



Carlopolis: Sketches of Everyday Life of A Swedish-Cossack Camp on the Frontier (1709 – 1713)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to highlight the daily life of the inhabitants of the camp of the Swedish King Charles (Carl) XII and his Ukrainian allies, in the vicinity of the Turkish fortress Bender on the Dniester River (now the territory of the Republic of Moldova), between 1709 and 1713. The sequence and time of Swedes and Cossacks' staying in three alternating locations, their conveniences and disadvantages, the influence of the nature of development and the degree of comfort of buildings on the sanitary and epidemiological situation were specified. In the course of the study, the methods of providing food to the population of the camps, the differences in the diet of ordinary soldiers and senior officers, and their relationship with moral and military combat readiness were studied. Also, the influence of the border situation under the conditions of the ongoing war and the unusualness of landscape and climate for the Swedes, on the occurrence of rumours and phobias, and the general mental perception of the steppe region to them was found out. **Keywords:** Bender Fortress, Carlopolis, Everyday Life, Charles XII, Frontier, Ivan Mazepa, Northern War, Swedish-Ukrainian Alliance



Introducing the Problem

The events of the Northern War (1700 – 1721) largely determined the further course of European and world history for two centuries ahead. The loss of the Swedish Kingdom of hegemony in the Baltic region contributed to the further strengthening of the Muscovy (Russian state), and the formation of the Russian Empire with its subsequent centralization and territorial expansion. The Cossack autonomies of Ukraine – the Hetmanate and the Zaporozhian Sich (Zaporozhian Lower Host), who joined Charles (Carl) XII, felt the results of the Poltava defeat (1709) like no one else. The forced flight of the Swedish king and his Ukrainian allies, Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Ataman Konstantin Gordienko, to the territory of the Ottoman Empire, which they considered to be a tactical step and, a temporary measure that could help them to regroup, concluded a new anti-Russian alliance with the Turkish side, and, possibly turned the tide of the war not near the Baltic, but the Black Sea.

The subsequent 4-year stay of Charles XII, from the end of the summer of 1709 to the beginning of 1713 in the vicinity of the Turkish fortress of Bender (modern Republic of Moldova), turned his camp, nicknamed by his contemporaries “Carlopolis” into one of the most influential political centers. Correspondents from the adjoining expanses and from distant Sweden flocked here, including high-ranking visitors, diplomatic couriers, spies masquerading as merchants, and real merchants who did not disdain espionage. All of them to one degree or another produced many written sources based on which, even after three hundred years, it is possible to recreate the details of “big politics” interstate intrigue and the struggle for military and political leadership. Most researchers who have studied and are still studying the history of the confrontation between the two great monarchs of their time – Charles XII and Peter I, consider the “Bender” episode from just those positions. The camp of *Caroleans* (so called in the 18th century and later after his name and all the soldiers of the Swedish king) interested them, first of all, as one of the political hotbeds on which military-political alliances were prepared, armed detachments languished in anticipation, and a couple of passions erupted royal ambitions. It is easy to be convinced of this by familiarizing yourself with the corresponding samples of historiography of scientists from Sweden, Turkey, Moldova, Ukraine, Poland, Russia and other countries. First of all, Carlopolis appears as a point on the map where the most august person who had great political weight and was able to influence the course of world (or at least regional) history .

The steady interest in this location , (the camp of the Swedish King Charles XII near Bender), from specialist-historians, from the outside, and from the general public gave rise to another direction in this research. Due to various circumstances which will be mentioned below, this camp, in the three and a half years of its existence, changed its deployment three times. Two transitions (1709, 1711) and the demolition (1713) of Carlopolis with the subsequent archeologizing of all three locations of the royal camp contributed to the transformation of his / their fortifications, dwellings, all kinds of artifacts into archaeological complexes capable

of providing certain information for the reconstruction of the past. The stay of Bender and its environs within the Russian Empire (from 1791 – the left bank, and from 1812 – the right bank), with its cult of “Poltava” and the era of Peter I, as a whole, contributed the best way to the formation of the tradition of local history and archaeological study of the site. Thus, the second hypothesis of Carlopolis, which appears before us, thanks to the efforts of researchers, is the image of the “Viking king” camp recreated on the basis of studying its remains.

The question naturally arises on whether a certain third (as well as subsequent) hypostasis of Carlopolis can exist. Without doubt, yes. Our confidence is based on the fact that in almost all existing studies, the circumstances of the daily life of the camp inhabitants were ignored by researchers. What they ate, what they were sick from, what they feared for, under the roof of which dwellings they sheltered for the night and in bad weather, etc., are the points we do not know very well, not enough. His third face can be called “Carlopolis ordinarius” not “royal”, not “architectural and fortification”, but “ordinary/everyday”. The ordinary life of ordinary (also outstanding) Caroleans and their Cossack allies continued in an unusual place for them, nestled on the outskirts of the steppe section of the Muslim-Christian Frontier.

Previous Research

Since the literature devoted to the life and military works of Charles XII is numerous, we will immediately make a reservation that we will consider only those of its samples in which at least some significant attention was paid to the theme of Carlopolis.

The extraordinary personality of the Swedish king, primarily as a charismatic leader and a brilliant commander in general, attracted the attention of researchers in the first years after his death. Among his biographies in which a certain place was assigned to the “Bender” period of his life, we note the work of François-Marie Aruet Voltaire published in 1731 in French (translated into Russian, published in 1803) ¹.

The public of the Russian Empire demonstrated a steady interest in the person of Charles XII throughout the entire 18th century, which was concretized by the appearance of several translations into Russian – the works of the Prussian king Frederick II the Great² and the German author whose descendants later entered the Russian service and attended to the publication of the work of their ancestor – Wilhelm Teils³. The time of publication of both books is noteworthy – in the midst of the next, already the third in a century, Russian-

1 François Marie Aruet Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*. Bâle, 1731.

2 [Fridrikh II]. *Rassuzhdeniye Friderika II, korolya Prusskogo, o svoystve i voinskikh darovaniyakh Karla XII, posleduyemye lyubopytynymi i maloizvestnymi anekdotami gosudarstvovaniya i osobennoy zhizni velikogo sego Monarkha*. Perevedeno s frantsuzskogo. Moskva: V Universitetskoy tipografii, 1789.

