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"*...ONE OF THEIR CHIEFE FESTIVALL DAIES*": THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIRST SAFAVID TRADE PRIVILEGES TO THE BRITISH*

Safavid-English relations were an important part of the international relations, an integral part of the "West — East" and "Christian world — Muslim world" systems. Safavid-English trade and economic relations became an integral part of the *global economy.* Although there is a significant body of works on Safavid-English relations, this article represents the first attempt to study the historical significance of the first trade privileges granted by the Safavids to the English merchants. Unlike the prevailing in historiography misconception that the Safavid Empire was interesting for Tudor England only as an object of England's colonial expansion, i.e. as a source of cheap raw materials and profitable markets for English goods, and most importantly, as a transit route to the markets of India and other states of the Far East, the conducted research revealed that England's interaction with the Safavid Empire wasn't a manifestation of English colonial policy, as most Western and Soviet historians used to present mistakenly; on the contrary, economic and political significance of the Safavid Empire in the region and beyond allowed her to conduct an independent external policy. It was determined that the penetration of English trading capital into the Safavid Empire depended neither on the Principality of Moscow, nor even on the desire of the English crown, but directly on the will of the Safavid Shah himself. Gaining trade privileges on the territory of the Safavid Empire was of strategic importance for the British, because the possibility of further advancement to East Asian markets directly depended on the success or failure of obtaining them from the Shah. For the first time in historiography, based on the information of Jenkinson himself, it was found that the first attempt by the British to establish trade relations with the Safavids was made back in 1553. As the first Eastern/Muslim country that Elizabethan England sought to ally with, Safavid Empire's trade privileges had a significant historical importance for the British, because they predated other such treaty agreements, like those with the Ottoman authorities and the Russian Tsar. The journeys of the agents of Moscow trading company to the Safavid Empire opened a new chapter in the history of both Anglo-Islamic and East-West relations, in addition to trade relations they led to a cultural exchange on the basis of "East — West" and "Islam — Christianity" dialogue.

Key words: Safavid-English relations, Safavid Empire, Tudor England, Shah Tahmasp I, Anthony Jenkinson, trade privileges, 1563, 1566, 1568, Moscow trading company.

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«*… ДЕНЬ ОДНОГО ИЗ САМЫХ БОЛЬШИХ ИХ ПРАЗДНИКОВ*»: ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЕ ЗНАЧЕНИЕ ПЕРВЫХ СЕФЕВИДСКИХ ТОРГОВЫХ ПРИВИЛЕГИЙ АНГЛИЧАНАМ

Сефевидско-английские отношения были важной частью международных отношений, неотъемлемой частью систем «Запад — Восток» и «Христианский мир — Мусульманский мир». Сефевидско-английские торгово-экономические отношения стали составной частью *мировой экономики*. Хотя существует значительное количество работ по сефевидско-английским отношениям, данная статья представляет собой первую попытку изучить историческое значение первых торговых

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привилегий, предоставленных Сефевидами английским купцам. В отличие от господствовавшего в историографии заблуждения, что империя Сефевидов была интересна для Тюдоровской Англии лишь как объект колониальной экспансии, а именно как источник дешевого сырья и прибыльных рынков сбыта английских товаров, а главное, как транзитный путь к рынкам Индии и других государств Дальнего Востока, проведенное исследование показало, что взаимодействие Англии с империей Сефевидов не было проявлением английской колониальной политики, как ошибочно представляло большинство западных и советских историков; напротив, экономическое и политическое значение империи Сефевидов в регионе и за его пределами позволяло ей проводить независимую внешнюю политику. Было установлено, что проникновение английского торгового капитала в империю Сефевидов зависело ни от Московского княжества, ни даже от желания английской короны, а непосредственно от воли самого сефевидского шаха. Получение торговых привилегий на территории империи Сефевидов имело стратегическое значение для англичан, поскольку возможность дальнейшего продвижения на рынки Восточной Азии напрямую зависела от успеха или же неудачи их получения от шаха. Впервые в историографии, основываясь на сведениях самого Дженкинсона, было установлено, что первая попытка англичан установить торговые отношения с Сефевидами была предпринята еще в 1553 г. Как первая восточная/мусульманская страна, к которой елизаветинская Англия стремилась установить союзнические отношения, торговые привилегии империи Сефевидов имели важное историческое значение для англичан, поскольку они предшествовали другим подобным договорным соглашениям, например, с властями Османской империи и русским царем. Путешествия агентов Московской торговой компании в Сефевидскую империю открыли новую главу в истории как англо-исламских отношений, так и отношений в рамках системы «Восток — Запад», помимо торгового взаимодействия они привели к культурному обмену на основе диалога систем «Восток — Запад» и «Ислам — Христианство».

Ключевые слова: сефевидско-английские отношения, Сефевидская империя, Тюдоровская Англия, шах Тахмасиб I, Энтони Дженкинсон, торговые привилегии, 1563 г., 1566 г., 1568 г., Московская торговая компания.

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Introduction

Safavid-English relations were an important part of the history of international relations, an integral part of the diplomatic, economic and cultural ties of the “West — East” and “Christian world — Muslim world” systems. Although there is a significant body of works on Safavid-English relations among which should be mentioned works of Shakhmaliev (Shakhmaliev 1958), Akhmedov (Akhmedov 1967), Ferrier (Ferrier 1986), Küpeli (Küpeli 2012), Mahmudov (Mahmudov 1977; 1980; 1991; 2011a; 2011b; 2012), Kambay-zade (Kambay-zade 1991), Nəcəfli (Nəcəfli 2020), Gasan-zade (Gasan-zade 2007), Muganlinskiy (Muganlinskiy 1998), etc., due to the misconception prevailing in historiography, according to which the Safavid Empire was of interest to Tudor England only as a source of cheap raw materials and profitable markets for English goods, and most importantly, as a transit route to the markets of India and other states of the Far East, the desire of English traders to monopolize the trade in Safavid silk, economic strength and independency of the Safavid Empire is ignored by most of researchers and, as a result, she was mistakenly presented as an object of England’s colonial expansion, enslavement, and robbery. This article represents the first attempt to study the historical significance of first trade privileges granted by the Safavids to the British.

