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THE TURKISH PRISONERS OF WAR IN STOCKHOLM DURING THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR

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The article is devoted to previously unknown nuances of the history of about 50 Turkish prisoners of war, who during the years 1704–1714 managed to escape from their long-time Russian captivity to Sweden. They preceded the more known Turks – the so-called “Turkish creditors” – that arrived in Sweden after years spent by King Charles XII’s in the Ottoman Empire. The contacts between Sweden and the Ottoman Porte were scarce at the beginning of the Great Northern War and the arrival of the first Turkish prisoners of war in 1704 created a delicate problem for the Swedish authorities in Stockholm. King Charles XII was abroad since the start of the war in 1700 and the Royal Senate in Stockholm most often had to decide and act without consulting their far-away sovereign. Their ways how to handle and treat these Turks also shifted drastically over the years, from the first ones to the last ones ten years later. It is obvious that the major shift came after the battle of Poltava and King Charles XII’s long stay in Bender and the Ottoman Empire. At first they were treated more or less like any of the other arriving prisoners of war and thus also receiving the daily allowance. The allowance was later withdrawn and the Turks had to try to support themselves, which turned out to be hard. However, the daily allowance was returned to the Turks that arrived later when the Swedes tried to build good relations with the Ottoman Porte. And after the battle of Poltava, the arriving Turks were treated as important guests and received generous daily support.

All of the Turkish prisoners of war had been captured already in the mid-1690s, some at the Ottoman and Crimean Khanate territories along the lower Dnipro River such as at the capture of Gazi-kerman in 1695, some on the Black Sea coast and some probably also in and around Azov.

Most of the Turkish prisoners of war were common soldiers but some were janissaries and one was a captain named Mustafa Hüseyin and another was a “Turkish priest” named Musa Mustafa.

All of the Turkish prisoners of war left Sweden after some time. However, it was not an easy task to organise a safe journey home to Ottoman territories. The Swedish authorities in Stockholm often suggested that the Turks should take the route over Holland. In one case it was even suggested by the Turks themselves that they could finance the journey by letting themselves to be exchanged for enslaved Christians in Turkey. Another possible way of returning was to travel by land via Poland to Ottoman territories, but it was probably not seen as the safest route.

Keywords: Azov campaigns (1695–1696), Charles XII, Gazi-kerman, Great Northern War (1700–1721), Ottoman Empire, prisoners of war, Russia, Russo-Turkish War (1686–1700), Sweden

The direct contacts between the Swedish Empire under King Charles XII and the Ottoman Porte before the battle of Poltava in 1709 and the Swedish King’s subsequent and unplanned long stay in Bender and the Ottoman Empire have not yet been extensively researched or discussed. The most thorough study on this subject has so far been done by the Swedish historian Sven A. Nilsson who already in 1953 published an article about the Swedish-Turkish relations prior to Poltava [Nilsson 1954].

It is fairly well-known and familiar to most researchers that there were groups of Turks coming to Sweden after King Charles XII's years in the Ottoman Empire 1709–1714. These groups of Turks came to Sweden to secure the payment of the debts the Swedish Crown owed them after the years in the Ottoman lands. More than one third of these “Turkish creditors” were however ethnic Jews and Armenians [Westrin 1900]. Far less known is the fact that there were groups of Turks arriving in Stockholm as early as in 1704, but these Turks were not lenders but prisoners of war that had managed to escape from their many years of suffering as prisoners of war in Russia.

King Charles XII and the Ottoman Porte

In February 1701, Sultan Mustafa II is said to have sent a letter of congratulation to King Charles XII after the victorious battle of Narva in late November 1700. Since the original letter has not been found but only a few copies translated to German, it has been suggested that the letter never existed but was actually part of a Swedish propaganda effort. Regardless of this, no further direct contacts are known during the coming years [Nordberg 1740a, 139–140; Nilsson 1954, 116–117; Tengberg 1953, 5]. The German “copies” of the Sultan's letter can be found at the National Archives in Stockholm [RA, DT, Vol. 98, Letter signed by “Sultan Bassa / Maten Gerey” and dated in Constantinople “6 February 5650”].

It seems like the next time the Swedish King came into contact with the Ottomans did not take place until September 1704. It was merely by chance, but this time the King himself probably came in direct contact with a group of Ottoman subjects. On 27 August 1704¹, the Polish city of Lwów/Lemberg was stormed by the Swedish troops under the direct command of King Charles XII. Shortly after the city had surrendered and the garrison had been taken as prisoners of war, a group of chained Turkish and Tatar “slaves” were discovered. King Charles XII ordered them to be released from their shackles and to be set free to go wherever they wanted [Nordberg 1740a, 833–835]. According to Gustaf Adlerfelt, the King's chamberlain, this “caused the poor people tremendous joy” [Adlerfelt 1707, 236; Adlerfelt 1919, 226]. *Theatrum Europaeum* also tells that the released prisoners had offered themselves to take service in the Vlach companies under the Swedish King, but only a few had been accepted [Schneider 1718, 270].

Almost forty years later the Polish diplomat Stanisław Poniąkowski recalled that King Charles had found one hundred Turkish slaves in Lwów. Furthermore, he tells that they had been captured during the previous wars with Poland and that the King now had returned them their liberty, given them money as well as exquisite clothes, and finally also an escort all the way to the Turkish border [Poniąkowski 1741, 22].

Even though the sources are not clear on how many Turks and Tatars were released in Lwów in 1704 or when or where they had been captured, this act of benevolence by the Swedish King was apparently remembered three years later when King Charles XII once again came in direct contact with Ottoman subjects. This time the meeting took place in the small Kuyavian town of Brześć in central Poland in late November 1707, shortly after King Charles and the Swedish army had begun the march eastward that ended with the disastrous battle of Poltava².

The meeting probably took place thanks to the Polish King Stanisław Leszczyński, who earlier the same year had sent a Polish delegation headed by the Castellan of Halicz, Samuel Górski, to Constantinople to get recognition as the new Polish King and to remind the Ottoman Porte about their friendship. Interestingly, while the Polish delegation still was in Constantinople, in mid September 1707, the Polish King also had entertained King Charles with Turkish music performed by 17 Janissary musicians. The Polish delegation returned in late November together with a 30-man strong Ottoman delegation that had been sent from the Serasker of Silistre Eyaleti, Yusuf Paşa. The Ottoman envoy first met with the Polish King, even though it seems like it was a visit to the Swedish King that was the main purpose of the delegation. The main sources for the description of this meeting are: [Nordberg 1740a, 833–835; Hultman 1889, 15–16, 149, 151–152; Tengberg 1953, 6–7; Refik 1919, 96–99].

The Swedish court chaplain Jöran Nordberg calls the Ottoman envoy a “Turkish Aga” and names him also “Mehmet Aga”. The Ottoman Court Chronicler or vakanüvis, Mehmed Raşid, names him Mehmed Efendi from Yergöğü, which means he came from the town of Giurgiu in present southern Romania. The Ottoman Chronicler also tells that the Ottoman envoy had been forced to take the route along the Hungarian border and through Habsburg lands to avoid Russian troops [Refik 1919, 96].

After a meeting with the Polish King on 23 November, the envoy got permission to visit the head of the Swedish Field Chancellery, Count Carl Piper³, in Brześć on 25 November 1707. With him, he brought a letter from the Serasker Yusuf Paşa, dated in Bender already on 30 July 1707. The envoy insisted to deliver the letter in person to the Swedish King, but since it was not sent from the Sultan Ahmed III but just a Serasker, King Charles XII first hesitated to a meeting with the envoy in person. However, after the Polish King had insisted that the friendship of the Ottoman Porte was of importance for him and Poland, King Charles changed his mind and agreed to an audience in Count Piper’s quarters in Brześć on 27 November.

At the audience the envoy handed over the Serasker’s letter, draped in a golden cloth, to King Charles XII. The chamberlain Carsten Klingenskierna, who was said to be able to understand twelve languages, had previously gotten a copy of the letter and could now translate it for the King during the audience. He was also able to interpret the envoy’s speech to Swedish. However, the King’s conversation was interpreted to Latin by the State Secretary Olof Hermelin, and he was in turn translated to Turkish by the envoy’s own interpreter, who was a Polish convert [RA, KA-HE, K 181, Letter with attached report from Olof Hermelin, dated in Brześć 29 November 1707].

The envoy said that the Sultan had noted the King’s reputation and heroic deeds and offered now a closer friendship. As a friendly sign he also mentioned that the Sultan recently had bought more than 100 Swedish prisoners of war that the Muscovites had captured and sold in Turkey. The Swedish prisoners were already released from their slavery, and this had also been done as “a reward, that His Majesty, 3 years ago had released the Turkish prisoners that were imprisoned in Lemberg” [RA, KA-HE, K 181, Letter with attached report from Olof Hermelin, dated in Brześć 29 November 1707]. This can be compared to what the English captain and diplomat James Jefferyes writes in his letter to Whitehall on 21 December 1707 (according to the Gregorian calendar). In the letter he tells that the Sultan particularly had thanked the King “for having set at liberty some of his subjects who were detain’d prisonners at Lemberg ever sinse the siege of Vienna, promising if any Svedish subject should be sold by the Muscovites to the Tartars they should presently have their liberty without ransom” [Jefferyes 1953, 34].

Otherwise, it seems like not much more of importance was said during this audience other than what the conventional letter had said with its typical flowery and laudatory language about the Swedish King and his military victories as well as about the continued friendship between the Ottoman Porte and the Polish King. It was also noted that the audience had taken place without many ceremonies, and as usual, the Swedish King was bareheaded, while the envoy and his suite kept their turbans on.

After the audience the envoy was invited for a dinner with Count Carl Piper [RA, KA-UE, K 251, Letter from Carl Piper, dated in Brześć 29 November 1707]. The Ottoman delegation was also invited to take their quarters in the town of Brześć and to be attended by the Royal Court, chefs and other servants.

The Ottoman delegation stayed in Brześć for a little more than three weeks. During this time the Ottoman envoy visited the Swedish Field Chancellery on numerous occasions. One subject he often returned to was that he was wondering why the Swedes did not trade with Turkey just like the English and the Dutch. The Swedes answered that the distance was too far and that the many Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean Sea made the trade very uncertain. In response, the envoy claimed that the Sultan could give them a letter of free passage for the pirates of Tunis, Algiers and Tripolis. Furthermore, he mentioned a long list of goods that also the Swedes were welcomed to sell and buy in Turkey.

This offer was presented to the Swedish King who in turn ordered that a letter about the trading proposal should be sent to Stockholm. The Ottoman envoy was satisfied when he was informed about this. The envoy had also offered Ottoman Auxiliary troops for the new Polish king.

The Ottoman delegation left Brześć on 20 December 1707 and besides the many gifts from the Swedes, such as 800 Swedish Ducats, costly guns and other expensive items, the envoy also was given exquisite silverworks and horses from the Polish King. He was also given a letter addressed to the Serasker Yusuf Paşa, signed not by the Swedish King but by Count Carl Piper, where the mutual friendship between the two powers was assured. The letter also stated that the trading proposal should be examined if only they could get an assurance against the pirates. The Swedish King also wanted to send a Swedish minister to Constantinople and assumed that he would be enjoying the same honour as the other ministers at the Porte. And finally, any help that the Sultan could give the Polish King Stanisław Leszczyński, who the Swedish King had promised to defend against any enemy, would be welcomed [Nordberg 1740a, 835; Hermelin 1913, 141–142 – letter dated in “Brest” 29 November 1707].

Just as the Ottoman envoy was about to depart from Brześć he asked for a final and longer audience with the Swedish King. King Charles XII, who was present at the Swedish Field Chancellery in Brześć, agreed on the meeting and it turned out to be a lively conversation while the King was in a good mood and more talkative than was usual at the Ottoman Court. The envoy then complained that even though he for almost a month had been living in the center of the Swedish army he had not seen even a single regiment. King Charles answered that it is not difficult to see one or two regiments while visiting the army, but it is a rare thing to be among them and see neither, and that, was something he could tell about in Turkey. Finally, after the two hours long meeting, the envoy promised that as soon as he had returned home, as a sign of the Sultan’s power and command over the pirates, the Swedish shipmaster from Göteborg who the previous year had been captured by Algerian pirates, would be released [Nordberg 1740a, 835; Hermelin 1913, 141–142, 145–146 – letters dated in “Brest” 29 November and 20 December 1707].

A Swedish minister was not sent to Constantinople in the coming years, but contacts with the Ottoman Porte had come to a new active stage. Especially, it is known that Count Carl Piper continued to correspond with the Serasker Yusuf Paşa in Bender and discussed both the prospect of sending a Swedish minister to the Porte and developing a direct trade. Orders had also been sent to the responsible colleges in Stockholm and discussions were also started how to open a direct and lucrative trade with the Ottoman Porte in the Mediterranean Sea and the Levant. However, there were doubts about the Porte’s command over the Barbary pirates, and it was expected that the other European countries that were already there, would create obstacles for a new Swedish trade route [Ekegård 1924, 95–105]. A letter from the Serasker, dated in Bender on “23 Rebiulahir, Anno Hegiræ 1121” or 24 May 1709 according to the Swedish calendar, also tells that the Sultan had agreed on the Swedish King’s proposal to send an envoy to Constantinople [Nordberg 1740a, 913–916]. However, when the letter arrived at the Swedish Field Camp in Ukraine, the battle of Poltava soon occurred and King Charles arrived at Bender before a Swedish envoy could be sent to Constantinople.

Although unverified, there is another interesting event that is said to have taken place during King Charles XII stay in Ukraine. According to the Military chaplain Lars Tursenius, one day in the spring of 1709 King Charles had come upon a big group of captured Turks and Tatars with shackles on their feet. The King then was said to have felt pity for them and thus ordered them to be released and to be escorted by a few thousand men across the Dnipro into the Crimean Khanate territory⁴.