3 Vilgelm Teyls, *Izvestiya, sluzhashchiye k istorii Karla XII, korolya shvedskogo, soderzhashchiye v sebe, chto proiskhodilo v bytnost' sego Gosudarya pri Ottomanskoy Porte. I dostovernoye uvedomleniye o nesoglasiyakh, prikluychivshikhsya ot vremeni do vremeni mezhdu Ego TSarskim Velichestvom i Portoyu i prochaya, i prochaya, s prilozheniyem relyatsii o posledney voyne mezhdu Sultanom, TSesarem i respublikoyu Venetsiyeyu. S frantsuzskogo per. vnuk ego Anton Teyl's*. CH. 1-2. Moskva: V Universitetskoy tipografii u V. Okorokova, 1789.

Swedish war (1788 – 1790). Both of them, obviously, were supposed to remind of the past victories of Russian weapons over a strong and worthy enemy. The presence in the text of details concerning the personal life of Charles XII and the Caroleans in the Bender camp put them among the historiographic heritage that must be used.

Note that a similar situation was repeated after the next, in time, Russian-Swedish war of 1808 – 1809. This time in translation into Russian was a published play written ten years earlier, but not yet published by the German playwright Christian-August Vulpius. Despite the fact that in form, it is an attempt at artistic rather than scientific understanding of the problem, its factual basis comes from the author's acquaintance with numerous historical sources, which makes it worthy of the attention of historians. The plot is based on the events of February 1713 and the heroic defense of Charles XII in his camp⁴.

If we talk about purely scientific works that appeared in the 19th century, it should be noted that the most significant contribution to the study of the problem was made by the work of the Finnish-Swedish historian Jacob-Johan Wilhelm Lagus that was published in Russian translation in the "Notes" of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities (1853). It is entirely devoted to the time from the defeat of Charles XII in the Battle of Poltava to his forced departure from Bender, that is to the very period that interests us. Since this publication was largely based on narrative sources, the authors of which came from the circle of the Swedish monarch, it is replete with valuable evidence of the daily life of the Carolean camp⁵.

In modern Ukrainian historiography, attention is paid to the Bender period of Charles XII's life, as a rule, within the framework of interest in the history of the military-political alliance between Sweden and part of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Among similar ones, we mention the works of Vyacheslav Stanislavsky (Kyiv)⁶ and Oleksandr Slisarenko (Dnipro)⁷. Nevertheless, it is in them that one can find important information regarding the circumstances of being in the close circle of the Swedish monarch as representatives of the highest Cossack administration – Ivan Mazepa, Philip Orlik, Andrei Voinarovsky, Konstantin Gordienko, and about the life of ordinary Cossacks in the vicinity of Carlopolis.

The situation is similar in modern Russian historiography, only the main focus of attention of researchers is the geopolitical rivalry of Peter I with Sweden and Turkey. Among such works, we note the fundamental monograph of the Muscovite Vladimir Artamonov, dedicated to the military confrontation between Istanbul and St. Petersburg between 1710 – 1713. Based on the

4 Khristian-Avgust Vul'pius, *Karl XII pri Benderakh*. Sankt-Peterburg: V tipografii Imperatorskogo teatra, 1810.

5 Vilgelm Lagus, "Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii". *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odessa, 1853. S. 308-336.

6 Vyacheslav Stanislavsky, "Ivan Mazepa v tabori Karla XII: turets'kyy vektor dyplomatychnoyi diyal'nosti". *Ukrayins'kyy istorychnyy zhurnal*. № 5. Kyiv, 2008. S. 39-49.

7 Oleksandr Slisarenko, *Ukrayins'ko-shveds'kyy viys'kovyy soyuz u Pivnichniy viyni u 1708–1714 rokakh*: Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora istorychnykh nauk zi spetsial'nosti 07.00.01. Istoryia Ukrayiny. Kam'yanets'-Podil's'kyy, 2019.

materials of frontal heuristic work in the archives of the Russian Federation, this researcher introduced a lot of new information, including information related to the camp near Bender into scientific circulation⁸. A similar statement is quite true in relation to his colleague from St. Petersburg, Pavel Krotov, who managed to investigate certain moments of the life of Caropolis and its inhabitants, literally, at the micro-historical level. We are talking about the so-called “kalabalyk” (tur. *Kalabalyk*) – the forced removal of the Swedish monarch from his camp in February 1713 and the confusion that accompanied him⁹.

An example of fruitful cooperation of scientists – Moldova, Ukraine, Sweden, Romania and other countries – is an international project initiated by the National Museum of the History of Moldova (Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei) dedicated to a comprehensive study of the Charles XII camp near the village. Varnitsa is the third place of residence of Caropolis. Among the ten authors of the final collection, such as those who have studied the problem of interest to us most fully, we note two collective works: 1) Ukrainians Igor Sapozhnikov and Vladimir Levchuk (Odessa)¹⁰; 2) Moldovans Ion Tentiuc, Alexandru Levinsky and Eugen Sava (Kishinev)¹¹. The cognitive value of each of them for solving our research problem lies in the systematization by their authors of information about the last of the Swedish-Cossack camps located in the vicinity of Bender obtained as a result of archaeological excavations during the 19th and 20th centuries as well as comparing them with the available maps and plans. The presence in the last of the publications of descriptions and images of found weapons, fragments of buildings and household items allow someone to recreate individual details of the life of the Carolean soldiers.

As we could see, despite the presence of many scientific works that appeared over almost 300 years, only a few of them were focused on the study of the inner life of the Charles XII camp. The everyday reality of its inhabitants was, for the authors, rather illustrative, and had never become the subject of a separate detailed study. This lacuna can be filled not only through the use of the mentioned historiographic developments of our predecessors, but also by re-reading the existing diaries, memoirs and travelogues of the early 18th century, correlating the data contained in them with information contained in other types of ego sources – official and private correspondence, interrogation protocols and others. The discovery in the Turkish archives of not only little-known, but practically never used before by European researchers of documentary sources, their translation and subsequent publication provide

8 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo “Kuchkovo pole”, 2019.

9 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 114-123.

10 Igor Sapozhnikov, Vladimir Levchuk, “Issledovaniya i opisaniya mesta lagerya Karla XII v Varnitse v 1810-kh – 1850-kh gg.”. *Situl istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița”*. *Restaurarea memoriei*. Ed.: Eugen Sava, Elena Ploșnița. Chișinău: Tipogr. “Bons Offices”, 2017. S. 41-56.

