

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

MAEDA Hirotake

## 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 Shāh ‘Abbās I (reign 995/1587–1038/1629). He moved the capital to Eṣfahān, 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. Shāh ‘Abbās incorporated the royal slaves *gholāmān-e khāṣṣe-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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> In fact the rise of Caucasian elites is connected with Safavid frontier policy.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> He defined the

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<sup>2</sup> 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 Allāhverdī 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).

<sup>3</sup> 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. Faḡlī Khūzānī al-Eṣfahānī, *Aḡzal al-tavārīkh*, University of Cambridge, Ms.Dd.5.6 (hereafter Faḡlī: *Aḡzal III*), fol. 52b.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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 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.<sup>6</sup> A new book by Babai and others gives a very attractive image that the Caucasian slaves contributed to the Safavid centralisation of power.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> 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).

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

<sup>8</sup> 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 Eşfahān, Fereidan (P'ereidneli) Georgians still preserve their languages up to today.<sup>9</sup> 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 Faḏlī Khūzānī al-Eşfahānī, an official who was directly in charge of the Safavid policy towards the Caucasus.<sup>10</sup> Faḏlī 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.

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<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Melville, 'New Light on the Reign of Shāh 'Abbās: Volume III of the *Afzal al-Tawārīkh*', 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 *Afzal al-Tawārīkh* by Faḏlī Khūzānī al-Işfahānī' (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1999); MAEDA Hirotake, 'Political Culture of the Safavid Dynasty Reflected in the Third Volume of *Afzal 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 Elements<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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 Ziyādoḡhlū Qājār who was supposedly the first governor-in-general (*beglarbegī*) of Qarābāgh.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup> Their flexibility as a political unit and superior

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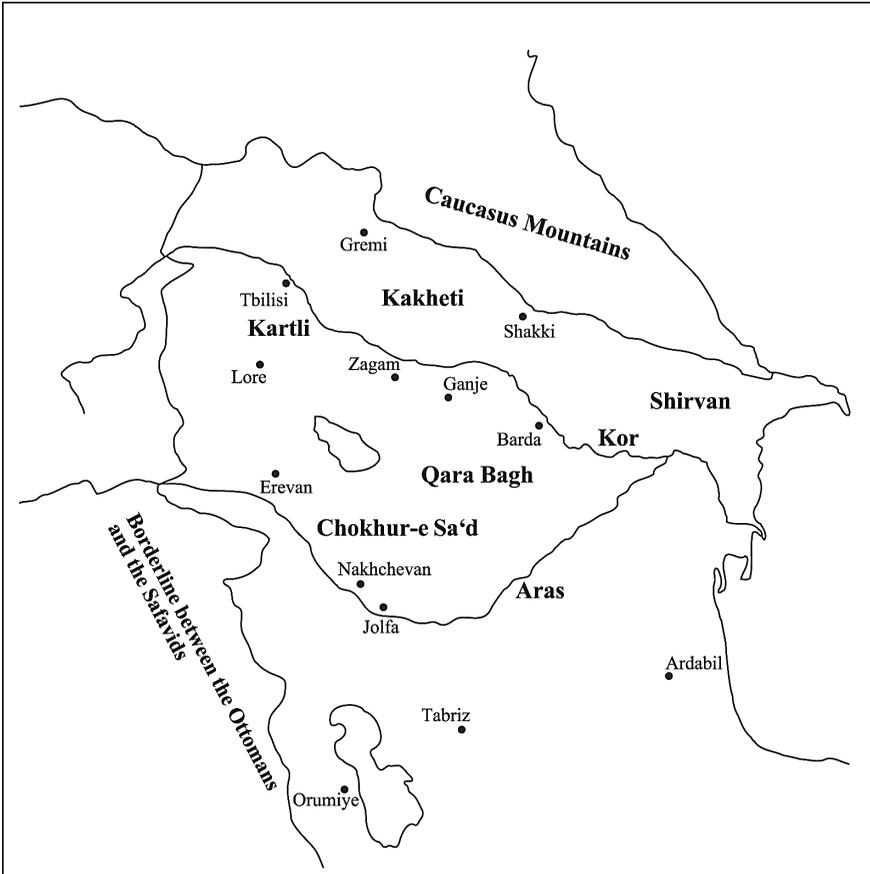
<sup>11</sup> It is very difficult to define the ‘tribe’. Yet as from the Eskandar Beg’s category of high-ranked persons at the end of Shāh ‘Abbās’ reign, it is said that the region was strongly politicised as even many non *qezelbāsh* were listed there (see note 27). At least there would be distinctions 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> Qāzī Aḡmad Qomī, *Kholāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. Eḡsān Eshraqī, 2 vols. (Tehrān, 1359–1363/1980–1985), pp. 383–384.

<sup>14</sup> 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 Qarābāgh were each called Īġirmīdört (=24 in Turkish) and Otūzīkī (=32 in the same language).<sup>15</sup>

worth mentioning: 'At Present Arabġīrlū is included in Shāmlū'. Eskandar Beg, p. 1084.

