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Anthony Jenkinson's Original Map as a Source on the History of the Safavid Empire

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the map called “Nova absolutaue Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae descriptio” published in London in 1562 the author of which was a famous trader, diplomat and Queen Elizabeth I Tudor's official ambassador to the Safavid Empire Anthony Jenkinson. Although the original version of the map was found in 1987 and since that time a number of works concerning Anglo-Safavid relations was published, so far this map has not been the object of special study as the source of the Safavid Empire and particularly Anglo-Safavid relations in both domestic and western historiography. An attempt is being taken for the first time to study Jenkinson's map as an historical source on the Safavid Empire. Jenkinson's map is unique in that it is not only the most ancient and first visual representation of the Safavid Empire in English sources, but it also influenced the further development of the European cartography and became an integral part of the first modern geographical atlas in the world “Theatrum Orbis Terrarum” by Abraham Ortelius (1570) and Gerardus Mercator's world map (1572). The map is of exceptional value and importance for the history of cartography of Russia, Azerbaijan, England and the countries of Central Asia. Special attention was paid to the map's issues of dating and authorship. Detailed analysis of the map's southern segment revealed that this map may serve as the valuable source of military, historical, geopolitical, geographical, toponymical, religious, ethnographical and partly economical history of the Safavid Empire, as well as on the history of Anglo-Safavid relations.

Keywords: Jenkinson's map, The Safavid Empire, Anglo-Safavid relations, Anthony Jenkinson, Cartography

Safevi İmparatorluğu Tarihinin Bir Kaynağı Olarak Anthony Jenkinson'un Orijinal Haritası

ÖZET

Bu makale, yazarı ünlü bir tüccar, diplomat ve Kraliçe I. Elizabeth Tudor'un Safevi İmparatorluğunda resmi elçisi olan Antoni Jenkinson tarafından 1562 yılında Londra'da yayınlanan “*Nova absolutaue Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae descriptio*” adlı haritayı incelemektedir. Haritanın orijinal hali 1987 yılında bulunsa bile ve o zamandan beri İngiltere-Safevi ilişkilerine ilişkin bir dizi eser yayınlanmış olmasına rağmen, bu harita hem yerli hem de batı tarihçiliğinde Safevi İmparatorluğu'nun ve özellikle de İngiltere-Safevi

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ilişkilerinin kaynağı olarak şimdiye kadar özel bir inceleme konusu olmamıştır. Jenkinson'un haritasını Safevi İmparatorluğu hakkında tarihi bir kaynak olarak incelemek için ilk kez bir girişimde bulunulmuştur. Jenkinson'un haritası, Safevi İmparatorluğu'nun İngiliz kaynaklarında yalnızca en eski ve ilk görsel temsili olması değil, aynı zamanda Avrupa haritacılığının daha da gelişmesini etkilemesi ve dünyadaki ilk modern coğrafi atlası Abraham Ortelius'un "*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*" (1570) ve Gerardus Mercator'un dünya haritasının (1572) ayrılmaz bir parçası olması bakımından benzersizdir. Harita, Rusya, Azerbaycan, İngiltere ve Orta Asya ülkelerinin haritacılık tarihi için olağanüstü değer ve öneme sahiptir. Haritanın kesin yayın tarihinin ve yazarının kimliğinin belirlenmesine özellikle dikkat edilmiştir. Haritanın güney kesiminin ayrıntılı analizi, bu haritanın Safevi İmparatorluğu'nun askeri-tarihi, jeopolitik, coğrafi, yerbilimsel, dini, etnografik ve kısmen ekonomik tarihinin yanı sıra İngiliz-Safevi ilişkileri tarihinin değerli bir kaynağı olabileceğini ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Jenkinson'un haritası, Safevi İmparatorluğu, İngiltere-Safevi ilişkileri, Antoni Jenkinson, Haritacılık

- *Where would we be without maps?*

The obvious answer is, of course, 'lost'...

Jerry Brotton

1. INTRODUCTION

To the question "Where would we be without maps?" Modern British scientist, historian and cartographer Professor J. Brotton answers "Lost". However, as he points out, maps provide answers to more than just how to get from one place to another (Brotton, 2013: 18). Humanity has been using maps since before the advent of writing. To date, scientists consider the "*Babylonian*" map to be the most ancient map of the world, dating from the end of the 8th - beginning of the 7th centuries BC. However, despite the fact that maps were created by mankind even before our era, geography as an academic discipline took shape only in the 19th century, while mapmakers began to be called the new scientific term "*cartographers*". As a consequence, geographers have only recently begun to take systematical attempts to study the history of maps and their role in various societies. In 1935, the Russian military officer Leo Bagrov (1881-1957) founded the first journal *Imago Mundi* devoted to the study of the history of cartography, and in 1944 he completed his *Die Geschichte der Kartographie* (The History of Cartography), which was the first comprehensive study of the object. A small number of specialized works appeared. However, cartography never became a separate academic discipline (see Brotton, 2013: 26). Nevertheless, even today, in the era of information technology, maps have firmly entered our everyday life, becoming a quick help in determining a particular location. Cartographic works such as geographical maps, globes, drawings, atlases, handwritten plans of various kinds, etc. have become an integral part of human life. Today, the role of cartography is great for a person, not only in orientation in areas and as a reference guide in tourist travels, but also in various sectors of the economy, in city planning, in expeditionary research, in navigation, as an auxiliary teaching aid in the educational process, in industry and agriculture, in construction, in the military industry, in the transport system, in aviation navigation and even in emergency situations. However, in the past, the functionality of the maps was somewhat different from today's. Maps served as means of transmitting and visualizing information received by a person about a new, previously unknown place, as well as means of expressing the political ambitions of the ruling circles. As J. Brotton notes, "Mapmakers do not just reproduce the world, they construct it" (Brotton, 2013: 21).

Thus, cartographic materials, maps in particular, are not only a set of geographical data indicating the spatial placement of certain objects they can also serve as valuable historical sources for the study of certain historical issues. Although it is generally accepted that medieval maps of the world were a step back in the history of cartography and experienced a period of decline, but with the beginning of the great geographical discoveries, valuable maps began to appear, which became not only a important contribution to the history of geography and cartography, but also enriched the world history of mankind. In addition, during the Renaissance, maps also became an integral part of political iconography.

The object of study in this article is the map "*Nova absolutaue Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae descriptio*" ("An absolutely new description of Russia, Moscow and Tartaria") published in 1562 and authored by an English merchant, diplomat and official ambassador of Queen Elizabeth I Tudor in the Safavid Empire Anthony Jenkinson, who, as it turned out, was also one of the first English cartographers (Fig. 1). For the first time in both Russian and Western historiography, an attempt will be made to explore Jenkinson's map not only as a historical source in general, but also as a source on the history of Anglo-Safavid relations, in particular. The fact that Anthony Jenkinson's map was mainly devoted to the description of the Russian State and Tartaria, and, accordingly, has always been the object of research by scientists only within the framework of the history of Russian cartography and the history and partly of the states of Central Asia, makes our study the first and particularly relevant from a scientific point of view in the study of Jenkinson's map as a source on the history of the Safavid Empire. Despite the fact that until today in the domestic historiography such researchers as O. Efendiyev, Y. Mahmudov, B. Ahmadv, D. Hasanzada, R. Muganlinsky, R. Dadashova, T. Najafli, D. Azimli and others, attempts were made to highlight certain issues of Anglo-Safavid relations, however, Jenkinson's map not only did not become the object of special scientific research, but it was never even mentioned a word in their writings. In this article, for the first time, an attempt is made to study Jenkinson's map as a source on the military and historical, geopolitical, geographical, toponymic, religious, ethnographic and partly economic history of the Safavid Empire, as well as a part of the history of Anglo-Safavid relations.



Figure 1. Map “Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio” by Anthony Jenkinson, 1562 / Cartographic Collection Department of the Library of Wrocław University (Reference: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/40164/edition/40845/content>)

2. THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND UNIQUENESS OF THE GENUINE MAP OF JENKINSON

The uniqueness of Jenkinson's original map lies in the fact that it is not only the oldest and first visual representation of the Safavid Empire in English sources, although the configuration of the Safavid cities is incorrectly located along the Caspian coast on the map, but also influenced the further development of European cartography. It was an integral part of the world's first modern geographical atlas "*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*" ("Theatre of the Orb of the World"), published in 1570 as a result of the painstaking work of the famous Flemish cartographer and geographer of the 16th century Abraham Ortelius. This atlas of Ortelius is considered to be a collection of the best maps of the world for that period. The atlas consisted of 53 maps of various regions of the world, the authorship of which belonged to various cartographers, among which was the 1562 map of Anthony Jenkinson. Moreover, the name of Anthony Jenkinson was also included in the

world's first cartographic bibliography "*Catalogus Auctorum*": Ortelius included his name among the 87 best geographers, cartographers and cosmographers known to him, placing him in the fourth place. This atlas has been reprinted at least 42 times in various languages of the world from 1570 to 1612. Today, the first edition of the atlas is held by the Library of Congress. Note that it was thanks to Abraham Ortelius that the world became aware of Jenkinson's map. The fact that the names of such historical cities as Derbent, Baku, Shirvan, Shemakha, Ardabil, Qazvin, Tabriz were imprinted on the map, which was included in the world's first atlas and presented to the world, makes Jenkinson's map particularly valuable both scientifically and from a political point of view for the history of the statehood of Azerbaijan. Moreover, Jenkinson's map is of exceptional value and significance not only for the history of cartography in Russia, Azerbaijan, but also for the history of cartography in England itself. Note that the word *map* itself (in English "*map*" or "*mappe*") entered the English language in the 16th century and between the 16th century and the 1990s, about 300 conflicting definitions of the word were put forward (Brotton, 2013: 19). As you know, after 1550, very few wall maps were published in England, especially those depicting foreign lands. Realization of the practical significance of maps came to England late, even a detailed map of England and Wales was first compiled under the rule of Elizabeth I (see Barber, 2007: 1610, 1668-1669). Accordingly, only the very fact of the rarity of Jenkinson's map can serve as one of the reasons for being of great scientific value for the history of British cartography. Note that from a letter addressed to Ortelius by the engraver of the map Reynolds, which is stored today in the British Museum, it is clear that 25 copies of the Jenkinson map were sent to the royal printer Reginald Wolf for the publication of this map, the fate of which is not known today. The very fact that the royal printer was involved in the process of preparing the map speaks of the great significance of the Jenkinson map for the English crown.

