

# The Treaty of 1639 and its Consequences for Armenia and the Armenians

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## *Introduction*

Writing an article about the 1639 Treaty between Iran and Turkey is simple and difficult at the same time. It is simple because one might say that this Treaty divided Armenia and some parts of Mesopotamia. Yet, it is difficult because repeating what has been said many times before, is not sufficient for writing an article. So far, research has not come up with anything else, which shows how poor the historical knowledge of this Treaty is. It needs new research. This article focuses on the long and short term consequences of the Treaty. First, it will concentrate on the geographical aspects of historic Armenia and on the historical roots of the Armenian people. Then, it will describe Armenia as part of the Safavid Empire and the context of the 1639 Treaty. Finally, it will focus on the Treaty's consequences.

## ***Geographic location of historic Armenia***

What is considered historic Armenia was about 238,000 km<sup>2</sup> in size, located in the eastern part of Lesser Asia. It is said that Greater Armenia was located to the east of the Euphrates River and Lesser Armenia to its west. Greater and Lesser Armenia consisted of the present Republic of Armenia and parts of northeast Turkey. The present Republic of Armenia is a small area in the Caucasus, which during its existence was surrounded by great neighbors, and invaded, plundered and ruined many times. As it seems, apart from some short episodes of independence and self- dominance, and maybe during the two centuries when Armenia was one of the Achamanids' Satrapies,[\[1\]](#) the life of the Armenian people passed in misery and poverty.

## ***The Historical Roots of Armenia***

It would seem that the Armenians crossed the Euphrates River in the 8th century B.C. and by the 6th century B.C. they had mixed with the natives of that region, which later became known as Armenia. At times, the Armenians had independent states or kingdoms-- the Urartians (c.870-590 B.C.), the Yerevanduni (Orontids; c. 585-200 B.C.), the Arthashesians (Artaxiads; c.189 B.C. - 10 A.D.), the Arshakuni (66-428 A.D.), and the Cilicia Kingdom (1050-1375 A.D.), the latter outside historic Armenia. The most majestic time in the history of the Armenians was the time of King Tigran the Great (95-55 B.C.), whose empire stretched from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean.

## ***Armenia in the Persian administrative system***

As the 1639 Treaty was concluded during the Safavid period, we should know how Armenia was located in the Persian Safavid Empire. According to the unknown author of Tadhkirat Al-Muluk, Iran then had 13 beglarbegis:[\[2\]](#)

1. Qandehar
2. Shirvan
3. Harat
4. Azarbaijan
5. Chokhur Sa'd
6. Qarabagh and Ganja
7. Astarabad
8. Koh-Giloyeh
9. Kerman
10. Marv Shah-i Jahan
11. Qalamroye Alishekar
12. Mashhad
13. The capital: Qazvin.[\[3\]](#)

However, elsewhere in his book he writes that Azarbaijan consisted of four governor- generalships:

1. Tabriz
2. Chokhur Sa'd
3. Qarabagh
4. Shirvan.[\[4\]](#)

Minorsky believes that 'such an abusive use of the term [Azarbaijan] would be incorrect and not supported by geographical works.' [\[5\]](#) He also says that the geographical term Chokhur Sa'd was first used in the time of the Safavids and mainly for the province of Yerevan.[\[6\]](#)

## *Qarabagh and Its Meliks*

From a geographical point of view, Qarabagh is a mountainous region located between Yerevan and Baku. There were five melikdoms in the highlands of Qarabagh and some districts in Siunik as well. They were known as Mountainous Qarabagh and Zangezur respectively.[\[7\]](#) These five melikdoms were:

1. Golestan (Talesh)
2. Jeraberd
3. Khachen
4. Varanda
5. Dizak.[\[8\]](#)

The Meliks of Qarabagh were among the elites of Iran. During the Safavid period, its leaders were used in administrative affairs, in order to maintain the consistency of Iran as an empire. They kept their semi-autonomous existence until Russia annexed them around 1800.

## *The Context of the 1639 Treaty*

The creation of the Safavid Empire caused enmity with the Ottomans from the very beginning (1501), and many wars between the two empires were to follow. More often than not Armenia was the arena. During the time of Sultan Muhammad Khodabandeh (1577-1587), the Ottomanid Sardar[\[9\]](#)Lala Pasha occupied Tabriz, Yerevan, Shirvan, Qarabagh, Ganja, Baghdad and also parts of Georgia, Kurdistan, Khuzestan and Lorestan. Arak'el of Tabriz says that the Ottoman Pashas established themselves in Tabriz, Yerevan,

Ganja, Shamakhi and Damir Kapi, and occupied the entire region as far as the Khodafarin Bridge.[\[10\]](#)