Sir Anthony Jenkinson's mission to the Safavid Empire: "*…We do hope … that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring…*"

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth I Tudor to the throne in 1558, a radical change was outlined in the history of England's diplomatic relations, resulting in today's rich history of Britain's relations with the Muslim world. The political situation in the international arena, as well as the difficult political and economic conditions that put Tudor England in a state of pariah on the European continent, forced the English crown to draw closer and establish close relationships with the Islamic world, which was a phenomenal event for that time. The break between Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation, the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I and, as a result, the isolation of England opened a new page in the history of relations between England and the Islamic world, including the Safavid Empire — an era of not only political and economic cooperation, but at the same time, mutual cultural influence on each other began. Thus, starting from the 16th century in England, the attitude towards Islam gradually began to change from a "threat to Christianity" to a "potential ally". Queen Elizabeth I, who was a subtle politician, was well aware that the only way out of England's difficult geopolitical situation, isolation, and economic crisis at that time was rapprochement with the powerful and rich states of the Islamic world, including the Safavid Empire. As Professor J. Brotton points out, "for many English Catholics and Puritans such alliances were an abomination; to a number of statesmen and merchants they represented profit and made military sense" (Brotton 2016). It is not surprising that the initiative to establish relations with the Safavid Empire at that time came precisely from England itself. Over time, Safavid-English trade and economic relations became an integral part of the *global economy.*

While in Bukhara in 1558—1559, Queen Elizabeth's representative and the agent of Moscow trading company Anthony Jenkinson was thinking of heading to the Safavid Empire for reconnaissance purposes regarding the state of trade affairs there, but the complex socio-political situation both in the countries of Central Asia and in the Safavid Empire itself, in the result of which the paths turned out to be dangerous to pass, Jenkinson decided to refrain from traveling there. Moreover, as Jenkinson himself notes in his "*Declaration*", trade in the Safavid Empire seemed unpromising to him: "As touching the trade of Shamakye [Shamakhi] in Media, and Tebris [Tabriz], with other townes in Persia [Safavid Empire], I have enquired, and do well understande, that it is even like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little utterance, and small profite: and I have bene advertised that the chiefe trade of Persia [Safavid Empire] is into Syria, and so transported into the Levant [Mediterranean] Sea. The fewe shippes upon the Caspian Seas, the want of Marte [markets] and port Townes, the povertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught" (Hakluyt 1589: 358).

The question of the profitability of trade in the Safavid Empire raised great doubts among the leadership of the Moscow Trading Company itself, as can be seen from the memorandum from the company's management dated May 8, 1561, given to Jenkinson before being sent there. The management advised Jenkinson to take with him less gold and silver dishes, as well as other jewelry. Management also had doubts about the possibility of profitable sale of 80 bales with 400 pieces of karsies at "Swallow", intended for sale in the Safavid markets. However, the company's management did not lose hope of establishing a profitable trade in the territory of the Safavid Empire, which became clear from the plans for the next 2 years. Thus, the directive clearly states the main goals of the company in relation to the Safavid Empire, and with a long-term perspective: "We will also that you take with you such karsies, scarlet, and other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your journey towards Persia [the Safavid Empire], either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise, as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia [the Safavid Empire], our minde is, that you repaire unto the great Sophie [Shah Tahmasp I] with the Queenes Majesties letters, … and withall to procure letters of privilege or safeconduct of the sayd Sophie or other princes in as large and ample manner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandise by us heereafter

to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we cary thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandise whatsoever it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for us at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandise into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adjoyning, and in like maner to returne through his dominions into Russia or elswhere" (Hakluyt 1589: 363). Moreover, in the case of a failed attempt to reach the Safavid Empire in 1561, Jenkinson was ordered not to deviate from the goal of reaching the lands of the Safavid Empire in the next 1562—1563.

As can be seen from the text of the directive of the governors of the Moscow Company, the geographical location of the Safavid Empire and the implementation of trading activities on its territory was important for the company, both economically and strategically, because from here there was a direct opportunity for further penetration of English trading capital into the Indian and neighboring markets, attempts to achieve which have previously failed by the British.

The audience of the English ambassador Sir Anthony Jenkinson with the Safavid Shah Tahmasp I, which took place on November 20, 1562 in Qazvin, although it was of historical significance, being the first official reception of a representative of the English crown by the Safavids, did not bring England the expected results in full. Due to the prevailing socio-political conditions, the Shah was forced to refuse Queen Elizabeth I Tudor's proposal to establish bilateral trade relations and, under the pretext that "...[the Safavids] have no need to have friendship with unbelievers..." ordered Jenkinson to leave the palace. However, the real reason for the Shah's reluctance to establish any kind of relationship with England was not the difference in the religious affiliations of the two peoples, but the political factor. Jenkinson turned out to be a pawn in the Ottoman-Safavid negotiations (Mayers 2016: 175—176). Thus, shortly before Jenkinson was received by the Shah, an Ottoman delegation arrived in Qazvin, with which the Amasya Peace Treaty of 1555 was extended. The establishment of friendly and trade relations with England could have a negative impact on the already shaky Ottoman-Safavid relations, because primacy in the trade market of the Safavid Empire, along with the Venetians, was in the hands of Ottoman trade capital. Thereby, the emergence and strengthening of English trade capital in local markets could deal a significant blow to the economic interests of Ottoman traders, who received large profits from the European-Asian transit trade passing through the Safavid territories. As K. Meshkat noted, "Jenkinson's proposals for a new trade had become inextricably bound up with the ratification of the Turco-Persian [Ottoman-Safavid] peace treaty…" (Meshkat 2005: 78). As follows from the "*Declaration*" of Jenkinson himself, his plans collapsed precisely after the conversation of the Ottoman ambassador Khosrow Pasha with the Shah and reporting to the last dissatisfaction of the Ottoman traders with the possible conclusion of a trade agreement with England: "The Turkes [Ottoman] Ambassadour was not then come into the land [the Safavid Empire], neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to have furthered my purpose, but it chanced otherwise. For the Turkes [Ottoman] Ambassadour being arrived, and the peace concluded, the Turkish [Ottoman] merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither … would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should be good for him to persuade the Sophy [Shah Tahmasp I] not to favour me, as his Highnesse meant to observe the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish [Ottoman] merchants, the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred…" (Hakluyt 1589: 370).

In addition, as L. Kafar-zade notes, "...the persistent desire of the English crown to establish trade relations with the Russian state could smoothly develop into the formation of a new political opponent of the Ottomans in the person of England, and the commonality of interests between England, the Moscow principality and the Safavid Empire could involuntarily lead to the emergence of a new military-political triangle of these states, which the Ottoman Empire was clearly aware of" (for more details, see: Kafar-zade 2022).

Despite the fact that, as R. Ferrier notes, Sir Anthony Jenkinson's audience with Shah Tahmasp I, "...ended in ignominy..." (Ferrier 1985), the former did not give up the goal set for him both by the English Queen herself, Elizabeth I Tudor, and by the leadership of the Moscow Trading

Company, "that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and use of our peoples", i.e. establishing trade relations between England and the Safavid Empire. Despite the failure to establish relations with the Safavid Empire, Jenkinson managed to identify the trade potential of the Safavid Empire and attract the attention of the Moscow Company's trading agents to it (Nəcəfli 2020: 346). As K. Meshkat notes, "Jenkinson's journey to Persia [Safavid Empire] was a source of national pride to the Elizabethans if only because he had succeeded in travelling so far…" (Meshkat 2005: 90). Despite the Shah's refusal to cooperate with England, while still in Moscow in the winter of 1563, Jenkinson was already actively involved in planning and preparing a new expedition to the Safavid Empire, the implementation of which he entrusted to T. Alcock, G. Wrenne and R. Cheinie, who made up the group of the second expedition to the Safavid Empire in 1563—1565.