Although K. Szykula, who studied the influence of Jenkinson's map on subsequent European maps of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, notes that it was "not too significant" (Szykula, 2008), Jenkinson's map, in addition to Ortelius, was also used by the famous and greatest Flemish cartographer and geographer Gerardus Mercator when reissuing in 1572 his famous map of the world, which Professor J. Brotton called "the most influential map in the history of geography" (Brotton, 2013: 249), to compile its northern and northeastern parts. The use of the Jenkinson map in mapping the world by Mercator, whose projection revolutionized the history of cartography and is now adopted by the British Ordnance Survey, the British Navy's Admiralty and the NASA Space Agency for mapping various parts of the solar system (see Brotton, 2013: 260-261) and with whose name modern cartography is today associated, only testifies to the importance of Jenkinson's map, which, as the historian of travel literature George B. Parks notes, "became the European standard" (Parks, 1928: 16).

3. "IN THE YEAR 1987 STARTS A NEW EPOCH FOR THE JENKINSON'S MAP"

To date, three copies of the map are known, the authorship of which is attributed to Anthony Jenkinson, although until 1987 the world knew only two reproductions of the Jenkinson map, presented by outstanding Flemish cartographers of the 16th century Abraham Ortelius (1570) and Gerrit de Jode (on his 1578 version of the map, only the left side of Jenkinson's map was shown). Although, even before the discovery of the original map in 1987, J. Keuning, among the "maps bearing the name of Jenkinson...", also indicated the third one - the map of the brothers Johannes and Lucas van Deuticum (presumably published before 1572), also known as the "Dashkov map" (Keuning, 1956: 172-174). K. Mayers also claims that there are three known copies of Jenkinson's map (in addition to the original itself!) (Mayers, 2016: 256-258). Moreover,

it was also reported about the presence of another replica of Jenkinson's map, stored in one of the libraries in St. Petersburg, which later turned out to be false information (see: Szykula, 2005: 67).

1987 was remembered for K. Szykula's sensational statement: a genuine copy of Jenkinson's map was discovered! For almost five centuries, nothing was known about Jenkinson's original map, and it was considered not to have survived to this day. As K. Szykula notes, "in the year 1987 starts a new epoch for the Jenkinson's map" (Szykula, 2012: 126). In 1989, sensational news spread around the scientific world: at the regular XIII International Conference on the History of Cartography held in Amsterdam, the Polish cartographer Krystina Szykula, who at that time was the head of the Cartographic Collection Department of the Wrocław University Library, announced the discovery of the original Jenkinson map of 1562.

The history of the discovery of the original map is quite interesting. One day in 1987, the head of the cathedral library told K. Szykula "obviously extremely exciting news" that a certain woman, who was a teacher in one of the secondary schools in Wrocław, wanted to sell a map of the 16th century (see Szykula, 2012: 123). Surprisingly, the map turned out to be an original copy of Anthony Jenkinson's map, previously considered not to have come down to us. It is noteworthy that before the map was offered to the university library and bought by it, the owner of the map offered it to many well-known libraries, but none of them showed due interest in it. The owner of the map used it for many years as a didactic aid in history lessons, unaware of its historical value. It turned out that the map had been given to the teacher by her student, who found it after the Second World War somewhere either in the basement or in the attic of the house (for more details, see: Szykula, 2008).

Prior to the discovery of its authentic copy, Anthony Jenkinson's map was little studied, and then according to its reproductions by Ortelius and de Jode. Jenkinson's map was the object of study mainly by such scientists as V. Kordt, E. Taylor, L. Bagrov, S. Baron, B. Rybakov, J. Keuning, E. D. Morgan, Ch. Coote and others, and then in the context of studying the history of Russian cartography.

4. MAP SPECIFICATIONS

The 101.7 x 81.7 cm map with a 6 cm decorative frame was engraved on copper and hand-coloured. The scale of the map is 1:5000000. The map is regional. Historians suggest that it was a wall map. The map was drawn in a northern orientation, which at that time was an innovative event in cartography. The territory on the map extends from the Gulf of Finland in the northwest to Tashkent in the southeast and from the Safavid Empire in the south to the northern borders of the Russian State in the north.

As K. Szykula notes, thanks to whom the existence of the original copy became known, "characteristic feature of the genuine copy of the map in question is its unusually rich decorativeness" (Szykula, 2012: 121). The decorativeness of Jenkinson's map is not surprising, because, as J. Brotton notes, for the cartographers of the Renaissance, the viewer of the map was compared with the "*theatregoer*" (Brotton, 2013: 24). It is no coincidence that Abraham Ortelius called his atlas "*The Spectacle*". The map contains a rich physiographic, ethnographic, religious, military and historical material, information about flora and fauna is also presented. The combination of graphic, textual and pictural elements makes Jenkinson's map especially interesting to study. "These features make the map an outstanding document of the epoch of the territory portrayed here" (Szykula, 2012: 121).

5. THE PROBLEM OF DATING AND AUTHORITY OF THE MAP

As K. Szykula notes, "recognition of the genuine map not only brought a new knowledge about its details but also raised some problems" (Szykula, 2007: 14). So, although the specific year of its publication is indicated on the Jenkinson map itself - the year 1562, nevertheless, the question of dating the map to this day remains debatable. So, V. Kordt, who owns one of the first studies of Jenkinson's map, although in the context of Russian cartography, indicates that the map was compiled after Jenkinson's first trip to the Russian State, i.e. between 1557 and 1561 (Кордт, 1899: 10). J. Keuning holds a similar opinion. According to him, the map could have been drawn up in the period after Anthony's return from his first trip to the Russian State and Central Asia until his second trip in May 1561 (Keuning, 1956: 172). W. Oakeshott also suggests that the map was compiled in 1560-1561 (Oakeshott, 1984: 704). The Russian scientist B. Rybakov claims that "...the time of compiling the map of Muscovy should be considered his [Jenkinson's] first trip to Russia and Bukhara, when he was on Russian lands from July 12, 1557 to August 10, 1558 and again, on his way back from Central Asia, from May 28, 1559 to May 9, 1560." (Рыбаков, 1974: 22).

S. Baron and even K. Szykula herself put forward a different possible dating. Researchers suggest that the map could have been published between 1567 and 1569. K. Szykula came to this conclusion based on the manuscript "Book of Heraldry" (1566) she discovered in the Library of the University of Cambridge, which established the ownership of one of the coats of arms, dated 1566 and visually identical to the coat of arms on the original map of Anthony, the sponsor of the map Jenkinson to Henry Sidney (call number Kk. I. 26) (Szykula, 2012: 122, n2; Szykula, 2008). In one of his articles even before the presentation of the original map by K. Szykula in 1989, S. Baron having analyzed the sources, biography, map and drawing of a well-known member of the English sea expedition aimed at finding the northeast route to India and China - William Borough, on the basis of whose map the northern segment of Jenkinson's map was compiled, puts forward 1567-1568 as a possible *terminus ante quem* of Jenkinson's map (Baron, 1989: 81-82). This point of view of the researcher is based on geographical names borrowed by William Borough and Anthony Jenkinson from the journal of two other Englishmen Spark and Southam, who traveled to the Russian State in 1566. However, after the spread of information about the discovery of the original copy of Jenkinson's map, S. Baron suggested that the printing plate for the map was cut in 1562 and dated to the indicated year, and it is possible that even some prints were already applied to it, in London they knew that Anthony is scheduled to visit the Safavid Empire, but they were not sure whether he would be able to obtain permission from the Russian Tsar to travel there, and after receiving permission, a certain agent of the Moscow Company could report this to London, where it was decided to postpone the publication of the map until receipt following information about Anthony's journey to the Safavid Empire. S. Baron suggests that the publisher, instead of cutting out a new printing plate for the map, decided to simply add new information to it as it became available, what happened in 1564 after Jenkinson's return to London, when the map was published (Baron, 1993: 63). The fact that Tabriz, which, as noted by I.A. Osipov, "...definitely did not have enough space..." (Осипов, 2008), was located in a recess on the map frame (although to the southeast of Qazvin!), confirms the likelihood of S. Baron's assumptions. As S. Baron points out, there was "...the anomalous situation of a map ostensibly based on Jenkinson's first journey which included material from the second as well" [Baron, 1993: 63].