Armenian historians, who describe the situation of Armenia, say that after the collapse of the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia (1375 A.D.), the homeland of the Armenians became the arena of destructive wars, sometimes being in the hands of Persians, sometimes in the hands of the Ottomans.[\[11\]](#) According to Chardin, there was certainly no place in the world like Armenia had witnessed so much bloodshed and destruction.[\[12\]](#) It is also said that the Ottomans were treating the Armenians like barbarians. Annual taxes were gathered without any order and the Armenians were not sure of their lives or their properties.[\[13\]](#)

After Iran had been defeated by the Ottomans during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Khodabandeh, Shah Abbas I (1587-1629) was obliged to sign a Treaty with Sultan Murat III (1574-1595) in 1589. According to it, the city of Tabriz and the western part of Azarbaijan, including Shakki and Shirvan, Georgia, Qarabagh, a part of Lorestan with the Nehavand fortress and Armenia were officially handed over to the Ottomans. In that time, Ter Arak'el of Vagharshapat was Catholicos of Ejmiatsin. When he died, he was succeeded by Ter Davit of Vagharshapet (1590-1629). The Ottomans imposed high taxes on Ter Davit and since he was unable to pay, he fled from one place to another. According to one story, Ter Davit appointed Melik Sedk as his helper. According to another story, Melik Sedk was a subject of the Ottomans and offered them valuable gifts, and it was the Ottomans who obliged Ter Davit to appoint him as his second. Consequently, Ejmiatsin had two Catholicoses at that time. The increasing taxes and other expenses obliged the two Catholicoses to ask Vardapet Srap'ion, who was a

very rich man, to pay their debts and taxes in exchange for becoming the Catholicos of Ejmiatsin. After some discussion, Srap'ion went to Ejmiatsin on the 14th of August 1603 and was also appointed Catholicos.[\[14\]](#) Thereupon, Davit and Melik Sedk left Ejmiatsin and went first to the Tat'ew Monastery, and then decided to go to Shah Abbas I, knowing of his plans to attack Armenia.

Because of the violent behavior of the Ottomans, many Muslim and Christian rulers from Atur Patekan (Azarbaijan) had already sought refuge with Shah Abbas I. They were convinced he would find a way to free them from the yoke of the Ottomans.[\[15\]](#)

Arak'el describes those who had come to the Shah. First, there were Saru Khan and his brother Nazar from the village of Voskanapat, the priest Keshish Oghlan and his brother Ghalabegi from the village of Hat'erk, Jalal Beg with the children of his brother from Khack'en, Melik Sujum of Dizak, Malik Pashik of the village of Koch'iz, Malik Babe of Britis, the priest Melik Sedk from the village of Melikzada in Upper Zakama, Melik Haykaz from the village of Khanatsakh in the land of K'shtagh, and people from four other villages in the Melikdom of Dizak, and all these people were from the area of Aghvank. Shah Abbas housed them in Esfahan. Then, one third of the people of a little town called Dasht in the Ghght'n area near Akulis went to central Iran; they were also housed in Esfahan. Their reasons for going to Iran were the heavy taxes and the violence and cruelty against their people by the Ottomans. It is important to realize that all these people had had high positions, but they were now living in poverty and in great debt. The two Catholicoses, Davit and Melik Sedk, were well aware of the situation. Therefore, they decided to show their friendship and ask the Shah's help in paying their debts. Davit[\[16\]](#) together with Manuel of Khorvirap decided to remain in Armenia, while Melik Sedk together with Manuel of Hawuts't'ar and Stwatsatur of Geghard escaped from Armenia and

went to the Shah. Arak'el accuses the Shah of being an evil character and a cheater. The Shah was respectful and offered them many gifts but, according to Arak'el, he was just using them for his own purposes. Although he promised them a very good future and showed himself a good friend, he really wanted to learn how to enter their lands and what the names of their rulers were.[\[17\]](#)

Derhuhanian has another interpretation. According to him, the Shah accepted refugees for humanitarian reasons. He was most respectful to the clergies and wanted to know why they had come to him, how the Ottomans had treated them, how they were living and what was the situation in Armenia. He listened to all of them with sympathy, offering hope. The problematic situation of Armenia and the unsuitable condition of its people gave him sufficient time to prepare his attack. Meanwhile, he received an invitation letter from Amir Ghazi Khan in Armenia and around the same time another person, Heybat Beg, came to him with the same intention.[\[18\]](#) Rafi confirms that many high ranking persons came to the Shah for help.[\[19\]](#)