11 Ion Tentiuc, Alexandru Levinschi, Eugen Sava. *Investigații istorico-arheologice ale sitului istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița” // Situl istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița”*. *Restaurarea memoriei*. Ed.: Eugen Sava, Elena Ploșnița. Chișinău: Tipogr. “Bons Offices”, 2017. C. 123-152.

us with truly unique information of a domestic nature. The combination of this information makes it possible to create new pictures of several years of the life of the Swedes and their Cossack allies on the steppe outskirts of Bessarabia.

“Wandering Carlopolis”: The Camp and its Locations

We will begin our consideration of the plot that interests us by answering the question of why the Bender fortress and its surroundings became the place where the remnants of the defeated forces of the Swedish king and his allies from among the Ukrainian Cossacks were striving. The fact is that in 1700, it was Bender that became the administrative centre of the Silistra-Ochakov *eyalet*, from where the vast territories of the Ottoman possessions in the Northern and Western Black Sea regions were managed. The governor (beylerbey) of this administrative-territorial unit was the former Grand Vizier Yusuf Pasha, an outstanding personality in many respects, who did a lot to equip the region as a whole. It was under his care that Charles XII and his entourage were sent¹².

Omitting the description of the way from Poltava, let us say that on July 31, 1709, the fugitives moving from the Black Sea coast along the course of the Dniester along its left bank arrived at the village of Parcani located opposite Bender, where they were met by the local Yusuf Pasha. A huge tent was erected for the King. There were several of the same richly decorated tents to accommodate senior officers, court staff and royal cuisine nearby¹³. Along the road leading to it, two hundred janissaries lined up to greet Charles XII and his officers with music and cannon salutes. Hetman Ivan Mazepa and the chieftain of the Zaporozhian Cossacks Konstantin Gordienko, with the foremen, were also there¹⁴. That is, the very first camp of Charles XII near Bender, in fact “Carlopolis-1”, should be considered as the vicinity of the village of Parcani, located on the left bank of the Dniester, which exists under the same name in our time. It was located opposite the fortress and citadel, slightly to the left of the crossing over the Dniester.

A small town immediately began to grow around the magnificent tent prepared for Charles XII in Parcani. In smaller tents and more modest decoration, Turkish officers and merchants settled down. The latter, with their loaded carts, created entire streets not only in the village itself, but also on the banks of the Dniester. The ordinary Swedish army, worn out during the difficult transition across the steppes, equipped themselves with shelters from the sun and bad weather using carts and improvised materials – shrubs, grass and the like¹⁵. Since the general fighting efficiency of the troops that came with Charles XII and Mazepa, after an

12 Andriy Krasnozhon, *Fortetsi ta mista Pivnichno-Zakhidnoho Prychornomor'ya (XV–XVIII st.)*. Odesa: Chornomor'ya, 2018. S. 133.

13 Vilgelm Lagus, “Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii”. *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odesa, 1853. S. 325.

14 Teodor Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoyevropeys'kykh dzherelakh 1687 – 1709*. Vyd 2-e, dop. Kyiv–Poltava, 1995. S. 74.

15 Daniel Krman, *Podorozhnyi shchodennyk (Initerarium, 1708 – 1709)*. Kyiv, 1999. S. 129.

exhausting transition, was not up to par, the protection of the camp and the king, in the first days, was provided by a detachment of janissaries with their commander¹⁶.

The plan at our disposal is "Campement Seiner Königl. May. zu Schweden, bey Bender, wie Solches sich Anno 1711. befunden. Plan i fogelperspektiv af svenska och turkiska truppernas läger, på tre sidor kringflutet af Dniester. [Sign.] Ieremias Wolff excud. Aug. Vind. Cum Priv. S.C. Maj. Kopparstick 415 x 580" (Camp of His Majesty the King of Sweden near Bender. 1711). Though it was created two years later, it contains an image of the site of the first of the "Carlopolis". In fact, it was a line of earthen fortifications stretched along the Dniester, into which it was inscribed (see *Figure 1*)¹⁷.

Nevertheless, as follows from the memoirs of the Mazovian voivode Stanislaw Poniatowski, who was with the Swedish king in the summer of 1709, the latter showed no particular joy either at the luxurious reception or at the place allotted to him, wishing to cross over to the right bank of the Dniester as soon as possible. Since that required permission from the Sultan himself, Charles and his companions had to wait¹⁸.

The wait, however, was not particularly long. Eight days after the arrival, the firman was received, and the Caroleans and their allies were able to cross to the opposite bank, to Bender¹⁹. Here, under her cover, they could feel safer from the persecutors, and should not have experienced difficulties in supplying food and in dealing with the local Turkish authorities. The new camp, in fact, became a suburb of Bender²⁰. It was in it, for almost two subsequent years, that the residence of the Swedish king was located, which the surrounding people nicknamed "Carlopolis" (Charles' Castle)²¹. Let's note a certain irony of this name and its everyday character. In any case, Charles XII himself preferred to indicate "camp near Bender" in his official correspondence²².

For the most part, the Swedes were located in it. Of the Cossack allies, only the top of the hetman's entourage stayed in the camp – F.Orlik, A.Voinarovsky and some others. Mazepa

16 Oleksandr Herasymchuk [uporyadnyk-perekladach], [Anonim], "Shchodennyk vidstupu shvedsk'oho korolya do Bender pislya Poltavsk'oho boyu". *Siveryans'kyi litopys*. № 3 (135). Chernihiv, 2017. S. 110.

17 Kungliga biblioteket (Sveriges nationalbibliotek). Carl XII. C.17. G1006415. [Digital resource] // Access mode: http://goran.baarnhielm.net/kb/Snoilsky/Sno_CXII.htm. 20.07.2020.

18 Stanislaw Poniatovsky, "Zapiska, ili rasskaz mazovetskogo voyevody S.Poniatovskogo o sobytiyakh ego zhizni so vremeni ego vykhoda iz roditel'skogo doma, napisannyi im po trebovaniyu ego sem'i 22 yanvarya 1734 goda". *Zhurnal Russkogo voyenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*. Vyp. 4. Sankt-Peterburg, 1910. S. 32.

19 Vilgelm Lagus, "Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii". *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odessa, 1853. S. 325.

20 Daniel Krman, *Podorozhnyi shchodennyk (Initerarium, 1708 – 1709)*. Kyiv, 1999. S. 130.

21 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya vojna 1710 – 1713 gg*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Kuchkovo pole", 2019. S. 42.