Of great scientific interest are the dialogues that took place between English agents, the ruler of Shirvan Abdullah Khan (fig. 1) and Shah Tahmasp I, which allow us to reveal the nature of Safavid-English relations. In general, during the period from 1562 to 1568, when trade privileges were granted to English merchants, there were 9 receptions of English agents, provided to them both by the ruler of Shirvan and by Shah Tahmasp I himself. It is noteworthy that, despite the fact that the main goal of the English crown was precisely the establishment of bilateral trade relations, but the descriptions of the receptions of English agents show that the Safavids, along with the economic side, were also significantly interested in another aspect – the political one. At almost every reception, English agents, along with questions about the power and state of English lands, were asked the following identical questions: "...whether that we of England had friendship with the Turks [Ottomans] or not…?" (Hakluyt 1589: 370), "...whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Russia, or the great Turke [Ottoman] Sultan, were of most power..." (Hakluyt 1589: 367), "...of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power …" (Hakluyt 1589: 370), "…of king Philip, what overthrow he gave the Turks [Ottomans] at the siege of Malta. ... And what townes the Emperour had wonne..." (Hakluyt 1589: 380), "…of king Philip, and of his wars against the Turke at Malta" (Hakluyt 1589: 416).

As can be seen from the questions asked to English agents, the Safavids acted from the position of their political interests in the international arena, depending on the configuration of political powers and the geopolitical situation in the region.

Trade privileges of 1563 as a starting point of Safavid-English relations

As is known, the Ottoman-Safavid wars, repeated over several centuries, almost never left the agenda of the political history of the Safavid Empire. Therefore, it is not surprising that, despite the "unwillingness" expressed by the Shah to have any kind of relationship with the "unbelievers" in 1562, the real reason for which was indicated above, in 1566 and 1568 Shah Tahmasp I was so supportive of English agents and good-naturedly granted them a number of trade privileges, for, being a wise and far-sighted politician, he was clearly aware that, even despite the conclusion of the Treaty of Amasya in 1555, the concluded peace was quite shaky and the Ottoman-Safavid conflict could break out at any moment. England seemed to the Shah as a potential ally, especially since at that time it was not economically connected with the Ottoman Empire; on the contrary, according to Jenkinson, the British "...never had friendship with them [the Ottomans], and that therefore they [the Ottomans] would not suffer us to passe through their countrie into the Sophie his dominions [the Safavid Empire]" (Hakluyt 1589: 370). In addition, during the period when English trading capital was looking for ways to penetrate the Safavid markets, the Safavid Empire was experiencing a severe socio-economic crisis. As S. Mamedov notes, the Ottoman-Safavid wars not only "...brought untold disasters to the local population of the Safavid Empire...", but also "...they had a negative impact on the economy of the entire Transcaucasia, as they were accompanied by robbery and terrible devastation" (Mamedov 1993: 170). In addition, as Y. Mahmudov notes, such "friendliness" came from Azerbaijan's foreign trade positions. After the Ottoman conquests,

Azerbaijan was forced out of trade in the regions of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, and mainly the cities of Northern Azerbaijan had no choice for trade relations with the outside world but to expand trade along the Volga-Caspian route. Export to foreign markets on favorable terms of raw silk, which was the main wealth of the country, was the main condition for the economic revival of the state, and with the beginning of relations with England, conditions were once again created for the expansion of silk trade (Mahmudov 1980: 13). Shah Tahmasp I saw a way out of this situation in the Volga-Caspian trade route (Əzimli 2014: 175). Note that in 1565 the Shah abolished the collection of a number of taxes, including the tax on artisans and traders — *tamga*.

G. MacLean and N. Matar note that the trade privileges granted by Shah Tahmasp I to the British in 1566 and 1568 were an attempt to distract them from the Ottoman markets (MacLean, Matar 2011: 17).

A letter from Arthur Edwards to Sir Thomas Lodge dated April 26, 1566 contains a rather interesting fact. Thus, Edwards notes that "...at my last being in the presence of the Shaugh [Shah], it was saide to me, that Master Anthonie Jenkinson did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, delivering cloth, and other commodities for the same" (Hakluyt 1589: 383). It becomes obvious that in 1562, despite the Shah's refusal to establish friendly and trade relations with England, Shah Tahmasp I had a conversation with Jenkinson about the prospect of Safavid-English trade relations.

In view of the above and the fact that in 1566 and 1568 Shah Tahmasp I himself with great pleasure granted trade privileges to English merchants, it can be assumed that it is quite possible that the trade privileges granted to English traders in the territory of Shirvan by its ruler Abdullah Khan in 1563 were also granted precisely by decree of the Shah himself. Thus, the Shah probably sought not to offend or disappoint his Ottoman counterpart Sultan Suleiman, with whom the so difficultly achieved Peace of Amasya of 1555 had recently been reaffirmed, and at the same time, realizing the good prospects for future Safavid-English trade relations, the Shah did not want to lose a Tudor England as a possible profitable partner. This is probably what was discussed in the "*Declaration*" of Anthony Jenkinson, where he indicates that Shally Murzey, "…sonne to the king of Hyrcane…", told him that "...not to doubt of anything, putting me [Jenkinson] in hope that I should have good faccelle with the Sophie [Shah Tahmasp I], and good intertainment" (Hakluyt 1589: 371). It is surprising that the Safavid Shah, who categorically refused to establish friendly and trade relations with England, because "...[the Safavids] have no need to have friendship with unbelievers...", and even intending to send Jenkinson to the Ottoman Sultan as a gift, suddenly on the day of Jenkinson's departure from Qazvin — March 20, 1563 — radically changes his attitude towards him, obliges Abdullah Khan to treat him favorably and even sends him "*a rich garment of cloth of golde*," which was later presented by Jenkinson to the Moscow Tsar Ivan the Terrible. The above assumption is reflected in the words of the ruler of Shirvan Abdullah Khan himself in a conversation with Jenkinson in April 1563 in Javat: "…But the Sophie [Shah Tahmasp I] himselfe meant mee much good at the first, and thought to have given me good entertainement, and so had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to have bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke [Sultan Suleiman]. Neverthelesse, sayd he, the Sophie [Shah Tahmasp I] hath written unto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my countrey, and so hee intreated mee very gently…" (Hakluyt 1589: 371—372). The name of the charter itself issued in 1563 deserves attention: "*A copie of the priviledges given by Odbolowcan king of Hircania to the companie of English merchants Adventurers for trade in Russia, Persia and Mare Caspium…*" (fig. 2). It is noteworthy that in the title of the charter of privileges, despite the fact that it was granted by the ruler of Shirvan, it is not Shirvan itself that is indicated as the area of distribution of privileges, but "Persia" (i.e. the Safavid Empire) (!), although, as Y. Mahmudov rightly noted, independent maintenance of relations with the Moscow principality and exemption of English traders from customs duties on the territory of Shirvan indicate the formal dependence of the ruler of Shirvan on the Safavid Shah (Mahmudlu 2012: 224—225; Mahmudov 2011a: 552).

The dialogue between the ruler of Shirvan and Jenkinson attracts special attention. To the question of Abdullah Khan, "...whether that we of England had friendship with the Turks

[Ottomans] or not…?" Jenkinson replied that "...we [the British] never had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer us to passe through their countrie into the Sophie his dominions [the Safavid Empire]" (Hakluyt 1589: 370). It is obvious that even before 1562, i.e. before meeting with the Safavid Shah himself, the British took steps towards establishing trade relations with the Safavids. Perhaps as early as 1553, at a reception with the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman in Aleppo, when Jenkinson managed to obtain a safe conduct for trade in Ottoman territories, the latter also tried to achieve the right of free passage to the Safavid lands. However, as it later became known, he failed. Although Jenkinson then managed to achieve trading privileges for English merchants in the Ottoman Empire, nevertheless, as D. Fischer notes, "...his expectation was greater than his achievement" (Fischer 1970: 74).