According to Eskander Beg Monshi, Ghazi Beg Khan Kurd asked the Shah to attack the Ottomans and informed him that there were not many troops in the Fort of Tabriz. The Shah consulted with his elites, who verified this information.[\[20\]](#) In those days, the Shah had a permanent army, and many of his soldiers were Armenian or Georgian. He decided to reclaim what he had handed over to the Ottomans beforehand. On the 13th of September 1603, he left Esfehan, announcing he would go hunting in Gilan and Mazandran. In Qazvin, he revealed his real intention and went to Tabriz in just six days. He took the Ottomans by surprise and recaptured the city.[\[21\]](#) The Ottomans, who had fled from Tabriz, gathered in Nakhjavan and, together with the other Ottoman forces established there, they started to plunder. The Christians and especially the people of Julfa left the town and fled into the mountains. When Shah



Abbas heard about these events, he sent Gherkh Sultan with a great army to protect the people of Nakhjavan. While Gherkh Sultan advanced to Julfa, the Ottomans plundered some villages and then reassembled in the town of Julfa. The soldiers in Nakhjavan and other non-natives who had heard about the advancing Persian troops, were scattered. The soldiers that had fled from Tabriz went to Yerevan and constructed a new fort in the southern part of the Fort of Yerevan, where they established themselves.[\[22\]](#)

The Ottomans arrested the Catholicos Srap'ion and demanded him to pay the debts of Ejmiatsin and he was obliged to do so. Srap'ion remained in Ejmiadzin until the Shah reached Yerevan. It seems that the Shah did not accept him, because he had been appointed by order of the Ottomans.

Before leaving Tabriz, the Shah sent Zolfeghar Khan to Nakhjavan to tell the Ottomans that resistance was useless and that it would be better to submit and leave the city with their families. Otherwise, they would be killed and their properties would be plundered. The Ottomans took the Shah's warning to heart and left the city. Then, the Shah proceeded to Nakhjavan. When he reached Julfa, all the people, old and young, welcomed him.[\[23\]](#)

Junabadi writes that, because the people of Nakhjavan were Sunnis and helping the Ottomans, Shah Abbas I ordered that Nakhjavan be completely reduced to ruins and Armenians relocated to Esfahan.

[\[24\]](#)In June of 1604, first the new fort and then the old fort of Yerevan were surrendered.[\[25\]](#) Meanwhile, Shah Abbas had managed to regain most of Azarbaijan, Qarabagh and Armenia up to the borders agreed upon in the Amasieh Treaty (1555). He officially gave the title of Melik to the leaders of Armenia who had helped him during the war with the Ottomans, showing them his appreciation. Finally, after many more wars, a new Treaty was concluded between



the two empires on the 13th of March 1620 and signed by Shah Tahmasp I and Sultan Suleiman Ghanoni (the Magnificent, 1520-1566). One of its stipulations was that Akishka in Georgia be given to the Ottomans and, instead, a part of Dartang[26] [Derteuk] and the fortress of Zanjir [Zindjir] on the Iraqi border were given to Iran. This Treaty, however, did not put an end to the wars between Iran and Turkey, and whenever the Ottomans felt powerful enough they violated the Treaty, attacking Iran again. As we mentioned before, the arena of these wars were mostly the soils of Armenia and Georgia.

In 1623, there was a conflict between the Ottoman generals over Baghdad. The Ottoman Empire was in such chaos that Sou Bashi, the commander of the Ottoman soldiers, called for the Shah's help and even announced that Baghdad belonged to Iran. The Shah sent 30,000 soldiers. Sou Bashi regretted what he had done but in July of 1623, the Shah personally advanced to capture Baghdad. His army surrounded the city and, after a long siege, the Persians first conquered Baghdad, and thereafter Karkuk and Musel. Baghdad would remain in the hands of the Persians during the rest of the reign of Shah Abbas I.

### ***The Perso-Ottoman Wars during the Reign of Shah Safi and the Treaty of 1639***

During the reign of Shah Safi (1629-1642), the war between Iran and the Ottomans started again. Sultan Murat IV (1623-1640) wanted to recapture Baghdad. The Ottoman General Khosrow Pasha entered Musel and then captured Shahrezoor [Chehrezor]. He defeated Zeinal Khan of Persia and plundered Hamedan. In June of 1630, he reached Baghdad but was unable to capture it. On the last day of July 1635, Sultan Murat surrounded Yerevan and, after a siege of 11

days, the defenders surrendered the fort of Yerevan to him. He reconstructed the fort, razed the surroundings of Tabriz and then returned to Istanbul. It had taken him about ten months to leave Istanbul, take Yerevan, and to return home. About seven months after his return, the Persian army surrounded the fort of Yerevan and regained it in April of 1636. Sultan Murat returned to battle with Iran and, on the 24th of November 1638, he attacked Baghdad. After 40 days, the city again fell into the hands of the Ottomans. In short, from 1630 to 1639 constant wars continued between Iran and Turkey.