It should be noted that from May 14, 1561 to September 28, 1564, having gone on behalf of Queen Elizabeth I to the Russian and Safavid States as an ambassador of the English crown and a trade representative of the Moscow company, Jenkinson was not in London, where the map was published. Accordingly, Anthony met the year 1562 in the Russian State, from where on April 27,

1562 he went further to the Safavid Empire, staying there until the spring of 1563. Consequently, there was no way for Anthony to physically be present at the compilation and publication of his map in London. In addition, when considering the issue of dating a map, it is necessary to distinguish the year of publication of the map from the year of its compilation, because quite a long time could have been spent on the latter, which obviously applies to Anthony Jenkinson's map.

It should be noted that the date of publication indicated on the Jenkinson map itself - 1562 - anticipates the expedition of Spark and Southam in 1566, from whose journal some topographic data were borrowed, as well as 1566 - the year of publication of the coat of arms of the sponsor of the map, Henry Sidney. Moreover, the fact that throughout the whole of 1562 Anthony was away from London, where his map was published, but, nevertheless, the names of the cities of the Safavid Empire, which he managed to visit for the first time in the same 1562, were presented on his map, albeit without extensive information, and that Anthony Jenkinson's information about his travels to the Russian and Safavid States was published by Richard Hakluyt only in 1589, i.e. becoming publicly available to the readership long after the release of the map, indicates that, most likely, the source material for compiling the map was transferred by Anthony Jenkinson himself in 1562 to one of the members of the Moscow Company for the purpose of its further publication in London, while his stay in the Russian State, where he became friends with the Safavid envoy, with whom he not only dined in the presence of Tsar Ivan the Terrible on March 15, 1562, but also set off with him on his way to the Safavid Empire and even "...entered into great friendship and had many conversations during the entire voyage along the Volga until Astrakhan..." (see Английские путешественники, 1937: 200-201), who could serve as an informant, or already being in the Safavid Empire itself, but, not possessing sufficiently extensive information about the cities indicated on the map, what was the result of such a meager presentation of the cities of the Safavid Empire in terms of information content, in contrast to the cities of the Russian State and Central Asia. In addition, having sent Jenkinson to Shah Tahmasib I, the ruler of Shirvan, Abdallah Khan, also appointed his envoy and two other persons to accompany and guard Anthony, who could also provide Anthony with an overview of the most important cities and social life of the Safavid Empire (see Английские путешественники, 1937: 204). Moreover, according to the report of Jenkinson himself from Bukhara, where he was in 1558, even 4 years before his arrival in the Safavid Empire, he "...had already learned enough about it [the Safavid Empire] both in Astrakhan and in Tataria" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 185). It should be noted that on the way from the Russian State to Central Asia in July-August 1558, Anthony set sail from Astrakhan down the Volga and further along the Caspian Sea in the company of the Johnson brothers accompanying him and the "Persians" [subjects of the Safavid Empire], who could provide him with extensive information about the cities of the empire (Английские путешественники, 1937: 172). The presence on his map of geographical data, which he himself was not aware of, and which became known to the British later as a result of the voyage of Spark and Southam, as well as the dating of the coat of arms of Henry Sidney in 1566, suggests that, apparently, the original material for the map was later supplemented and enriched in London itself. Moreover, referring to the fact that Anthony Jenkinson in his report indicates that after returning from the Safavid mission and spending the entire winter of 1563/1564 in Moscow, he "...sent your servant Edward Clark to England by land with reports..." (Английские путешественники, 1937: 214), it can be assumed that already in the spring of 1564 in London, the publisher of Jenkinson's map could have had some information about the Safavid Empire, which could become the minimum information to supplement his map with toponyms and military, historical and other events.

Another important fact: in view of the fact that in his “*A Compendious and briefe declaration of the journey...*”, in which the author sets out in detail all his activities, everything he saw new and the difficulties that he had to face during his mission, Anthony indicates the exact date of his return to London, namely September 28, 1564, it can be assumed that this “*Declaration*” was compiled by Jenkinson either in the autumn-winter of 1564, immediately upon his return (at best!), or already in 1565. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jenkinson's map does not contain detailed information about the cities of the Safavid Empire. In addition, one should not forget that the main purpose of creating and publishing Jenkinson's map was to provide extensive information about the Russian State and Tartaria, but not the Safavid State specifically, which is clearly seen even from the name of the map itself “*Nova absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae descriptio*”.

In addition, the fact that both the Caspian Sea itself and the configuration of the cities of the Safavid Empire is presented distorted, once again can serve as an argument that the information regarding his Safavid journey (southern segment of the map), presented by Jenkinson for mapping, was obtained through the third faces even before Anthony himself arrived there.

Both the question of dating the edition of the map, and its authorship, as a consequence of the first, are still in doubt to this day. Often in the scientific literature one can find the fact of assigning partial or sometimes even the entire authorship of Jenkinson's map to A. Wied, W. Borough, S. Herberstein and some Russian authors of maps that have not come down to us. The fact that Jenkinson for a deeper study of the lands of Russian State, which he himself managed to visit before compiling his map, used the maps of his predecessors and contemporaries, and, accordingly, he borrowed certain information gleaned from them and transferred it to his map, is no doubt and has long ago been proven by researchers. However, Anthony as a mapmaker cannot be completely ignored. In view of the fact that the main task in this study is to study Jenkinson's map as a source on the history of the Safavid Empire, we will not dwell on this issue and investigate it in detail, we will only note the fact that Anthony Jenkinson was recognized as the author of the map under study for the reason indicated in the article above. The authorship of the map, the eastern and southern parts particularly, undoubtedly belongs only to Anthony, since he was the first Englishman who not only visited both the Safavid Empire and Central Asia, but also sailed along the Caspian Sea and described its coastal territories. The fact that the left side of the map is more detailed and richer in information than the rest can only once again serve as a proof of Jenkinson's authorship, since he could rely on the information of his predecessors, who had visited the Russian State shortly before his arrival there. Besides, indisputable proof of Jenkinson's authorship is the fact that all three cartographers Ortelius, de Jode and van Deuticum, thanks to whom the world became aware of Anthony's map, indicated no one else but namely Jenkinson as the author of the map (!).

The meager informative potential of the southern segment of the map, belonging to the Safavid Empire, contrasts strongly with the rest of the segments, which stand out for their detailed and rich information of an encyclopedic nature. Although, in contrast to the parts of the map dedicated to the Russian State and the khanates of Central Asia, which abound in both geographical, toponymic, religious, military, historical, and ethnographic information, the Safavid Empire is given minimal attention, nevertheless, this part of the map contains a valuable block of information, the study of which will not only contribute to the study of the history of this empire, but also to the history of Anglo-Safavid relations, because it will help to shed light on how Elizabethan England imagined the Safavid Empire.

6. SAFAVID EMPIRE ON THE MAP OF JENKINSON

The information about the Safavid Empire presented on Jenkinson's map can be thematically divided into the following main blocks:

- geographical;
- flora and fauna;
- religious;
- ethnographic;
- economic;
- geopolitical and military-historical.

6.1. Geographic Information

Unlike other segments, the geographic potential of the southern segment of the map is quite poor, not informative and not accurate, because presented by the method of generalization, which is not surprising, since, as can be seen from the name of the map itself, a detailed description of both geographical, physiographic, ethnographic and other features of the Safavid Empire was not included in the plans of the author of this map. Nevertheless, even that minimal information about the Safavid Empire is of great importance and scientific interest for us.

Jenkinson's map shows only such cities as Derbent, Baku, Shabran, Shamakhi, Ardabil, Qazvin, Tabriz, Mashhad and the province of Khorasan (*Corason magna*). But in his "*A Compendious and briefe declaration of the journey...*" in addition to the above cities Anthony Jenkinson gives more detailed information about the cities, the administrative division and administration of the lands, and even provides information about the borders and physiographic features of the Safavid Empire. Thus, Jenkinson notes: "The Persian land [Safavid Empire] is great and vast: it is divided into many states and provinces, such as Gilan, Khorassan, Shirvan and many others, in which there are large and small cities and fortresses. ... Here are the names of the main cities: Tabriz [Tabriz], Qazvin, Kashan, Yazd, Mashed [Mashhad], Tehran, Ardabil, Shemakha, Arrash and many others. Seaward, the country is for the most part flat and rich in pastures; but further inland it is high, covered with mountains and, moreover, steep. In the south, it borders on Arabia and the Eastern Ocean, and in the north, on the Caspian Sea and the Tatar lands; in the east - with various regions of India, and in the west - with the borders of Chaldea, Syria and other lands of the Turk " (Английские путешественники, 1937: 212).

Although Jenkinson's map of the Safavid Empire does not abound with rich geographical and physiographic data, information about its flora and fauna, does not give a complete picture of the cities of the empire, as in other segments, nevertheless, it does give some general idea of the northern, partly western and eastern borderlands of the empire in the second half of the 16th century, which in turn is a reflection of the geopolitical situation in the region in the period under study. So, as you can see from the map, in the north it bordered the Caspian Sea and the countries of Central Asia, in the west - with the Ottoman Empire, and in the east - with India.

It is also clear from the "*Declaration*" that on the way back from Qazvin in April 1563, Anthony even personally visited the city of Javat, where he was once again received by the ruler of Shirvan, Abdalla Khan, spending 7 days here at the court of the ruler himself, and also received from him

safe conduct and trading privileges (Английские путешественники, 1937: 210-211). However, like the rest of the cities, for some reason this city was not reflected on the map.