<sup>15</sup> On the Otūzīkī and Īġirmīdört 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.<sup>16</sup> 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. Naẓar Solṭān Qazāqlar in Lore and Pambak was the first to cooperate with the Ottoman army. According to his appeal, Qarāmānlūs in Akhestābād and Shams od-Dīnlūs in Ṭāus Chāi 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 Īgirmīdōrts and Javānshīrs in the region also obeyed the Ottomans.<sup>17</sup>

## 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 *qezelbāshs*), 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 Esmā‘īl II pointed out Qājār not the descendants of Shāhverdī nor Ziyādoghlūs.<sup>18</sup> After the reconquest of northwest Iran and the Caucasus, Shāh ‘Abbās partly changed tribal leaders. For example, rulership of

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

<sup>16</sup> Fazlī called Ḥosein Beg who was close servant of Shāh ‘Abbās: Ḥosein Beg Qarābāghī Qājār Ziyādoghlū *qurchī-ye tarkash*. Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 39b, 43b; Eskandar Beg, p. 436.

<sup>17</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 28a–29b; Eskandar Beg, pp. 405–407.

<sup>18</sup> Esmā‘īl II ordered Peykar Solṭān to kill his cousin Yūsuf Khalīfe b. Shāhverdī Khān Ziyādoghlū *beglarbegī* of Qarābāgh. Peykar even killed Yūsuf’s mother and brothers expecting appointment as *beglarbegī*. Then Esmā‘īl 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.

İğirmīdört was entrusted to Zolfaqār Solṭān. At the Ottoman conquest, his brother Arzānī Beg *dīvānbeḡī* refused to surrender and was killed. Zolfaqār fled to Safavid court with the sons of Arzānī Beg including the future Peykar Khān.<sup>19</sup>

At this stage, recognising his weak 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.<sup>20</sup> 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 Hājīler were deported to Māzandarān.

The fate of Qazāqlar is worth mentioning. Moḡammad 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 Moḡammad Solṭān Shams od-Dīnlū<sup>21</sup> by royal order in 1023–1024/1614–1615 after an expedition towards Georgia. Then rulership of Qazāqlar 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

Towards the end of his reign ‘Abbās also made use of the *gholāms*, 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

<sup>19</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 48a, 200a. They were given the fief Mehrābād in Sāve in exile.

<sup>20</sup> Even Moḡammad Solṭān, a son of Naẓar Solṭān who was the first to betray, was permitted to continue his rule over Lori and Pambak.

<sup>21</sup> He was one of the most important generals and executors of Safavid policy towards the Caucasus at that period.

<sup>22</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fol. 334b; Eskandar Beg, pp. 882–883.

<sup>23</sup> Eskandar Beg, pp. 1061, 1073, 1086.

time as *beglarbegī* of Qarābāgh.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.'<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 'Abbās entrusted the rule of

<sup>24</sup> Fażlī: *Afzal III*, fol. 521b; Eskandar Beg, p. 1062.

<sup>25</sup> Bournoutian's reference to Nourūz 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.

<sup>26</sup> This aspect is clearly recognised when 'Abbās gave the two Bagratian princesses to Ganje's Ziyādoghlū ruler and Barda's Iğirmīdört leader in when the latter appointed to the governor of Georgian Kakheti. See: Maeda, 'Exploitation of the Frontier'.

<sup>27</sup> 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 'Āzarbāijān' namely: Āqā Khān Moqaddam, Sārū Khān Solṭān Salmāsī, Kalb Rezā Solṭān Zanūzī, Khalīl Solṭān Stīl Söpör, Nūr ol-Dīn Solṭān Pāydār (Also see note 36).

<sup>28</sup> 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<sup>29</sup>). 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 Otūzīkī in Qarābāgh. ‘Abbās gave the rulership of the tribe to Ghāzī Solṭān, an old servant from ‘Abbās’ Khorāsān Prince’s period. According to Fazlī’s description, they originally consisted of only 70 families but Ghāzī’s sons Niyāz and Āqā received great benefits from ‘Abbās and increased in number to 10,000 families during his reign.<sup>30</sup> When Āqā Solṭān, head of Moqaddam moved to Marāghe, it was decided that all Otūzīkī tribesmen who wanted to serve Āqā Solṭān could go and a substantial portion chose to do so (according to Fazlī they took 400,000 sheep).<sup>31</sup>

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’ 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 *charkhchībāshī*.<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> When ‘Abbās gave Sāliyān and Maḥmūdābād in Shirvān to Shoḡā‘ al-Dīn Beg, chief of a Kurdish tribe in 1024–1025/1615–1616, Shoḡā‘ al-Dīn Beg was ordered to gather his fellow tribesmen who were scattered in Āzarbāijān and to settle there with them.<sup>34</sup> In 1029–1030/1620–1621

<sup>29</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal 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.

<sup>30</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 168b, 239a, 267b, 345a; Eskandar Beg, pp. 811–814.

<sup>31</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 239a, 267b, 345a.

<sup>32</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fol. 488a.

<sup>33</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 325a, 327b–328a, 339b.