In the meantime, while King Charles XII and the main part of the Swedish army were engaged on the Polish-Lithuanian theatre, groups of Turks started to arrive in Sweden from Russia. These Turks have previously not received much attention by historians, but

between 1704 and 1714 about 50 Turkish prisoners of war arrived in Sweden and created a delicate problem for the Swedish Royal Senate⁵: how should these Turks be treated and what to do with them? They were usually called “Turkish deserters” and when they arrived in Stockholm they were usually placed with the many other prisoners of war, although they were not really prisoners of war anymore, but runaways from their longstanding Russian captivity⁶.

Turkish “deserters” start to arrive in Swedish Viborg in 1704

The first group of Turkish deserters seems to have managed to escape to the Swedish side during the Swedish succour operations from Viborg to the besieged town of Narva in July 1704. On 18 July 1704 the Lieutenant General Georg Johan Maydell⁷ writes to the Defence Commission⁸ and the Chancellery in Stockholm from the temporary camp at Joutselkä (today the settlement Simagino in Vyborgsky raion, Leningrad Oblast, Russia), about 50 km north of the newly established town Saint Petersburg, that “tonight 4 Turks have arrived at the outpost and were brought in [to the camp], purporting to be deserters” [RA, Dk, Vol. 121, Letter from G. J. Maydell, 18 July 1704; RA, Kk, E VIII: 6, Letter from G. J. Maydell, 18 July 1704].

On 11 August 1704 the County Governor Anders Lindehielm⁹ in Viborg writes to the Defence Commission in Stockholm to tell that a transport ship now was ready to sail to Stockholm with the 77 Russian prisoners of war, which included 11 Russian and Ukrainian Cossacks, who had been captured during the spring and summer. On the ship were also six “Turkish prisoners: Mustapa Osman, Assau, Alie, Agers, Platzka” [RA, Dk, Vol. 116, Letter from A. Lindehielm, Viborg, 11 August 1704]. Apparently two more Turks had arrived, probably shortly after the first four.

Since the Russian prisoners of war were said to be strong and fearless, they were accompanied by an unusually strong guard unit consisting of one officer, two non-commissioned officers and 30 soldiers. Onboard was provision for six weeks since it was never known for how long time it would take to reach Stockholm. On August 11 it was said they were just waiting for fair winds [RA, Dk, Vol. 116, Letter from A. Lindehielm, Viborg, 11 August 1704]. Most probably they had to wait a long time for favourable winds or were delayed because of bad weather since they seem to have arrived in Stockholm not earlier than on 16 September 1704. On that day the Defence Commission wrote letters to the Governor General¹⁰ Christopher Gyllenstierna¹¹ in Stockholm and the State Office to tell that the Russian prisoners of war had arrived from Viborg and that among them were also “six Turks who should remain here in the city and be placed in decent rooms” [RA, Dk, Vol. 46, Letters to C. Gyllenstierna and Statskontoret, both dated 16 September 1704].

The Governor General decided to put the newly arrived “Turkish deserters” in the Public Orphanage – “Barnhuset” – where also many of the Russian and Saxon prisoners of war were kept. They were brought there by the guard that had followed them from Viborg on 20 September together with twelve of the higher-ranked Russians prisoners of war, of whom one was a captain and five were boyars [SA, SÄ, G I: 123, pp. 1244, 1259–1260]. Upon arriving to “Barnhuset” the six Turks are listed as: Mustapa, Osman, Assau, Allij, Agers and Blatzka.

Although the Turks were not considered to be prisoners of war, they were now kept together with the Russian and Saxon prisoners of war, whose number could be counted to more than three hundred men. Even though the Turks were not really prisoners of war, they anyway got the same daily prisoner’s allowance from the Swedish Crown, amounting to 3 öre silver coins per day. The Turks were listed separately and labelled “Turkish deserters”, but it is not known if they also were kept in a separate room [SA, SÄ, G I: 123, pp. 1244, 1253, 1324].

Since the Defence Commission had not made it clear what actual status the Turks should have, the Turks did not have to do any manual labour like the Russian and Saxon

prisoners of war had to do, even though they were an expense for the Swedish Crown. This was a question the Deputy Governor General Georg Stiernhoff¹² wanted to get clarified, and on 29 November 1704 he wrote a letter to the Defence Commission asking what to do with the Turks. In the letter he tells that the Turks have told him that they had escaped “from Muscovy, where they had been in slavery for 11 years”. Furthermore, Stiernhoff tells that the Turks, who were not enemies but themselves had escaped from their severe prison, now were almost naked and without clothes. Attached to the letter there is also a petition from the six Turks, written in German and dated on 10 October 1704 at the “Kinderhaus” or the Orphanage, where they tell that they had managed to escape to the Swedish Royal Army, even though they had been chained and bound. Now they humbly request to be released and “receive a travel pass together with a small allowance to come back to our fatherland”. In the meantime, they ask for permission to go freely in the town to buy their provisions. They also had written a petition to his Royal Majesty that they requested to be forwarded to him [RA, Dk, Vol. 115, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 29 November 1704 with the enclosed petition from the six Turks, dated “Kinderhaus” 10 October 1704].

The Defence Commission discussed the letter from the Deputy Governor General on 15 December 1704. At the meeting it was said that the Turks had been captured by the Russians at the surrender of Azov, but before they could decide about their fate they wanted to get more information about how the Turks now had ended up in Swedish hands. The next day they apparently had read Lieutenant General Georg Johan Maydell’s letter from 18 July, that said they had arrived at the Swedish army from the Russians during the night and claimed they were deserters. The discussion about their release was continued, but no decision was made since the Commission thought they needed more information about the Turks from the Swedish officers that had brought them to Stockholm. However, the issue about the Turks did not come back during the Commission’s meetings and they never answered the Deputy Governor General [RA, Dk, Vol. 2, The Defence Commission’s minutes for the meetings on 15–16 December 1704]. Thus, the Turks remained in “Barnhuset” together with the prisoners of war over the winter and were still also receiving the daily allowance from the Swedish Crown [SA, SÄ, G I: 125, pp. 769v, 786r, 800, 813v, 863v].

Interestingly, these six Turks are also mentioned in the list of Russian prisoners of war that was compiled in early 1705 by the Russian Resident to Sweden Andrey Khilkov, who since the beginning of the war was kept as a prisoner of war in Stockholm. He tells that the Turks had left Saint Petersburg for Viborg and that they now lived in Stockholm where they walked freely and worked for their living [Dolgova & Yakushkin 2015, 289].

The Governor General in Stockholm, Christopher Gyllenstierna, once again wrote to the Defence Commission on 9 March 1705 and asked what to do with the Turks. This time, the question was also even more urgent than before since now five more Turks had arrived from Viborg [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 28, Letter to the Defence Commission, 9 March 1705]. The five new “Turkish deserters” had arrived at “Barnhuset” on 3 March and their names were given as “Ossman”, “Allij”, “Aman”, “Mejlutt” and “Alli Amett” [SA, SÄ, G I: 125, pp. 801, 808].

These five Turks had been brought in by Swedish troops to Viborg on 5 December 1704. They were said to have escaped from Saint Petersburg where they had been working at the fortress. Furthermore, they had told there were yet 150 more Turks left there [RA, Dk, Vol. 116, Letter from A. Lindehielm, Viborg, 6 December 1704]. Since it was winter, and the sea was frozen, there was no immediate possibility for the Turks to be transported to Stockholm by the sea. However, since they managed to arrive in Stockholm already in early March they must have taken the way over land, and then probably the postal route over the Åland islands to mainland Sweden. To start with, also these newly arrived Turks were lodged in “Barnhuset” and were also given the daily allowance of 3 öre silver coins [SA, SÄ, G I: 125, pp. 801, 808].

The Defence Commission answered the Governor General's letter swiftly this time. Already the day after the Governor General's letter had been written, the question was discussed at the Commission's meeting and they agreed that the Turks should be released and dispatched to their homeland since they had been Russian prisoners of war and deserted from them [RA, Dk, Vol. 3, The Defence Commission's minutes for the meeting on 10 March 1705]. However, this time it was the Governor General who was late to read the answer from the Commission, probably due to illness. In fact, a note on the letter tells it was not read until almost three weeks later, on 28 March 1705 [SSA, ÖSÄ, E Ia: 24, Letter from the Defence Commission, 10 March 1705]. Preparations for the Turks to be dispatched were now soon started, but on 28 April the Turks came with a petition to the Governor General complaining about their "nakedness and poverty" and applied to receive some clothing as well as some money to cover their travel expenses [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 28, Letter to the Defence Commission, 29 April 1705]. The Governor General forwarded the request to the Defence Commission, who discussed the matter at their meeting on 3 May. The Commission came to the conclusion that since the Turks had been set free, they now also had to take care of their own whereabouts and organize their journey home themselves [RA, Dk, Vol. 3, The Defence Commission's minutes for the meeting on 3 May 1705; SSA, ÖSÄ, E Ia: 24, Letter from the Defence Commission, 3 May 1705].

The Turks got their final daily allowance at "Barnhuset" on 9 May 1705, and they were now free to leave their quarters. However, one of the Turks, one named "Ali", from the first group, had left already on 1 April since he from that day had been employed by the secretary at the Governor General's office, Thomas Fehman. "Ali" also had said he was not willing to return home with the others, but instead preferred to remain in Sweden [SA, SÄ, G I: 125, pp. 813v, 821, 863v, 869]. The attestation by Thomas Fehman about the employment of the Turk "Ali" was signed on 16 April 1705.

Yet another one of these Turks, although his name is not known, was requested to be hired as a servant by the Lieutenant Colonel at the Royal Life Guards, Baron Åke Rålamb¹³. The Defence Commission gave its permission to this on their meeting on 3 May 1705, but with the proviso that the Turk was not hired against his own will [RA, Dk, Vol. 3, The Defence Commission's minutes for the meeting on 3 May 1705]. It is not known who this Turk was and for how long he was hired by Baron Åke Rålamb, but it might be just more than a coincidence that Åke Rålamb's father, Clas Rålamb, headed the Swedish embassy to the Ottoman Porte in 1657–1658 and when he became a Baron in 1674, he also chose to include in his new coat of arms a red gate with a crescent moon, and above the shield he placed an Ottoman turban with feathers instead of the Baron crown¹⁴ [Westerberg 2012, 58–87, 233, 277–280]. Most probably, the Turkish prisoners of war were seen as an exotic element in Stockholm, and having one of them as a servant, dressed up in Ottoman clothes, could have been a popular feature for the wealthier noble families such as the Rålambs. For Åke Rålamb it was even more suitable in respect to his father's well-known mission to Constantinople and the connection with the Ottomans was still clearly visible in the family's coat of arms.

Most of the Turks were now left on their own without any support from the Swedish Crown. Hardly surprisingly, the Turks now faced major problems to support themselves and they continued to come back to "Barnhuset" every night to sleep there. The Turks soon once again wrote a petition to the Governor General to resume receiving the daily allowance as long as they were still in Stockholm. It was not easy for them to be employed in this foreign country since they could not speak the language and the only craft a few of the Turks knew was to make leather whips and it lacked any demand here. One of the Turks was also "very badly ill". However, two of the Turks were said to have been employed. The Governor General forwarded their request to the Defence Commission on 20 May 1705 [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 28, Letter to the Defence Commission, 20 May 1705].

Once again, the Defence Commission was slow to answer the petition and the distress among the Turks grew by each day. They continued to sleep at "Barnhuset" and some of

them were laying in their beds every day since they could no longer walk because of hunger. The still healthy ones were almost every day standing outside the door of the Governor General's office, telling through an interpreter that they were starving to death since they could not see any way for them to support themselves. The Deputy Governor General Stiernhoff once again raised the issue about the Turks, when he was at the Defence Commission for another case on June 21, but the Commission just suggested that the Turks could be used as workers at the building of the new Royal Palace, just like the other prisoners of war and thus get their needed subsistence [RA, Dk, Vol. 3, The Defence Commission's minutes for the meeting on 21 June 1705]. Another petition was once again written and forwarded by the Deputy Governor General Stiernhoff to the Defence Commission on 18 July 1705. The Turks again requested to get some subsistence and to be dispatched to their homeland. Stiernhoff commented their request, that they had indeed been offered a long time ago to receive a travel pass, but because of their lack of means and knowledge of the lands and languages, it had not been possible for them to leave. He now suggested that they should be booked on a ship destined to Holland on the expense of the Swedish Crown, and thus to get rid of them. From Holland it was believed that they could find opportunities for their further journey to their homeland. He also added that this solution was preferable than if they would pass through the country by land, and thus create problems for the inhabitants [SSA, ÖSA, B Ia: 28, Letter to the Defence Commission, 18 July 1705].

This first group of Turks is not mentioned thereafter, and probably they were finally sent away from Stockholm on a ship to Holland.

More Turkish "deserters" arrive in Stockholm

But there were soon more Turks to arrive in Stockholm. Already on 14 August 1705 seven new "Turkish deserters" arrived at "Barnhuset" in Stockholm. Their names were given as "Ismael", "Hassan", "Soleman", "Mehmet", "Ibrahim", "Hassan" and "Galill". Together with them was also an otherwise unknown interpreter named Gustaf Köping [SA, SÄ, G I: 125, pp. 995, 1004, 1005].

Most probably these seven Turks are the same ones that are mentioned by the Lieutenant General Georg Johan Maydell in Viborg on 19 May 1705 in his letter to the Defence Commission in Stockholm. In the letter he tells that "a German captain and 7 Turks in these days have come over from the enemy" [RA, Kk, E VIII: 6, Letter from G. J. Maydell, 19 May 1705].