Among the most basic articles of trade privileges granted by Abdullah Khan to English merchants in 1563 are the following:

- providing guarantees of free, duty-free and safe trade;
- guarantees of safe passage and unlimited stay of English traders on the territory;
- protection from the arbitrariness of local officials (Hakluyt 1589: 374).

Prof. Efendiev notes that "the privileges received by Jenkinson in Azerbaijan are very reminiscent of the so-called capitulations that the European states of primitive accumulation of capital sought and received in the backward socio-economic countries of the East" (Efendiev 1981: 247). However, we allow ourselves to disagree with this statement. The Mediterranean trade route, which served as a link in European-Asian trade and connected the Safavid markets with the Mediterranean ones, was under the control of Ottoman and Venetian trading capital, while the Volga-Caspian trade route was under the control of Russian trading capital, which is why the Safavids were forced to conduct international trade through intermediaries, paying high customs and duties, which was an economic blow to the treasury of the Safavid Empire. In addition, Shah Tahmasp I, as history has shown, being a wise and far-sighted politician, sensibly assessed the complex socio-economic conditions in the Safavid Empire that had developed after many years of the Ottoman-Safavid war, which made it difficult to conduct trade activities here. According to the evidence of the English agents themselves in their letters to the top management of the company, robbery and plunder of trade caravans by local bandits were a common phenomenon. As O. Efendiev himself notes, "the insecurity of the personality and property of merchants, bribery and harassment of the Shah's officials and military men had a negative impact on the state of domestic and foreign trade in the Safavid state" (Efendiev 1981: 242). Considering the fact that the key requirement of all English agents in conversations with the Shah was to ensure their safe passage and that 7 out of 8 articles of trade privileges granted to English merchants in 1566, and 8 out of 9 articles of trade privileges granted in 1568 were dedicated to issues of ensuring the safety of both the personalities and goods of English merchants, then we can safely say that these privileges of the Shah were a kind of compensation, encouragement to English merchants for conducting trading activities here in such dangerous conditions. The complexity of conducting trading activities in the Safavid Empire is demonstrated by the words of the English agent Lawrence Chapman: "Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich merchant seven yeeres in this countrey [Safavid Empire]…" (Hakluyt 1589: 415).

Moreover, as E. Vaughn emphasizes, privileges were granted voluntarily and as a sign of favor, therefore they could be changed or even revoked at any time (Vaughn 1912: 204). Granting trade privileges Shah Tahmasp I noted that "...if my [Shah's] letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended. …When wee shall see their [the English crown's] reasonable requests, we will shew them our farther good will…" (Hakluyt 1589: 381), which indicates that the Shah was in no hurry to immediately grant the English trading agents wide trading privileges, but assessed the possibility of further their expansion depending on the benefit for his state. By the way, Prof. N. Mehdizadeh, defining the limits of English ambitions, points out that the exclusive access of the

British to the Safavid Empire, their exclusive rights here, as well as the Safavid-English alliance itself as a whole always depended exclusively on the Safavid Empire (Mehdizadeh 2020).

R. Ferrier characterizes Jenkinson's mission to the Safavid Empire as "not anauspicious start" (Ferrier 1985) and notes that "as Abd al-Ali Khan [Abdullah Khan] died [October 2, 1565] before trade became of much importance, they [trade privileges] were not in themselves very significant..." (Ferrier 1986: 50). However, we do not agree with this statement, because it was Sir Anthony Jenkinson's persistence and devotion to the idea that inspired the following English agents to receive further trading privileges from the Shah. The historical significance of these trade privileges is priceless, for it was these trade privileges that entered the history of Safavid-English relations as the starting point for the emergence and further development of trade relations between the two states, which over time opened the way for the development of Safavid-English relations in various spheres of society. As D. Fischer notes, "this privilege was the basis of the second voyage [of the British] into Persia [the Safavid Empire]..." (Fischer 1970: 102). Y. Mahmudov emphasizes that "English traders, who managed to snatch wide trade privileges from the ruler of Shirvan, began to flock to Azerbaijan" (Mahmudov 1980: 15). L. Lockhart holds an identical opinion, emphasizing that "the success achieved on this occasion led to several other expeditions from England to Persia by the Russian route" (Lockhart 1986: 384).

As R. Ferrier himself emphasizes, "although this treaty was in fact of limited practical significance it does predate other such treaty agreements, like those with the Ottoman authorities and the Russians and is, therefore, of some comparative historical importance" (Ferrier 1986: 51, no. 9). Moreover, what is more significant is that, as J. Brotton stresses, "Jenkinson's success … paved the way for further and even closer alliances between Elizabethans and Muslims over the next four decades. Thanks to Jenkinson, the Islamic world had come just a little closer to England" (Brotton 2016).

So, the most important result and achievement of Jenkinson's diplomatic mission to the Safavid state was the protection certificates and trade privileges for English merchants, granted to him by the Shirvan ruler in 1563. However, the result of Anthony Jenkinson's mission to the Safavid empire was not limited to this. The work he did here had far-reaching consequences, as evidenced by Arthur Edwards, who was the first in 1566 and 1568 to obtain directly from Shah Tahmasp I himself a number of trading privileges for English merchants in the Safavid Empire: "Master Anthonie Jenkinson hath deserved great commendation at all your worships hands: for the good report of his well and wise doings in those parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe to me in my proceedings" (Hakluyt 1589: 383). It is not surprising that, despite the Shah's refusal to cooperate with the "infidel" England, even Queen Elizabeth I herself, 17 years after Anthony Jenkinson was received by Shah Tahmasp I, in her letter to Shah Muhammad Khudabendeh in 1579, characterized his mission as an "*honourable ambassade*".

Safavids' trade privileges of 1566 and 1568

As history has shown, the Shah's favor towards the British, the establishment and further development of Safavid-English relations directly depended on the current geopolitical situation. As D. Fischer notes, "political relations of one kind or another were always a problem for the British in Persia [the Safavid Empire]" (Fischer 1970: 101). Despite the conclusion of the Amasya Peace Treaty and its prolongation, Ottoman-Safavid relations were in a tense state, which was manifested even in the trade and economic sphere. The conflict could break out at any moment. Echoes of the emerging conflict were noticeable already in 1565. It is no coincidence that in 1566 the Shah favored the British and even granted them the so desired by the English crown and management of the Moscow company trade privileges. Thus, from a conversation between Arthur Edwards and Shah Tahmasp I, which took place on June 29, 1566, it follows: "I was asked by the Shaugh [Shah] if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thousand pieces of kersies, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your Worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand.