Shah Safi requested the city of Kars to be given to Iran but the Ottomans refused. Instead, they demanded the Shah to hand over the Qalè Dartang region to them and to recall his soldiers from the borders of Baghdad within six days. At that time, the Grand Vizir of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa, was in Qasre Shirin,[\[27\]](#) and Sarou Khan, the plenipotentiary representative of Iran, also went there. After some negotiations, both parties signed a Treaty on the 17th of May 1639, which has become famous as the Qasre Shirin or Zohab [Zahab] Treaty. In this Treaty, the borders between Iran and Ottoman were established.

We should mention that there are different versions of the Treaty and there seems to be no original version left. It was lost both in Iran and the Ottoman Empire. What we have now, is what the Ottomans presented as the Treaty. There are a few versions known in Persian historical books like Abbas Nameh[\[28\]](#) and Khowlasat Al-siar,[\[29\]](#) which remained from the Safavid period, and what is presented seems to be the Treaty itself with some differences. The text Vahid Mazandarani offers in his book,[\[30\]](#) seems to be the most complete version. Therefore, we assume that his text, with its differences, is the copy nearest to the original, although, as we said, there are much older versions of the Treaty, both in Persian and Turkish, in some

Persian historical sources. In Appendix I, we have added the English translation of the Treaty.[\[31\]](#)

**According to this Treaty, the following parts were allocated to the Ottomans:**

- Bad Aray [Bedrie]
- Jesan [Tzanan]
- The small town of Mandali [Mendelgeen] up to Dartang with the plains in between Dernai
- Zia Al-din [Ziaj Uddin] and Harun[Haronia][\[32\]](#), two clans of the Djaf[\[33\]](#) tribe
- Villages on the western side of the fortress of Zanjir
- Every part of the mountain located near Sharezoor that is facing the fort of Zalem
- Qalè [Salim Calè]
- Ghezelje [Kizilidji] and its dependencies

**The following parts were allocated to Iran:**

- The mountain near the plains which are located between the small town of Mandali up to Dartang
- The clans of Bire [Pezai] and Zardoli [Zerdony][\[34\]](#) from the Djaf tribe
- Villages[\[35\]](#) to the east of the fort of Zanjir Qalè
- The fort of Oraman [Orman] with its dependent villages
- Mehraban [Mihreban] with its dependencies.

Sarmil [Serminil] or Milbashi[\[36\]](#) and Gadog[\[37\]](#)of Choghan[\[38\]](#) were established as the borders of Dartang and Shahrezoor respectively. Both sides agreed to demolish the fortresses of Ghotor (Kotur) and Maku [Makoo] on the frontier of Van, and the fortress

of Maghazberd [Magazberd] towards Kars.

### ***Geographical Position of Armenia after the 1639 Treaty***

Tavernier says that Greater Armenia was located between the Araxes and Cyrus Rivers, and that the whole population was Armenian. Sometimes this region was called Qarabagh [Artsakh]. Its main cities were Yerevan, Kars, Nakhjavan, Julfa and Van. Van was situated near a lake with the same name, which is one of the largest lakes of Asia. According to him, Armenia was one of the best and richest provinces of Iran.[\[39\]](#)

Chardin says that Armenia included just two parts: Upper and Lower Armenia. Lower Armenia was sometimes called Lesser Arabia [sic] and sometimes Western Armenia, but it is usually called Lesser Armenia, which is in the hands of the Ottomans. The upper part, which is sometimes called Eastern Armenia and sometimes Greater Armenia, belonged to Iran.

One of the most famous Turkish cartographers, Mustafa Ibn Abdollah, who is also known as Kateb-e Chalabi or Haji Khalifeh, describes the situation of Armenia in his book "Jahan Nama" [Atlas], which he has written and drawn after the Treaty of Zohab.

According to him, the province of Armenia consists of two parts: the lesser and the greater part. The lesser part is not in Iran and is located east of Bahr-e Rum [Mediterranean] and includes Adana, Marash and its capital Sis. At first, the capital was Akhlat but after the collapse of their state the people became agricultural workers and chose Sis as their centre. The greater part is located in Iran, and the towns of Van, Kars and Erzurum [Karin] are situated in Greater Armenia. Akhlat remained the capital of Greater Armenia.[\[40\]](#)

The Treaty of 1639 divided historic Armenia between the Persians and the Ottomans. The western part was given to the Ottomans and the eastern part to the Persians. Turkish Armenia consisted of cities and regions like Erzerum, Kars, Kharput, Bitlis and Van.

Eastern Armenia included the governor-generalship of Chokhur Sa'd (the regions of Yerevan and Nakhjavan) and Qarabagh (the regions of Qarabagh-Zangezur and Ganje). Chokhur Sa'd consisted of parts of the historic Armenian provinces Ayrarat, Gugark, and Vaspurkan. The governor-generalship of Qarabagh included Artsakh, Siunik and Utic.[\[41\]](#)

### **The Short-term Consequences of the Treaty of 1639**

This peace Treaty had short and long term consequences for the Persians and the Armenians.