Lieutenant General Maydell issued a travel pass in Viborg for these seven Turks on 12 June 1705. In the travel pass he states that the Turks, who had come over from the enemy, wanted to go to Stockholm in order to find ways to continue to their native country from there. Furthermore, he recommended the county governors in the counties they would pass on the way, to provide them with free lodging and subsistence on their way to Stockholm. Apparently, they travelled by land and thus first arrived in the County of Nyland and Tavastehus where they on 30 June 1705 got a second travel pass issued by the County Governor Johan Creutz in Helsingfors. In it Creutz repeats what Maydell had written in his travel pass, but also adds that he had given the Turks provision for one month [RA, Dk, Vol. 130, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 16 August 1705 with the enclosed travel pass for the seven Turks].

It seems like the seven Turks now boarded a ship in Helsingfors, but due to headwinds and strangely also lack of provisions, they had left the ship on Flisö in the Åland Islands. From there they had moved on over the islands and finally, probably on the postal ship, arrived at the port of Grisslehamn in mainland Sweden, where the Postmaster Abraham Alm had given them money for a horse-drawn conveyance to Stockholm, as well as provision for two days. The Postmaster's note was written on 11 August on the back of the travel pass issued in Helsingfors, and another note on the same document tells that at least the document arrived at the Governor General's office in Stockholm on 14 August 1705, and it is likely that the Turks also had arrived there the same day.

Two days later, the Deputy Governor General Georg Stiernhoff in Stockholm once again had to inform the Defence Commission about the arrival of seven new “Turkish deserters” that had escaped from “Petersburg”. He also informed the Commission that they had been placed in “Barnhuset” and that they were going to receive the daily allowance of 3 öre silver coins until they could find a possibility to send them from Stockholm [RA, Dk, Vol. 130, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 16 August 1705]. However, new orders from the Governor General came already on 6 September and the daily allowance was discontinued from that day, both for the seven Turks and their interpreter [SA, SÄ, G I: 125, pp. 1016, 1018]. Their further fate is not known with certainty. However, in March 1707, when the Deputy Governor General Stiernhoff once again discussed the fate of a group of newly arrived Turks, he tells that one and a half year earlier he “eventually had to force” another Turkish group of deserters “onboard a ship, to be transported to Holland” [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 30, Letter to the Royal Senate, 2 March 1707].

Turkish “deserters” ready to be exchanged for Christian slaves

The “Turkish deserters” kept coming to Stockholm, and on 9 December 1706 six Turkish deserters and a Russian deserter arrived in Stockholm. Because of the winter weather it had not been possible to send them by ship directly from Viborg to Stockholm, so instead Lieutenant General Maydell had sent them with a travel pass dated on 6 October 1706 over land to Åbo. In Åbo they got a new travel pass on 15 November from the Deputy County Governor Lars Brommenstedt that ensured them free travel on the postal boats from Åbo over the Åland Islands to Grisslehamn and from there to Stockholm. Accompanying them on the way was a fortification officer Ekeroot [RA, Dk, Vol. 142, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 11 December 1706 with the enclosed travel pass for the seven Turks].

In Lieutenant General Maydell’s travel pass the Turks are named “Mahomet Mustafa”, “Zanakai Zaala”, “Romazan Murtaza”, “Achas Zlyma”, “Ohras Tenosbaj” and “Ohras Janbaj”. The Russian deserter is named “Ivan Lukajanoff”, and most probably he is the same man as Lieutenant General Maydell mentions in a letter to the Chancellery in Stockholm on 2 October 1706. There he tells that a Russian deserter had arrived in Viborg the day before. Together with the letter he also enclosed an interrogation protocol with this deserter named “Iwan Lukianoff”. Of course, the interrogation protocol – written in German – mainly deals with the current military situation and what information this deserter could give on the enemy’s strength, but it also tells that he himself was a strelets that belonged to the “Mikijenschen” regiment. Most probably this must be Major Ivan Mikeshin’s regiment that had been formed by soldiers who had belonged to regiments that had taken part in the Astrakhan uprising 1705–1706. In 1706, the regiment was stationed on the Retusaari or Kotlin Island by Saint Petersburg¹⁵. Interestingly, the deserter Ivan Lukianov also tells that his father had been a Turk who had been taken as a prisoner of war by the Muscovites, and because of the mentioned rebellion in the Astrakhan area, Ivan now wished to go to Turkey [RA, Kk, E VIII: 6, Letter from G. J. Maydell, 2 October 1706]. Enclosed with the letter is the interrogation protocol with the deserter Iwan Lukianoff, dated in Viborg 1 October 1706.

After arriving in Stockholm the Turkish and Russian deserters were put in “Barnhuset” together with 24 Russian prisoners of war that had arrived at the same time. However, the Turks and the Russian deserter were not given any daily allowance like the prisoners of war [SA, SÄ, G I: 127, pp. 1334v–1335r]. It seems like the Deputy Governor General Stiernhoff was not sure how he should handle these deserters, so he once again turned to the Defence Commission to get his orders. In his letter to the Commission he tells that the Turks had no means to support themselves and were poorly dressed or almost naked. And he also adds, that last year some other deserting Turks had been set free and booked on a ship and sent from Stockholm, but that such an arrangement was not possible to do now because of the winter [RA, Dk, Vol. 142, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 11 December 1706].

Apparently, the deserters were soon set free from “Barnhuset” to seek their own livelihood, which of course was not easy for strangers with no knowledge of the local language or any craftsmanship that was in demand in Sweden. Therefore, there is no wonder the Turks soon came back to the Governor General’s office in Stockholm to beg for some support. After they had submitted two humble petitions to the Governor General, the Deputy Governor General Stiernhoff forwarded them to the Defence Commission on 26 January 1707. Stiernhoff comments that the only craftsmanship the Turks knew was making whips of leather straps, which had little demand and could not be sufficient for their livelihood. He also adds that the Governor General’s office had no means to support such deserters, and that due to the winter it was not possible to send them away on a ship, like they had done with the previous deserters [RA, Dk, Vol. 153, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 26 January 1707].

The two submitted petitions were written in Swedish, but it is not known who had helped them with writing the petitions since they both are signed only with the names of the Turks. However, their names are slightly differently spelled in the two petitions: “Mahomet Mistophan” / “Mahomet Mustefan”, “Jannaosä Schehala” / “Janakä Schialla”, “Rammasä Mortas” / “Romusad Murrasü”, “Oras Stenusbäy” / “Oras Stenesbäy”, “Hånas Giembäy” / “Oras Janbäy” and “Achas Slemme” / “Achas Sylleman” [RA, Dk, Vol. 153, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 26 January 1707, with the enclosed two petitions from the Turks].

One of the petitions is also signed by the Russian deserter, here named “Iwan Lucianoff”. The language in the petitions is very humble and they are telling that they were “poor prisoners of the Turkish nation, who had been imprisoned in Russia for 11 years and 11 months” and in the other petition they write that they were “natives of Turkey and the town of Kasikarmi”. Furthermore, they tell that they by the grace of God had managed to escape from their captivity and come to his Majesty’s kingdom of Sweden, which they heartily rejoiced. However, during the six weeks in the Royal Swedish Residence city they had endured great misery and poverty and now they were by hunger forced to, “in the deepest and humble servility”, implore to the Governor General for some kind of subsistence and support [RA, Dk, Vol. 153, Letter from G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm, 26 January 1707, with the enclosed two petitions from the Turks].

However, it seems like the two humble petitions from the Turks did not help. On 2 March 1707 the Deputy Governor General Stiernhoff now wrote a letter about the “six Turkish deserters” to the entire Royal Senate. He explains their dire situation as “poor strangers with nothing to live on since their little craftsmanship two of them know, how to make whips of leather straps, is a trade without demand”. He also adds that about one and half year ago the same kind of Turkish deserters arrived from Russia who they “eventually had to force onboard a ship, to be transported to Holland”, and the same could be done with this group if the sea was open. He also explains that they were worthy of compassion in their distress since they had no knowledge of the country or language, and apparently, they had also made insistent and daily requests at the Governor General’s office. Thus, the Deputy Governor General forwarded their request to get some support for their living, at least until the spring would come and the sea would be open again [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 30, Letter to the Royal Senate, 2 March 1707].

The Royal Senate had not answered on this request before the Deputy Governor General once again sent a letter. On 3 April 1707, he wrote that the sea was now open and that the six Turkish deserters and the Russian deserter asked for permission to leave Stockholm on a ship that would sail to Riga. From Riga, they would seek a way to get home, possibly on a Dutch ship, and in Holland they could try to be exchanged for enslaved Christians in Turkey, believing that they could get five or six Christians against one Turk. They also wished to be accompanied by the Russian deserter as their interpreter since they did not know any other language than their own. The Deputy Governor General now hoped to get rid of them and suggested they could be booked on the

next possible ship bound for Riga [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 30, Letter to the Royal Senate, 3 April 1707].

This time the Royal Senate answered swiftly and agreed to send the Turks to Riga on the next available ship, but on condition the Deputy Governor General would also inform the authorities in Riga that these Turks should after the arrival be put on a Dutch ship to Amsterdam, where the Dutch could exchange them for Christian prisoners and slaves in Turkey. However, the Royal Senate did not agree on releasing the Russian deserter [RA, KMK-Rp, A 1: 98, pp. 533r–533v, The Royal Senate's minutes for the meeting on 4 April 1707; SSA, ÖSÄ, E Ia: 25, p. 87, Letter from the Royal Senate, 4 April 1707]. The Russian deserter, "Iwan Luchanoff", was brought back to "Barnhuset" on April 10 to be kept there together with the other Russian prisoners of war [SA, SÄ, G I: 130, p. 1096]. There he was kept in "Barnhuset" the following years until he and eleven other Russian deserters eventually were released and sent back to Russia on 27 May 1710 [SA, SÄ, G I: 139, p. 956].

It seems like these six Turks left Stockholm shortly after 10 April 1707. In any case, they had been in Riga for some time when the Governor General Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt¹⁶ responded to the Deputy Governor General Stiernhoff on 12 June 1707. In his letter, he tells that he had made efforts to put the Turks on a ship sailing for Holland but that he had not been able to find a ship where they without hazard could be embarked. The captains had objected that they, with the few sailors they now had, would not feel safe to take that many Turks with them across the North Sea. In other words, they were afraid that the Turks would find opportunities to overmaster the sailors while at sea, especially since it was believed that the Turks were experienced seafaring people, and take over the ship with its goods and sail to the Black Sea and Azov. Governor General Lewenhaupt had tried to separate the Turks and put them on two ships, but they had hesitated to do so. Finally, he had come to the conclusion that it was best to send the Turks back to Stockholm where it, according to Lewenhaupt, would be easier to find a ship destined to Holland or even to find a captain sailing to Spain or beyond, so they in a faster way would reach Turkey [LVVA, VLG, Die schwedische Registratur 1634–1710, Vol. 78, Letter from A. L. Lewenhaupt, dated in Riga 12 June 1707, to G. Stiernhoff, Stockholm]. However, these Turks are not known to have arrived back to Stockholm again. But in late October the same year, Lewenhaupt writes that four Turks had been sent back to Sweden during the summer [LVVA, VLG, Die schwedische Registratur 1634–1710, Vol. 78, Letter from A. L. Lewenhaupt, dated in Riga 31 October 1707, to Admiral General Hans Wachtmeister]. He does not write what had happened to the other two Turks or exactly where the four Turks had been sent, but it is possible that they instead of Stockholm were sent to the naval port of Karlskrona or the neighbouring port town Karlshamn in the province of Blekinge in southern Sweden.

Turkish "deserters" try to get home through Poland

Later the same year, in September 1707, yet three more Turkish deserters had managed to escape from Saint Petersburg. When they were interrogated in Viborg by the Swedish military Judge-advocate Ernst Friedrich Krompein on 13 September, their names were given as "Mustapha Menoffetofsin", "Ibraim Menoffetofsin" and "Achmet Ibraimofsin". Krompein was a German speaker, but most probably the interrogation was held in Russian, which the Russian way of writing their Turkish names also points towards. Most of the interrogation protocol deals with the strength of the Russian forces in and around Saint Petersburg, but initially the Turks also tell about where they came from. They said they had been captured by the Muscovites ten years earlier on the Black Sea and the latest four years they had been kept in Saint Petersburg, where they had been forced to work. Now they had gotten the opportunity to escape from their slavery by taking a boat from Saint Petersburg and from "Tukila" they had continued over land and eventually they had been found by Swedish troops and brought in to Kexholm (today Priozersk in

Leningrad Oblast, Russia) and from there to Viborg. Apparently, they had taken a small boat upstream the river Neva and then passed by the destroyed old Swedish town Nyen and turned in to the smaller river Okhta, where they went ashore after about four kilometres [RA, Livonica II, Vol. 308, Letter from G. Lybecker, dated in Viborg 15 September 1707, to Governor General Nils Stromberg in Reval, Swedish Estonia¹⁷].

This time, the new Commander of the army in Finland and County Governor in Viborg, Georg Lybecker¹⁸, did not turn to Stockholm to ask for advice how to deal with these Turks but instead almost directly sent them across the Gulf of Finland to Reval (today Tallinn, Estonia) in Swedish Estonia. Lybecker also writes to his colleague in Reval, the Governor General Nils Stromberg, that the Turks had expressed their wishes to return back to “Turkey and their Fatherland”. Lybecker had found that the best way of going home for them would be to go south, first to Riga and from there through Poland back to their homeland. In fact, the three Turks seem to have left Viborg only a few days later, or on 15 September, on a Swedish Naval ship, a brigantine under the command of Lieutenant Carl Gustaf Ulrich. Lybecker’s first letter was presented to the Governor General in Reval on 23 September, so it seems like the trip across the gulf took a week. In Lybecker’s second letter, dated only the day after the first one, he apologizes for sending the Turks to him without further notice. The Turks had been given a daily allowance enough for them to reach Reval, but Lybecker advised the Governor General Stromberg to give them support for their further journey to Riga [RA, Livonica II, Vol. 308, Letters from G. Lybecker, dated in Viborg 15 and 16 September 1707, to Governor General Nils Stromberg in Reval, Swedish Estonia].