<sup>34</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal 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 Ḥājilū and Kurdish tribes in Āzarbāijān, besides his fellow Īğirmīdört, according to the order.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup>

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.<sup>37</sup> Next year some of them were tempted to go back to the Ottomans. Nevertheless, their new leader Qarā Sa‘īd was given land in Qarāchedāgh, Angūt and Jūldar (?) in Āzarbāijān.<sup>38</sup>

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 Sa‘īd 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.<sup>39</sup> It is important to note that this ‘created’ unit was given land in Āzarbāijān and financial support was made from regional incomes.

<sup>35</sup> Faẓlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 345a, 414a; Eskandar Beg, p. 955.

<sup>36</sup> Faẓlī: *Afzal 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.

<sup>37</sup> Faẓlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 232a–238a.

<sup>38</sup> Faẓlī: *Afzal 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.

<sup>39</sup> Faẓlī: *Afzal 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, 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.<sup>40</sup>

## 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 Qārş 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, Faḏlī’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

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<sup>40</sup> 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 Armenians were given land in Eşfahān at that time. Faḡlī'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).<sup>41</sup> Tabrīz was at that time under Ottoman occupation and the pro-Safavid population might have been scattered inside Safavid territory. Faḡlī 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> 'Abbāsābād is known as the quarter of the Tabrizis. See: Herzig, 'The Armenian Merchants', p. 71.

<sup>42</sup> Eskandar Beg, pp. 628–629.

<sup>43</sup> 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, Faḏlī leaves very interesting notes. According to Faḏlī, 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 Qezelāgāj, the base of Qarāmānlū in Āzarbāijān after Ottoman occupation, but they could not work as the land could not produce silk. This village Ṭāḥūn was developed and later named Faraḥābād. This episode shows that Māzandarān was exploited for economic purposes from the beginning.<sup>44</sup> So the first immigration to Faraḥābād was carried out by *qezelbāsh amīr*. ‘Abbās probably adopted this policy.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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 Orūmie and

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<sup>44</sup> 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 Qarābāgh, Faḏlī was strongly aware of its economic importance.

<sup>45</sup> According to Faḏlī, towards the end of his reign, Seyyed Ḥosein Shirvānī worked as a *dārūghe* 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.

<sup>46</sup> While describing Ottoman conquest of Qarābāgh, 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> It was a place of his maternal ancestor. Faraḥābād (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 *qūrchībāshī* for twenty years, was blinded with his sons, then executed. Eskandar beg criticised him for corruption.<sup>49</sup> 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 *ḥaram* 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 *ḥaram* until Šafī’s reign when his family was purged.<sup>50</sup> Maqsūd Beg *nāẓer* was ordered to arrest Moḥebb ‘Alī Beg and his houses in Ešfahān and ‘Abbāsābād were

<sup>47</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fol. 321b; Eskandar Beg, p. 869.

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

<sup>49</sup> Eskandar Beg, pp. 858–859.

<sup>50</sup> According to Fazlī, the *vazīr* and *dārūghe* of New Julfa in Ešfahān were also newly appointed around this time (indeed *dārūghe* 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.<sup>51</sup>

Besides those who were forcibly excluded from the scene,<sup>52</sup> we can add the fact that Grand vizier Khâtem Beg Naşîrî Ordübādî had died from illness a few years earlier. The most powerful *amîr* of the time and representative of the newly arising *gholâms*, Allâhverdî Khân *qollarâqâsî* passed away just after the purge. According to Fazlî, the most powerful religious person of the time Mîr Moḥammad Bâqer Dâmâd lost Shâh's favor too at this time. These severe political changes continued and reached their height in the following year. Crown Prince Şafî (Moḥammad Bâqer) Mirzâ was murdered by a Circassian *gholâm*. Eskandar Beg left a brief and very vague description but Fazlî clearly attributes the events as directly ordered by the Shâh.<sup>53</sup>

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 'Abbâs' 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. Qājârs occupied the post of *beglarbegî* in Qarâbâgh and İrevân. Zainab's mother was of Georgian origin.<sup>54</sup> Allâhverdî was Georgian too.<sup>55</sup> Fazlî writes that Şafî's mother was from Circassian royalty and 'Abbâs made a false charge that Prince Şafî led Circassians living in Shirvân (probably in this case Circassians meant North Caucasian in general) which according to Fazlî, numbered more than 100,000 families, to revolt. Eskandar Beg also refers to Prince's Circassian connection.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Fazlî: *Afzal III*, fols. 315a–315b, 334b.

<sup>52</sup> Actually Moḥebb 'Alî 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.

<sup>53</sup> Fazlî: *Afzal III*, fol. 337b. As is pointed out in my last paper, Fazlî's description has partly shared with that of Mirzâ Beg the author of Rouzat al-Şafaviye. See: Maeda, 'Political Culture'.

<sup>54</sup> Just one year before his death, 'Abbâs 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. Fazlî: *Afzal III*, fols. 543b–544a.

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

<sup>56</sup> Fazlî: *Afzal III*, fols. 334b–335a. Eskandar Beg, pp. 850, 855. Fazlî'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.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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<sup>59</sup>

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 Faḏlī 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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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.

<sup>57</sup> Eskandar Beg, pp. 924–925.

