?)’ Georgians and Armenian clergies who were living in that province made a petition to the Sh h with the help of S r Taq *vazīr* of that province and *dārūghes*. 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 M zandar n 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 TMadr , *sheikh ol-eslām* of M zandar n, wrote the document of conveyance from His Majesty who had bought it and gave it to them. The objective of the

⁷⁰ Then the description goes to the pavement of the road to M zandar n by her own expenses, cited in: Maeda, ‘Exploitation of the Frontier’. Also see: Eskandar Monsh , *Tārīkh-e’ālam-ārā-ye ‘Abbāsī*, pp. 850, 990; M r Taym r Mar’ash , *Tārīkh-e khāndān-e Mar’ashī-ye Māzandarān*, ed. Man chehr Sot de (Tehran, 1364/1985–1986), p. 362; Rudolph P. Mathee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver 1600–1730* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 75–76.

transfer was for them not to become afraid of the royal claim and depart from Fara b d. 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 Nakhjev n 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 Khw je Ya'q b a son of Khw je L lez r the Jew enjoyed the honor of becoming a Muslim afterwards and was called Mo ammadqol 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, Khal fe's located, the Son-in-law (*gūrgānī*), King N r ol-D n Jah ng r. He wrote him a letter and entrusted it to Khw je's son. He sent a clock for that brilliant crown's jewellery (=Jah ng r). 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 M zandar n and permitted free enclosure of land and measuring for three years. S r Taq was ordered not to inspect their crops and levy the same tax as before, during the whole year. Letter of His Majesty [...].

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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 b d before, and now became the owner of land and property and crops and buildings and many of whose children became the Sh h's servants. *Sepahsālār* brought these groups of *tāvāt* and *aznāvar* and *sepāhī* into Sh h'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 b d and cultivated [...] let them decide to go to Fara b d like Georgian families who became owners of property there, and whose number is 25,000, excluding Zagam s, Jews, and Armenians [...].

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10. 1037–1038/1628–1629 (42th year) (559a)

On Monday 29th of that month preparations for the trip were finished. Pillars of state ordered S r Taq to stay in M zandar n to maintain order in the province and calm the inhabitants. He did not consent and said that during the lifetime of heaven-burial (Sh h ‘Abb s) this slave possessed all the power and influence. I killed many rebellious persons in M zandar n. If M zandar n people come to harm and kill me, confusion will spread over this province. Pillars of state ordered osein Shirv n who was an old inhabitant of the region, originally from Shirv n and lately also governor of Fara b d, to stay with Elizb r 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 M zandar n and let him be confident.

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