The Governor General in Reval seems to have followed his colleague’s advice and sent the three Turks further south towards Riga. Anyway, it is known that they had reached the town of Pernau (today Pärnu in Estonia) in northern Swedish Livonia on 10 October 1707, when the Governor Gustaf Adolf Strömfelt wrote a letter to the Governor General Adam Ludwig Lewenhaupt in Riga. In the letter he tells briefly about the Turks and where they had come from. During their stay in Pernau they had enjoyed support from the authorities and for their further travel to Riga they had received 1 riksdaler each [LSB, H 79: 3, p. 176, Letter from Governor Gustaf Adolf Strömfält, dated in Pernau 10 October 1707, to A. L. Lewenhaupt].

The three Turks soon arrived in Riga but the Governor General Lewenhaupt had once again problems with finding a ship that would accept to take them on board and transport them to Holland. The captains had again refused to let this kind of people on board their ships. They thought that they had too few sailors on board and that they could get into problems if they would encounter privateers on the way. In late October Lewenhaupt saw no other option than to send also these three Turks to Sweden. Thus he wrote to Admiral General Hans Wachtmeister and suggested that the Turks could follow the Swedish captain Magnus Palmgren on his brigantine that was planned to return to the naval port Karlskrona in the southern Swedish province of Blekinge [LVVA, VLG, Die schwedische Registratur 1634–1710, Vol. 78, Letter from A. L. Lewenhaupt, dated in Riga 31 October 1707, to Admiral General Hans Wachtmeister]. The further fate of these Turks is not known.

Turkish “deserters” receive better treatment

However, the Turkish deserters kept coming to Stockholm. On 9 January 1709 eight Turks arrived at “Barnhuset” in Stockholm, together with two Russian deserters. They had been sent to Stockholm from the County Governor Georg Lybecker in Viborg. At the arrival the Turks were listed as “Mahomet Ossipoff”, “Awiara Totona” or “Awiaroff Totona”, “Ramada Doctara”, “Ahlim Kaskin”, “Abraham Kaskin” or “Abraham Casskyn”, “Acalda Domgelde”, “Utterbay Janebech” and “Amet Mamete”. This time these Turks were given the daily prisoner’s allowance of 3 öre silver coins from the start [SA, SÄ, G I: 136, pp. 1033, 1035r, 1053v, 1076r, 1126, 1191].

On 26 May 1709 the Governor General Knut Posse¹⁹ in Stockholm issued a travel pass for nine Turks: “Mahomet”, “Awiaroff”, “Ramada”, “Alli”, “Ahlim”, “Abraham”, “Acalde”, “Utterbaj” and “Amet Mahomete”, with permission to leave for Danzig. The ninth and extra Turk that was mentioned in the travel pass was the Turk named “Alli” who had arrived in Stockholm with the first group of Turks on 16 September 1704, and had thereafter been in the service of Thomas Fehman since 1 April 1705 [SA, SÄ, G I: 136, p. 1190]. Apparently, he now after almost five years in Stockholm, wanted to return to his fatherland. Most probably, Ali and the other Turks left Stockholm a few days after the travel pass had been issued for them.

Captain Mustapha Usenoff and the Turkish priest Musa Mustapha

The next group of Turks to arrive in Stockholm did not just include common Turkish soldiers but also one officer and one cleric. This group seems to have arrived in early September 1711. On 4 September the Royal Senate ordered the State Office to pay the newly arrived Turkish Captain “Mustapha Usenoff” a daily allowance equivalent to a double allowance for a Swedish captain in garrison service, and the “Turkish priest Musa Mustapha” a daily allowance equivalent to a double allowance for a Swedish regimental chaplain, and finally the eight common Turkish soldiers would be given the ordinary daily allowance for a Swedish soldier, i.e. 6 öre silver coins [RA, KMk-Rr, B: 654, pp. 512r–513r, Letter to Statskontoret, 4 September 1711].

Shortly afterwards, on 8 October 1711, yet seven more Turks arrived in Stockholm and to “Barnhuset”. In the lists their names were given as “Hasbulat Isperte”, “Karia Dogusagma” / “Karria Dogusagma”, “Solldaan Dydys” / “Saldan Dydys”, “Alie Habustoff”, “Dotku Habustoff”, “Mambet Berdisoff” and “Timo Gelldeé” / “Thimo Gelde”. However, these Turks were first given the daily prisoner’s allowance of just 3 öre silver coins, but after a decision by the Royal Senate on 4 November they also got 6 öre silver coins, just like the other Turkish common soldiers [SA, SÄ, G I: 141, pp. 669, 674r, 699–700, 716; RA, KMk-Rr, B: 655, pp. 868v–869r, Letter to Statskontoret, 4 December 1711].

Four of the Turks that are mentioned above can be identified as being among the 77 prisoners of war that are listed as being captured by the so called Royal Finnish army between 12 December 1710 and 10 April 1711. Most of the prisoners were said to be Russian Cossacks that had been captured in Karelia and then sent on to be kept at the castle in Åbo. The list of the prisoners was sent on 25 April 1711 by the General Commander of the Swedish forces in Finland, Carl Nieroth²⁰, to the Defence Commission with a request that the prisoners should be sent to Stockholm as soon as possible. The list also includes four Turks that are recorded as “Ollei Habistoff”, “Doilet Habistoff”, “Siumagelda Taula” and “Mambet Beredis” [RA, Dk, Vol. 212, Letter from Carl Nieroth, Sarvlax, 25 April 1711].

It is likely that at least these four Turks were among the ones that the Swedish court chaplain Jöran Nordberg mentions to have been captured by a Swedish detachment during a successful attack on a Cossack encampment at Koitsanlahti manor in early 1711. He tells that among the taken prisoners were “several Turks, who the Cossacks had taken in the previous Turkish war och forced to serve them”. Furthermore, he writes that the Turks were treated well by the Swedes and that they were sent to Stockholm from where they, after their wishes, were set free to go home to their fatherland [Nordberg 1740b, 148].

The actual attack at Koitsanlahti manor had been led by the Colonels Carl G. Armfeldt and Johan Stiernschantz and had taken place in the night or early in the morning of 15 January 1711, when most of the Russian Cossacks were sleeping in their quarters. According to the report that was written by the colonels shortly after the attack, most of the Cossacks were killed and only 11 Cossacks surrendered and were taken as prisoners. Supposedly the Turks must have been among these prisoners. The Swedes could return without any casualties, and besides the prisoners, they also brought back one Cossack banner, about 80 flintlock carbines and muskets as well as 80 horses, money, clothes and

other items that the Russian Cossacks had looted during their raids [RA, Dk, Vol. 212, Letter with an attached report from C. Nieroth, Liljendal, 28 January 1711].

It is likely that also several of the other Turks that arrived at the Swedish side in 1711 were Turks that had been forced to serve as Cossacks. However, this was not the case with the Turkish Captain “Mustapha Usenoff” and the priest “Musa Mustapha”. They had arrived in Stockholm with a travel pass issued by the General Commander Carl Nieroth where it stated that they had escaped from the Russians [RA, KMk-Rp, A 1: 103b, p. 148r, The Royal Senate’s minutes for the meeting on 4 September 1711]. The minutes tells that the travel pass was issued for 12 Turks, but it seems like only 10 of them reached Stockholm. On 4 September 1711, they both appeared at the meeting of the Royal Senate to be questioned. Now the priest was also said to be a Janissary. Count Fabian Wrede²¹ was putting the questions and they were probably directly translated by the Russian interpreter. He first asked them for how long they had been in Russian captivity and they responded that they had been prisoners for 18 years. Count Wrede then asked why they had not been released when the peace was signed between the Ottoman Porte and the Russians. They then answered that the Russians had not honoured the peace treaty but instead had retained them. When asked if they wanted to return to Turkey and if so, which way they would take, they answered yes and that they would leave it to the Royal Senate to decide how they would get home. After this interrogation, the Royal Senate directly decided that they would be given free quarters and allowance, as is mentioned above [RA, KMk-Rp, A: 1: 103b, pp. 149r–149v, The Royal Senate’s minutes for the meeting on 4 September 1711].

Once again, these Turks were discussed at the Royal Senate’s meeting on 27 September 1711, when the Governor General Knut Posse in Stockholm, who also was a member of the Royal Senate, reported that the Turks had asked for permission to travel home, or in the case they would have to remain in Stockholm, they asked for new clothes and an interpreter [RA, KMk-Rp, A 1: 103b, p. 284r, The Royal Senate’s minutes for the meeting on 27 September 1711]. No decision seems to have been made at this meeting, but on 16 October 1711 the Royal Senate ordered the State Office to assign money for the Turks to get new clothes according to their rank, since their clothes had become worn out and completely unusable after their journey to Stockholm [RA, KMk-Rr, B: 655, pp. 266v–267r, Letter to Statskontoret, 16 October 1711]. 192 daler silver coins were also disbursed from the State Office on 27 October 1711: 60 daler were given to the captain, 40 daler to the priest and 24 daler each to the eight soldiers [SA, SÄ, G I: 141, p. 776]. Also the seven Turks that had arrived in early October were given 24 daler silver coins each for new clothes on 12 December 1711 [SA, SÄ, G I: 141, p. 783]²². Unfortunately, nothing is said about what kind of clothes that were made for the money they received – if they got European clothes or managed to order their clothes in Ottoman style at one of the tailors in Stockholm.

The daily allowance that the Turkish officer and the priest, as well as the seven soldiers, had been given was also far more generous than the Turkish deserters had previously been given by the Swedes: per month, the captain got 62 daler 16 öre silver coins, the priest got 33 daler 16 öre silver coins and the eight soldiers got 5 daler 20 öre silver coins each. When the payment for the first month, which totalled the sum of 141 daler silver coins, was handed over to the ten Turks on 6 September 1711 the receipt was signed in Ottoman Turkish by “Mustafa Hüseyin Musa Mustafa” [SA, SÄ, G I: 141, p. 771]. In other words, these were the real names of the Turkish captain and the priest. “Mustapha Usenoff” is obviously the russified version of the captain’s name, and it also gives a clue on what language they used when they communicated with the Swedes, namely Russian. Another clue that leads to the same conclusion is that the receipt was countersigned by Enok Lilliemarck²³, one of the Swedish official Russian translators. Since they had been in Russian captivity for 18 years, they most probably had learned to speak and understand Russian fairly well.

When the daily allowance was disbursed for the next month, on 2 October 1711, the receipt was once again signed in Ottoman Turkish by “Mustafa Hüseyin” and “Musa Mustafa”, but this time the payment was attested in German by a Daniel Johan Rank [SA, SÄ, G I: 141, p. 774]²⁴. The next month’s payment was also signed by “Mustafa Hüseyin” and “Musa Mustafa”, but this time without a countersignature, on 6 November 1711 [SA, SÄ, G I: 141, p. 779]. The allowance for December was signed on 9 December 1711 and this time by another one of the Turks: “Mehmed bin Ahmed” [SA, SÄ, G I: 141, p. 781]. The same Turk also signed the allowance for February 1712, but this time together with the captain, the priest and yet another one of the Turks: “Süleyman bin Mehmed” [SA, SÄ, G I: 143, p. 1144].

After the arrival of this group of Turks, the Royal Senate also decided to write to King Charles XII and tell about their arrival and how they had been taken care of. On 6 December 1711, the Royal Senate reported what so far had been decided about the “Turkish subjects” that had deserted from their Russian captivity. Furthermore, they wrote that the Turks had been treated with civility and also given needed subsistence, clothes and free quarters, as long as it was needed until they “with safety could leave from here and be brought to Turkey”. Finally, they assumed that all the arrangements that had been done would be approved by his Royal Majesty [RA, KMk-Rr, B: 655, pp. 887r–888r, Letter to His Royal Majesty, 6 December 1711].

A petition from the Turkish captain is mentioned in a letter from the Governor General Knut Posse to the Royal Senate on 5 December 1711, where he wishes to show his gratitude for the grace they had been given by the Swedish King but nonetheless he also humbly asks for a higher allowance for his soldiers [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 32, pp. 1091–1093, Letter to the Royal Senate, 5 December 1711]. The result of this petition was that the Royal Senate ordered the State Office on 10 January 1712 to raise the daily allowance from 6 öre silver coins to 10 öre silver coins [SA, SÄ, G I: 143, p. 1142].

Another petition from one of the Turks – this time from the Turkish priest Musa Mustafa – is mentioned in a letter from the Governor General Knut Posse to the Royal Senate on 13 December 1711. The priest had asked if one of the Russian prisoners of war named “Mitrofan Nejelof” could be exchanged for his brother “Ismael”, who was still kept as a prisoner of war in Saint Petersburg. The Russian generals that were kept as prisoners of war in Stockholm also had assured that his brother would be released if this Russian prisoner was released and sent to Russia [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 32, pp. 1116–1119, Letter to the Royal Senate, 13 December 1711]. The priest probably knew that a Russian captain-lieutenant called “Alexe Busirioff” (probably Алексей Бусырëв) was about to be released together with two servants as an exchange for an already released Swedish Lieutenant Carl Gustaf Sparre, who had been captured by the Russians at Poltava in 1709. The request was positively answered and the Russian prisoner of war that the priest had suggested as an exchange for his brother, the Commissar “Mitrophan Nicoloff”, was indeed dispatched from Stockholm together with the Russian officer and his two servants on 19 December 1711 [SSA, ÖSÄ, B Ia: 32, pp. 1123–1125, Letter to the County Governor Johan Hoghusen in Uppsala, 14 December 1711; SA, SÄ, G I: 141, pp. 625, 735]. The Russian prisoner of war who was meant to be exchanged for the Turkish prisoner, the Commissar “Mitrophan Nicoloff” had arrived from Åbo to Stockholm earlier the same year, on 3 June 1711. However, it is not known if his brother “Ismael” really was released upon the arrival of this Russian prisoner of war. At least he is not known to have arrived in Stockholm, but it is also possible that he went home directly from Saint Petersburg, without passing Stockholm. Interestingly, a “Turkish slave” by the name of “Ismail Eshkozy” is mentioned in the records from the Admiralty Chancellery in Saint Petersburg in March 1708. This “Ismail” had bought the Ingrian woman “Lisa Martynova” for twelve and a half rubles. She had first been captured by Cossacks in her home village and then sold to a Russian captain, but shortly after the Turk had bought her from the captain, he had set her free on 28 March 1708 [Mel’nov 2017, 192]. Since this “Turkish slave” had

been able to buy a slave himself, it can be suggested that he was not the ordinary slave but one with a higher status. It is of course far from certain, but it is not impossible that this "Ismail" was the brother of the Turkish Janissary and priest Musa Mustafa.