<sup>58</sup> For example Prince Şaḫī'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 Āqā held the power in the inner palace.

<sup>59</sup> 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 ‘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.<sup>60</sup> 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 Transcaucasus.<sup>61</sup>

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 (Fazlī 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.<sup>62</sup> Yet these descriptions on cruel acts show the supervision of the central authority. Fazlī’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).<sup>63</sup> In this case, they were saved from slave status but went into direct ‘royal protection’ in Farahābād. Fazlī repeatedly describes that emigrants are given financial aid from the state budget (see citations 2, 4, 6, 8, 9).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Eskandar Beg, p. 881. According to him, 15,000 families were deported from Qarābāgh. The Aḥmadlū 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.

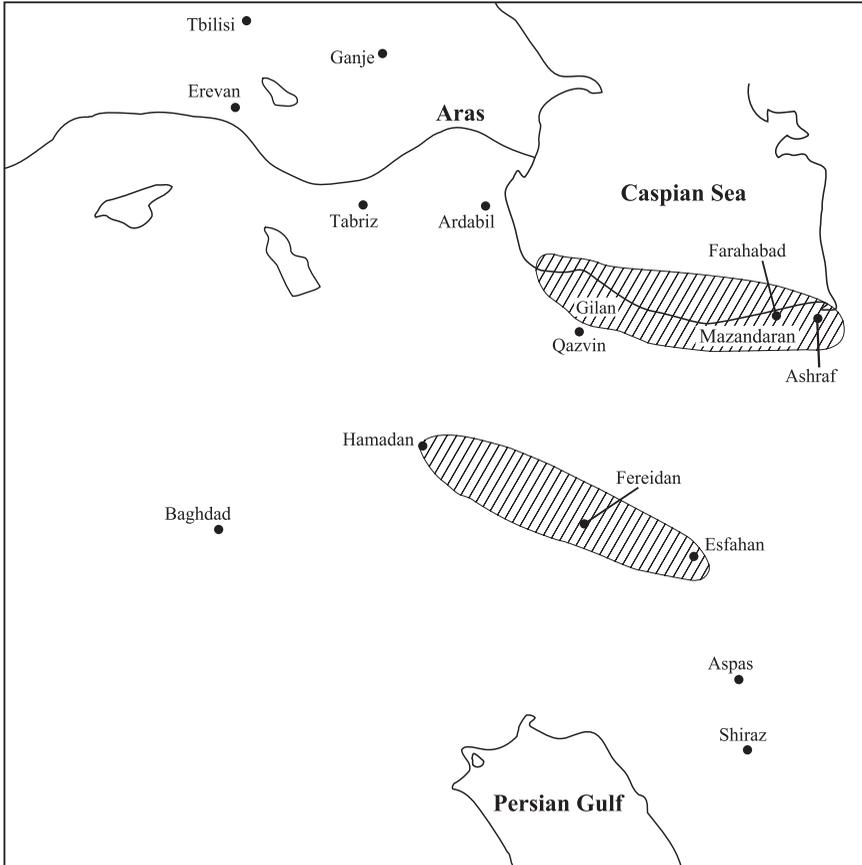
<sup>61</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fols. 326b, 352b.

<sup>62</sup> Eskandar Beg, p. 900; Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fol. 359b.

<sup>63</sup> Fazlī: *Afzal III*, fol. 357a. Lalezar 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.

<sup>64</sup> 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 Fazlī, when Mokrī Kurds in

Map 2: Supposed Main Addresses of Forced Migrations by Shah ‘Abbas I



V. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century* (Atlanta, 1998).

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 Farahābād, the city population was given land

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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. Faḏlī: *Afḏal III*, fol. 267a.

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

According to Faḏlī, 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).<sup>65</sup> So the forced deportation to the Caspian coast was conducted at the expense of the state.

Faḏlī leaves a symbolic episode just at the end of his work. When ‘Abbās died in Māzandarān, main courtiers left for the capital Eṣfahān. 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 Faraḥābād* and Elizbar Beg the Georgian to maintain order. Seyyed Ḥosein was a son of Mīr Hāshem Shirvānī who immigrated there for the first time.<sup>66</sup> ‘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

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<sup>65</sup> Shāh 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.

<sup>66</sup> Faḏlī: *Afḏal 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.<sup>67</sup> 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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<sup>67</sup> 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 Faḏlī 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 Mokrīs, 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 (Faḏlī 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><b>Peykar Khān</b> was appointed to governor of <b>Kakheti</b>. He led some fifty thousand families of <b>Imürü Zolqadar</b>, <b>Solaymān Hājilū</b> and <b>Kurdish</b> tribes in <b>Āzarbāijān</b>, and <b>Īgirmidört</b>.</p>		
<p>1030–1031/1621–1622 (35)</p>		<p><b>Christian population in Fereidūn</b> suffered forceful conversion.</p>	
<p>1034–1035/1625–1626 (39)</p>		<p><b>Jews, Georgians, Armenians</b> requested and were granted the royal land. After royal wedding between <b>Georgian vālt-king Simon II</b> and ‘<b>Abbās</b>’ granddaughter, general revolt took place in <b>Georgia</b>.</p>	
<p>1035–1036/1626–1627 (40)</p>		<p>After the compromise, <b>Teimuraz</b> was given <b>Kakheti</b> and a part of <b>Kartli</b>. <b>Georgian gholām Dāvūd</b> became <i>beglarbegī</i> of <b>Qarābāgh</b> and his brother-in-law <b>Nourūz beg Tulashvili</b> ruled the <b>Javānshīr</b> tribe.</p>	