Whereat his Highnesse rejoyced: for the Turkes [Ottoman] Ambassador the last yere, as divers have told mee, did put the Shaugh [Shah] in despaire, saying, that the Turke [Sultan Suleiman] would not permit any cloth to be brought into his Countrey" (Hakluyt 1589: 381). O. Küpeli rightly emphasizes that the reason for the interest of the Safavid Shah was not proximity to them, but threat from the Ottoman ambassador, who threatened to block the supply of cloth from Ottoman ports to Safavid markets if the Safavids violated the peace. Shah Tahmasp I was concerned with the issue of providing local markets with European goods and considered the British as an alternative (Küpeli 2012: 378). As a consequence, the sudden good nature, openness and readiness of the Safavid Shah for Safavid-English cooperation only four years after refusal to Jenkinson is striking: "The Shaugh [Shah] himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you, who will give monie, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him" (Hakluyt 1589: 382). As Y. Mahmudov emphasizes, when the Shah, isolated from the Mediterranean and Black Sea trade, as well as from access to the Indian Ocean, granted trade privileges to the British, he was motivated by the desire to export raw silk on favorable terms through the establishment of broad trade ties with England (Mahmudov 1980: 27).

Trade privileges of 1566: "The 29. of June, is one of their chiefe festivall daies"

In his letter addressed to the leadership of the Moscow Company dated August 8, 1566, the English agent in the Safavid Empire Arthur Edwards describes his audience with Shah Tahmasp I, which took place on May 29, 1566. Edwards testifies to the goodwill and interest of the Shah, what Sir Anthony Jenkinson was not destined to see in 1562: "He willed me twise to come neerer him, demanding what were my requests: and having heard them, he promised me his gracious letters" (Hakluyt 1589: 380). "You will hardly beleeve what long and gracious talke he had with me, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange unto the people, and other merchant strangers." (Hakluyt 1589: 384). As Edwards notes, this attitude of the Shah towards him caused great surprise even among the Shah's retinue: "It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of…" (Hakluyt 1589: 380). Edwards also reports that the Shah presented him, even his translator and some other Englishman with clothes, which was a sign of honor. Moreover, the day of his second audience with Shah Tahmasp I, when the latter granted him a charter with privileges, i.e. Edwards characterizes June 29, 1566 as "*one of their chiefe festivall daies*". Edwards also testifies to the Shah's openness to dialogue with England and his reverent attitude towards the subsequent wishes of the English side: The Shah told him "...if my [Shah's] letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended. …When wee shall see their [the English crown's] reasonable requests, we will shew them our farther good will…" (Hakluyt 1589: 381)

The year 1566 turned out to be fateful both for the English trading agents themselves and for Safavid-English relations in general. The trade privileges granted by Shah Tahmasp I to English trading agents on June 29, 1566, which consisted of 8 articles (fig. 3) and actually repeated the contents of the articles of trade privileges and letters of safe conduct granted to them by the ruler of Shirvan in 1563, slightly more expanded and reinforced the rights of English traders in the Safavid Empire. Among the main privileges are the following ones:

- The right to freely pass through the lands of the Safavid Empire to neighboring countries;
- Buy and sell any type of goods;
- Trade duty-free with both foreign and local merchants;
- Determination of the mechanism for regulating debt obligations of debtors;
- Official patronage and protection of English merchants by the highest authorities;
- Reimbursement of debts of local merchants to the British, etc.

Particular attention is drawn to the article about the non-payment of duties and fees by English merchants even under the heirs of the Safavid Shah, which in turn indicates the far-reaching plans of both the British and the Safavids for trade cooperation between the two states.

So, as B. Akhmedov notes, the third British trade expedition to the Safavid Empire "in some respects... marked an important stage in the implementation of the Company's intentions. As a result of this expedition, not only were English merchants restored in Shamakhi, but the task set by Jenkinson now seemed completed through successful negotiations for privileges in Qazvin" (Akhmedov 1966: 96).

Trade privileges of 1568: "*…all written in Azure and gold letters, and delivered unto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great seale*"

In 1568, Arthur Edwards managed to somewhat expand trading privileges. From a conversation between Arthur Edwards and the Shah in 1568, which lasted two hours, one can see the Shah's interest in Edwards' proposal to import strategically important goods (kersey, cloth, etc.) into the Safavid Empire, bypassing intermediaries represented by the Venetian and Ottoman traders, which would have cost them much cheaper and faster: "…All which things liked him so well, that shortly after he granted to the saide Arthur Edwards other privileges for the trade of merchandize into Persia [the Safavid Empire], all written in Azure and gold letters, and delivered unto the lord keeper of the Sophie [Shah] his great seale." (Hakluyt 1589: 416—417).

In July 1568, Shah Tahmasp I generously granted the English agent Arthur Edwards new trading privileges, consisting of 9 articles identical to the above (fig. 4). Attention is immediately drawn to the first article, which grants English merchants the right of free passage to Gilan, famous as one of the main centers of the silk industry, which so attracted the British. In addition, the articles of trade privileges were aimed at strengthening measures of assistance of the Shah's subjects in transporting and ensuring the safety of English goods.

In Edwards's *Notes* on the fourth journey to the Safavid Empire, special attention is paid to "*one principal article for servants and merchants",* namely, the conversion by the British from Christianity to Islam, which gave the agents the right to arrest "converts." However, this article was not listed in the text of the privileges themselves. The fact that the 1566 privileges end at the eighth article, and the 1568 privileges begin with the tenth article, suggests that perhaps this article did originally exist, but was subsequently removed from the list.

Let us note one more important fact: not a word is said in any of the trade privileges about allowing English traders to pass through the territories of the Safavid Empire in the direction of China, India and other countries of the East, which once again denies the entrenched concept that the economic significance of the Safavid Empire for England was only within the framework of using it as a possible transit point on the way to the East. In addition, this fact is confirmed by the words of agent Thomas Banister himself. According to Banister, who was honored with a personal meeting with Shah Tahmasp I in 1569, despite the fact that the Shah gave him a fairly friendly welcome and "hee being come to the Shaugh [Shah Tahmasp I] was received and entertained of him with great favour and speciall countenance and had the most part of all his requests granted him, this onely excepted…" The exception was the agent's request to allow him to transport a certain number of horses to India through the Safavid possessions. As Banister himself notes, "...the Shaugh [Shah Tahmasp I] seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time." (Hakluyt 1589: 419). Although one of the articles of trade privileges of 1566 guaranteed the passage of English traders to neighboring lands, apparently, they were not able to use it, and the article was of a formal character. By the way, when in 1570 Mr. Lionel Plumtree joined a caravan heading to China, he was caught up with the Shah's subjects on the way and forced to return back under the pretext of "the danger of the route." As E. Vaughn notes, this was "...the first definite attempt to carry out the instructions of the Company in regard to such an overland route, and its success would have meant the completion of the plans originally

outlined by Jenkinson in connection with the first Persian [Safavid] voyage", however, "though for a time it seemed as if their hopes would be realized, the refusal of the Shah to permit Bannister to proceed to India practically marked the end of the movement in that direction." (Vaughn 1912: 177, 197). Let us note that the meeting between Thomas Banister and the Shah took place during the fifth trade expedition of English agents to the Safavid Empire, i.e. before this, the British had at least four times already had the opportunity to have a personal conversation with the Shah (in 1562, twice in 1566 and in 1568!) and received trade privileges three times (in 1563, 1566 and 1568), but they dared to hint at a request to pass to India only in 1569. As D. Fischer notes, the success of establishing direct access to East Asian markets directly depended on the Shah's permission to pass through his lands (Fischer 1970: 78). This fact once again proves the inconsistency of the concept prevailing in historiography that the Safavid Empire was an object of colonial expansion of England and was of interest to the latter only as a source of cheap raw materials and a market for profitable sales of its goods, and most importantly it was not a "means" to reach the markets of India and China for the British, but a separate goal of trade and economic policy. O. Efendiev was the first researcher to refute the idea of colonial expansion of England in relation to the Safavid Empire. As O. Efendiev rightly notes, "the Safavid state was one of the largest Asian powers of that time. It resisted the aggression of the powerful Ottoman Turkey, which occupied the Balkans and terrified all of Europe. There is no doubt that the Safavid state could have given a proper rebuff to England if the activities of the Moscow Company posed a real threat" (Efendiev 1981: 250). Ya. Makhmudov holds an identical opinion (Makhmudov 1991: 176—177).