First, it put a stop to the wars which had continued between Iran and the Ottoman for about 140 years. With peace established, the Persian Armenian merchants, as one would expect, could move more easily on Ottoman soil, expand their trade with the Europeans and do business in a more efficient way. Relative safety and security had returned in Armenia and the Armenians could finally live in peace, though this does not mean that a period of happiness and joy started in Armenia. The damage inflicted in the wars before the Treaty were so heavy that it took Armenia a long time to recover.

With the Treaty, there also came an end to the high expenses of these long wars. The Persian rulers were no longer obliged to impose heavy taxes on the people of Iran, and the merchants, most of whom were Armenians, especially benefited from that situation. They could have more capital in hand for trading; it allowed them to reduce the price of their merchandise, increased their ability to

compete with foreign countries and helped the foreign trade of Iran to grow. Another short term consequence was that they did not pay much attention to the Russian trade routes, as they had done before-that is, for a while. After Shah Abbas I, the unfavorable policies of the Safavid Empire made the Armenians to start thinking again about investing their capitals in Russia and using the Russian trade ways, but they did so on a limited scale.

### *The Long- term Consequences of the Treaty of 1639*

The long term consequences of the Treaty of 1639 were disastrous for the Persians and especially for the Armenians, although at first glance it seems that establishing peace was positive in itself. It weakened the Persian army and its fighting ability. In 1722, some 80 years after the Treaty, the Afghans managed to capture Esfahan, despite the fact that they were far fewer in number than the Safavid army and very badly equipped. Tsar Peter I then attacked Iran, as did the Ottomans, and both empires occupied vast parts of Iran. The Ottomans occupied most of Armenia and Georgia. All these events led to the final collapse of the Safavid dynasty in 1736. Of course, the fall of the Safavids had many other causes as well but here we want to focus on its relation with the Treaty of 1639.

After the Armenians migrated to Esfahan, they took control of Iran's foreign trade and became a very rich minority. They controlled the bazaars of Iran and foreign companies were obliged to cooperate with them if they wanted to have a hand in the trade. There are many examples of cooperation of the Dutch and the English with the Armenians. This situation was to the national benefit of Iran. With the collapse of Esfahan and finally of the Safavid Empire, security and especially economic security disappeared in Iran, and the trade,

which needs safe ground for growing and flourishing, was doomed to failure. Many Armenian merchants, artisans, artists and so forth left Iran and migrated to Russia and India, taking their assets and capital with them. It resulted in a heavy drain on the financial resources of Iran.

The vanishing solidarity among Persia's different races among whom were the Armenians, the rising enmity between these races, the fall of Esfehan, the invasion of Iran by the Ottomans and Russians, the invasion of Armenia and Georgia by the Ottomans, the insecurity and chaos in Iran, the fleeing of merchants and capital to other countries, and the never ending wars, led to Iran being driven from the centre of the world's economy to the margin. Esfehan, which had been one of the centers of economy and politics of the world, was ruined, and New Julfa, which was considered to be a polar of international trade, lost its premium status. In final analyses, all these events could be considered as long term consequences of the Treaty of 1639.

The collapse of Esfehan created real chaos in Qarabagh. For about a decade, the Meliks of Qarabagh were at war with the Ottomans and as a result serious damage was inflicted on them. After Peter I had promised to support them, they started a war with the Ottomans, but when he did not keep his word, they were defeated by the Ottomans and in the end they were obliged to escape to Russia losing their properties. They lost their autonomy and finally they were annexed by Russia. This outcome can also be considered to be one of the results of the Treaty of 1639.

### *Epilogue*

As we have seen, the Treaty finally established peace between the



Ottomans and the Persians for about 80 years. In the long run, however, the consequences were disastrous for the Persians and especially for the Armenians. Of course, there were other factors that played an important role in the events after 1639. However, we consider this Treaty to be one of the main factors that led to the collapse of the Safavid Empire and as the Armenians had a good position in Iran, this collapse severely damaged the Armenians as well.

## Appendix I

### **TREATY OF PEACE AND FRONTIERS: THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND PERSIA**

17 May 1639[\[42\]](#)

(Reaffirmed 4 September 1746, 28 July 1823, 31 May 1847) [British and Foreign State Papers, vol. 105 (1912), pp.763-66]

Praise to God, the Holy, the Gracious, the bestower [sic]of Victory; who has opened the door of peace and concord with the key of the words: "Verily I wish nothing so much as reconciliation," and dispelled the darkness of war and fighting with the light of quiet and happiness. Blessings and benedictions, so long as flowers spread their perfume and daylight shines, upon his Prophet who has fully and clearly manifested the faith, and with whose auspicious advent Islamism was greatly rejoiced; and upon his family, children and companions who have been active in propagating that faith.