22 "Perepiska i drugiye bumagi shvedskogo korolya Karla XII, pol'skogo Stanislava Leshchinskogo, tatarskogo khana, turetskogo sultana, general'nogo pisarya F. Orlika, i kiyevskogo voyevody Iosifa Pototskogo, na latinskoy i pol'skom yazykakh / Predisloviye O. Bodyanskogo". *Chteniya v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostey Rossiyskikh*. Moskva: V Universitetskoy tipografii, 1847. № 1. Razdel III. Materialy inostrannyey. S. 18-68.

himself wished to get housing in Bender, but was not satisfied with the options offered to him, incurring Yusuf Pasha's sarcastic remark that he had to be content with those luxurious palaces that he owned in large numbers in his homeland²³.

The new Swedish-Cossack camp, located on the right bank of the Dniester, was a small retrenchment located on a peninsula created by a semi-oval bend of the river. The landscape was outwardly attractive – green meadows interspersed with groves of mulberry trees – and seemed the most suitable for camp. In the central part of the camp, the king's tent was set up, and there were the tents of officers, depending on the rank, and then the lower ranks around it. The Cossacks settled on the river bank. By winter, Charles XII's tent was insulated: the walls were covered with bricks, and the top was covered with boards. In the course of further arrangement and architectural improvements, a regular-shaped house with two large rooms and a hall in two wings, with wide walk-through hallways, grew up on the site of the monarch's temporary refuge²⁴. Also, in the camp, under the King, the personal representative of the Sultan was constantly staying, who, in addition to the Bender pasha, oversaw all aspects of the life of the inhabitants of Carlopolis. For example, in 1709 – 1710 such a position was performed by a certain Ismail Pasha²⁵.

The presence of a detailed plan of Carlopolis-2, with the explication of the dwellings of the senior officers and the placement of various military detachments, marked on it, allows us to make certain judgments regarding the social and ethno-confessional stratification of its inhabitants. Surrounded on three sides by the waters of the Dniester, the camp had five wide slopes to the water, indicated on the plan. Its eastern extremity was covered by the janissaries, who placed their tents in a crescent on the cape. The Turkish cavalry became a camp in the north-western part of the peninsula. The rest of the space was occupied by the Swedes themselves. The central, safest part was occupied by the tents and houses of the King, his generals and senior officials from among the allies – the Pole S.Poniatowski and the Ukrainian A.Voinarovskiy (see *Figure 1*)²⁶.

23 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 517.

24 Vilgelm Lagus, "Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii". *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odessa, 1853. S. 325-326.

25 Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy arkhiv drevnikh aktov, F. 89, Op. 1, 1711 g., D. 14, L. 5.

26 Kungliga biblioteket (Sveriges nationalbibliotek). Carl XII. C.17. G1006415. [Digital resource] // Access mode: http://goran.baarnhielm.net/kb/Snoilsky/Sno_CXII.htm. 20.07.2020.

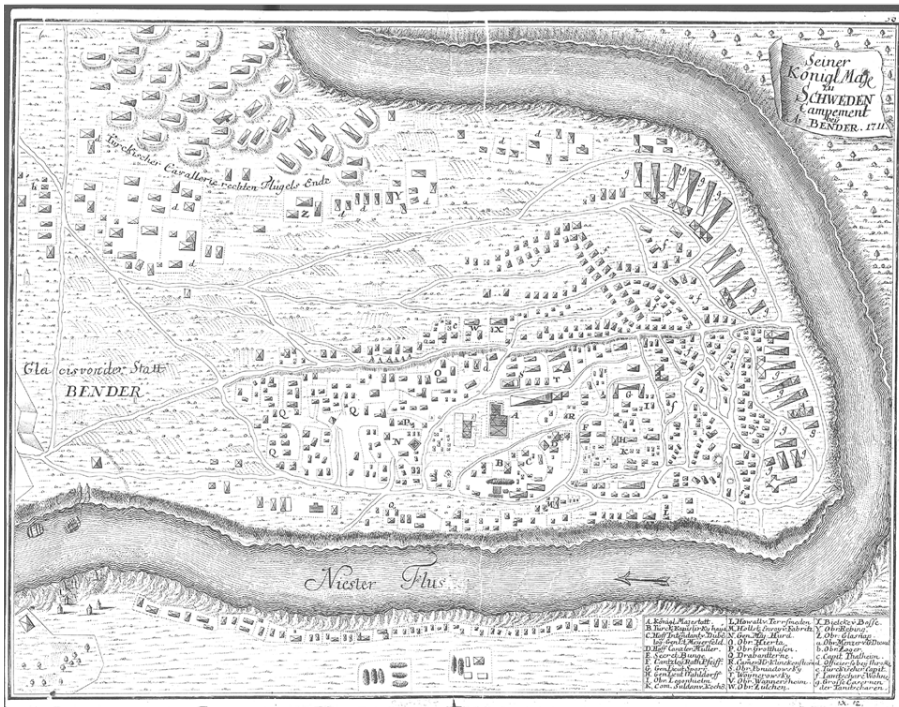


Figure 1. Plan-map of the location of camps No. 1 and 2 near Bender.

However, for all the seeming attractiveness of the chosen location, it had to be changed after less than two years. Events developed as follows: At the height of the Russian-Turkish war, a Swedish detachment led by General Axel Sparre took part in the encirclement and attack of Russian troops on the river Prut July 19–21, 1711²⁷. A few days later – July 24–28, King Charles himself stayed there trying to influence the course of the Turkish-Russian negotiations²⁸.

27 Oleksandr Slisarenko, *Ukrayins'ko-shveds'kyi viys'kovyy soyuz u Pivnichnij viyni u 1708–1714 rokakh*: Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora istorychnykh nauk zi spetsial'nosti 07.00.01. Istoriya Ukrainy. Kam'yanets'-Podil's'kyi, 2019. S. 324.

28 Aleksandr Pushkin, "Zapiski brigadira Moro-de-Braze (kasayemye do turetskogo pokhoda 1711 goda)". *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy v 10 tomakh*. Tom 8. Moskva–Leningrad, 1951. S. 405.