The Turkish captain, the priest as well as the 15 soldiers continued to receive their daily allowance also during the first half of 1712, or until mid July when this group of Turks finally left Stockholm [SA, SÄ, G I: 143, pp. 1140–1158]. However, already in late January or early February 1712, the Turkish Captain Mustafa was about to leave Sweden when the Swedish Commission Secretary at the Royal Polish Court, Otto W. Klinckowström²⁵, asked if he could be joined by the Turkish captain on his journey to deliver important letters to King Charles XII in Bender. The idea was approved by the Royal Senate and on 1 February they also ordered the Governor General Knut Posse to deliver a travel pass to the Turkish captain and the State Office was ordered to assign 100 daler silver coins to him for clothes and other things he would need for the journey. In the order to the latter, the Royal Senate adds that the cost for the Turkish captain would be even greater for the State Office if he would stay in Sweden for a longer period of time [RA, KMk-Rr, B: 658, pp. 321r–322v, Letters to K. Posse and Statskontoret, 1 February 1712]. The Secretary Klinckowström did soon leave Stockholm, and from Göteborg he sailed to Amsterdam and via Vienna, he arrived in Bender on 6 April 1712. However, for unknown reasons, the Turkish captain never joined him on this journey; but instead, he stayed in Stockholm for yet almost a half year.

The Turks want to bring home a Turkish woman

In mid April 1712 the Turks once again had written a petition to the Royal Senate. This time they requested to get permission to bring a "Turkish woman" with them back to Turkey. However, the request was immediately turned down by Count Fabian Wrede who said that the woman had become a Christian and thus it could not happen [RA, KMk-Rp, A 1: 104, p. 483v, The Royal Senate's minutes for the meeting on 16 April 1712]. Unfortunately, the name or origin of the woman is not given in the minutes from the meeting of the Royal Senate. There were not many Turks in the Swedish realm at the time, but a few Turkish men and women had arrived in Sweden in the mid 1680s. They had been captured by Swedish officers while in the service of the Holy League in the so called Great Turkish War. One of them was Count Nils Bielke who was a successful commanding officer in 1684–1687 during this war, and in 1687 he was also elevated to "Reichsgraf" of the The Holy Roman Empire by Emperor Leopold I. He took part in the successful siege of Buda in 1686 and the battle of Mohács on 12 August 1687. In the latter battle he led the troops that took the Grand Vizier Sarı Süleyman Paşa's camp. After this battle, Nils Bielke went home to Sweden and from his last battle he brought with him many trophies such as the Grand Vizier's tent, saddles, weapons, silver, two horses and two dromedaries as well as their caretaker "Schiaba". This Turkish man and the dromedaries were given to King Charles XI and thus this Turk became a Royal stableman. The king soon also ordered his court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstahl to depict the exotic animals together with their caretaker dressed in a Turkish dress on a nearly life-sized painting. On 2 June 1691 "Schiaba" was baptized in the Royal Chapel and was given the Christian name Nils. Among the godparents were the King Charles XI and Count Nils Bielke. His further fate in Sweden is not known and unfortunately, it is not known if he was still alive when the Turkish deserters started to arrive in Stockholm 15 years later²⁶.

Four Turkish women and three children are also known to have arrived in Sweden with the Baron and Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Erskine²⁷. They had come into his possession after the siege and final violent recapture of Neuhausel (today Nové Zámky in Slovakia. The star fortress and town was called Uyvar during its Ottoman occupation 1663–1685) by Imperial troops on 19 August 1685. The 3,000 men strong garrison, that was said to have consisted mainly of converted Bohemian troops, was almost completely annihilated as well as the civilians in the town. Only two hundred people were said to have been saved [Rycaut 1700, 170]. Many of them were brought home by the victorious

officers and were distributed among the noble families in their home countries. Baron Erskine's seven Turks were all baptized in the German Church in Stockholm during 1686. The first one to be baptized was the seven-year-old boy named "Aly" who got the Christian name Carl Alexander on 18 March 1686. On 6 June 1686 two other Turkish children were baptized and given the names Alexander Gottlob and Theodora Amalia²⁸. The four Turkish women were baptized on 7 November 1686. Their original names are in the marriage records given as "Roohia", "Eysia", "Fattime" and "Emini". The best known of these women is the one named "Fattime". She was said to be a widow of a Turkish priest who had died before the siege "in his bed". She had been given to the Countess Maria Aurora von Königsmarck²⁹ and in the baptismal she was given the same Christian name as her owner. She stayed in the service of Aurora von Königsmarck and followed her to Germany in the early 1690s where the Countess soon became a Royal mistress of the Saxon Elector and Polish King Augustus the Strong. Later, the Turkish servant Maria Aurora succeeded her owner as a Royal mistress and she also gave birth to two of King Augustus children: Friedrich August in 1702 and Maria Aurora (later called Katharina) in 1706. The children, who first went by the name Spiegel after their mother had married the King's valet Johann George Spiegel, were given the surnames von Rutowski and von Rutowska by their biological father in the 1720s [SSA, TSG, C I: 1a, p. 661; Doubek 2011, 46–47, 68; Czok 2010, 98–99, 102]. When Maria Aurora bought the estate Särchen in 1705 she claimed to have been born "von Kahrman" and her seal on the document shows an open crescent moon and a turban [von Boetticher 1913, 899–900].

The further fate of the woman called "Roohia" is also known. The baptismal records tell that her Christian name was Ulrica Beata but also that she had been married to a Turkish officer who probably had been killed during the assault of the Neuhäusel fortress. One of her godmothers was the Queen Dowager Hedwig Eleonora. Ulrica Beata is also known to have been in Queen Ulrica Eleonora's service and the Queen is also said to have financed her wedding that was held on 22 April 1688 in the German Church in Stockholm. Her new husband was the military barber surgeon Johan Tanto of the Björneborg Infantry Regiment. The marriage records name her "Ulrica Beata Bretdasch" and tells also that her previous husband had been named "Ibrahim Aga" who had been a Turkish Lieutenant Colonel serving at the Hungarian garrison Neuhäusel. They first lived in Yliskallo, Tyrvis parish, Åbo and Björneborg county which was the Regiment's residence for the barber surgeon. In 1696 they moved to another estate in Karhiniemi, Vittis parish in the same county. This was also an estate for the regiment's barber surgeon. However, Ulrica Beata's husband died already in early 1702 and a few years earlier he had lost his eyesight and thus had been forced to leave his service at the regiment. Ulrica Beata was now left with several small children and without no means to support herself and her family, and she also had to move from the regiment's residence. In her despair, she turned to the County Governor Jacob Bure in Åbo in March and begged for help. The County Governor wrote a letter to the King where he explains the widow's dire situation and suggests that she could get an estate in Lapijoki village, Raumo parish for the rest of her life. He explains that she otherwise would be forced to go around as a beggar, and that would not be a good sign for other Muslims who were thinking of converting to Christianity. The proposal was also granted by King Charles XII, but it seems the letter did not reach the King until three years later since the decision was made in Altranstädt on 14 October 1706 [SSA, TSG, C I: 1a, pp. 71, 661; RA, KMk-ÅB, Vol. 14, Letter from the County Governor Jacob Bure, Åbo, 13 March 1703; RA, KMk-Rr, B: 641, pp. 70r–71v, Letters to Kammarkollegiet and Statskontoret, 14 October 1706]. It is not known when Ulrica Beata Tanto died, but most probably she stayed in Lapijoki for the rest of her life.

The fate of the two other Turkish women "Eysia" and "Emini" is not known except that they got the Christian names Hedwig Johanna and Scharlotta Maria. However, the baptismal records tell that the first one was said to have had Christian parents but that she had grown up in a Turkish family and did not know if she had been baptized or not. The

latter one had been married to a Turk that had been killed during the siege of Neuhäusel. Hedwig Johanna had most probably gotten her Christian name from one of her godmothers, the Princess Hedwig Sophia [SSA, TSG, C I: 1a, p. 661].

It is possible that one of these two Turkish women mentioned above was the one that the Turkish Captain and the other Turks tried to bring with them on their journey home.

The Turks finally return home in 1712

Naturally, the former Turkish prisoners of war continued to strive for a way to return home. In an undated petition addressed to the King and signed by “Mustapha Turkisker Capitain”, but “on behalf of all the here present Turks”, he shows a submissive gratitude for the allowance and free lodging they had enjoyed in Stockholm. But especially after such long imprisonment they had endured, they now kindly asked to get permission to leave, whether by sea or by land to Göteborg. It is a very humble and submissive petition with many expressions of thankfulness. However, he also adds, as one or another of the Turkish soldiers have told him, that to travel home with complete safety and not to risk to be troubled or offended, they wished to travel under the protection of the King [RA, KMk-KK, Vol. 16, Undated petition from the “Turkish Captain Mustapha”]. It is not known who helped the Turkish captain to write this petition in Swedish or exactly when it was written, but presumable it was written during the late spring of 1712. In June 1712 it also seems like the plans for the Turks to return to their homeland started to take form. The Turks had suggested that they could leave by the regular yacht to Prussian Königsberg, but the Royal Senate thought it would be way too risky and suggested they should leave on a Dutch ship destined to Holland instead [RA, KMk-Rr, B: 659, pp. 889v–890v, Letter to Statskontoret, 23 June 1712].

On 14 July 1712, the Turkish captain, the priest as well as the 15 soldiers were given six months of the daily allowance as travel money. Altogether, the sum amounted to 1419 daler 24 öre silver coins. In addition to this sum, they were also given 7 daler silver coins each, or 119 daler altogether, for the shipping costs [SA, SÅ, G I: 143, pp. 1156–1158]. Just like the captain had hoped for in his petition, the Royal Senate also issued a travel pass in the name of the King, written in Latin, for the 17 Turks on the same day. Otherwise, such travel passes were usually issued by the Governor General in Stockholm. Here all the names of the Turks are given: “*Centurio* Mustapha, *Antistes* Musa, *Milites* Suleman, Memet, Ibrahim, Abbas, Borage, Hassan, Memet, Sultan, Sumageldi, Genale, Memet, Tulatgull, Uteopberdi, Cara, Asbolat” [RA, KMk-Rr, B: 660, pp. 146v–148v, “*Litera salvi passus pro musulmannis*” – Travel pass for the 12 Turks, dated 14 July 1712]. Most probably, this group of Turks left Stockholm onboard a Dutch ship one of the coming days.

Yet another deserting “Turkish Cossack”

The Turkish prisoners of war that managed to escape across the battle lines in the autumn of 1711 seem to be the last ones that arrived from Saint Petersburg. The important town of Viborg had been lost in June 1710 and the Swedes continued to lose grounds to the Russians during the coming years. Helsingfors and Åbo were lost in 1713 and the opportunities for any Turkish prisoner of war in Saint Petersburg to escape to the Swedish side were more or less gone. Thus, it is understandable that the last Turkish prisoner of war, who is known to have managed to escape to the Swedish side on the Finnish front, did not arrive from Saint Petersburg.

This Turkish deserter is mentioned in a letter from the Major General Carl G. Armfeldt³⁰ written in Brahestad in the northern province of Ostrobothnia on 10 September 1714. In the letter, he tells that “in these days” a Turk has deserted from the Russian side and that he had been a prisoner for a long time and after that “he had served the Russians as a common among the Cossacks”. Unfortunately, his name is not mentioned in the letter and his further fate is also unknown [RA, KMk-KK, Vol. 2, Letter from C. G. Armfeldt, Brahestad, 10 September 1714]. However, most probably he was soon sent to Stockholm

together with the other prisoners of war that had been captured by Major General Armfeldt's army in the province of Ostrobothnia.

Most probably there were more such cases of "Turkish Cossacks" among the captured Russian Cossacks that ended up as prisoners of war in Sweden. One such case seems to be a prisoner of war named "Stepan Baldiri". He arrived in Stockholm from Riga together with 177 other Russian prisoners of war on 8 November 1709. Ten of the prisoners were Don Cossacks who at the time of their capture had belonged to regiments under the command of the colonels or campaign atamans Aleksey Kuteinikov and Larion Zhmurin. Stepan, who had been serving in the latter colonel's regiment, is upon his arrival called Cossack [SA, SÄ, G I: 136, pp. 1535–1539]. However, when he, now called "Stephan Bauder", in late May 1710 tried to escape from the town of Nora he is said to be of "Turkish nation" in contrast to his fellow escapee who was said to be a Cossack. He is said to be about 50 years old and described as being slightly lean but very tall with black-grey and short hair. He was later captured and brought back to Nora where he in December 1711 is described as being old, frail and not able to work [ULA, LÖL, D II ha: 8, No. 74, 131, Letters from the Nora Magistrate, 31 May 1710 and 16 December 1711]. His surname – "Baldiri" or "Bauder" – could give a clue on his origin. Children of mixed parents such as a Russian and a non-Orthodox parent like Turkish / Tatar / Kalmyk were usually called "boldyr" [болдырь] [Dal' 1863, 97]. Among the 41 Russian Cossacks who arrived as Russian prisoners of war from Riga to Stockholm on 14 July 1708 there were also several with names that suggest a non-Russian origin, such as "Iwan Aleoff Ussulhoff", "Luchian Salamogh", "Iwan Tachmach", "Stephan Baldeer" and "Petter Baldeer" [SA, SÄ, G I: 133, pp. 1317–1318, 1338–1340].