In addition, the Shah's goodwill also had a positive effect on the attitude of the rest of the population towards English merchants. As Arthur Edwards reports, "Since the receiving of the Shaughes [Shah Tahmasp I's] letters, I have eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. … I doubt not but we shall live here from hencefoorth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly used with the best" (Hakluyt 1589: 381).

Thus, trade with the Safavid Empire, which once seemed to the British a dubious and unpromising enterprise, began to acquire increasing economic and strategic significance for them over the years. English trading agents, inspired by the trading privileges received from the Shah, believed that "the commodities which the merchants may have by this trade into Persia [Safavid Empire] are thought to be great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into the East Indies…" (Hakluyt 1589: 417). The famous researcher of Anglo-Russian relations and the Moscow Company I. Lyubimenko emphasizes that "...it was the period of the 60—70s [of the 16th century], coinciding with six trips of the British to Persia [the Safavid Empire], that was considered by the company to be the time of its heyday, when the income was enormous and the number of members was especially large" (Lyubimenko 1933: 731).

An interesting fact attracts attention: whether it is a coincidence or not, almost all trade privileges issued by the Principality of Moscow to English traders were granted or expanded shortly after the issuance of trade privileges to the British, both by the ruler of Shirvan and twice by Shah Tahmasp I himself. For example, Jenkinson achieved the expansion of existing trade privileges from Tsar Ivan the Terrible immediately upon returning to Moscow from the Safavid Empire, having received trade privileges from Abdullah Khan in 1563; the next royal trade privileges in 1567 and 1569, the latter of which are considered "the culminating point of the success of the British in Russia" (see: Lyubimenko 1933: 739), were also received by the British after the extradition protection certificates and trade privileges by the Safavid Shah in 1566 and 1568. It is possible that Ivan the Terrible, glorified for his favor to the English as the "English king", was well aware of how necessary it was for English trading capital to obtain these trading privileges both in the Moscow Principality itself and in the Safavid Empire, and, seeing that the British had already received them from the Safavid Shah, the Tsar, by issuing them trade privileges hoped to persuade the English queen, with whom he also wished to marry, to the military and political alliance he so desired, to provide him with artillery and military supplies, to provide him and his family with asylum in England in the event of a popular uprising and to turn privileges into a tool of

manipulation, which, as we know, did not come true and led over time to the curtailment of the trading activities of the British in the Moscow principality (Mayers 2016: 203—224). By the way, Jenkinson regifted the robe given to him by the Safavid Shah not to the English queen, whose subject he was, but to Ivan the Terrible. In addition, Jenkinson acted as Tsar's sales agent. After returning from the Safavid Empire back to Moscow, Ivan the Terrible promised Jenkinson to reward him for the work done, and also expressed a desire to entrust him with "*affaires*" again. Jenkinson asked the Tsar to grant new, broader trading privileges to the English, "...which immediately was graunted..." (Hakluyt 1589: 373). As Jenkinson himself notes, he even had the audacity to personally control whether the privileges were properly written out: "...Having penned a briefe note howe I meant to have the same priviledges made, I repaired daily to the Secretarie for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it under his Majesties broad seale…" (Hakluyt 1589: 373). On this score, the point of view of B. Andrea is interesting, "Jenkinson gave this robe to Ivan upon his return to the Russian court rather than retaining it for Elizabeth, which may have been part of the terms he had contracted with the tsar. Yet, it does suggest his doubled allegiances" (Andrea 2011: 181). According to J. Brotton, "Jenkinson's success justified the connection of Russia with Persia [Safavid Empire] in the minds of London's political and commercial elite…" (Brotton 2016). Consequently, B. Akhmedov's statement that "the implementation of British plans for colonial expansion in Azerbaijan depended, first of all, on the position of the Russian state..." does not correspond to reality (Akhmedov 1967: 29—30), for during this period, as can be seen from contemporary sources, Ivan the Terrible, in order to realize his own military-political goals, was forced to indulge the wishes of the British.

After the death of Shah Tahmasp I in 1576, the Safavid Empire found itself in a difficult socio-political situation as a result of the increased feudal strife, as well as economic damage after the Ottoman conquests of the Safavid lands, which made it impossible to continue active trade relations between the British and the Safavids due to the emerging danger of its conduct and the finding of the main trade routes in the hands of the Ottomans. In addition, a significant role was also played by the dissatisfaction of the Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible with the strengthening of the position of English trading capital, which led to his introduction of a ban on trade along the Volga-Caspian route. The Tsar's dissatisfaction was also based on the danger that could come from Safavid-English political and economic cooperation, because the Moscow principality, which captured the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates in 1552 and 1556, respectively, subsequently planned to further strengthen its political influence in the East (Makhmudov 1991: 176). Although the sixth British trade expedition to the Safavid Empire was forced to be the last, further history, namely further persistent attempts of English trading capital to continue its activities here, prove that, despite all the difficulties that it had to face here for many years, England did not abandon its idea of establishing close trade relations with the Safavid Empire.

Conclusion

So, the analysis of the articles of protection lists and trade privileges granted by the Safavid Shah to English merchants helps to determine the essence and nature of Safavid-English trade relations. For the first time in historiography, based on an analysis of source material, it was assumed that, although Shah Tahmasp I refused to establish any kind of relations with Tudor England under the pretext of not wanting to be friends with the "unbelievers", in all likelihood, the initiative of granting trade privileges on behalf of the ruler of Shirvan came directly from the Shah himself, "chained" by a treaty with the Ottomans, the violation of which could lead to disastrous consequences for the Safavid Empire. Radical change in the attitude of the Shah towards establishing trade relations with the British after just 4 years, when Ottoman-Safavid relations began to deteriorate, and as a result granting of trade privileges in 1566 and 1568 confirms the above assumption.

It was found that trade privileges on the territory of the Safavid Empire were of strategic importance for the British, because the possibility of further advancement to East Asian markets directly depended on the success or failure of obtaining them from the Shah, which in turn proves the untenability of the concept that the Safavid Empire attracted English trading capital only as an object of colonial policy. It was proven that the Safavid Empire was of a separate economic interest for England, and was not just a "means" on the way to reaching India. Moreover, it was determined that the penetration of English trading capital into the Safavid Empire depended neither on the Principality of Moscow, nor even on the desire of the English crown, but directly on the discretion of the Safavid Shah himself.