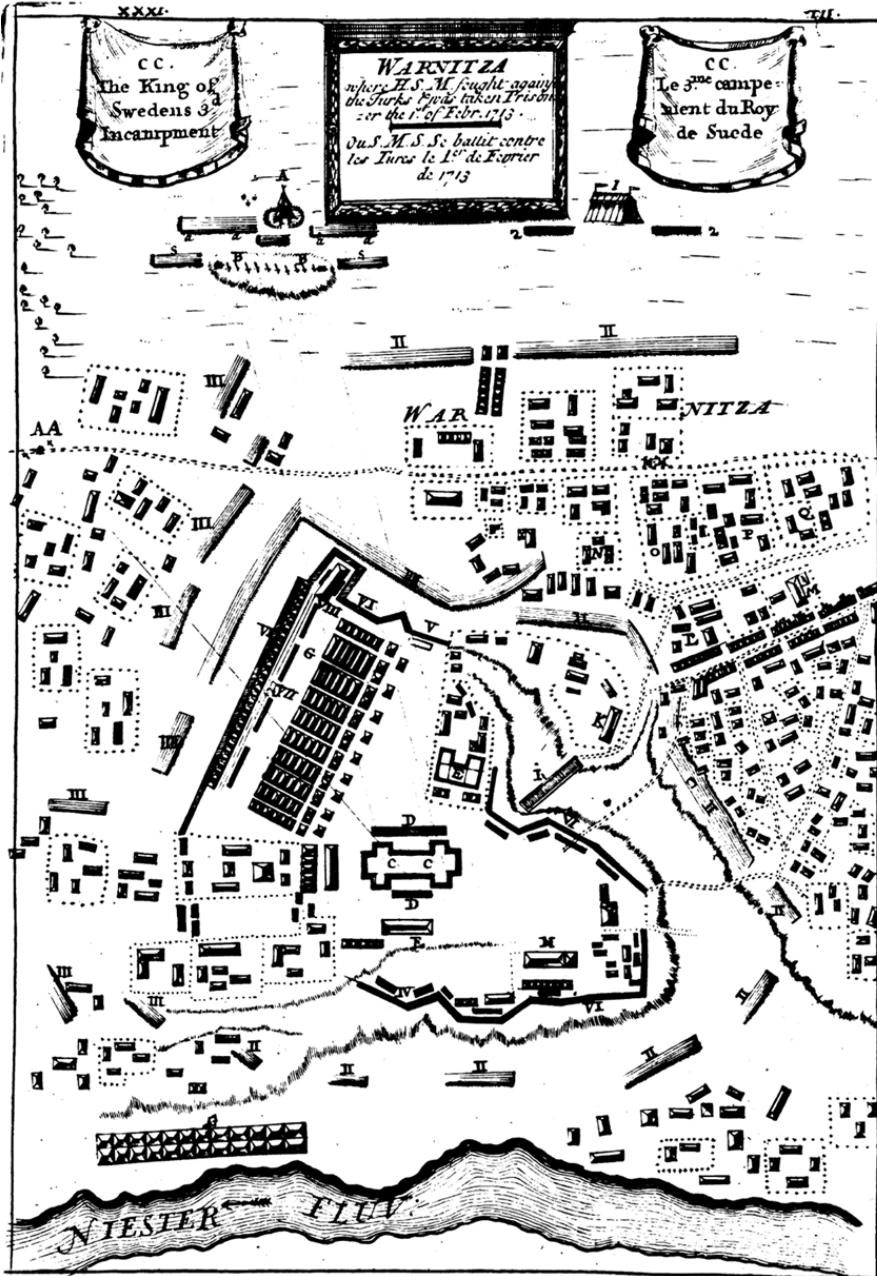


Figure 2. Plan of the third camp, near the village of Varnița.

There he was caught by the news that a strong flood of the Dniester caused by heavy rainfall catastrophically flooded the second of his camps. It was almost completely destroyed

and its inhabitants had to leave. Hastily returned, the King personally set about finding a suitable place. One was found outside the village of Varnița, on a hill two kilometres from Bender. Carlopolis-3 laid down here appears before us, in the descriptions of contemporaries, the most thoroughly rebuilt and well-fortified²⁹.

The Varnița “chambers” of the Swedish king deserve special attention – a very imposing building that can accommodate about two hundred people, with numerous windows. This can be seen, at least, from the fact that during the storming of this building by the Turks on January 31 – February 2, 1713, there were only about a hundred Swedes who died in it, not counting the wounded and survivors³⁰.

Regarding the building material, we can assume that its walls were made of non-combustible material – stone, clay with a frame, or both together. At the same time, during the “*Kalabalyk*”, when it was covered with straw and set on fire by the Turks, who wanted to smoke the Swedish stubborn and his associates, the roof (apparently made of wooden shingles) was the first to start and began to collapse, but not the wall³¹.

In the immediate vicinity of this “palace” the buildings of the office and the zeichhaus (powder magazine) were built, both also made of stone. Camping tents, which served as a haven in the early days, were replaced by dugouts by autumn up to eighty in total³².

Thanks to the scheme of this, the third of all “Carlopolis” was drawn up by Chevalier Aubrey de La Mottra, a confidant of Charles XII who was with him in between 1711 and 1713, and published only ten years after its destruction – in 1723, and we can form an opinion on the features of its similarities and differences with the previous two camps (see *Figure 2*). Obviously, the experience of two changes of the parking place was taken into account as well as possible. The camp was set up on the high right slope of a ravine (gully) overlooking the Dniester. The advantages of the relief were strengthened by earthen fortifications – redoubts and trenches, which turned Carlopolis-3 into a small fort, capable of sheltering and protecting its inhabitants. The difficulties experienced by the Turkish-Tatar detachment sent by the Sultan in the winter of 1713 in order to drive the “stuck” king out of the Ottoman Empire with his “smoking” out of the camp fully confirm this³³.

29 Aubry de La Mottraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*. Vol. II. London, 1723. P. 16.

30 Oleksandr Slisarenko, *Ukrayins'ko-shvedskyy viys'kovyy soyuz u Pivnichniy viyni u 1708–1714 rokakh*: Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora istorychnykh nauk zi spetsial'nosti 07.00.01. Istoriya Ukrainy. Kam'yanets'-Podil's'kyy, 2019. S. 329.

31 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 117, 120-121.

32 Igor Sapozhnikov, Vladimir Levchuk, “Issledovaniya i opisaniya mesta lagerya Karla XII v Varnitse v 1810-kh – 1850-kh gg.”. *Situl istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița”*. Restaurarea memoriei. Ed.: Eugen Sava, Elena Ploșnița. Chișinău: Tipogr. “Bons Offices”, 2017. S. 47.