When and where had the Turkish prisoners of war been captured?

The Swedish documents give some clues on when and where these Turkish prisoners of war had been captured. The first Turks that arrived in Stockholm in 1704 were said to have been captured eleven years earlier at Azov's surrender. One problem when it comes to such given time details is that we do not know for sure how exact their statements were and importantly also which calendar the Turks were following. If they were following the Julian calendar that was used in Russia during their captivity, it would mean they had been captured in late 1693. But if they were following the Hijri or Islamic calendar it would mean they had been captured around March 1694. Interestingly, it would also be the time of capture for the group headed by the Turkish captain that arrived in the autumn of 1711 and who said they had been captured 18 years earlier. However, the Ottoman fortress of Azov was not captured by the Muscovites before 1696, which means the first group of Turks had only been in Russian captivity for eight years instead of the stated eleven years. It is possible though, that the mentioning of the surrender of Azov was a misunderstanding by the Swedes.

No major battles or fights between Muscovy and Ottoman forces are known to have taken place during that period of time. However, the Tsardom of Russia had joined the European anti-Ottoman coalition, the so-called Holy League, already in 1686. The Russian army, supported by Cossacks from the Ukrainian Hetmanate, had organized two campaigns towards the Crimean Tatar fortress Or – Perekop in Ukrainian – in 1687 and 1689, but both had ended with failure. The only offensive or defensive operations during the following years were mostly undertaken by Don Cossacks around Azov or Cossacks from the Ukrainian Hetmanate who were defending themselves against a combined force of Crimean Tatars and parts of the Zaporozhian Cossacks under Petro Ivanenko or Petryk along the lower Dnipro River [Davies 2007, 175–183; Magocsi 2010, 257–258]. Cossacks from the Ukrainian Hetmanate made raids along the lower Dnipro River in early 1693, and in September 1693 they also made operations against the Ottoman fortress and town of Bender in the west. In February-March 1694 the Ukrainian Hetmanate together with Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks organised a campaign towards Ottoman fortresses at the lower Dnipro River and further into the Crimean Khanate. In August 1694 they also

made operations towards the Ottoman fortress and town Özü – Ochakiv in Ukrainian – on the Black Sea [Stanislavs'kyi 2009, 118]. However, none of these operations had any lasting significance, but it is very possible that prisoners of war were taken and brought to the north and also to Muscovy. Thus, it is also possible that the Turkish prisoners of war that claimed to have been captured either in late 1693 or early 1694 – one of them being the Turkish Captain Mustafa Hüseyin – had been captured during such fightings.

However, Muscovy – now under the command of Tsar Peter – launched another campaign against the Turks in the spring of 1695. This time there were two groups of targets. First it was the Ottoman strongholds on the lower Don River with the important town and fortress of Azak (or Azov in Russian) which was located in the estuary of the Don River and had been blocking Muscovy's access to the Azov Sea and further on to the Black Sea. The 7,000 men strong garrison at Azov was besieged by the more than 30,000 men strong Russian forces, reinforced by Don Cossacks as well as Cossacks from the Ukrainian Hetmanate, from late June until early October 1695, but despite two assault attempts they did not manage to take the fortress [Davies 2007, 183–184].

The second target for the campaign in 1695 was the Ottoman fortresses just south of the Zaporozhian territories along the lower Dnipro River. This campaign was a joint operation between Muscovite forces of about 25,000 men under the command of the Boyar and Voivode Boris Sheremetev, about 35,000 Cossacks from the Ukrainian Hetmanate under the command of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and about 2,000 Zaporozhian Cossacks under the command of the Koshovyi Otaman Maksym Samiylenko. This joint force was several times stronger than the Ottoman garrisons in the four fortresses Gazi-kerman, Islam-kerman, Muberek-kerman and Mustrit-kerman³¹, which probably did not hold more than 4,000 to 5,000 men and most of them being stationed in the main fortress Gazi-kerman on the right bank of the river. However, on the left bank of the river stood also a Crimean Tatar force of about 30,000 men, but they were unable to cross the river due to the Zaporozhian Cossack fleet that efficiently controlled the river with their boats [Bagro 2015, 99, 162; Nechitaylov, Velikanov 2020, 235].

The campaign along the Dnipro River in 1695 seems to be the origin of at least one group of the Turks that arrived in Sweden. The most detailed information about when they had been captured was given by the six Turks that arrived in Stockholm in December 1706. In their petition that was sent to the Defence Commission on 26 January 1707 they said that they had been captured eleven years and eleven months earlier. Counting according to the Julian calendar it would mean they had been captured in February / March 1695, but if one is counting according to the Hijri calendar it would mean July / August 1695. These Turks also claimed they came from the town of “Kasikarmi”. The name sounds very similar to the name of the Ottoman fortress and town Gazi-kerman that was situated on the right bank of the Dnipro River where the Ukrainian town of Beryslav is situated today.

The fortress Gazi-kerman was a rectangular fortification with strong towers and consisted of a citadel or upper town, middle town and lower town. It was situated on an elevated stone plateau right by the Dnipro River and it was partly surrounded by moats cut into the rocks. The combined forces reached Gazi-kerman in the evening of 24 July 1695 and a strong siege could be started. Starting the next day, the besieging troops gradually moved closer to the walls of the fortress by digging approaching trenches in zigzags. At the same time a heavy and continuous bombardment with artillery and mortars was started. After five days of shelling, the upper galleries of the walls were badly damaged. On 30 July, the troops also had completed the construction of a tunnel leading to the southwestern tower. At five o'clock in the morning a mine was blown in the tunnel beneath the tower and a decisive assault of the fortress was carried out by troops entering through the breach created by the blast. The assault was supported by artillery while the storming troops started a hand-to-hand fight on the streets which lasted for five hours before the defenders decided to surrender. In the evening negotiations were held with the commandant of the fortress and soon the signing of the terms of the surrender and the solemn

handing over of the keys could take place. After Gazi-kerman had surrendered on 30 July, the commandant of the fortress Mustrit-kerman decided to surrender to the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had been blocking the fortress that was situated on an island in the river. The Muberek-kerman and Islam-kerman fortresses were not attacked, but on 30 July they were abandoned by both the garrison and the few remaining civilians who left for the Crimea, leaving military supplies and cannons [Bagro 2015, 161–167].

Altogether 58 copper cannons were captured at Gazi-kerman and Mustrit-kerman. Most of the cannons were brought as trophies to Baturyn, but by order of the Colonel of the Poltava Regiment, Pavlo Hertsyk, a few of them were used to cast a bell for the Assumption Cathedral in Poltava. The bell is today preserved at the Poltava Museum of Local Lore and goes by the name "Kyzy-kermen". Many prisoners of war were also taken. Most of them were Ottoman Janissaries, but since the defenders also consisted of Crimean Tatars and Vlachs it is likely there were also such prisoners of war³². The exact number of captured prisoners of war is not known, and some also managed to escape and many from the garrison at Mustrit-kerman are also said to have bribed the Koshovyi Otaman to be released. However, it is known that Tsar Peter ordered Hetman Ivan Mazepa to send 357 or 362 prisoners to Moscow. 330 of them were later sent to Voronezh where they were put to work at the shipyards [Bagro 2015, 142–145]. Most probably it was some of these prisoners that later were transported to Saint Petersburg to build the new city for Tsar Peter, but as we have seen, six of them managed to escape to the Swedish side during the autumn of 1706. When these Turks by the end of the year arrived in Stockholm and "Barnhuset", they most probably met some of the Ukrainian Cossacks that had captured them eleven years earlier at Gazi-kerman. One of the regiments that is known to have played an important role in the final assault at Gazi-kerman was the Myrhorod Regiment under their Colonel Danylo Apostol, and by a twist of fate, about one hundred Ukrainian Cossacks, including the Sotnyk Vasyl Rodzianko, from the same regiment had been in Stockholm as prisoners of war since the autumn of 1705 [Henriksson 2016, 250–251; Bagro 2015, 124].

A second Russian campaign towards Azov was launched in the spring of 1696. This time the army was more than twice as strong as during the previous campaign, including 46,000 Muscovites, 15,000 Ukrainian and 5,000 Don Cossacks as well as 3,000 Kalmyks. The Azov fortress was besieged from mid May, and on 17 July 1696 the Cossacks tried to storm the fortress and managed to take two bastions. Two days later the entire Azov fortress surrendered. The terms of surrender gave the Turkish garrison the right to leave, but the deserters should be turned over to the Russians. Tsar Peter soon returned to Moscow where a victory parade was organized on 30 September, with triumphal arches and Turkish prisoners marching by in the style of a Roman triumph [Davies 2007, 185–186; Bushkovitch 2006, 186; Massie 1986, 153–157].

The Turks that had arrived in Viborg in 1707 claimed that they had been captured at the Black Sea ten years earlier. If they were right about the time that had passed from their capture, it means that they had been captured in the latter half of 1697, both according to the Julian and Hijri calendar. Then it is possible that they could have been captured during the Cossack raids on Ottoman and Crimean towns and ships along the Black Sea that had continued also after the capture of Azov in 1696 [Magocsi 2010, 258]. Both Ukrainian Cossacks from the Hetmanate and Russian troops were also engaged in campaigns in and around the taken Ottoman fortresses at the lower Dnipro River in 1697 and 1698 [Stanislavs'kyi 2009, 121].

It is likely that the Turks that claimed to have been forced to serve Don Cossacks must have been captured by the same kind of Cossacks around Azov or on the lower Don River.

Conclusions and summary

Altogether, about 50 Turkish prisoners of war managed to escape from their long-time Russian captivity during the Great Northern War. They created a delicate problem for the Swedish authorities in Stockholm, who for the most part acted without consulting their

far away sovereign, King Charles XII. Their ways how to handle and treat these Turks also shifted drastically over the years, from the first ones arriving in 1704 to the last ones ten years later. It is obvious that the major shift came after the battle of Poltava and King Charles XII's long stay in Bender and the Ottoman Empire.

Most of the arriving Turks had been kept in Russian captivity for a very long time – in most cases for more than ten years. They all had been captured during the so-called Russo-Turkish War of 1686–1700 and prior to the Treaty of Constantinople was signed in 1700. The Tsardom of Russia had joined the European anti-Ottoman coalition – the so-called Holy League – in 1686 and the Muscovite operations against the Ottoman Porte were part of the so-called Great Turkish War. After the main members of the Holy League had signed a peace treaty with the Ottoman Porte at Karlowitz in late January 1699, Muscovy also had signed a two-year-long armistice with the Porte. However, nothing was said about the prisoners of war in this treaty [Rycaut 1700, 587–588]. The armistice was replaced in early July 1700 by the so-called Treaty of Constantinople. This treaty extended the armistice to thirty years and formally recognized Muscovy's sovereignty over Azov, but at the same time they had to evacuate and demolish the Ottoman fortresses on the Dnipro River that they had captured in 1695. Concerning the prisoners of war, the treaty stated that the prisoners on both sides should be freed by honest exchange according to their ranks. The prisoners who had been sold as slaves should also be freed, but by honest buy. However, those prisoners that had converted to the other religion would not be freed³³. So even though the treaty called for the prisoners of war to be released, the stipulated terms gave room for keeping them.

It is not known how many prisoners were captured during this war but it is known that initially many of the Turkish prisoners of war were kept to work at the shipyards in Voronezh. However, it seems that many of the Turkish prisoners of war were moved from Voronezh after the Russian capture of the estuary of the Neva River and the founding of the new city of Saint Petersburg in 1703. In Saint Petersburg the Turks were mainly used to build the new fortifications. According to the deserting Turks, there were about 150 Turkish prisoners of war in Saint Petersburg in late 1704.

The Treaty of Constantinople was broken in November 1710 when the Ottoman Porte declared war on Russia, but the new hostilities came to an end already the following year and a new treaty was hastily signed at the Prut River on 12 July 1711. The treaty was a political victory for the Ottoman Porte. It stipulated the return of Azov to the Ottomans and Muscovy had to destroy several Russian fortresses on the Black Sea and along the lower Dnipro River. This time the treaty was more clear about the fate of the prisoners of war. The treaty stated that all Muslims and subjects of the Porte, that had been captured in previous and the latest war, regardless of how many they were, should be set free³⁴. This means that the group of Turkish prisoners of war that had managed to escape in the autumn of 1711 should have been released anyway, but the news of the treaty had most probably not reached Saint Petersburg at the time of their escape. And it seems like they were unaware of the treaty even in December 1711, when the Turkish priest asked the Swedish authorities in Stockholm for help to get his brother to be released from his Russian captivity in Saint Petersburg.

The first group of Turks that arrived in Stockholm in September 1704 were upon their arrival in Stockholm granted the daily allowance of 3 öre silver coins just like the Russian and Saxon prisoners of war, and they were also lodged together with the latter ones in the Public orphanage. However, they were not really prisoners of war, and in March 1705 the Defence Commission decided to set them free. However, their daily allowance was not discontinued by the Governor General until early May 1705 when they were also released from the Public Orphanage.

The next group of Turks that arrived in August 1705 were initially also placed in the Public Orphanage and granted the daily allowance of 3 öre silver coins, but the allowance was discontinued within less than a month. The group of Turks that arrived in December 1706 were also placed in the Public Orphanage but were not given the daily allowance.