## Appendix 2: English translation and Persian original description<sup>68</sup>

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

All of Māzandarān province became occupied and he (=Farhād Khān Qarāmānlū) entrusted it to his servants. He ordered Mīr Hāshem Shirvānī to bring 300 Shirvānī families to a village Ṭāhūn. They ran away from Shirvān under Ottoman rule and fled Qezelāgāj near the representatives of the Khān but they could not work as the land could not produce silk. Ṭāhūn situated near Tejīne (Tajan) River. Later it suited the righteous king's natural (?) taste and was named Faraḥābād. At that time laid the foundation of Faraḥābād. The first people who reached there were the Seyyed Hāshem and Shirvānī people.

ولایات مازندران را در کل به تصرف آورده به ملازمان خود سپرد و میر هاشم شروانی را مقرر داشت که سیصد خانه شروانی که از ولایت شروان از دست رومی فرار نموده نزد وکلای خان به قزل آغاج آمده بودند و مکان ایشان در آن ولایت که ابریشم حاصل نمی شد (198) نبود بر داشته به قریه طاحون که در کنار آب تجینه رود است و آخر الامر مطبوع طبع (؟) پادشاه دادگستر گشته موسوم به فرحاباد گشت و در آن حال بنیاد عمارت فرحاباد شد آورد و اول جمعیتی که در آنجا به هم رسید سید هاشم و جماعت شروانی بودند.

### 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 Soltān was also ordered to destroy the regions of Nakhjevān, Khoī and Salmās. Ṭahmāspqolī Beg Anīs od-Doule was ordered to go to Jolfā and send the Julfans and Armenians around Aras to Eşfahān. Money for expenses on route and necessities was given to Ṭahmāspqolī Beg who was charged to give it to them and cross the Aras.

<sup>68</sup> Here I tried to gather descriptions of the forced migration in Fażlī's chronicle. However it is impossible to include all the sentences. For example, the deportation of the Nakhjevān population covers three folios. As for the case of Georgians, there is ridiculously little about their forced migration (except Muslims, Jews, and Circassians) but Fażlī 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 Sa'd 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, Ḥājī '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 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 Shamsābād and Padaştān (?) 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 Şafar and Khwāje Naẓar<sup>69</sup> 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.

امیر گونہ خان را مقرر داشتند کہ رفتہ از ابتدای ولایت خود سوختہ خراب نمودہ سکنہ آنجا را از ارس بگذرانند و مقصود سلطان نیز جہت خرابی اطراف نجوان و خوی و سلماس تعیین شد. طہماسپ

<sup>69</sup> Brothers Şafar and Naẓar were the first and second *kalāntar* of New Julfa. Herzig, 'The Armenian Merchants', p. 97.

قلی بیگ انیس الدوله را مقرر فرمودند که به جلفا رفته جماعت جولاهی و ارامنه کنار ارس را کوچانیده به صفهان فرستد و مبلغی جهت اخراجات راه ایشان و ضروریات به صیغه انعام تحویل طهماسب قلی بیگ شد که به ایشان داده از آب ارس بگذراند...

حضرت اعلی خود با لشکری که همراه بود استقبال نموده تمامی ولایات را سوخته احشامات و الوسات را کوچانیده از آب ارس گذرانیدند و جماعت نخجوانی که غله جهت آذوقه رومی نگهداشته بودند جمعی را به قتل آورده کل نخجوان را کوچانیده از آب مذکور عبور فرمودند...

طهماسب قلی بیگ انیس را نیز فرمودند که با جمعی از ارامنه ایروان که مقرر شده بود که به صفهان برود در کرکر عدار قشلاق نموده بعد از نو روز سلطانی ارامنه جولاهی و چخور سعدی را که به جانب دار السلطانه صفهان مقرر شده خرچی و آذوقه و باربردار تعیین نموده روانه سازد و پروانچه به میرزا محمد وزیر صفهان و میر جمال الدین محمد سوخته که ریاع و متصدی خالصه بود نوشتند که جمعی از ارامنه مذکور را که تاجر اند محل عمارت و خانه در آن طرف رود خانه (171ب) زاینده رود که برابر جماعت تبریزی بود جا دهند و حسب الامر دو سال قبل ازین مقرر شده بود که حاجی عنایت الله و سید حسن متفرقه تبریزی را که در عراق اند جمع نموده طرح عباس آباد اندازند و هر یک از جماعت مذکور از سه جریب تا ده جریب و بیست جریب که هر جریبی شصت و دو ذرع است فراخور احتیاج گرفته عمارت نموده بودند و محل عمارت را حضرت اعلی از اربابان صفهان که قربت شمس آباد و بیدستان (پدستان؟) و دیگر دهات بود خریده به انعام ایشان داده بود و ایشان هر یک فراخور حال از سه هزار تومان تا صد تومان خرج عمارات نموده قریب دو هزار خانه بل بیشتر به طرح و خیابان که اکثر ایشان آب روان در میان خانه دارند ساخته حمامات و باغات طرح انداخته در اتمام آن ساعی بودند هر یک از ارامنه فراخور حال و استطاعت خود خانه ساخته به تجارت و دولتمندی خود قیام نمایند. خواجه صفر و خواجه نظر که کلانتر و اعیان جولاهی بودند بعد از دخول صفهان در برابر جماعت تبریزی در آمده ایشان نیز عمارات عالی ساخ[ت]ند و جمعی که قابل زراعت و آبادانی بودند در محال قریب شهر به ایشان مصالح الاملاک و زمین داده خانه جهت ایشان ترتیب فرمودند.