33 Aubry de La Mottraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*. Vol. II. London, 1723. N. XXXII.

Inhabitants of the Camp and Their Daily Life

Regarding the living conditions of the Swedish-Cossack army during their travels after Poltava and in Carlopolis itself, it would not be an exaggeration to say that this was a kind of path from hunger to abundance and back. The latter statement looks all the more convincing if we consider that, according to the reviews of the majority of the participants in the march to Bender, food shortages and hunger accompanied them all the way. This was noted by ordinary soldiers and people who were in the inner circle of the Swedish king. During the seven-day march from the Dnieper crossings to Ochakov, the need for provisions was so strong that most of the participants in the march were forced to eat horse meat. This applied not only to the rank and file, but also to high-ranking officials³⁴.

After arriving at Bender, the situation changed radically. There is news that in the first days of Charles XII's stay in the vicinity of Bender, Pasha Yusuf-aga allocated food for 500 Joachimsthalers every day³⁵. Considering the enormous size of this sum, such provision must have been intended for a very large group of people, perhaps for all at once. The fact that Charles XII and Hetman Mazepa with their inner circle, due to the orders of Sultan Ahmed III, were supplied very well, was also noted in their reports by many European diplomats (from a letter of the English ambassador to the Russian court, Charles Whitworth, dated September 1, 1709)³⁶. In addition to the money used for the maintenance of Charles XII from local sums, there were repeated dispatches from the Sultan. For example, after visiting Istanbul in the autumn of 1709 S.Poniatowsky brought a generous gift – 4 chests of silver Turkish coins³⁷.

The published documents available to researchers allow us to quite clearly reconstruct the scale and quality of support for Charles XII and his retinue (first of all, obviously, we are talking about senior officers). So, according to the financial list (Turk. Defter) for the period from August 17 to October 25, 1709, 15 761.5 *akçe* were spent on the maintenance of the Bender Caroleans, which amounted to approximately 131.3 kurush – approximately equal to the European taller (efimka) coin³⁸. Despite the fact that the amount was used over a period of more than two months, it was at the same time more than three and a half times less than the figure declared by Stanislaw Poniatowsky of 500 (!) Thalers daily.

However, at relatively low prices, it was possible to purchase a fairly significant amount of food to feed the Swedish elite. Measurement in documents was recorded in "okah" and

34 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 2.

35 Stanislaw Poniatowsky, "Zapiska, ili rasskaz mazovetskogo voyevody S.Poniatovskogo o sobytiyakh ego zhizni so vremeni ego vykhoda iz roditel'skogo doma, napisanny im po trebovaniyu ego sem'i 22 yanvarya 1734 goda". *Zhurnal Russkogo voyenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*. Vyp. 4. Sankt-Peterburg, 1910. S. 33.

36 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 524.

37 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 3 ob.

38 Oleksandr Sereda, *Osmans'ko-ukrayins'ke stepove porubizhzhya v osmans'ko-turets'kykh dzherelakh XVIII st.* Odesa, 2015. S. 161.

“dirhams” (drachmas). One oka (Turkish okka) was equal to 1.28 kilograms or 1.52 litres, depending on whether it was measured – weight or volume, and dirhem (Turkish dirhem) was 3.2 grams or 3.8 millilitres. For the convenience of perception, they should perhaps be transferred from the Turkish system of measures to metric units, but since it is not always clear from the context whether the weight or volume was measured, we will continue to use authentic units³⁹.

The basis of the diet, as can be seen from the defter, consisted of 700 loaves of bread, which were supplemented with approximately 40 bushel of rice, approximately 15 bushel of chickpea and 50 bushel flour. This was followed by meat and poultry: 200 cc of beef and 95 cc of lamb, 50 chickens and 8 turkeys. They were supplemented by products of animal origin, used alone or as part of other dishes and products – 200 chicken eggs and 60 cubic metres of cow’s milk. The assortment also contained vegetables and fruits: 30 onions, 20 apples and pears, and 60 cases of cabbage, as well as carrots, eggplants, watermelons and melons, grapes, parsley and other greens (the last of the supplies were indicated only in monetary terms) The choice of spices and seasonings offered for royal use was no less rich: 2.5 oki white and 4 oki black raisins, 40 dirhams of cinnamon, 20 each – cardamom and cloves, 11 – ginger, 2 oki lemon juice and 40 lemons, 20 coconut nuts, various types of vinegar, salt and black pepper. Not without alcohol – 25 ok vodka and 300 ok beer⁴⁰.

Provision of hetman Ivan Mazepa and koshevoy ataman The troops of the Zaporozhian Konstantin Gordienko were much more modest. So, for the food of the hetman and his inner circle for a month and a half from August 17 to October 2, 1336 acche (11 tallers) were spent, and even less – 880 acche (slightly more than 8 tallers) for two months – from August 17 to October 25, 1709. The diet was incomparably more modest – there were no overseas spices, an abundance of fruits and vegetables, only the most necessary – bread, cereals, meat, vinegar, onions, some vodka and horse fodder⁴¹.

In addition to food and money to buy it, the king and high-ranking Caroleane people received other valuable offerings. For example, in October 1709 Charles XII was visited by a certain Pasha, who brought four horses-argamaks with an expensive zbruya as a gift⁴². Also, the king repeatedly, from 1709 to 1713, received gifts from the Sultan himself: according to the news of the French merchant Debirs from the city of Lille, who was in Istanbul in the spring of 1710, Charles XII was sent 30 thoroughbred horses with valuable harnesses⁴³. A certain patronage, obviously expressed not only in friendly correspondence, but also in

39 Nikolay Makarov [sostavitel’], *Polnyy russko-frantsuzskiy slovar’*. CH. 1-2. Sankt-Peterburg, 1874. S. 1112.

40 Oleksandr Sereda, *Osmans’ko-ukrayins’ke stepove porubizhzhya v osmans’ko-turets’kykh dzherelakh XVIII st.* Odesa, 2015. S. 160-161.

41 Oleksandr Sereda, *Osmans’ko-ukrayins’ke stepove porubizhzhya v osmans’ko-turets’kykh dzherelakh XVIII st.* Odesa, 2015. S. 161-162.

42 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional’naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 3.