Particular attention in the southern segment of the map is attracted by the strange configuration of the Caspian Sea (Fig. 2). It is noteworthy that the Caspian Sea on the map is presented distortedly or, as I.A. Osipov notes, "so fantastically". It is "shortened" and "rounded". Of the coastal cities, as already noted, only the cities of the Caucasian coast are indicated. However, Derbent, Shabran, Shemakha and Baku somehow ended up on the southern and southeastern shores of the sea (Fig. 11). E. D. Morgan and Ch. Coote indicate that the reason for this distortion lies in the fact that the map was compiled in 1562, i.e. before Anthony's return from his journey to the Russian and Safavid States, therefore the southern shores of the Caspian Sea and the adjacent countries were delineated entirely on the basis of hearsay evidence collected by him on his first journey (Delmar and Coote, 1886: cxxxv). According to I.A. Osipov, who analyzed the Caspian topography, "the location of cities on the map does not correspond to either the text of the report or real geography. Moreover, it becomes obvious that the decorative frame of the map had already been drawn by the possible moment of receipt of Jenkinson's report on the trip to Persia [Safavid Empire], therefore, in order to show Tabriz on the map, the authors were forced to violate its integrity, and to place Qazvin to the west of Tabriz" (Осипов, 2008) (Fig. 3). In addition, unlike the "Declaration", where Jenkinson denies the flow of the Amu Darya (Oxus) into the Caspian Sea (Английские путешественники, 1937: 176-177), on the map, on the contrary, the Amu Darya is shown flowing into a certain elongated bay of the Caspian Sea. According to B. Rybakov, "such a limitation of the Caspian Sea only by its northern shores could only occur as a result of a mechanical rounding of the northern half of the sea, when a draftsman, poorly aware of the southern shores, "rounded" one northern coast and closed the Baku coast with the Kara-Bogaz" (Рыбаков, 1974: 39).



Figure 2. Fragment of Map “Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio”.



Figure 3. Fragment of Map "Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio".

From Jenkinson's "*Declaration*" it follows:

"The Caspian Sea... is about 200 leagues long and 150 leagues wide; there are no outlets to other seas from it. The great desert land of the Tatars stretches to the east of it, called Turkmens, to the west - the land of the Cherkasy. The Caucasus Mountains, the Euxine Sea, lying 100 leagues from the Caspian Sea. To the north lies the Volga and the land of the Nogais, and to the south lie the countries of Media [Azerbaijan] and Persia [the Safavid Empire]. In some places this sea is fresh, and in others it is as salty as our great ocean. Many beautiful rivers flow into it, but it itself has no source, except underground. Here are the most remarkable rivers flowing into it: firstly, the Volga ... There are other large rivers that flow into it, such as the Yaik and Emba from Siberia, and from the Caucasus Mountains - the Kura (Cyrus) and Arax (Arash) rivers, etc." (Английские путешественники, 1937: 187-188).

Of the two main water arteries of Azerbaijan - the Kura and Araz rivers - only the Kura is shown on Jenkinson's map (Fig. 4), although in his "*Declaration*" Jenkinson also mentions the Araz River, but there is no name on the map, although the fork of the Kura is shown (!). The location of the Kura River is not without inaccuracies. So, on the map of the cities of Shabran and Baku, between which (albeit erroneously, because the Kura flows into the Caspian Sea south of Baku!), according to Jenkinson in his "*Declaration*", the Kura flows into the Caspian Sea, are located on southeast coast of the sea, and not on the west, as it should be (Английские путешественники, 1937: 206).



Figure 4. Fragment of Map "Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio".

Also in his "*Declaration*" Jenkinson notes that "the city of Derbent ... is located on the seashore at 41° latitude and adjoins the aforementioned land of Shamkhal" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 202), however, on the map itself, Derbent, like Shemakha, is indicated to the south of Baku, and in the south of the Caspian Sea, while Shamkhal is in the northeast, and on the map the latitude of Derbent corresponds approximately to 39° latitude. Ardabil, which is indicated in the "*Declaration*" at 38° latitude, is located approximately at 34° latitude on the map.

S. Baron explains these "wild inaccuracies" on this part of the map by the fact that Jenkinson's main goal in traveling through the Russian state and the Safavid Empire was not geography, but trade. W. Oakeshott expressed a similar point of view (Oakeshott, 1984: 704). S. Baron cites the fact that in 1572, summarizing his travels, which began in 1546, Anthony Jenkinson did not even mention his map. S. Baron suggests that upon his return to England in 1560, Jenkinson would hardly have taken up cartography, the concept and execution of the task were left to others. Moreover, according to S. Baron, if Anthony used the astrolabe throughout the entire route of the way from England to Moscow well known to him, then in the lands south of Moscow, along the Caspian Sea and in the Safavid Empire, previously unknown to him, he very little used the measurements of the astrolabe (Baron, 1993: 63-64). Indeed, in his "*Declaration*" Anthony indicated only the latitudes of two cities - Derbent and Ardabil (see Hakluyt, 1589: 367, 369).

The above facts, namely the incorrect location of cities on the shores of the Caspian Sea (as well as differences in the spelling of geographical names in the "*Declaration*" of Jenkinson and on his map!), a distorted representation of the Caspian Sea itself, the absence of the names of cities that Anthony Jenkinson himself knew about, prove once again that the map was compiled by Jenkinson even before his arrival in the Safavid Empire and, therefore, the material for the southern segment, on which the Safavid Empire was located, most likely was compiled from the words of a third person.

Nevertheless, despite the existing errors, Jenkinson's map can be an interesting object of study for toponymists. The name of such cities of the Safavid Empire as Derbent, Shabran, Shamakhi, Baku, Qazvin, Ardabil, Tabriz, Mashhad are presented on the map in English as follows: *Derben(t), Shaueren, Shamaghi, Backow, Casby, Ardwin, Teubres, Meshent*. Of the 19 geographical names indicated by Jenkinson in his "*Declaration*" of the journey to the Safavid Empire, only 13 are reflected on the map (Table 1).

Table 1. Correlation List of Place Names Relating to the Safavid Empire on Jenkinson's Map of 1562 and in His "*Declaration*" of 1589

Geographical names displayed on Jenkinson's original map of 1562	Geographical names and their variations indicated in the " <i>A Compendious and briefe declaration of the journey...</i> " (From Hakluyt, R. <i>The Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation...</i> (1589))
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Media – Persia – Mare Caspivm – Cirus fl. – Corason parua – Corason magna – Shaueren – Backow – Derben(t) – Shamaghi – Ardwin – Teubres – Casby – Meshent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The province of Aderraugan – Persia – Mare Caspium or Hircanum / Caspian Sea / Hircan Sea – Corasan – Shiruan / Shyruansa / Shyruan / Hyrcan / Hircanes / Hircane / Hircania – Casbin / Casben – Derbent – Ordowill – Shabran – Bacowe – Arrash – Tebris / Tauris / Teueris – Shamachie / Shamackye / Shamakye – Meskit – Keshan – Yesse – Heirin – Gillan – A great river called Curre – Arash

Table 2. List of the Names of the Safavid Shahs, Their Titles and Names of the Peoples on Jenkinson's Map of 1562 and in His "*Declaration*" of 1589

The names of the shahs, their titles and the names of the peoples indicated on Jenkinson's map of 1562	The names of the shahs, their titles and the names of the peoples indicated in " <i>A Compendious and briefe declaration of the journey...</i> " (From Hakluyt, R. <i>The Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation...</i> (1589))
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Medi – Persaeque – Persis – Persarum Principe – A Rege Persico – Sophi – Ismael Sophi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Esmael Sophie – Shah Thamas – Persians

6.2. Flora and fauna

One of the few physiographic elements of the Safavid Empire, given on the map, is the image of a forest cluster, next to which there is also evidence of the fauna of the empire - one-humped camels (*Camelus Dromedarius*), exotic for England, but widespread in the Safavid Empire, evidence of which are both rock images in Gobustan, as well as miniatures of the Safavid period. The Venetian ambassador Michele Membre reports on the beauty and power of the Shah's camels: "The Shah's camels are very beautiful and strong, they are called *tekerek* [*takarāk*"/*techerech*"]; much better than Turkish [Ottoman]..." (Membre, 1993: 36). It should be noted that, as stressed by A. Guliyev, before the spread of one-humped camels among the Turkic peoples, they were called "*beserek*" (*bəsərək*) (Guliyev, 2011: 57). On the far eastern spurs of the empire, the map also depicts a leopard, which was not only part of the hunt, but also one of the most common motifs of Safavid textiles, miniatures, as well as copper bowls, carrying a symbolic meaning (Fig. 5).