Now, whereas, by the will and good pleasure of Him who raised the skies without pillars, and by an effect of the wisdom and omnipotency [sic]of Him who composed all things from various elements, and who has no equal, good order in society, and the conservation of the world depend upon the justice and equity of the

Sovereigns, and upon their good understanding and union, no less than upon their submission to the positive and to the negative divine Commands, the August Sultans have, in conformity to this sacred precept: "Fear God and reconcile yourselves," resorted to reconciliation, which is a source of happiness, and renounced to hostilities and war, the sword of mutual contrariety was put into the scabbard; and nations which were making war with each other, cordially reconciled themselves. "That is a favour of God. He grants it to whom He pleases: and God is most gracious."

I, therefore, the most humble of all the servants of God, being charged and authorized to do or undo whatever concerns the Empire and the nation, and to make, just as I choose, war or peace, an authority which I hold from the most glorious Padishah who is the Defender of the faith, whose Majesty is as great as that of Solomon, who is the substitute of God in the world, and who has justified the maxim that "An equitable Sultan is the shadow of God on earth"; the asylum of the greatest Musulman Princes, the shelter of the most illustrious Turkish Sovereigns, the supporter of Islamism and of Musulmans, the exterminator of heresies and of the polytheists, the Sovereign of the two lands and of the two seas, the Sovereign of the two Orient and of the two Occidents [sic], the servant of the two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina], the treasure of Mankind and apple of the age, who is protected by the Supreme Being whose divine assistance men implore, and favoured by the most High and propitious God; May His Imperial Majesty's Dynasty last till the end of the world, and their reign be prolonged till the consummation of ages! have, in virtue of my full powers and my real character of the Sultan's substitute, ordered the Turkish victorious troops to march from beneath Baghdad [43]. [بغداد] and began to go forward with an intention of entering the Persian territory. On our arrival at a station

called Haronia [هارونی/هارونیه], the most distinguished among the Grandees Chems Uddin Mehmed Culy Bey, Great Equerry, arrived there in the capacity of Ambassador with a Letter from Him who is the ornament of the Persian Throne, the splendor of the Kingdom of Djem, and whose magnificence is equal to that of Darius, the great Prince and illustrious Lord, the Precious Pearl of the Sea of Royalty, the sun of the sky of Sovereignty, the noble Eagle of the high region of the Dignity of Shah, the most Illustrious and Majestic Prince whose troops are as numerous as the stars; may the most High God raise the banners of his strength from earth to Heaven, and exalt the edifice of his glory to the height of the vaulted sky! to our great and august Padishah, and also a flattering Letter to me.

The Ambassador having asked that the fire of war should be extinguished and the dust of fighting dispersed, stating that His Majesty the Shah's will is that reconciliation and peace between the two Parties should take place, I, on my part too, wishing to act in conformity to the sacred text, to wit: "If they incline to peace, do ye also incline to it," have readily consented, for the sake of the safety and tranquility of mankind to make Peace; and a letter was sent to the Shah to the end that His Majesty might send a Person of confidence with power to settle the conditions of the Peace,

in a manner suitable to the honour and dignity of the two Governments. Consequently the Shah has appointed according to the established laws and rules, to negotiate and conclude this treaty of Peace, and establish and fix the state of the frontiers, the most excellent and faithful Saroukhan, may he always be fortunate in transacting affairs on which quiet and security depend! Saroukhan, on his arrival in the Imperial Camp at Zahab [ذهاب], was received with marks of hospitality; and on the 14th day of Muharem, in the year 1049 of the Hegira of the Prophet, upon whom be the

best benedictions, a Divan was held in the Imperial Camp, in which were present the illustrious Vizirs, the Miri Miran, the Commanders and Agas, the Aga of the Janissaries, six Agas of six Companies, and other officers of the army. Saroukhan, the Plenipotentiary who was duly accredited, and the Ambassador Mehmed Culy Bey, were introduced in the Divan, and the preliminaries were discussed with them so as to put on a good footing the position of the Rayas and of the poor who are a trust imposed by the Author of all beings, and the result of the discussions on both Parties has been written down and is as follows: Tzanan [جسان/حصان], Bedrie [بادرایبی], Mendelgeen [مندلیج], Derteuk [دیرتنگ] and Dernai [درنه], in the Pashalik of Baghdad, will remain under the authority of our august Padishah, who will also take possession of the Plains between Mendelgeen and Derteuk, and the Mountain will remain under the authority of the Shah. Serminil [سر میل/میل باشی] is fixed as frontier between Derteuk and Dernai. That part of the country of Haronia (هارونیه), occupied by the Tribes of Djaf [جلف] and Zilja Uddin [ضیاالدین], will belong to the Sultan. Pezai [بیره] and Zerdony [زردولی] remain to the Shah. The fortress of Zindjir [زنجیر], which lies on the top of the Mountain, shall be demolished; the Sultan will take possession of the Villages lying westward of it, and the Shah will take possession of those lying eastward. The Villages on the Mountain above Salim Calè [سلیم قلعه], near Chehrezor [شهرزور], will be in the possession of the Sultan, and the Villages lying on the East, will be in the possession of the Shah, who will also keep the Castle of Orman [اورامان] with the Villages which are dependent on it. The defile leading on Chehrezor has been established as a frontier. The fortress of Kizilidji [قرلجه] with its dependencies shall remain in the possession of the Sultan; and Mihreban [مهربان] with the dependencies thereof, in that of the Shah. The fortresses of Cotour (Kotur) [قطور] and Makoo [ماکو] on the frontier of Van [وان], and