43 Aleksandr Markevich, “K prebyvaniyu Karla XII v Benderakh”. *Kiyevskaya starina*. Vyp. 12. Kiyev, 1889. S. 642.

material support, was also given to the Swedish monarch by the mother of Sultan Ahmed III – Valide Gulnush⁴⁴. Charles' closest associates also had a significant horse population. So, according to the testimony of a resident of the Hetmanate Foma Metlushenko, who served as a groom at the “right hand” of the king “ Hof Chancellor Gustav-Henrik von Müllern, his herd consisted of 20 horses⁴⁵.

Obviously, at first, not only the top but also the masses did not experience a shortage of anything upon arrival. Moreover, this also applied to the Ukrainian allies. So, immediately after the death of Hetman Mazepa, in early October 1709, King Charles XII took upon himself the maintenance of not only the most prominent of his associates, Philip Orlik, Ivan Lomikovskiy and others, but also all the “mounted Cossacks”, a total of 700 person⁴⁶.

However, things did not go well for very long. According to the information received in October 1712 from the Zaporozhian Lukyan Vasiliev who had previously lived in the camp of Charles XII and was captured by the Russian team on the Bakhmut Way, the situation with the monetary salary was as follows: in 1709, the Swedish king paid each of the Cossacks 3 thalers; in 1710 – one ducat, but in 1711 he did not give anything, since he himself began to experience financial difficulties⁴⁷.

“Their number is decreasing ...” are the words that described the state of the Bender camp by one of its former inhabitants who was a deserter from the Swedish army and a native of Brandenburg, Sergeant Friedrich Schulz. From August 1709 to January 1710, he was in Bender, and therefore, his testimonies are so valuable. If 2,000 people of Charles' army came with him from near Poltava, then already at the beginning of 1710, the King would have had only 240 people of “Swedes and other nations”. Most of the “non-Swedes” were determined to desert. That intention, obviously, was so strong that in the winter of 1709 – 1710, in the vicinity of Bender, the Turkish command was stationed the border guard of the vassal of the Moldavian principality to prevent escapes⁴⁸. It should be noted that the small number of the Swedish detachment near Bender had another explanation: Some of them were housed in apartments in the surrounding Moldovan villages, since it was easier to supply them with food⁴⁹.

In general, a year after the establishment, that is in 1710, the situation for those in Carlopolis itself and its environs changed dramatically. Money and food allowances from the Turkish authorities were cut to a minimum and only concerned the king and generals. Almost

44 Oleksandra Shutko, “Valide Gyul'nush – pokrovytel'ka Karla XII: tayemne lystuvannya”. *Het'mans'ki chytannya*. Vyp. 10. Kyiv, 2019. S. 36, 45.

45 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya vojna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 116-120.

46 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 4 ob.

47 Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy arkhiv Voenno-morskogo flota, F. 233, Op. 1, D. 34, L. 87.

48 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 1 ob., 4-4 ob.

49 Oleksandr Slisarenko, *Ukrayins'ko-shvedskyy viys'kovyy soyuz u Pivnichnij viyni u 1708-1714 rokakh: Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora istorychnykh nauk zi spetsial'nosti 07.e00.01. Istoriya Ukrayiny. Kam'yanets'-Podil's'kyi*, 2019. S. 324.

twelve thousand army, no more than 600 “Swedes”, up to 8000 Zaporozhian and Hetman Cossacks and about 4000 Polish “Caroleane”, were openly starving and were forced to engage in theft of poultry, livestock and other food in the surrounding Moldovan villages. Fishing and hunting, well-known to the Cossacks, provided some help⁵⁰.

Probably, the unfavourable epidemiological situation of those years also contributed to the decrease in the number. In 1705, the plague made itself felt in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul and quickly spread across the territory of Central, Eastern and Northern Europe. However, The territory of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as in all previous and subsequent epidemics, served as a kind of gateway through which the infection penetrated. 1708 – 1712 were marked by a strong outbreak of plague⁵¹. Despite the fact that the countries located near the Baltic Sea suffered the most from it, it was in the nature of a pandemic and was recorded over large areas including in the possessions of the Ottoman Empire⁵².

The combination of those factors became the reason that by the autumn of 1711 the bulk of the Zaporozhians who had no food and did not want to endure another harsh winter withdrew and left Charles XII for the Sich that had been in the tract since 1709 Aleshki (tur. Kardash-Orman)⁵³. According to the available information, in the summer of 1712, some, apparently small, part of the Zaporozhian Cossacks were still in the vicinity of Bender⁵⁴. The Turks separated them from the main camp near Varnița ordering them to occupy the empty dwellings of the Moldovans and engage in arable farming and cattle breeding. Looting against the local population was stopped by very tough measures. The captured Cossacks were sent to galleys⁵⁵. Also, part of the Cossacks dispersed throughout Moldavia and Wallachia⁵⁶.

At the same time, without exception, all the inhabitants of the “Swedish” camp in Varnița were very vulnerable to the actions of the Turkish authorities to provide (or terminate) their food. In late 1712 and early 1713 when relations between Charles XII and the Bender Pasha heated up, due to the King’s stubborn unwillingness to leave for his homeland, the Turks forbade the local Moldovans to sell provisions and even hanged several violators as a warning to others. The same means of “disciplinary action” on the Swedes was the block of the access of the inhabitants who were in the camp to the Dniester for the use of water by the Nogai of the Budjak horde⁵⁷. An equally effective measure in the conditions of a winter shortage of

50 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo “Kuchkovo pole”, 2019. S. 43.

51 Carl Ignaz Lorinser, *Die Pest des Orients. Wie sie entsteht und verhütet wird.* Berlin: Enslin, 1837. P. 282, 437.

52 *Great Northern War plague outbreak.* [Digital resource] // Access mode: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Northern_War_plague_outbreak#See_also. 05.08.2020.

53 Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy arkhiv Voenno-morskogo flota, F. 233, Op. 1, D. 34, L. 87 ob.

54 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'.* Tiraspol', 2010. S. 120.

55 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo “Kuchkovo pole”, 2019. S. 287.

56 *Opisaniye del Arkhiva morskogo ministerstva za vremya s poloviny XVII do nachala XIX stoletiya.* T. 1. Sankt-Peterburg, 1877. S. 632.

57 Arkhiv Sankt-Peterburgskogo Instituta istorii Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk, F. 83, Op. 1, D. 5842, L. 4.

horse feed was the “disconnection” of Charles and his entourage from hay supplies, which is why the impulsive monarch exponentially shot all the very valuable thoroughbred horses at his disposal salting their meat to feed himself and his detachment⁵⁸.