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

After Begverdī Beg departed to Osetia and Moḥammad Solṭān to Kartli, Qāsem Beg *mīnbāshī* of Māzandarān and Ḥosein ‘Alī Beg brother of Peykar Solṭān Īgirmīdört were ordered to deport the Circassians and take them to Erāq province with their household goods and tents. They came from Alborz Mountain and Qepchāq Plain and were in Georgia. According to the royal order, Circassian people of Qasīq and Qabarī passed the Kor and Aras together with Shalva Beg and their commanders who were honored by kissing the Shāh’s foot and decided to go to Erāq. It was decided that Ḥosein ‘Alī Beg would spend the days of winter in Sāve where Mehrābād 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 Ḥosein [‘Alī] Beg which should be confirmed by *mostoufts* for payment. Then let Circassians reach to Eṣfahān. He (=Ḥosein ‘Alī 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 Alāverd 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 Eṣfahān. Because of their bravery their presence in the countryside was not good. After the Shah's return, they were ordered to serve Emām-qolī 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.

بعد از رفتن بیگوردی بیگ به طرف اوس و محمد سلطان به کارتیل قاسم بیگ مین باشی مازندران و حسین علی بیگ برادر پیکر سلطان ایگرمی دورت را مقرر نمودند که طایفه چرکس را که از کوه البرز و دشت فیچاق آمده در ولایت گرجستان بودند کوچانیده با اموال و اسباب و خانه کوچ به ولایت عراق برند. حسب الامر اشرف در هر مکان فسیق و قبری که جماعت چرکس بودند به اتفاق شلوا بیگ و سرداران آن قوم که شرف پابوس دریافته قرار عزیمت عراق داده بودند از آب کر و ارس گذرانیدند. مقرر شد حسین علی بیگ در آن زمستان در ولایت ساوه که مهراবাদ ولایت مذکور به تیول حسین علی بیگ مقرر بود فشلاق نموده هر چه مایحتاج ایشان که زیاده از دو هزار خانه بودند باشد وزیر و متصدیان خالصه آن ولایت و هر ولایت و ملکی که وارد میشوند از قرار نوشته حسین بیگ که به حرج ایشان مستوفیان مجرای خواهند داشت داده به صفاهان رسانند. مشار الیه نیز اخراجات ایشان را حتی شراب و مزه که طفلان (323ب) شیرخواره خود را نیز در گلو می ریزند اما در مذهب ایشان سر مسکرات حرام است نهایش وقتی که عقل را زایل سازد کتله کوز و آلاورد و علمای ایشان و جمعی که در دین مقید اند جهت آنکه مبادا به اندک تجرع منتهی به سکر شود نمی نوشند از وجوهات سرکار خاصه شریفه که در هر محل نزد وزرا بود ترتیب داده به صفاهان آورد. بعد از مراجعت حضرت اعلیٰ جمیع ایشان را چون مردم دلیر شجاعی بودند و بودن ایشان در سرحد خوب ننمود به ملازمت امام قلی خان امیر دیوان مقرر داشتند که خانه های خود را بر داشته متوجه فارس شوند و اکنون اکثر ایشان به شرف اسلام رسیده قاری کلام ملک علام اند.

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

Esfandiyyār Beg 'Arabgīrlū *mīrshēkārbāshī*, 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 Faraḥābād. The people of Zagam and Sīdī Khān 'alī 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 *kulahgush*, the former attendant of Malek 'Alī Solṭān *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 Faraḥābād, 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 Faraḥābād 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 Faraḥābād.