The Turks that came to Viborg in September 1707 got subsistence from the Governor and were also helped to return home via Riga and further on through Poland. However, this was done without consulting the Defence Commission or the Royal Senate in Stockholm. But in general, it seems like the local governors felt pity for the Turks, who in most cases had endured Russian captivity for more than ten years, and thus they also wanted to give them at least the daily allowance the prisoners of war were receiving.

Also, the next group of Turks to arrive in Stockholm, in January 1709, were granted the daily allowance of 3 öre silver coins and were also lodged in the Public Orphanage. Apparently, the attitude towards the arriving Turkish deserters seems to have changed after the direct contacts between the Swedish King and the Ottoman Porte had been initialized in late 1707. The change of attitude towards the arriving Turks had shifted even more in the autumn of 1711 when the arriving Turkish captain even was granted the double allowance of a Swedish captain and a generous amount of money to buy new clothes. Also, the common Turkish soldiers were eventually granted the daily allowance of 10 silver coins, which was more than three times higher than the ordinary allowance for the prisoners of war that had been given to the first groups of arriving Turks. The changed attitude happened after the devastating loss at Poltava and was obviously connected to the fact that the Swedish King Charles XII was an honoured guest of the Sultan at the time.

There were several ways of returning home for the Turkish prisoners of war. One way that often was suggested by the Swedish authorities in Stockholm was to take the route over Holland. In one case it was even suggested by the Turks themselves that they could finance the journey by letting themselves to be exchanged for enslaved Christians in Turkey. They believed that only one Turk could be exchanged for five or six Christian slaves. Many Christian sailors were captured by Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean Sea and the ransom to get them free could range from 300 to 600 piastres so the Turkish prisoners were in fact of great value themselves³⁵. However, it seems like the Dutch captains anyway hesitated to take the Turks on board their ships. They objected that they, with the few sailors they usually had in their service, would not feel safe to take several Turks with them across the North Sea. In other words, they were afraid that the Turks could find opportunities to overmaster the sailors while at sea and take over the ship with its goods and maybe even sail all the way to areas under Ottoman rule.

Another possible way of returning was via Poland. This was also the route that was suggested by the County Governor Lybecker when he in September 1707 sent the newly arrived three Turks from Viborg via Reval to Riga. At the time it was thought to be reasonably safe to travel by land from Riga through Poland to Ottoman territories. It is also likely that the nine Turks that left Stockholm in May 1709 and were destined for Prussian Königsberg, must have planned taking the homeward route through Poland.

The 17 Turks that left Stockholm in the summer of 1712 had also suggested to be sent to Prussian Königsberg, but the Royal Senate had thought it was a too risky route and instead had suggested they should leave on a Dutch ship destined to Holland.

¹ According to the Swedish calendar it was 27 August 1704 but according to the Gregorian calendar, that was in use in Poland at the time, it was 6 September 1704. The Swedish calendar was in use 1700–1712 and was one day ahead of the Julian calendar and ten days behind the Gregorian calendar. If otherwise not mentioned, the dates used in this article are according to the Swedish calendar.

² Brześć is situated about 10 kilometers west of Włocławek and is often called Brześć Kujawski to distinguish it from the Belarusian city Brest.

³ Carl Piper (1647–1716) was made one of the secretaries of state in 1689. In 1697 he also became a member of the Royal Senate. He followed King Charles XII as the head of the Swedish Field Chancellery during the Great Northern War, but was captured by the Russians at the battle of Poltava in 1709. He died in Russian captivity in 1716 [Jonasson 1995–1997].

⁴ This event was mentioned by the Swedish Military chaplain Lars Tursenius during his mission to Azov in the spring of 1713. Tursenius tried to use this story, although without success, when he negotiated on 13 February with the Commandant of Azov about the release of one Swede and a Pole that just had escaped from Russia but were said to have already converted to Islam [Tursenius 1913, 268–270].

⁵ The Swedish Royal Council was usually known as the Royal Senate – “Kungliga Senaten” – during the reign of Charles XII.

⁶ During the Great Northern War about 14,000 prisoners of war were brought from the victorious Swedish armies to mainland Sweden. The prisoners were of many different nationalities; Saxon, Russian, Danish, Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian being the main groups [Henriksson 2016].

⁷ Georg Johan Maydell (1648–1710) was a Major General at the outbreak of the Great Northern War. In 1703 he was appointed as Lieutenant General and Commander of the army in Finland. Despite an inferior number of troops, he conducted a tenacious defensive war against the Russians on the Karelian Isthmus and he successfully defended Viborg during the Russian siege in 1706. In January 1706 he was appointed as General of the infantry, but already a year later he left his military service [Åberg 1985–1987].

⁸ The Defence Commission – “Defensionskommissionen” – was a committee within the Royal Senate that was established in April 1700 at the outbreak of the Great Northern War. It held the general responsibility regarding the defence of the realm during the years King Charles XII was absent from Sweden. The Commission also had the general responsibility for the prisoners of war. The Commission held its last meetings in 1714 and the duties were transferred to the Royal Senate [Naumann 1918, 535–537].

⁹ Anders Grelsson Lindehielm (1635–1705) was the County Governor in Viborg from 1689 until his death in September 1705 [Skoglund 1980–1981].

¹⁰ The Governor General in Stockholm – “Överståthållaren” – was the highest official in Stockholm and the equivalent of a County Governor – “landshövding” elsewhere in Sweden. His deputy was called “underståthållare”.

¹¹ Christopher Gyllenstierna (1639–1705) was Governor General in Stockholm 1682–1705 [Grauers 1967–1969].

¹² Georg Stiernhoff (1631–1710) was Deputy Governor General in Stockholm 1700–1710. His son and namesake, the Lieutenant Georg Stiernhoff (1685–1740), was captured by the Russians after the battle of Poltava and spent the rest of the war in Russian captivity [Elgenstierna 1932, 657].

¹³ Åke Rålamb (1651–1718) took part in the Scanian War (1675–1679) as an officer at the Royal Life Guards. At the battle of Lund in 1676, he captured two Danish banners and was afterwards appointed as Lieutenant Colonel. However, after the end of the Scanian War Rålamb left the military and did not return until the outbreak of the Great Northern War in 1700. This time he returned to the Royal Life Guards as a successful recruiter, but soon he also became infamous for his brutal methods. Rålamb is also known as the author of an extensive encyclopedia that was partly published in the early 1690s. A minor part of the encyclopedia, that was published as a small handbook for noblemen, became widely known and was published several times during the 1700s and 1800s [Dahl 2000–2002].

¹⁴ No alliance between Sweden and the Ottoman Porte was created after Clas Rålamb’s mission to Constantinople. However, Rålamb brought back to Sweden 121 paintings depicting costumes of the Ottoman court and men and women of various ranks in Ottoman society. He also ordered a painting in 20 pieces to be made that is depicting the Sultan’s procession to Adrianople, which Rålamb had witnessed himself and also described in detail in his diary.

¹⁵ The rebellion had been started in late July 1705, mainly by the streltsy and merchants in the important commercial centre Astrakhan. It was a serious threat and the rebellion soon spread to other towns and settlements. The deserter Ivan Lukianov mentions four rebel towns besides Astrakhan: “Czornager” (must be Chornyi Yar), “Crasniger” (must be Krasnyi Yar), “Jaig” (today Atyrau in Kazakhstan) and “Tereck”. After the initial success, the rebellion was finally crushed in March 1706 and hundreds of insurgents were gruesomely executed [Rabinovich 1977, 61; Voennaya entsiklopediya 1911, 194].

¹⁶ Count Adam Ludwig Lewenhaupt (1659–1719) was the Governor General of Swedish Livonia 1706–1709. He had served as an officer abroad during the 1680s and 1690s (e.g. as a cavalry captain in Nils Bielke’s regiment in Hungary 1685–1686 during the Great Turkish War). During

the Great Northern War, he was for years a successful commanding officer that stood as the victor at several battles in the Baltic arena (Saladen in 1703, Jakobstadt in 1704, Gemauerthof in 1705). However, he has probably been more remembered for the loss at Lesna in 1708 and even more so the disaster at Poltava and the surrender at Perevolochna in 1709. He spent the rest of his life as a prisoner of war in Russia and died in Moscow in 1719 [Artéus 1977–1979].

¹⁷ Enclosed with the letter is Ernst Friedrich Krompein's interrogation protocol, dated in Viborg 13 September 1707.

¹⁸ Georg Lybecker (?–1718) was a Cavalry Captain at the outbreak of the Great Northern War. In 1703 he was appointed as Major and in 1704 as Lieutenant Colonel. Together with King Charles XII he took part in the successful assault on Lemberg / Lwów on 27 August 1704. He was appointed as County Governor of Viborg and Nyslott County as well as Major General of the cavalry in 1706. In 1707 he was also appointed as the Commander of the army in Finland. After Viborg had been lost to the Russians in 1710 he was dismissed from the General Command of the army in Finland, but regained the command in 1712. However, after loosing much of the Finnish provinces he was once again dismissed in 1713 and later he was also court-martialled. He was eventually sentenced to death but later pardoned by King Charles XII [Åstrand 1982–1984].

¹⁹ Knut Posse (?–1714) became a member of the Royal Senate in 1705. He was also appointed as Governor General in Stockholm in the same year but he took office not before 1707. He stayed in office until his death in 1714, although he was mostly relieved from his duties during the last years due to bad health [Gillingstam 1995–1997].

²⁰ Carl Nieroth (?–1712) was a Lieutenant Colonel at the outbreak of the Great Northern War. In 1700 he was appointed as Colonel and Major General of the cavalry and in 1704 Lieutenant Colonel of the cavalry. He took part in several battles during the Great Northern War, being the battle of Warsaw in July 1705 his greatest success as a commander. In 1709 he was appointed as Governor General of Swedish Estonia and in 1710 as General Commander of the Swedish forces in Finland whose duties were ended by his sudden death in 1712 [Asker 1987–1989].

²¹ Count Fabian Wrede (1641–1712) was County Governor of Viborg and Nyslott County 1675–1681 and Uppsala County 1681–1685. In 1685 he became a member of the Royal Council or Senate, a post he withheld until his death in 1712. He was the president of the Chamber College 1687–1711 and of the Commerce College 1687–1712 [Elgenstierna 1936, 46–47].

²² The document is signed in Ottoman Turkish by a man named Ali, which most probably is the Turk that in the Swedish lists is called "Alie Habustoff". The Ottoman Turkish texts have been kindly translated by Professor Birsnel Karakoç and Ali Yildiz, both at Uppsala University.

²³ Enok Lilliemarck (1660–1736) was trained as an interpreter and translator of Russian for the Swedish state administration and he also participated in several Swedish embassies to Russia. During the Great Northern War, he was closely involved in the surveillance of Russian prisoners of war in Sweden and he was also responsible for deciphering Russian secret correspondence [Rosén 2016].

²⁴ The Johan Daniel Rank who attested the receipt can probably be identified as the Cavalry Captain or "Rittmeister" Daniel Johan Ranck who arrived as a Polish prisoner of war from Riga to Stockholm on 2 June 1702. He was married in the German Lutheran Congregation Saint Gertrud in Stockholm on 28 March 1709 to Gundela Eek.

²⁵ Otto Wilhelm Klinckowström (1683–1731) was born in Swedish Wismar and German was his mother tongue, but he knew also Swedish, French, Polish and Latin. He started to work at the Swedish Chancellery in Stockholm in 1705. In 1708 he was sent as a Swedish Commission Secretary to the Royal Polish Court of King Stanisław Leszczyński. In late 1708 he was sent to King Charles XII to deliver the sad news that the King's older sister Hedwig Sophia had died. However, he arrived at the King only a few days before the battle of Poltava and since the King had been seriously wounded in his foot, the sad news was not delivered until later. After the battle, Klinckowström followed the King towards Bender but was ordered to go to the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray to get permission for the Swedish Army to enter the Crimean Khanate. However, the mission was in vain since the Swedish Army had already surrendered at Perevolochna. Klinckowström joined the King at Bender but was sent back to Stockholm already in November 1709. The journey to Sweden was adventurous and he was for a while captured by Russian troops in Krakow. He reached Stockholm during the spring of 1711 but was sent back to King Charles XII in Bender again early next year. He reached Bender in April 1712, but already in August, he was sent to Poland to take part in the Ottoman control commission to secure that the Russian troops had left Poland,

which had been required in the Treaty of the Prut. He later rejoined with the King when he had arrived in Stralsund and followed him to mainland Sweden in late 1715 [Grauers 1975–1977].

²⁶ Count Nils Bielke (1644–1716) was a Colonel at the outbreak of the Scanian War in 1675 but at the end of the war in 1679 he had advanced to Lieutenant General. He was the Swedish ambassador in Paris 1679–1682 and Governor General of Swedish Pomerania 1687–1698 [Malmström 1895; Eriksson 2000, 189–214; Sorgenfrei 2018, 37–39; SSA, HF, C I: 2, p. 223].

²⁷ Alexander Erskine (?–1687) was of Scottish family but his father had entered Swedish service in 1628 and become a Swedish Baron in 1655. Erskine became a Swedish Colonel Lieutenant but served at the Hungarian army from 1684. He died on the Peloponnese Peninsula during the Morean War in 1687, shortly after he had entered Venetian service [Hildebrand 1953].