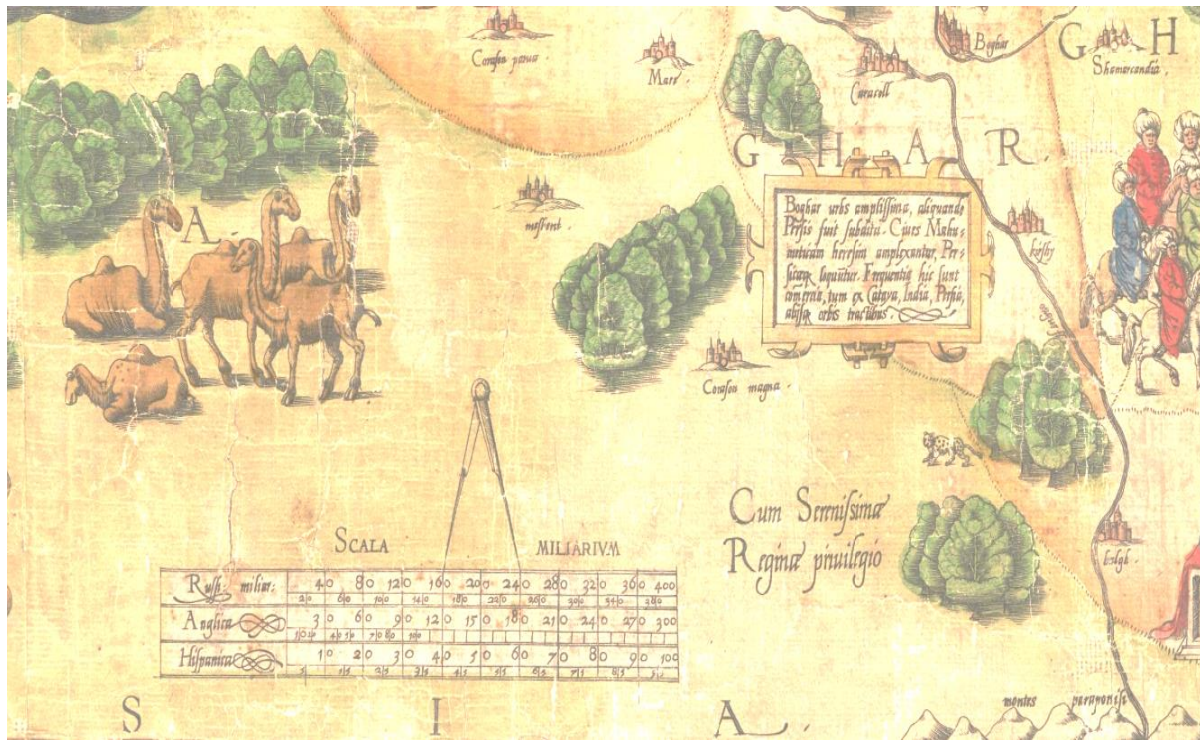


Figure 5. Fragment of Map "Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio".

6.3. Religious and Ethnographic Information

Jenkinson's map is not just a collection of place names. It is rich in symbolism and textual explanations, which are of particular scientific interest. The descriptive part of the map includes 27 Latin inscriptions or "vignettes", as W. Oakeshott called them, 4 of which contain information about the Safavid Empire. One of these inscriptions is the following:

"Medi, Per[ae]que Mahumetani sunt, a[bi]dueque cum Turcis Tartari[que] pugna confligunt. Fdq [?] maxime propter diferentes caremonias, quodque superius labrum rasitare nolunt, ut Turca Tartari[que] factitant" (Fig. 6).

Translation:

"Medes and Persians [under the "Persians" Jenkinson meant subjects of the Safavid Empire] are Muslims. Constantly conducted hostilities with the Turkic Tartars [under the "Tartars" Jenkinson assumed the Turkmens of Central Asia]. Particularly great differences in ceremonies, they do not shave [the mustache] over the upper lip, as the Turks and Tartars do."

As can be seen, the uniqueness of this map lies not only in the presence and reflection on it of geographical data, historical events, but also in interesting information about the religious and cultural life of the Safavid Empire. It should be noted that neither in the preamble nor in the text of the letter of Queen Elizabeth I Tudor addressed to Shah Tahmasib I on April 25, 1561, there is a single mention of the Muslim religion of the Shah or his subjects, which indicates that before Jenkinson arrived in the Safavid Empire neither the queen nor he was well aware of the religious denomination of the Safavids. But the inscription on the map gives us information of a religious

nature, namely, about the features of the religious direction professed by the Safavids. As it is known, the official religion in the Safavid Empire was Shiite Islam.

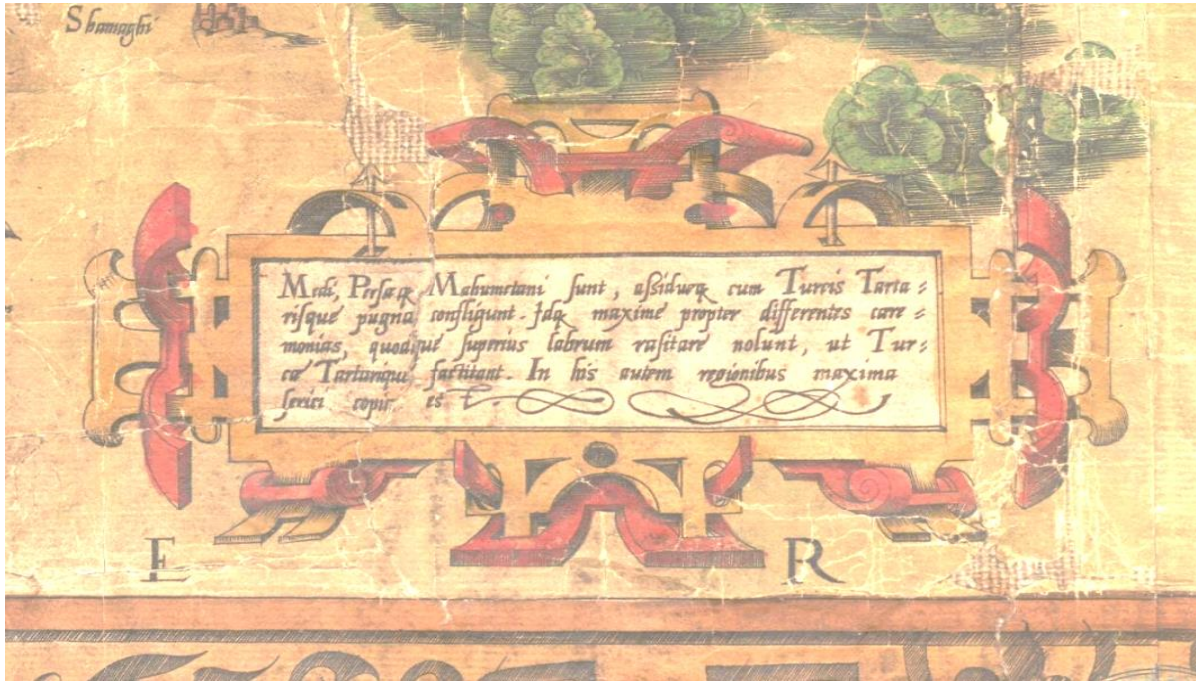


Figure 6. Fragment of Map “Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio”.

Note that Anthony Jenkinson's "*Declaration*" also contains information about this religious feature of the Safavids. Being in Bukhara in 1558, Anthony witnessed a military confrontation between the Safavids and the Turkestan khans, to which he gave a religious color. Thus, according to Jenkinson, “one of the reasons for the wars between them is that the Persians [Safavids] do not cut their hair on their upper lip, as the Bukharans and other Tatars do, who consider this behavior of the Persians [Safavids] a great sin. That is why they call the Persians [Safavids] Kafars, i.e. infidels, as they call Christians” (Английские путешественники, 1937: 182-183).

Later, having already visited the Safavid Empire itself in 1562, Jenkinson in his "*Declaration*" characterizes the religious denomination of the Safavids as follows:

“And although the Persians [Safavids] are the same Mohammedans as the Turks [Osmans] and Tatars [the peoples of Central Asia], they revere the false and fictitious prophet Ali, saying that he was the most important disciple of Mohammed, and day and night they curse and scold three other disciples of Mohammed - Omar, Osman and Abu Bakr. The latter killed Ali; for this reason and due to other disagreements between the clergy and in the laws relating to religion, they waged and still wage deadly wars with the Turks [Ottomans] and Tatars [the peoples of Central Asia]” (Английские путешественники, 1937: 213).

As Ch. Houston notes, “the contrasts between the Safavid and Ottoman Empires, and specifically Persia’s Shi’ite status, were used by English travel writers during this period in order to create an image of Persia [the Safavid Empire] as a nation open to English trade and travel” (Houston, 2009: 149).

Besides, in addition to the inscriptions that firmly indicate the Islamic religion of the population of the Safavid Empire, the silhouette of the founder of the Safavid state, the seated Shah Ismail I,

is also depicted on the original map of Jenkinson (Fig. 7). It is noteworthy that Jenkinson, having depicted the Shah with a long mustache and in the traditional Safavid attire - a long cassock, belted on a slope, and in a special headdress worn by Muslims - a *turban*, which, as Professor N. Matar notes, "...became the most dominant, the most feared, and the most awe-inspiring symbol of Islam in Renaissance. ... the preeminent symbol of Muslim power and hegemony" (Matar, 1996: 39), managed to visually convey information to map users both about Islamic beliefs and partly about ethnographic features, traditional male clothes of the population of the Safavid Empire. Note that in his "*A Compendious and briefe declaration of the journey...*", based on what he saw personally, Anthony Jenkinson gives valuable information about the royal attire of the Safavids. On August 20, 1562, in Shamakhi, Anthony was received by the ruler of Shirvan, Abdalla Khan, whom Jenkinson describes as follows: "...richly dressed in long silk and brocade clothes... He had a pointed turban on his head" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 203). On August 24, Anthony was again invited to dinner with him, during which the ruler gave him "...two robes, sewn according to the custom of this country, cut obliquely and reaching the ground" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 204).