اسفندیار بیگ عربگیرلو میر شکار باشی را که رکن رکن دولت بود به ولایت شروان فرستادند که آنچه از سکنه ولایت مذکور که در زمان فرت رومی در میان رومی صاحب اختیار بوده از ایشان خدمات امور ملکی یا ملازمت به عمل آمده باشد و ماده فساد دانند کوچانیده به ولایت فرحباد فرستد و جماعت زگمی و سیدی خانعلی گرجستان قریب پنجهزار خانه مسلمان بودند با هزار و دویست خانه جهود که ریش سفید ایشان خواجه لاله زار بود که چهل عرابه هفت روز اسباب از خانه مشار الیه بیرون آورده نقل اردو می نمود. مقرر شد که آقا جلال صفاهانی کله گوش که سابق ملازم ملک علی سلطان جارچی باشی بود و چند سال قبل ازین حضرت اعلی او را در سلک پندگان در آورده خدمت گرگیراق و خرید ابریشم ولایت گنجه به او تعلق داشت آن جماعت را برداشته به دار السلطانه فرحباد برد و ضروریات راه ایشان را از وجوهات خالصه به عهده عمال هر ولایت تا مازندران مقرر داشتند. بعد از دخول ولایت مذکور محمد صالح بیگ غانات وزیر آن ولایت را مقرر داشتند که در شهر و توابع مکان لایق جهت ایشان قرار داده عمارت فراخور حال هر یک که جمیع زمین فرحباد را حضرت اعلی از مالک خریده به تصرف آورده بود بنا نمایند و جمعی را که میل زراعت و عمارت و احداث باغات داشته باشند به دهات حوالی شهر جا داده مصالح الاملاک جهت ایشان سامان نمایند و چهار هزار تومان نقد جهت ضروریات جماعت مذکور تحویل آقا جلال که به وزارت غربای آنجا سرافراز شد نمودند که آنچه از هر ولایت کوچانیده به فرحباد فرستند به ایشان داده صرف مصالح الاملاک نماید و لطیف خان بیگ دوات دار را فرمودند که به سمت قراباغ رفته مردم آن ولایت را نیز که عمال رومیه بودند کوچانیده به فرحباد فرستد.

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

People from Georgia, Shirvān and Ganje were newly deported to Faraḥābād, 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 Eṣfāhānī who supervised the royal arsenal before was promoted to the *vazīr* of foreigners in Faraḥābād who were gathered from all around the world. He was ordered to relieve the hearts of those who were in desperate.

جمعی را که به تازگی از ممالک گرجستان و بلاد شروان و خطه گنجه کوچانیده به فرحاباد بهشت بنیاد آورده بودند به نوازشات پادشاهانه و خلعت خاص سرافراز گردانیده از نقد و جنس و مصالح الاملاک آنچه احتیاج داشتند حکم شد که از سرکار خاصه شریفه به انعام ایشان مقرر دادند و آقا جلال صفاهانی را که قبل ازین گرگیراق خاصه شریفه بود و به وزارت غربای فرحاباد که از اطراف و اکناف عالم در آنجا جمع بودند ممتاز ساخته به تسخیر قلوب آن جمع پریشان مامور گردانیدند.

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

Darvīsh Beg brought influential persons of Nakhjevān 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 Faraḥābād, 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 Faraḥābād 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 Faraḥābād after the empire's New Year.

درویش بیگ چندی از اعیان نخجوان را به اتفاق رشید بیگ کلانتر ایشان برداشته به درگاه معلی آمد و شرف پایبوس (353ب) یافت. حضرت اعلی تو جهات بسیار به ایشان نموده به خلعات سرافرازی بخشیدند و... [وزیر؟]... مازندران را مقرر داشتند که بعد از آمدن ایشان به فرحاباد چندی که به تجارت و حرفت اوقات گذرانیده میل توطن شهر داشته باشد مکان عمارت و مصالح آن داده عمارات جهت ایشان فراخور حال هر یک بنا نمایند و بعضی که به دهقنت اوقات گذرانیده در سلک اهل شهر منحرف نباشند مصالح زراعت و آبادانی و رعیتی به ایشان داده در توابع شهر جهت ایشان دهکدها قرار دهند چهار

هزار دویست خانه بود اگر صاحب حال که مایه تجارت ایشان به هر تومان تا صد تومان بود به قلم آمد که توطن در شهر نمایند و خود به سعادت و اقبال فشلاق در فرحباد نموده درویش بیگ و رشید بیگ را بعد از جمعیت خاطر از جانب جا و مکان مرخص ساختند که رفته بعد از نوز سلطانی ایشان را به فرحباد آورند.

### 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 *dārūghe* of Ashraf and Seyyed Ḥosein Shirvānī *dārūghe* of Faraḥābād 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 Amīlākhōr the Georgian who is famous for the name Ṭūmār [...].<sup>70</sup>

سارو تقی صفاهانی که حضرت اعلی او را پادشاه مازندران خطاب مینمودند با میرزا خان بیگ قاجار داروغه اشرف و سید حسین شروانی داروغه فرحباد و غلامان و بندگان و یهودی و گرجی و ارمنی که قریب چهل هزار خانه ساکن آن ولایت بودند به شرف پای بوس اعلی رسید به تلافیات شاهانه مخصوص گردیدند... بنت فرامرز بیگ امیلاخور گرجی که... مشهور به طومار گشت...

### 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 *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 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 Ṣadrā, *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

<sup>70</sup> Then the description goes to the pavement of the road to Māzandarān by her own expenses, cited in: Maeda, ‘Exploitation of the Frontier’. Also see: Eskandar Monshī, *Tārīkh-e ālam-ārā-ye ‘Abbāsī*, pp. 850, 990; Mīr Taymūr Mar’ashī, *Tārīkh-e khāndān-e Mar’ashī-ye Māzandarān*, ed. Manūchehr Sotūde (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 Faraḥābād. 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 Moḥammadqolī 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 [...].