the fortress of Magazberd [مغازبرد] towards Kars [قارص] and Van, will be demolished by the two Parties, and so long as the Shah will not have molested the fortresses of Akiskha [اخشفه], Kars, Van, Chehrezor, Baghdad, Bassora [بصره], and other Places within the limits, such as fortresses, forts, Districts, lands, hills and mountains, and no such horrible act as provoking to rebellion shall have been committed by Him, on their part also His Majesty our Great Padishah will respect this Peace, and no molestation shall, contrary to Treaty, be done to the places which remain within the limits of the other side.

In order, therefore, that Merchants and travelers belonging to either Party may come and go and meet with a friendly reception, I have, in virtue of my full power and positive authority written down this egregious Treaty, the contents of which are true, and sent it to His Majesty the Shah, and to our most August Padishah. So long as the Shah shall, according to the Sacred text: "Do not violate an agreement after ye have done it" observe this treaty as it ought to be observed, His Imperial Majesty, our most Magnificent Padishah also, will act in obedience to the Holy Command: "Fulfill your agreement, for an agreement is obligatory."

This Happy Peace will last and be maintained, with the permission of God, till the day of resurrection: "And he who shall alter it after having heard it, verily this sin shall be upon those who shall have altered it."

Praise to God; He is the sole God, and blessings upon him after whom there will be no Prophet. In the beginning; and in the end; and externally; and internally.

The most humble of the servants of God.

Mustafa, Grand Vizier.

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**Appendix II: Map of Armenia after the 1736 Treaty from:** Bournoutian, G.A., “Eastern Armenian People from the Seventeenth Century to the Russian Annexation” in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*. Vol. II. ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martins’s Press, 1997), p. 83.

## NOTES:

[1] Semi-autonomous provinces.

[2] Governor-generalships or provinces.

[3] Dabir Syaqi, M. (ed.) (1332/1954), *Tadhkirat al- Mulūk* [Memorial of Kings], (Tehran: Tahoori,1332) p. 5. [After Shah Abbas came into power, Esfahan became the capital.]

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 72-78.

[5] Minorsky (ed.), *Tadhkirat al- Mulūk* [Memorial of Kings]. *A manual of Safavid Administration*, (Cambridge: University Press. Reprint 1980), p. 164.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[7] Bournoutian, G. A. , *A History of the Armenian People: 1500 A.D. to the Present*. 2 vols. (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1994),Vol. II, p. 38.

[8]Rafi, Hakoob Malik Hakoopian, *Molok-e Khamse: Qarabagh va Panj Melike Armeni an az Foropashi Safavieh ta Janghaye Iran va Roos* [Khamse Maliks: Qarabagh and its five Armenian Meliks from the Fall of the Safavids untill the Russo-Persian Wars]. Persian transl. by Ara Der Stepanian (Tehran: Paradise Danesh,1385/2006), p. 2.

[9] This word means "general" in Army

[10] Arak'el of Tabriz, *The History of Vardapet of Arak'el of Tabriz*. Edited by G.A. Bournoutian, 2 vols. (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2005), Vol. I, pp. 10-17.

[11] Derhuhanian, Harootoon, *Tarikh Jolfaye Esfahan* [History of Esfahan’s Julfa].Persian transl. by L. G. Minasian & M.A. Mosavi Faridani, ( Esfahan: Zayandeh Rood & Naghshe Khorshid,1379/2000) p.

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[12] Chardin, John, *Safar Nameh Chardin* [Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin en

Perse] Persian transl. by Eqbal Yaqmayi. 5 vols. (Tehran: Toos,1372/1993), Vol. I, p. 400.

[13] Derhuhanian, p. 1.

[14] Arak'el, Vol. I, pp. 10-17.

[15] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[16] Derhuhanian says that Davit also went to Esfehan and did not mention this to Manuel of Khorvirap. See Derhuhanian, p. 2.