Figure 7. Fragment of Map "Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio".

6.4. Economic information

Jenkinson's map is also of particular interest for studying the economic life of the Safavid Empire. So, for example, one of the inscriptions testifies to the abundance of silk products here, which were one of the main articles of trade export:

"Medi, Perſaeque Mahumetani ſunt, aſidueque cum Turcis Tartariſque pugna confligunt. ... In his autem regionibus maxima serici copir es" (Fig. 6).

Translation:

"Medes and Persians [under the "Persians" Jenkinson meant subjects of the Safavid state] Muslims. They constantly fought with the Turkic Tartars ... But in these countries a lot of silk products are produced."

Until today, almost the absolute majority of both domestic and Western researchers mistakenly believe that the Anglo-Safavid relations were limited only to trade and economic cooperation and tend to condition England's interest in relation to the Safavid Empire only by such "motives", which, alas, have become stereotypical, as the need for the former to find sources of cheap raw materials and a profitable market for their goods, to pave a transit route to India, the desire of British merchants to monopolize the trade in Safavid silk. The aspirations of the English crown and merchant capital to actively cooperate with the Safavids in the sphere of the silk industry are often characterized by researchers as the *raison d'être* of Anglo-Safavid relations. It should be noted that Anthony did not accidentally focus his attention on the abundance of silk products: one of the main tasks of the English crown and merchant capital was to establish trade in silk with the Safavid Empire. So, from the "Memorandum..." of the management of the Moscow company dated May 8, 1561, given to Anthony Jenkinson when sending him to the Russian and Safavid States, it follows: "As for the knowledge of silks, we do not need to give you any instructions, except for those that you know" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 198). As you can see, even before being sent to the Safavid Empire, Anthony was instructed by the company. How seriously the British took the silk trade and how strong was their desire to succeed in this business, can be seen from the letter of the English agent A. Edwards, addressed to the leadership of the Moscow Company on August 8, 1566, indicating that "...Antony Jenkinson offered [to Shah Tahmasib I] to take all the raw silk from these countries, paying in return for cloth and other goods" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 233). In addition, describing the city of Shirvan, which Anthony visited for the first time in 1562, he notes that the richest trading city is Arrash, in which "... most of all raw silk is produced ... In this state, you can get various good-quality and necessary goods... However, the main local commodity is all sorts of raw silk, which is in great abundance here" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 205).

Jenkinson's map also informs us about the commercial life of the Safavid Empire, in particular, indicates how vast was the area of distribution of the trading activities of the Safavid merchants:

"Boghar urbs ampliſſima, aliquando Perſis fuit ſubdita. ... Frequentia hic ſunt commercia, tum ex Cataya, India, Perſia, alijsque orbis tractibus" (Fig. 8).

Translation:

"Bukhara is the largest city, in the early years it was subject to the Persians [Safavids]. ... Merchants from China, India, Persia [Safavid Empire] and other areas of various countries trade very often there."

Apparently, despite the fact that almost the entire 16th century was remembered in the military and political history of the Safavid Empire by military actions against the Uzbek khans, nevertheless, the Safavids did not stop trading here.



Figure 8. Fragment of Map “Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio”.

6.5. Geopolitical and Military-Historical Information: Jenkinson's Map as a Source on the History of Safavid-Turkestan, Safavid-Ottoman and Anglo-Safavid Relationships

In addition to geographical information, data about the religious and economic life and ethnographic features of the Safavid Empire, the Latin inscriptions on the original copy of Jenkinson's map also contain interesting diplomatic, geopolitical and military-historical information. Jenkinson's map at the same time can also serve as a valuable historical source on the history of relations between the Safavid Empire both with the khans of Central Asia, and partly with the Ottoman Empire, as well as with England. In this regard, the following Latin inscriptions on the map are of particular scientific interest to us:

- 1) *“Hoc Virgine Principem locum tenet. Incolae Mahumeticam sectam agnoscunt, vivuntque iuxta Nagaiaorum consuetudinem, ac cum Persiarum Principe (vulgo Sophi nuncupato) continenter belligerantur”* (Fig 9).

Translation:

"The time and place of the Principality of Urgench. The inhabitants profess the Mohammedan religion and live according to Nogai customs, and with the prince of the Persians [Safavid Shah] (the so-called Sophie) they are constantly at war."



Figure 9. Fragment of Map "Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio".

2) "Vrbs Coraſon a Rege Perſico adiuuantibus Tartaris anno 1558 expugnata fuit" (Fig. 10).

Translation:

"The city of Khorasan was captured in 1558 by the Persian king [Safavid Shah Tahmasib I], who was supported by the Tartars."



Figure 10. Fragment of Map “Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio”.

3) “Boghar urbs ampliſſima, aliquando Perſis fuit ſubdita. Ciues Mahumeticam hereſim amplexantur, Perſicaeque loquuntur. Frequentia hic ſunt commercia, tum ex Cataya, India, Perſia, alijsque orbis tractibus” (Fig. 8).

Translation:

“Bukhara is the largest city, it was subject to the Persians [Safavids] in the early years. The inhabitants are heretical Muslims and speak Persian. Merchants from China, India, Persia [Safavid Empire] and other regions of various countries are trading there very often.”

Relations between the Safavids and the khanates of Turkestan were tense and were characterized by frequent military hostilities. Two neighboring states of the Sheibanids (the Uzbek dynasty ruling in the Bukhara Khanate) and the Safavids almost simultaneously appeared on the political map of the world. Both newly created, young states sought to expand their territories and spheres of influence, which, accordingly, affected their relations and soon resulted in a military-political clash between the two states. The main object of the struggle between the two states was precisely the province of Khorasan, which was of great economic and strategic importance for both sides. The center of Khorasan - Herat - was the residence of the heirs of the Safavid Shah. The entire 16th century can be characterized as a century of active Safavid-Sheibanid struggle for Khorasan. As R. Agayev notes, the strengthening of the Safavids here did not meet the interests of the Sheibanids, because in this case, the trade route would be closed for the latter, both to the west and to the south, to India. As it is known, Herat, which was one of the largest cities in Khorasan, was a link in the transit trade of Central Asia with India (Ağayev, 2004: 98). T. Najafli also emphasizes the special strategic and religious significance of Khorasan for the Safavids. According to him, on the one hand, the tomb of Imam Rza who was of particular importance for the Shiites (the official religion of the Safavids was Shiite Islam), was located in this province, on the other hand, this

province was also characterized by strategic significance. The establishment of control over Herat, which was the center of this province and the largest city in the east of the empire, guaranteed the security of the eastern borders of the empire. Therefore, Shah Ismail first appointed his son Tahmasib Mirza as the ruler of this province and then another son - Sam Mirza. According to T. Najafli, the appointment of the Shah's children as rulers in this province demonstrated the importance the Shah attached to the protection and preservation of this province under his control (Nəcəfli, 2021: 31).

As it is known, the basis of the Sheibanid State was the union of the Uzbek nobility and the influential Sunni Muslim clergy. The large Sunni clergy of Central Asia encouraged the Sheibanids to take military action against the Safavids. As a consequence, it is not surprising that the Sheibanids waged war against the Safavids under the slogan of a "holy war" against "Shiite heretics" (see Эфендиев, 1981: 100). Anthony Jenkinson in his "*Declaration*" also confirms that the wars between the Safavids and Bukhara were of a religious nature. Thus, Jenkinson notes that "the Bukhara country was once under the rule of the Persians [Safavids], and now the Persian language is still spoken in it; however, now Bukhara is an independent kingdom, which is waging the most severe religious wars with the Persians [Safavids], although they are all Mohammedans. One of the reasons for the wars between them is that the Persians [Safavids] do not cut their hair on their upper lip, as the Bukharians and other Tatars do, who consider this behavior of the Persians [Safavids] a great sin. That is why they call the Persians [Safavids] Kafars, i.e. infidels, as they call Christians" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 182-183). However, religion was only a screen for the Sheibanids. As R. Agayev notes, "at first glance, this struggle looked like a struggle for Khorasan, but in fact, behind it lay a struggle for primacy in the Islamic world ... The history of relations between the two states consisted only of military-political relations" (Ağayev, 2004: 100-101).

The territorial claims of the Sheibanids to the Safavids began when in 1507-1508 Muhammad Khan Sheibani, taking advantage of Shah Ismail's preoccupation with domestic unrest, put an end to the rule of the Timurid dynasty and, having captured Khorasan, began to invade the Safavid Empire (see İsgəndər bəy Münşi, 2010: 74). War became inevitable. One of the key battles - Merv battle - between the two states took place on December 1, 1510, ending with a crushing defeat of Mohammed Khan Sheibani, whose head was cut off by the Safavids and, having filled the scalp with straw, sent to the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid (for details see: İsgəndər bəy Münşi, 2010: 75-77), and the establishment of the power of the Safavids over the entire territory of Khorasan up to the river Amudarya. Even the approach of the ruler of Bukhara, Ubeidulla Khan, the nephew of Muhammad Khan Sheibani, with a 10,000-strong army to the fortress of Merv, did not save the situation. Upon learning that Mohammed Khan Sheibani had been killed, Ubeydulla Khan was forced to retreat back to Bukhara. Unlike the ruler of Bukhara, according to O. Ekaev, during the Battle of Merv, there were diplomatic relations between Shah Ismail and the ruler of Urgench, Ilbars, and they even were in a secret conspiracy against Muhammad Khan Sheibani (cited in Nəcəfli, 2021: 28). Ismail even called Ilbars his *naib* (Пилипчук, 2017: 821) and Ilbars even ordered to read the khutba in honor of Shah Ismail in Khiva and Urgench (cited in Nəcəfli, 2021: 28). So, Shah Ismail, having captured Khorezm, expanded the territory up to Maverranakh.