درین وقت خواجه لاله زار یهودی و ناسوالان گرجی و کشیشان ارامنه که در آن ولایت بودند به امداد سارو تقی وزیر آن ولایت و دارووغان به عرض رسانیده مجموع مطالبات که قریب سیصد هزار تومان بود به انعام ایشان مقرر داشته فرمودند که احکام مطاعه هر کس درباب تخفیف خود از دفتر خانه همایون بعد از تصدیق وزیر مازندران گذرانیده مرفه الحال به دعاگوی دولت ابد پیوند قیام نمایند و زمین که به هر کس جهت ساختن عمارات به قدر حال داده بودند قیمت املاک را نیز به انعام ایشان داده مقرر شد که فضیلت پناه شیخ صدرا شیخ الاسلام مازندران قباله جات از جانب حضرت اعلی که بیع؟ نموده بودند نوشته به ایشان دهد که مطلب از مساعده و تحویل آن بود که ایشان دغدغه از مطالبات سرکار خاصه شریفه نموده از فرحاباد حرکت نمایند. چون اهل شهر در زمینی که به ایشان داده شده بود عمارات ساخته باغچه ها و سبزه ها سبز نموده اند و دهاقین و زارعین نیز در صحرا باغات توت و اشجار و اثمار و زراعت به هم رسانیده در زراعت و آبادانی منتفع اند و خاطر از فرار ایشان که صاحب نسل و اولاد و نسبتهای خویشی با یک دیگر شده دل از اوطان قدیم خود بر داشته اند جمع بود مجموع را به ایشان عنایت نموده خاطر ایشان را از مساعدات سرکار خاصه شریفه و خاطر خود را از جانب توطن ایشان جمع نمود. جمعی از تجار عهده آن جماعت را (1491) که از گنجه و نجوان و زگم

و بهبود بودند مقرر داشتند که به هر کس تحویلی از سرکار خاصه شریفه داد سبیل مضاربه قسمت منال(۴) را باز یافت نمایند و عمده الاقران خواجه یعقوب ولد خواجه لاله زار بهبود که در ثانی الحال به شرف اسلام مشرف گردیده محمد قلی بیگ خطاب یافت اراده تجارت هندوستان نمود و جمعی را تجار گنجه نیز میل رفاقت او کردند حضرت اعلی جهته از دیداد محبت و الفت که فیما بین حضرت اعلی و خلافت پناه نور الدین جهانگیر پادشاه گورگانی بود رفعه مصحوب خواجه زاده مذکور نوشته وقت ساعتی که به جهته حضرت اعلی از فرنگ فرستاده بودند که هر وقت ساعت تمام میشد خود به خود صدا داده ظاهر می ساخت که چند ساعت و چند دقیقه از روز یا شب گذشته جهت آن گوهر اکلیل پادشاهی فرستاد و توجهات بسیار نیز به جماعت بومی مازندران نموده طناب بندی بلوک و زمین پیمای ایشان را تا سه سال به انعام مقرر داشته سارو تقی را مقرر داشتند که تا سه سال بازدید محصولات ایشان ننموده به دستور سابق باز یافت نمایند رفعه 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 Farahābād 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 Farahābād and cultivated [...] let them decide to go to Farahābād 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 کاخت را به دستور جمعی که سابقا کوچانیده به فرحاباد بردند و حال در آنجا صاحب ملک و املاک و حاصل و عمارات شده اکثر اولاد ایشان در سلک بندگان شاهی قیام دارند این جماعت را نیز آنچه از تاوات و ازناور و سپاهی بوده باشند سپه سالاری در سلک بندگان شاهی در آورده حقیقت حال ایشان را عرض نماید 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 بیست و پنجهزار خانه گرجی سواى زگمى و بهبود و ارمنى که در آنجا صاحب حال شده بودند به خود داده...

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

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 Ḥosein 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.

روز دو شنبه بیست نهم ماه مذکور سامان سفر نموده ارکان دولت تکلیف توقف مازندران به سارو تقی صفاهانی نمودند که نسق آن ملک نموده جماعت سکنه آن ولایت را مستمال دارد مشار الیه راضی نشد که چون در ایام حیات خلد آرام گاه کمال اختیار و اقتدار با این غلام بود و جمعی کثیر از مردم سرکش مازندران را به قتل آورده ام. مبدا جماعت مازندرانی در مقام انتقام در آیند و به محض قتل این بنده آشوب و فتنه درین ولایت بهم رسد. ارکان دولت سید حسین شروانی را که سکنه قدیم آن ولایت از شیروانی بود و درین وقت نیز به حکومت فرحاباد تعهد محافظت فرحاباد نمود با ایلزبار بیگ اعتبار تمام در میان گرجیان آن ولایت داشت بود توقف فرمودند که... نگذارند که به اقبال شاه زاده آرامگاه به فرقه خاطری سکنه آن ولایت شاهانه مغرز فرموده تعهد حکومت مازندران کامکار نموده خاطر جمع فرمودند.