Besides, for the first time in historiography, based on the information of Jenkinson himself, it was suggested that the first attempt by the British to establish relations with the Safavids was made back in 1553.

A detailed analysis of the articles of trade privileges showed that they were neither "capitulations" in nature nor the result of the English colonial policy towards the Safavid Empire, but, on the contrary, were a kind of encouragement from the Safavid authorities to the English traders for conducting trade in the most difficult and dangerous conditions on their territories. Also, during the study, the possibility of an interconnection in the time was identified in the issuance of trade privileges to English traders by the Safavid Shah and the Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible.

Moreover, the historical significance of trade privileges was that they were not limited to the economic sphere, but had far-reaching consequences for both peoples. These trade privileges laid the foundation for future Safavid-English relations, which covered various spheres of activity of the peoples of two different civilizations, ranging from trade, economics, politics, the formation of a religious worldview, culture, art, literature, theaters, ending with daily life and even sports, thereby making contribution to enriching the history of relations within the "West — East" and "Christendom — Muslim world" systems.

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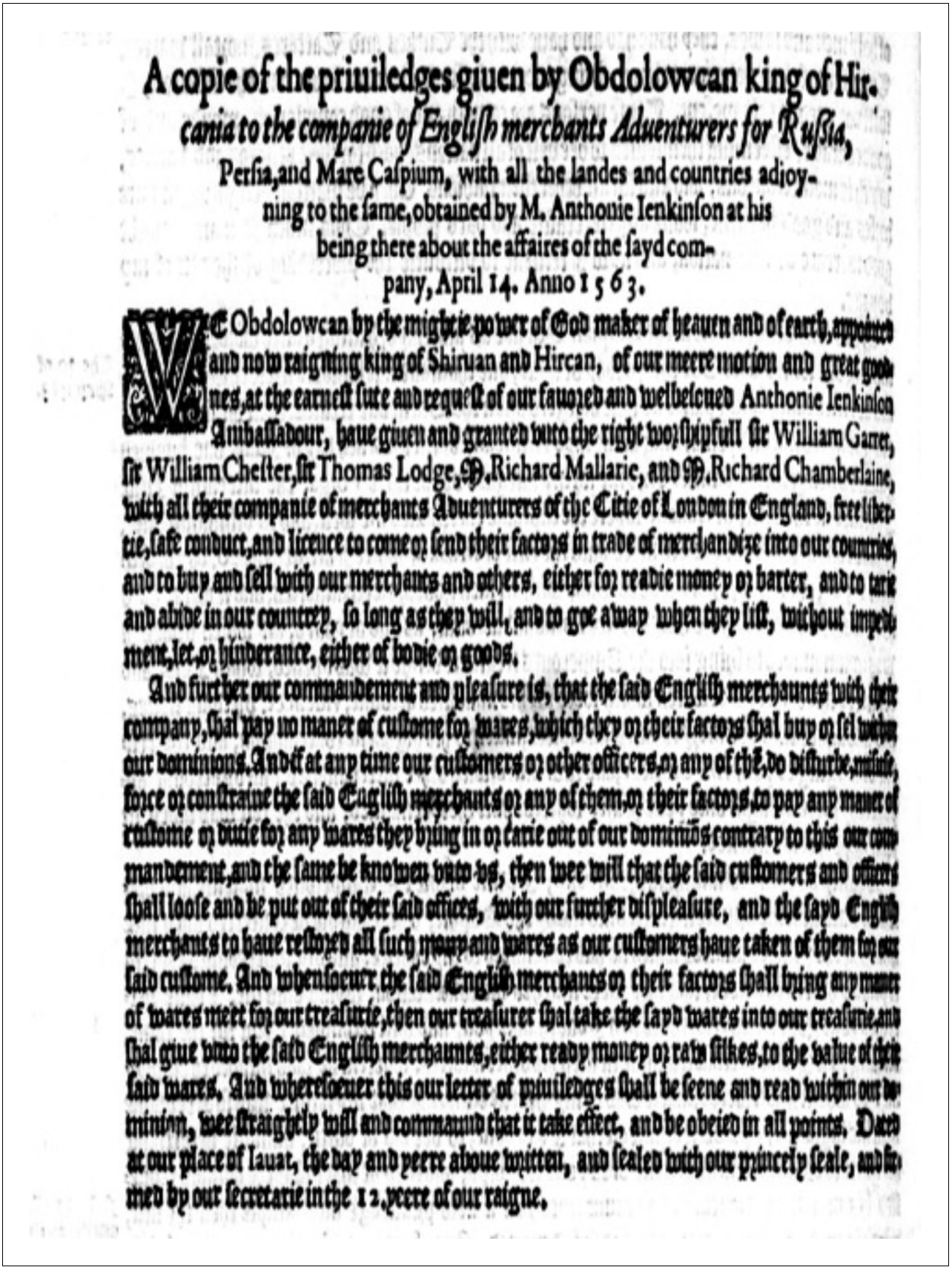
Fig. 1. Shirvan ruler Abdullah Khan receiving English voyager Anthony Jenkinson (O. Sadiqzadeh, the Azerbaijan National History Museum).



A copie of the priuiledges giuen by Obdolowcan king of Hir-
cania to the companie of Engliſh merchants Aduenturers for Ruſsia,
Perſia, and Mare Caſpium, with all the landes and countries adioy-
ning to the ſame, obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinſon at his
being there about the affaires of the ſayd com-
pany, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of our fauored and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinſon Ambaſſadour, haue giuen and granted vnto the right worſhipfull ſir William Garret, ſir William Chelter, ſir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their companie of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free liberty, ſafe conduct, and licence to come or ſend their factors in trade of merchandize into our countries, and to buy and ſell with our merchants and others, either for readie money or barter, and to tarie and abide in our countrey, ſo long as they will, and to goe away when they liſt, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of bodie or goods.

And further our commandement and pleaſure is, that the ſaid Engliſh merchaunts with their company, ſhal pay no maner of cuſtome for wares, which they or their factors ſhal buy or ſel within our dominions. And if at any time our cuſtomers or other officers, or any of thē, do diſturbe, miſuſe, force or conſtraine the ſaid Engliſh merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of cuſtome or dutie for any wares they bring in or carie out of our dominiōs contrary to this our commandement, and the ſame be known vnto vs, then wee will that the ſaid cuſtomers and officers ſhall looſe and be put out of their ſaid offices, with our further diſpleaſure, and the ſayd Engliſh merchants to haue reſtored all ſuch money and wares as our cuſtomers haue taken of them for our ſaid cuſtome. And whenſoeuer the ſaid Engliſh merchants or their factors ſhall bring any maner of wares meet for our treaſurie, then our treaſurer ſhal take the ſayd wares into our treaſurie, and ſhal giue vnto the ſaid Engliſh merchaunts, either ready money or raw ſilkes, to the value of their ſaid wares. And whereſoeuer this our letter of priuiledges ſhall be ſeene and read within our dominion, wee ſtraightly will and commaund that it take effect, and be obeied in all points. Dated at our place of Iuuat, the day and yeere aboue written, and ſealed with our princely ſeale, and ſigned by our ſecretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

Fig. 2. A text of privileges granted by the ruler of Shirvan Abdullah Khan I to the British in 1563 (after Hakluyt 1589: 374).