In 1511, the ruler of Bukhara, Ubeydulla Khan, and the ruler of Samarkand, Teymur Sultan, sent their ambassadors to Shah Ismail with gifts, expressing their obedience to him. As a result, the border between the Safavids and Sheibanids was established along the Amudarya River. However, the Uzbeks did not follow the peace agreement for long and already in 1513, with the aim of revenge, they made attempts to return the lands, but unsuccessfully. In 1513, they again sent an embassy of 300 people to Shah Ismail, headed by Khoja Abdurrahim, Sheikh Nagshibandiyya in

Bukhara, with a proposal to establish peaceful relations and offering the Amudarya River as an interstate border. Shah Ismail agreed only after the ruler of Bukhara, Ubeydullah Khan, came to him at his request for repentance. However, peace with the Sheibanids turned out to be illusory. After the death of Shah Ismail, Ubeydullah Khan again began his activities to return Khorasan under his control. After Shah Tahmasib ascended the Safavid throne, on the initiative of the Bukhara Khan Ubeydullah the Uzbeks made 6 attempts to return Khorasan within 12 years (in 1524, 1526, twice in 1528, 1532 and 1535). The most fierce battle took place on September 24, 1528 near Jam, not far from Sarygamysh. In a fierce battle, 120 thousand Uzbek and 24 thousand Safavid troops clashed. Despite his young age, the 14-year-old Shah Tahmasib, distinguished by his courage and talent as a commander, with only the remaining 3,000 troops, defeated Ubeydullah Khan, who was numerically superior to him, along with the rest of the 80 "Padishahs of the Turanian possessions" (İsgəndər bəy Münşi, 2010: 105-113; Ferzelibeyli, 2017: 233; Nəcəfli, 2021: 41-44). According to Iskender bey Munshi, such a fierce battle took place that "such dust rose from the hooves of the horses that the sun, which illuminated everything around, was covered with a *niqab*" (İsgəndər bəy Münşi, 2010: 109).

After the death of Ubeydullah Khan in 1539, relations between the Safavids and the Uzbek khans relatively normalized. The Venetian ambassador Michele Membre, who was in the Safavid Empire at that time, witnessed the arrival of an ambassador from the ruler of Khorezm, Uzbek, to the Shah in Tabriz on April 1, 1540, who expressed a desire to become a vassal of Shah Tahmasib (Венецианцы, 2005: 66-67). According to Michele Membre, "Therefore the Shah held a feast. By his order, for three days and nights his *nakkara* sounded in the square..." (Венецианцы, 2005: 67; also see: Quliyev, 2011: 40-42). The new Bukhara ruler Abdulaziz also sent his ambassador with gifts to Tabriz to Shah Tahmasib in 1541. In 1551, the ruler of Khorezm, Dinmukhammed Khan, sent an embassy with valuable gifts to the shah in order to improve relations (Nəcəfli, 2021: 79). However, after the death of Dinmukhammed Khan, the new ruler of Khorezm, his brother Ali Sultan, attacked Khorasan several times. In 1558, Shah Tahmasib with 15,000 troops sent a punitive army to the Astrabad province against the Turkmens who rallied around Ali Sultan. Despite the numerical superiority, some Safavid commanders died, some drowned in the river, and the rest were captured (for more details see: İsgəndər bəy Münşi, 2010: 206-214; Nəcəfli, 2021: 80). However, this did not lead to the conquest of Khorasan by the Uzbeks. As a result, the uprising was crushed. Jenkinson, who was in Urgench in October 1558, witnessed those events. This is how Jenkinson describes the events that took place: "Since we remained here for a month, waiting for the time of our further journey, the king of this country named Ali-Sultan ... returned from the city of Khorasan, within the borders of Persia [Safavid Empire], conquered by him from the Persians [Safavids] with whom he and the other kings of Tataria are constantly at war" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 177). As can be seen, the Latin inscription on Jenkinson's map does not coincide with the presentation of the events of that period in his own "*Declaration*". In the "*Declaration*", on the contrary, Jenkinson points out that in 1558 Ali Sultan conquered Khorasan from the Safavids. The year 1558 was remembered in the history of the confrontation between the Safavids and the Turkestan khanates as one of the most militarily unfortunate for the former. The events of 1558 cannot be characterized either by the conquest of Khorasan by the Safavids, because it had been conquered by them much earlier, nor by Ali Sultan's conquest of it. The Astrabad events are described in detail in the work of the famous Safavid court chronicler Iskender bey Munshi, which describes in detail both the successes and failures of the Safavids in military operations with the Uzbek khans throughout the entire 16th century. It is noteworthy that the chronicler does not mention Khorasan being conquered by one or another of the opposing sides, although he demonstrates the complexity of the situation for the Safavid army. Subconsciously, the question arises, how is such a divergence of information possible for one and

the same person, all the more who was a witness to the events? There can be only one answer: most likely, the information for compiling the map was transferred by Jenkinson to the second person who made such a gross mistake. As I.A. Osipov notes, "...the inscription was composed by hearsay, and the authors mixed up or misheard the narrator" (Осипов, 2008). This is probably why the map is characterized by anachronisms: although the inscription says that Khorasan was conquered by the Safavids, nevertheless, he and Merv are depicted on the map as belonging to the Turkmen khanates. Moreover, would Ali Sultan make new aggressive campaigns in Khorasan in 1559 and 1563 if Khorasan had been conquered by him from the Safavids in 1558? Of course, not.

Besides, most likely, under the conquest of Khorasan by the Safavids in 1558, Anthony Jenkinson meant the suppression of the Astrabad uprising by them. It is necessary to distinguish between the small Khorasan (*Corason parua*) and the great Khorasan (*Corason magna*) on the map (Fig. 8). K. Meshkat suggests that "Jenkinson's Khurasan parva, south of the Oxus (Amu Darya) and west of the Mare (Merv) on his map, can almost certainly be identified as Astrabad..." (Meshkat, 2005: 49). Hence, the confusion arose in the question of the conquest of Khorasan.

The fact that in the preamble of her letter of to Shah Tahmasib I, dated April 25, 1561, Queen Elizabeth I Tudor does not mention Khorasan in the title of Shah, and in the "Declaration" of Jenkinson himself "*Khorassan*" is already listed among the provinces of the Safavid Empire, and in her letter to Shah Mohammed Khudabende dated June 10, 1579, Queen Elizabeth refers to the shah already as "*King of Khorassan*" (see Английские путешественники, 1937: 193, 212, 262), indicates that, probably, Anthony Jenkinson indeed handed over material for mapping before his arrival in the Safavid Empire, without having detailed information on the military and political history of the empire. In addition, apparently, it is precisely for this reason that the map of Jenkinson depicts the great Shah Ismail I, who had been famous in European courts, and not Shah Tahmasib I, to whom Anthony headed and about whom he knew nothing at that time.

By the way, one of the main reasons why in December 1558 Anthony could not travel further from Bukhara in the direction of the Safavid Empire was precisely the dangerous situation on the roads that arose as a result of the Safavid-Turkestan military operations. As Jenkinson points out, "...great wars have just begun between the Sufi and the kings of Tartary..." (Английские путешественники, 1937: 185).

All subsequent attempts by the Uzbeks to conquer Khorasan from the Safavids also ended in vain (see Ağalarlı, 2013: 127).

The fact that it was not without reason that Jenkinson depicted on his map the long-term enmity of the Safavids with the Uzbek khans confirms the point of view of M. Agalarlı, according to which the Amasya peace treaty of 1555, concluded between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, was an agreement generated by the prevailing political necessity, because the struggle on two fronts (against the Ottomans in the west and against the Uzbeks in the east) was a strong blow to the military-political position of the empire. According to M. Agalarlı, "the Ottoman-Sheibanid union, which waged a serious struggle to end the political presence of the Safavid State, threatened the political existence of the state. It is for these reasons that the conclusion of the Amasya peace treaty, which did not meet political interests and ended with the loss of the territories of the Safavid State, was a forced historical step for the Safavids" (Ağalarlı, 2013: 120). In addition, the sources testify to the existence of diplomatic correspondence between the Ottoman sultans and the Uzbek khans, in which the former incited the latter to enter into joint military operations against their common enemy, the Safavid Empire (for more details, see: Ferzelibeyli, 2017: 209, 228, 249). Some sources even indicate that in 1554 Sultan Suleiman provided the Uzbek Khan

Abdullatif Khan with military assistance not only with weapons, but also with an army of 300 janissaries and a detachment of gunners (see Ferzelibeyli, 2017: 228, qeyd).