[17] Arak'el, Vol. I, pp. 19-21. [This all happened before the Shah forced the Armenians to immigrate into Central Iran in 1603-4.]

[18] Derhuhanian, p. 3.

[19] Rafi, p. 1, in footnote.

[20] Monshi, Eskandar Beg, *Tarikhe Alam Araye Abbasi* [History of Shah Abbas the Great]. Iraj Afshar (ed.), 2 vols.,( Tehran: Amirkabir,1382/2003, Third repr.), Vol. II., 637.

[21] Ibid., pp. 638-642.

[22] Arak'el, pp. 23-24.

[23] Ibid., pp. 24-26.

[24] Junabadi, Mirzabeg. *Rowzat Al-Safavieh*, Gh. Tabtabyi Majd (ed.), (Tehran: Foundation of M. Afshar,1378/1999), pp. 771-772.

[25] Vahid Qazvini, M.T.H. *Tarikh Jahanaraye Abbasi (Abbas Nameh)* [History of Shah Abbas II]. Mirmohammad Sadegh (ed.), (Tehran: Pazhoheshgah,1383/2004), pp. 154-155.

[26] About the names mentioned in English translation of the Treaty [see Appendix 1], we tried to use the usual names of places, and added in brackets their names as they have been brought in the English translation of the Treaty.

[27] Qasr-e Shirin literally means: Palace of Shirin. In the most famous classic epic in Persian literature, Shahnameh, the beautiful Armenian princess Shirin (= sweet) falls in love with the Sassanid King Khosrow Parviz (590 to 628 A.D.) and sends him a message. After several romantic and heroic episodes, including one in which Khosrow rescues Shirin from a lion by killing the animal with his bare hands, he marries her. He decides to build a palace for Shirin in the city that would later be named



after her: Qasr-e Shirin. While the palace is built, a local stone mason, Farhad, falls in love with Shirin. When Khosrow finds out, he sends him to the Behistun mountain with the impossible task to carve stairs out of the cliff rocks. The love stories of both Khosrow and Shirin, and Shirin and Farhad are famous in Persian, Turkish, Kurdish, Urdu, and Pashto narrative works.

[28] Vahid Qazvini, *Abbas Nameh*.

[29] Khajegi Esfehani, M.M. , *Khowlast Al-siar*. (Tehran: Elmi, 1368/1989). [This book contains a correspondence between Shah Safi and Sultan Murat IV about the stipulations of the Treaty. Their letters can be considered to be the Persian and the Turkish version of the Treaty. For the letter of Shah Safi in Persian, refer to pp. 268-271; for the letter of Sultan Murat IV in Turkish, refer to pp. 271-275.]

[30] Vahid Mazandarani, Gh., *Majmouae Ahd Namehye Tarikhe Iran az Ahd Hakhanabeshi ta Asre Pahlavi 559 B.C. - 1942 A.D.* [The Collection of Persian Treaties from the Achamanids until the Pahlavids, 559 B.C.-1942 A.D.] (S.I., Entesharat Vezerat Omoor Kharejeh [Publication of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], n.d.), pp. 81-82. [He presents the letter of Sultan Murat IV to Shah Safi as the Treaty, mentioning there is no original version of the Treaty available.]

[31] Hurewitz, J.C. *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, A Documentary Record:1535-1914*, 2 vols., (Princeton NJ: Van Norstrand,1956), Vol. I, pp. 21-23. Hurewitz seems to have based his translation of the Treaty text upon Vahid Qazvini's *Abbas Nameh*.

[32] In the English translation, Harun [Haronia] is a place, and Zia Al-din [Ziaj Uddin] and Djaf are tribes. In the Persian version in *Majmouae* (see end note 30), Zia Al-din and Harun are two clans of the Jaf tribe. (It seems this one is more correct).

[33] In the Turkish version of the Treaty in *Khowlasat Al-siar*: Jafang (جفنگ).

[34] It seems that Bire and Zardoli are two clans of Djaf tribe.

[35] In Persian version of the Treaty in *Khowlasat Al-siar*: a village.

[36] In the Turkish version of the Treaty in *Khowlasat Al-siar*: Sarmahal.

[37] Gadog means: strait or defile.

[38] Choghan is omitted in the English translation. See Appendix 1.

[39] Tavernier, Jean Baptist, *Safar Nameye Tavernier* [Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptist Tavernier]. Persian transl. by Abootorab Noori, Hamid Shirani (ed.), Esfehan: Ketab forooshi Tayid, 1336/1957), p. 358.

[40] Galichian, Rouben. *Historical Maps of Armenia: The Cartographic Heritage* (London- New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 142.

[41] Bournoutian (1994), pp. 34-35.

[42] Hurewitz, pp. 21-23.

[\[43\]](#) The Persian names of the places mentioned in the Treaty are added by the author of this article.  
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