Another letter of Arthur Edwards, written in Astracan, the 16. of Iune, 1567. at his returne in his first voyage out of Persia, to the right Worshipfull companie, trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and Northeast partes.

The Shaughs letters to the Moscouie company.

IT may please your Worships, that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but also the Gouernours names, with the Consuls, Assistants, and generalitie. Also such commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters, directed to your Worships, to be sent him, with other notes, which I thought good to be remembred, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, granted, and giuen in the names of these fiue persons following, to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, gouernours, sir Thomas Lodge, Master Anthony Ienkinson, Master Thomas Nichols, and Arthur Edwards.

1. First it is granted, that you shall pay no manner of customes, or tolles, any kind of ways, now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all English Marchants, such as you shall appoint nowe, and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions, and other Countreyes adioyning, in the trade of marchandise, to buy and sell all manner of commodities, with all manner of persons.

2. Item that in all places where any of our Marchants shall haue their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers, and Iustices shall take heede vnto vs, being our aide and defence against all euill persons, punishing those that shall doe vs any wrong.

3. Item that for all such debts as shall be owing by any manner of person, iustice shall be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4. Item that no manner of person, of whatsoeuer estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any guifts, without any leaue and good will.

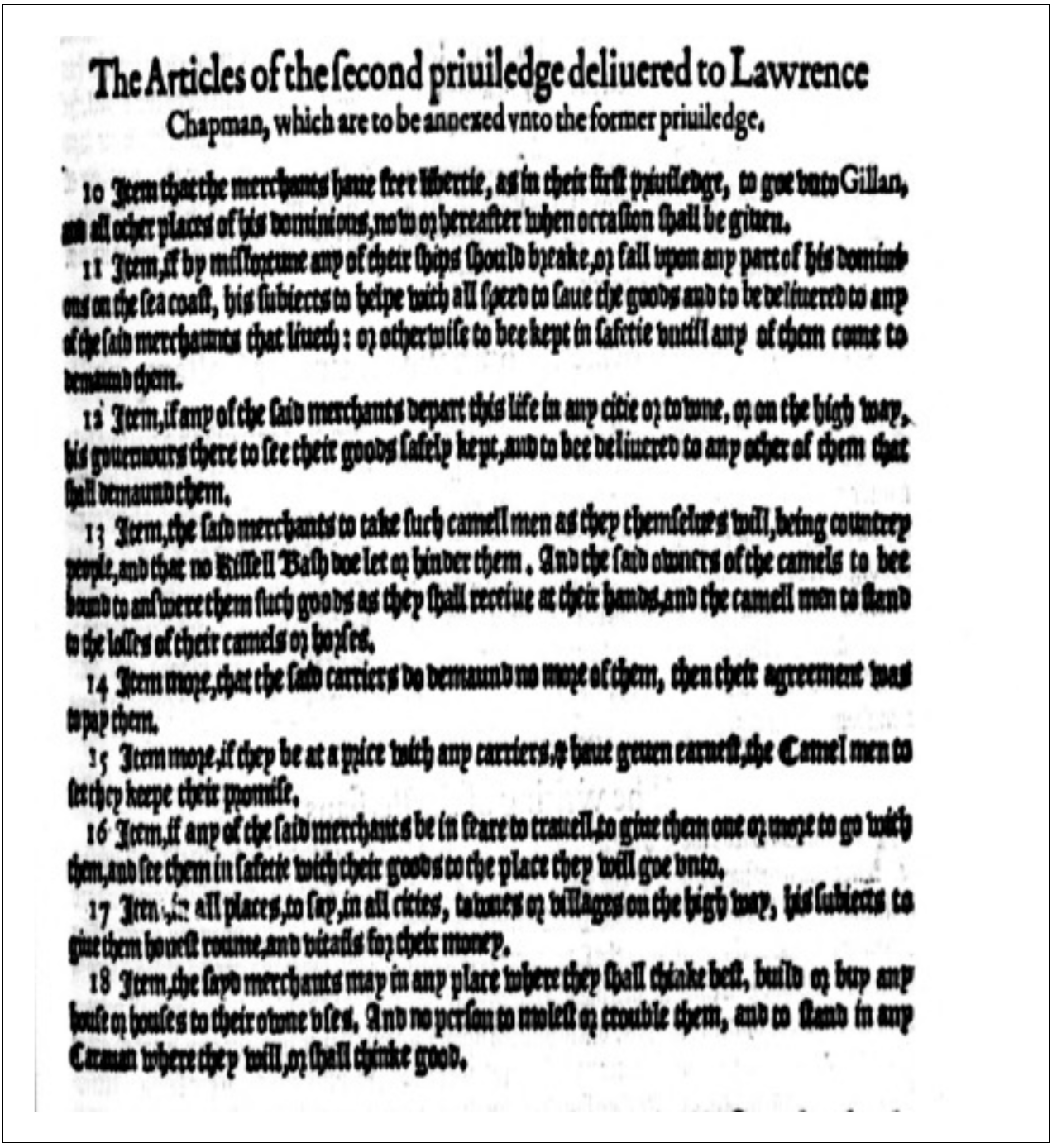
5. Item if by chance medley any of our Marchants or seruants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subiects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any parte but the offendour, and true iustice to be ministred, and being any of vs, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge, and aduise.

6. Item that all such debts as are nowe owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be [illegible] vnto any of vs, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead, or aliue.

7. Item that no person returne any kinde of wares backe againe, being once bought or solde.

8. Item that when God shall send your goods to shoare, presently his people shall helpe vs a land with them.

Fig. 3. A text of trade privileges granted by the Shah Tahmasp I to the British in 1566 (after Hakluyt 1589: 384).



The Articles of the ſecond priuiledge deliuered to Lawrence Chapman, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their firſt priuiledge, to goe vnto Gillan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occaſion ſhall be giuen.

11 Item, if by miſfortune any of their ships ſhould breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the ſea coaſt, his ſubiects to helpe with all ſpeed to ſaue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the ſaid merchants that liueth: or otherwiſe to bee kept in ſafetie vntill any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to ſee their goods ſafely kept, and to bee deliuered to any other of them that ſhall demaund them.

13 Item, the ſaid merchants to take ſuch camell men as they themſelues will, being countrey people, and that no Villell Bath doe let or hinder them. And the ſaid owners of the camels to bee bound to anſwere them ſuch goods as they ſhall receiue at their hands, and the camell men to ſtand to the loſſes of their camels or boxes.

14 Item more, that the ſaid carriers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any carriers, & haue giuen earneſt, the Camel men to ſee they keepe their promiſe.

16 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants be in feare to trauell, to giue them one or more to go with them, and ſee them in ſafetie with their goods to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to ſay, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his ſubiects to giue them howſe roume, and victails for their money.

18 Item, the ſayd merchants may in any place where they ſhall thinke beſt, build or buy any houſe or houſes to their owne vſes. And no perſon to moleſt or trouble them, and to ſtand in any Caruan where they will, or ſhall thinke good.

Fig. 4. A text of trade privileges granted by the Shah Tahmasp I to the British in 1568 (after Hakluyt 1589: 417).