Moreover, as noted earlier, Jenkinson's map can also serve as a source on the history of Ottoman-Safavid relations. The seated Shah Ismail I is depicted on the southern part of the map, and to his left, apparently, the cavalry of the Ottoman army, armed with swords and heading for the shah (Fig. 11). Although the drawings are not accompanied by textual explanations, it can be safely assumed that the author of the map apparently tried to depict the Ottoman-Safavid confrontation known throughout Europe, although, as it is known, after Shah Tahmasib I concluded the Amasya peace treaty in 1555, which put an end to the Safavid-Ottoman wars, which lasted half a century, relatively peaceful relations reigned between the two states until 1578, which Anthony himself witnessed during his stay in Qazvin. By the way, it was precisely because of his commitment to a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire and the desire to maintain peace and tranquility in his country that Shah Tahmasib I refused to establish any kind of relationship with Elizabethan England. Nevertheless, on Jenkinson's map, the Ottoman-Safavid relations were represented precisely as hostile and in the active phase of the military confrontation. In addition, the fact that on the map Shah Ismail is depicted alone, without his large army, may indirectly testify to the power of the Safavid Empire, in particular the Shah himself, on whom the royal courts of European states had high hopes in the fight against Ottoman aggression.

The following Latin inscription on Jenkinson's map is of great interest not only for determining the year of the compilation of the map itself, but also for studying Anglo-Safavid relationships:

"Cum Serenissima Regina privilegio" (Fig. 5).

Translation:

"By the privilege of the Most Serene Queen."



Figure 11. Fragment of Map "Nova Absolutaque Russiae, Moscoviae, et Tartariae Descriptio".

As is known, the main purpose of Anthony Jenkinson's mission to the Safavid Empire was to obtain trade privileges from the Safavid Shah. The Safavid Empire, as a separate entity, was of no less commercial interest to England than India. The memorandum handed to Anthony by the governors of the Moscow Company dated May 8, 1561, states: "...You must receive privileges and letters of protection from the named Sufi [Shah Tahmasib I] and other sovereigns in the widest possible volume for the firm establishment of further trade in goods..." (Английские путешественники, 1937: 196). Although the long-awaited for the British audience of Anthony Jenkinson with Shah Tahmasib I, which took place on November 20, 1562 in Qazvin, ended not so fruitfully and "greater moments of things" did not arise from "these small beginnings" (Английские путешественники, 1937: 194), as the English Queen Elizabeth I Tudor hoped, nevertheless, in April 1563 Jenkinson managed to obtain certain trade privileges from the Shirvan ruler Abdullah Khan. From the text of the privileges, it follows that "due to the persistent intercession and request of our kind and beloved Anthony Jenkinson" English merchant entrepreneurs were granted "complete freedom, safe passage and permission to come or send their agents for trading in goods into our country [Shirvan], to make purchases and sales", "stay and dwell in our country [Shirvan] for as long as they wish, and leave whenever they please, without delays, hindrances and obstacles

both in relation to themselves and their goods", and duty-free trade was allowed (Английские путешественники, 1937: 215).

The fact that Queen Elizabeth also addressed a special letter to the Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible with a request to let Jenkinson pass through his possessions on a mission to the Safavid Shah, drawn up on the same day as the letter to Shah Tahmasib I, i.e. April 25, 1561, as her envoy to the Safavid Empire, she chose none other than Jenkinson who was one of the most skillful English merchants and travelers, she wrote a letter to the Safavid Shah in three different languages, with her characteristic cunning and diplomatic maneuverability convinced the shah of the benefits of establishing relations and starting trading activities between the two states, once again proves how necessary it was for the English crown to establish trade relations with the Safavid Empire [Кафар-заде, 2022a: 35-36; Кафар-заде, 2022b: 215-219], which in turn is evidenced by the inscription on the map about the privileges of the queen. It should be noted that the expansion and prosperity of the Muscovite Company were associated by British agents with the acquisition of trade privileges from the Safavid Empire. As follows from a letter from Arthur Edwards to Sir Thomas Lodge and the secretary of the Moscow Company, Mr. Thomas Nicholson, dated April 26, 1566: "When this is achieved [commercial letters and privileges from the Shah], great benefits will have the company and great peace will come for those who remain here ... I, however, have no doubt that once the privilege is acquired and received, we will live in peace and rest, and soon we will turn into a big company trading in raw silk and silk fabrics, all sorts of spices and mosquito goods, as well as other local goods" [Английские путешественники, 1937: 222]. It is no coincidence that over the long 20 years, England sent as many as six trading expeditions to the Safavid Empire (1561-1564, 1563-1565, 1565-1567, 1568-1569, 1568-1574, 1579-1581), even despite the difficult travel conditions. 17 years after Jenkinson's mission to the Safavid Empire and receiving trade privileges from Abdallah Khan, in her letter to Shah Muhammad Khudabende, Elizabeth assessed this event as a "*honorable embassy*" [Английские путешественники, 1937: 262].

Besides, this Latin inscription on Jenkinson's map, which none of the researchers of this map paid attention to, confirms that, despite the fact that the year of its publication is indicated on the map as 1562, additions to it were made later (!).

7. CONCLUSION

So, the analysis of the original map by Anthony Jenkinson, nevertheless, revealed how important it is and what an historical value it has not only for the history of cartography in Russia, England, Azerbaijan, the countries of Central Asia, but also for studying, first of all, the history, geography, toponymy, ethnography, economics, and other areas of these states. According to K. Szykula, thanks to whose great find the scientific world got a chance to get acquainted with Jenkinson's original map of 1562, it is "...an inexhaustible material for investigation from different points of view" (Szykula, 2012: 147). In addition, it was proved that this map can also serve as a valuable historical source in the study of the military-political history, religious and economic life of the Safavid Empire. Moreover, detailed analysis of the original map, particularly the Latin inscription "*Cum Serenissima Regina privilegio*" to which has never been paid attention of scientists, proved that despite the fact that the date of issue of the map was shown as 1562, it was enriched and completed afterwards (!).

This map was not intended for compass navigation, but pursued the goal of visual transmission of what Anthony Jenkinson saw when traveling to new countries, including the Safavid Empire. As J.

Brotton emphasizes, “each map also encapsulates a particular idea or issue that both motivated its creation and captured its contemporaries’ understanding of the world, from science, politics, religion and empire to nationalism, trade and globalization” (Brotton, 2013: 27). According to I.A. Osipov, “...the purpose of the map was rather informative. This is a map-report rich in colorful palette, a large-scale, visual demonstration of new knowledge, as well as independent work from start to finish, and considering the aforementioned line of Spanish miles, it is possible that it was a challenge map, a statement of achievements. The British wanted to emphasize to her [Spain] their undoubted priority in presenting cartographic information about the unknown northeastern and southeastern territories; the desire was so strong that they were forced to stretch their work for several years, each time adding more and more new materials coming from expeditions sent to distant countries” (Осипов, 2008).

Note that Anthony Jenkinson was the first Englishman who visited both the khanates of Central Asia and the Safavid Empire. Obviously, his duty was to transfer to the English crown and the leadership of the Moscow Trading Company, whose representative he was there, the most detailed information about both the economic opportunities of these states and the geopolitical situation in the region, as well as information about the culture, religion, everyday life and even mores of local peoples, which also seen from Jenkinson's detailed reports of his travels and discoveries here.

It should be emphasized that Jenkinson's map also affected Anglo-Safavid relations, although the information on the Safavid Empire presented on the map was not extensive and was of an encyclopedic nature. Jenkinson expanded the political geography for the English elite. His map strongly influenced the formation of the geographical, religious, geopolitical, cultural, social perception by the English elite of the East, the Muslim world, unknown to them at that time, in particular the Safavid Empire. The map contains both geographical, military-historical, economic, ethnographic and religious information about the Safavid Empire. Anthony's attempt to convey information about the Shiite religious direction professed by the Safavids is of great interest. As J. Brotton notes, “a world view gives rise to a world map; but the world map in turn defines its culture's view of the world. It is an exceptional act of symbiotic alchemy” (Brotton, 2013: 20). Moreover, if earlier the British received this or that information about the Safavid Empire from sources provided by third parties, mostly not English, then Anthony Jenkinson, thanks to his map of 1562, entered his name in history as the first Englishman who not only tried to convey to English society information about the Safavid Empire, based on what he himself saw and heard during his mission there, but also as the first Englishman who transmitted it by visualization - by displaying it on a map. Jenkinson's map, being the first visual encounter of Christian England with the Muslim East, in particular with the Safavid Empire, became to date the first English map that depicted the Safavid Empire. In addition, as W. Oakeshott notes, “Jenkinson's map is the first map made by an Englishman and published in England” (Oakeshott, 1984: 704).

As I.A. Osipov emphasizes, “during its creation, the map brought together many people who set themselves and successfully solved the intellectual task of representing the distant, little-studied or completely unknown territories. Even today, the miraculously acquired map makes it possible to combine the results of research by several generations of domestic and foreign scientists and provide answers, if not to all, then to many questions” (Осипов, 2008).

Thus, the conducted research showed that the map is not only a graphic, visual ethno-geographical representation and symbolization of certain territories, but also helps to recreate historical reality, which in turn makes it a valuable source for studying a particular problem of history. As J. Brotton notes, “We of course look at maps visually, but we can also read them as a series of

different stories" (Brotton, 2013: 20). Proceeding from this, Jenkinson's map was introduced by us into scientific circulation for the first time as a valuable source on the history of the Safavid Empire.

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