²⁸ The Turkish boy “Aly”, whom Baron Erskine had given to Countess Amalia Wilhelmina von Königsmarck, was according to the Pomeranian pastor and theologian C. T. Rango of noble origin – “war eines vornehmen Chiauschen auß Neuhäusel”. He was named Carl after King Charles XI and Alexander after Baron Erskine who had redeemed the boy from “the sharpness of the sword”. King Charles XI, the Queen Dowager Hedwig Eleonora and several Counts and Countesses were among the godparents. According to C. T. Rango, the boy was baptized in the Wrangel Palace and not in the German Church because the boy had a fever and the weather was cold. He also gives 18 March 1686 as the baptismal date even though the baptismal records from the church give the date 26 March 1686. However, the notes in the baptismal records seem to be added later and they also lack all the details given by Rango, who most probably had gotten his information from his son D. Rango, who participated in the baptismal. Also the two other Turkish children who were baptized three months later had counts and countesses as their godparents [SSA, TSG, C I: 1a, pp. 656, 658; Rango 1688, 333–335].

²⁹ Countess Maria Aurora von Königsmarck (1662–1728) was a daughter of Kurt Christoph von Königsmarck, the Swedish Commandant of Stade in northwestern Germany. She resided in Stockholm 1680–1692 but thereafter she lived in Germany. In 1694 she met with the new Elector of Saxony, Friedrich August I, who in 1697 also was elected king of Poland. Soon the young Elector made Aurora his first official mistress and in 1696 she gave birth to their son, Herman Moritz, who later became known as Count Moritz of Saxony. Aurora’s older brother Karl Johann von Königsmarck (1659–1686) fought together with their uncle, the Field Marshal Otto Wilhelm von Königsmarck (1639–1688) as a Colonel against the Turks both in Hungary and Greece [Grauers 1977–1979].

³⁰ Carl Gustaf Armfeldt (1666–1736) was appointed as Adjutant General a few months after the outbreak of the Great Northern War. In 1707 he was appointed as Colonel and Major General of the cavalry in 1711. In 1713 he was appointed as General Commander of the Swedish forces in Finland, which post he withheld until the end of the Great Northern War [Uddgren 1920].

³¹ The names of the fortresses vary a lot in documents and literature. In contemporary Russian and Ukrainian documents they are usually called Kazikermen / Kazykermen, Islamkermen / Aslamkermen / Aslamgorod, Muberekkermen and Mustritkermen. Kazikermen was situated on the right bank of the Dnipro River at an important river crossing. The smaller Aslamkermen was situated on the opposite side of the river where today the town of Kokhovka is situated. In between them, on the river island Tavan in the middle of the Dnipro River, the even smaller fortress Mustritkermen was situated. The fourth smaller fortress Muberekkermen was situated on the peninsula between the Dnipro River and a smaller tributary, north of the Tavan island [Bagro 2015, 8–9; Nechitaylov, Velikanov 2020, 229].

³² In addition, there were also a couple of hundred Tatars from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – so-called Lipki – who had resettled in Gazi-kerman in 1672. At the same time also Turkish soldiers with their family had been stationed there with their families [Nechitaylov, Velikanov 2020, 235].

³³ The treaty was signed on 3 July 1711 according to the Julian calendar. The paragraph dealing with the prisoners of war can be found in the ninth paragraph [Pis’ma i bumagi... 1887, 375–376; Theatri Europæi... 1707, 867; Davies 2007, 187].

³⁴ The treaty was signed on 12 July 1711 according to the Julian calendar, which was 23 July 1711 according to the Gregorian calendar. The paragraph dealing with the prisoners of war can be found in the seventh, or last, paragraph [Pis’ma i bumagi... 1962, 324, 326; Nordberg 1740b, 193].

³⁵ The ransom price for a Christian slave could vary a lot. In 1695 the price in Alger is mentioned as 300 to 600 piastres but in 1735 the normal price is said to be 400–500 pesos for an ordinary sailor but 800–1000 pesos for a coxswain [Östlund 2014, 118, 172].

ILLUSTRATIONS

1744

In unkonno ifran Wiborgh und Ge^{re} Capitein
 Anders Torson iur. Wenzmuft 20 Sept:
 N: 1704. Chumb.

	Capit: Paul Fredor Tschcoff	1	x
	Geboan Jacoliff Bogdoff	1	x
	Officaj Metrij Skubzi	1	x
Sjaren	Mattie Miasloff Luro	1	x
	Nicor Nazardoff ravnoff	1	x
	Jwan Steffano Usacoff	1	x
Snyg:	Meruzi Ignatiuff	1	x
	Ustino Andreoff	1	x
	Jwan Timofeoff Bioloff	1	x
	Maffice Lucinomi	1	x
	Ellacim Faddoff	1	x
	Jwan Swannoff	1	x
	12		
Din lifte Resertkurer			
	Mustapa	1	x
	Osman	1	x
	Affau	1	x
	Ohlij	1	x
	Agers	1	x
	Blattid	1	x
	6		
	18		
	207		
	12		
	297		
	25 Sept. N: 1704		

De Barnhuset i Sæker
 25 Sept. N: 1704

The list of the first arriving Turkish deserters in 1704

Regerälborna H^r Josefus, Kongl. Maj:^{ts}
 Råd och Öfverståthållaren,
 Wällborna H^r Wästgötlarne och
 Gög Rådhet H^r Wastz förgår.
 Nådgunstige Herrar.

In för Eras Gög Gref. Excell.^{ts} och det Kon-
 gliche Wastz Cartzliet, Nådgar Indij wå
 Sattige Eximlingar, wändige i Turckij och
 Wadan Kasikarmi, Andraga, och wäst
 Skände in Denna Supplic Petition. Numbr:
 11
 Inwändes wå Kländige Propos, Wadan wå
 Andfluppit det Ristte Singselst, Åfwan
 öfwan Wåf som annas, Wadstort wåter,
 Numbr: 1 Sattigdan och Singselst fylar,
 som af ick wånga Afsättia, Gexaminering
 wadan Wåf Några Månader, in Gånsta wå-
 ga Madel Enotstätt, och det in stoor
 Boland och stillatygande. wad wåter wåter
 Landwåter, wad Denna Sij, af Wåter be-
 stas Singsel, att det kan wånga Singsel
 de wåter Wåter. Och Wåter wå
 Kländige Propos, Åfwan wil som wåter och
 Skände Går på Öfwan, Gexwåter wåter
 Monistia

The document from 1707 where "Kasikarmi" is mentioned as the origin of the Turks

771.

Redmätigt på andra sidan Profens
Rougeⁿ Statskontorets utredning och
affignation, Lofsen Ratts Borsäl,
Casus Wälsat. P. Petter Galle till
af Gvar och om för sig Lofsenratt
och af byfärd inderfärd, som
gör för af tillfogad tillgåntrade
cljrsatijo för vaff. P. G. G. G., som
Gur und på samstuligab vägnar
attesteres och qvitteres. Stockholm
d: 6: Septemb: A: 1711.

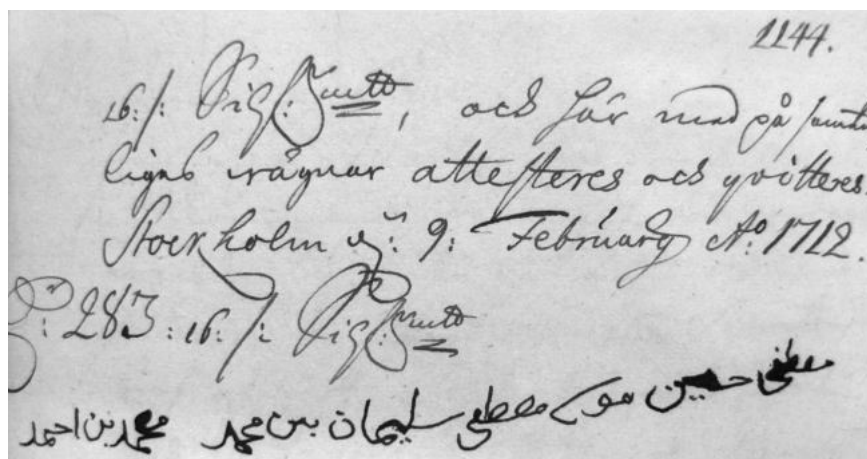
P. 141: P. G. G.

محمد بن حسين

alla församlingens Rådhar som för nämnd
summa riktigt bekräftar attesteres och
ordres

Lillemor

The first document from September 1711 where only the Turkish captain and priest have signed their names



The document from 9 February 1712 where the names of Mustafa Hüseyin, Musa Mustafa, Süleymain bin Mehmed and Mehmed bin Ahmed can be seen

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Г. Генрікссон

Турецькі військовополонені в Стокгольмі під час Великої Північної війни

Стаття присвячена раніше невідомим нюансам історії приблизно п'ятдесяти турецьких військовополонених, яким протягом 1704–1714 рр. вдалося втекти до Швеції з тривалого

російського полону. Вони стали попередниками більш відомих турків – так званих “турецьких кредиторів”, – які прибули до Швеції після років, проведених королем Карлом XII в Османській імперії. Підкреслюється, що контакти між Швецією та Османською імперією були незначними на початку Великої Північної війни, і прибуття перших турецьких військовополонених у 1704 р. створило делікатну проблему для шведської влади у Стокгольмі. Король Карл XII був за кордоном від початку війни у 1700 р., і Королівський Сенат у Стокгольмі найчастіше мав приймати рішення і діяти, не порадившись зі своїм сувереном. В результаті проведеного дослідження з’ясовується, що утримання цих турків і поводження з ними різко змінювалися протягом цих років, від перших військовополонених до останніх, десять років потому. Очевидно, що головні зміни відбулися після Полтавської битви і тривалого перебування Карла XII в Бендерах і в Османській імперії. Спочатку з ними поводилися приблизно так само, як і з будь-якими іншими військовополоненими, і при цьому вони також одержували добове утримання. Пізніше добові відмінили, і турки мали намагатися утримувати себе самостійно, що виявилось непростим. Проте добове утримання повернули туркам, які прибули пізніше, коли шведи намагалися побудувати хороші відносини з Османською Портою. А після Полтавської битви з турками, що прибували, обходилися як із важливими гостями; вони одержували щедрю щоденну підтримку.

Автор приходять до висновку, що всі усі турецькі військовополонені потрапили в полон вже в середині 1690-х, деякі – на територіях Османської імперії і Кримського ханства у Нижньому Подніпров’ї, наприклад, під час захоплення Газі-Кермена в 1695 р., деякі – на Чорноморському узбережжі і деякі, можливо, також в Азові і довкола нього.

Більшість турецьких військовополонених становили рядові солдати, але з-поміж них також були яничари, один капітан, на ім’я Мустафа Хусейн, і “турецький священник”, на ім’я Муса Мустафа.

Усі турецькі військовополонені залишили Швецію через деякий час. Проте було нелегко організувати їхню безпечну подорож додому на Османські території. Шведська влада у Стокгольмі часто пропонувала туркам маршрут через Голландію. В одному випадку турки навіть самі пропонували профінансувати подорож, погоджуючись бути обмінними на поневолених християн у Туреччині. Іншим можливим шляхом повернення була подорож суходолом через Польщу до Османських територій, але цей маршрут, імовірно, не розглядався як найбезпечніший.

Ключові слова: Азовські походи (1695–1696), Карл XII, Газі-Кермен, Велика Північна війна (1700–1721), Османська імперія, військовополонені, Росія, Російсько-турецька війна (1686–1700), Швеція

Х. Хенрикссон

Турецкие военнопленные в Стокгольме во время Великой Северной войны

Статья посвящена ранее неизвестным нюансам истории примерно пятидесяти турецких военнопленных, которым на протяжении 1704–1714 гг. удалось сбежать из долгого русского плена в Швецию. Они стали предшественниками более известных турок – так называемых “турецких кредиторов”, – которые прибыли в Швецию после годов, проведенных королем Карлом XII в Османской империи. Подчеркивается, что контакты между Швецией и Османской империей были незначительными в начале Великой Северной войны, и прибытие первых турецких военнопленных в 1704 г. создало деликатную проблему для шведских властей в Стокгольме. Король Карл XII был за границей с начала войны в 1700 г., и Королевский Сенат в Стокгольме чаще всего должен был принимать решения и действовать, не посоветовавшись со своим сувереном. В результате проведенного исследования выясняется, что содержание этих турок и обращение с ними резко менялось на протяжении этих лет, от первых военнопленных до последних, десять лет спустя. Очевидно, что главные изменения произошли после Полтавской битвы и длительного пребывания Карла XII в Бендерах и в Османской империи. Сначала с ними обращались примерно так же, как и с любыми другими военнопленными, и при этом они также получали суточное содержание. Позже суточные отменили, и турки должны были пытаться содержать себя самостоятельно, что оказалось непросто. Впрочем, туркам, прибывшим позже, вернули суточное содержание, когда шведы пытались выстроить хорошие отношения с Османской Портой. А после Полтавской

битвы с прибывающими турками обходились как с важными гостями; они получали щедрую ежедневную поддержку.

Автор приходит к выводу, что все турецкие военнопленные попали в плен уже в середине 1690-х, некоторые – на территориях Османской империи и Крымского ханства в Нижнем Поднепровье, например, во время захвата Гази-Кермена в 1695 г., некоторые – на Черноморском побережье и некоторые, возможно, также в Азове и вокруг него.

Большинство турецких военнопленных составляли рядовые солдаты, но среди них также были янычары, один капитан, по имени Мустафа Хусейн, и “турецкий священник”, по имени Муса Мустафа.

Все турецкие военнопленные оставили Швецию через некоторое время. Однако было нелегко организовать их безопасное путешествие домой на Османские территории. Шведские власти в Стокгольме часто предлагали туркам маршрут через Голландию. В одном случае турки даже сами предлагали профинансировать путешествие, соглашаясь быть обмененными на порабощенных христиан в Турции. Другим возможным путем возвращения было сухопутное путешествие через Польшу к Османским территориям, но этот маршрут, вероятно, не считался самым безопасным.

Ключевые слова: Азовские походы (1695–1696), Карл XII, Гази-Кермен, Великая Северная война (1700–1721), Османская империя, военнопленные, Россия, Русско-турецкая война (1686–1700), Швеция

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