In general, we can state that it was the Swedish inhabitants of Carlopolis who were the most vulnerable part of the camp population. Their daily life and its quality was entirely dependent on the generosity of the host, which was conditioned by political conjunctures in turn. Adaptation to life in an unusual *ecological niche* was difficult, which resulted in a constant decline in the number of inhabitants.

“Danger is Everywhere”: Imaginary and Real Fears

It would not be an exaggeration to say that from the very beginning to the end of their stay on Turkish territory, the strongest and all-consuming fear in the life of the Swedes and their Cossack allies defeated near Poltava was the expectation of a pursuit or the prospect of their surrender by the Turks into the hands of Peter I.

This was especially true of the hetman and the king. Moreover, the obsessive desire to get and punish for the betrayal of the first of them could not be compared with the quite understandable thirst to capture his crowned brother-enemy. For a comparative example, the tsar promised a relatively “modest” amount of 100,000 rubles in silver for the capture of King Charles XII himself, immediately after the end of the battle near Poltava⁵⁹. According to the information received from British diplomats at the end of the summer of 1709, the amount that the Russian side offered to the Turks for extraditing the hetman was an incredible figure, 300,000 gold ducats. The tsar repeatedly set the task of achieving the return of Mazepa by the Turks before the Moscow ambassador in Istanbul Peter Tolstoy. Similar proposals were sent by him to all the governments of the allied and neutral countries of Europe⁶⁰.

The imminent death of the long-aged hetman who suffered the most crushing military-diplomatic defeat in his life was a successful way out for many in a way. Its exact date is still a matter of debate: either September 2 or October 2, 1709. All the circumstances of his first burial testify to the same piercing fear. Friedrich Schultz who was a Brandenburg resident as we already know stated in his testimony that Mazepa was buried in an atmosphere of secrecy “in the vineyards, a quarter of a mile from Bender”. Obviously, this was done out of fears of outrage from the Russian army whose arrival was expected⁶¹. However, as we know from subsequent events associated with several reburials of his ashes, fears were not in vain.

During the first months of his stay in Bender, King Charles XII himself was very afraid

58 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 120.

59 Peter Englund, *Poltava: Rozpovid' pro zahybel' odniyeyi armiyi*. Kharkiv: Folio; Stokhol'm: Shvedsk'yy inystytut, 2009. S. 280.

60 Teodor Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidn'oyevropeys'kykh dzherelakh 1687 – 1709*. Vyd 2-e, dop. Kyiv–Poltava, 1995. S. 70, 120, 134-135.

61 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 4 ob.

of the possible arrival of Russian troops, and therefore the saddled horses were kept near him around the clock. In addition to the local Turkish garrison, 600 spagi cavalymen were seconded to Bender by special order of the sultan "to save the king". It is noteworthy that the admission of a large number of Swedes to the city was allowed only if the Moscow army approached the Bender, and the need arose for shelter and his own protection⁶².

It should be noted that the peaks of such a phobia fall on several more episodes. So, during the Prut campaign of Peter I (May-June 1711), Bender and the surrounding area were in fear of the expectation of the arrival of Russian troops and the possible transition of the Moldovian ruler to the side of the king. That was facilitated by the fact that it was Bender which would become the main target of the disinformation campaign from the camp of Peter I. Through numerous confidential letters, rumours were spread. Naturally, that added panic in Carlopolis⁶³.

The Prut defeat of the Russian forces dispelled these fears. The attack, however, was not foreseen as well as the possible extradition of Charles to the Russian Tsar. The danger came from where it was not expected. Attempts to finally ratify the Prut peace agreements undertaken by both the Turkish and Russian sides were hindered by the "factor of Charles XII". Therefore, starting in May 1712, the Ottoman authorities made repeated, albeit unsuccessful attempts to expel the king with all his remaining army to Pomerania which was occupied by Swedish troops. A significant force of military escort of up to 10,000 people, horse-drawn transport and provisions were sent to Bender, but the king refused to leave without losing hope of further involving the Turks in the war. The latter were forced to take tough measures: Upon the orders of Sultan Ahmed III, the Crimean Khan Devlet-Girey removed from Carlopolis all the Cossacks and Poles who remained with the king and burned all the stores with supplies. The retaliatory steps taken by Charles XII to prevent his placement were of a more spectacular nature, including threats to blow up himself and everyone else. After two days of repelling attacks (January 31 – February 2, 1713) it ended only with his capture and expulsion, along with some of the higher officers, deep into Turkish possessions. All the less noble Swedes were imprisoned in the Holy Trinity Monastery in Yass, and the buildings of Carlopolis were destroyed⁶⁴.

Another factor that must be mentioned has had a significant impact on the mood and morale of the Swedish inhabitants of Carlopolis. According to the testimonies of contemporaries, Charles XII himself was distinguished by consistent and earnest religiosity. Any of the days of his campaign to the East began the same way: Regardless of the weather and circumstances, the entire army had to take part in morning prayer after the rise. The king could also pray

62 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 3 ob., 4 ob.

63 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Kuchkovo pole", 2019. S. 110, 127.

64 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Kuchkovo pole", 2019. S. 237, 288, 299, 340-343.

several times a day. Lutheran pastors consistently explained to the soldiers and officers the idea that “God is with us.” Many quite sincerely believed in that, and the Lord provided all-round support to the pious Swedish army in turn⁶⁵. That continued up to Poltava. The defeat, surrender of most of the army and the flight of its remnants to Turkish possessions should have, to a large extent, shaken that naive confidence. Disappointment, apathy, and even eschatological expectations were bound to descend upon the most religious of the Caroleanes.

Uncertainty about the future was fuelled by information of war which at all times was a continuation of a real war. So, already at the end of the summer of 1709, rumours mostly delivered and spread by Russian confidants about cases of the forcible conversion of the Cossacks and their allies by the Turks and Tatars to Islam began to circulate on the borderlands,⁶⁶. Let us immediately note absolute far-fetchedness of those rumors, since the local Turkish authorities demonstrated a high level of religious tolerance. The Orthodox (Greek) church which functioned in one of the suburbs of Bender is mentioned as early as the 1660s⁶⁷. Considering the fact that the same church existed in eastern suburb of the fortress in the 1740s, there is no reason to believe that the Swedes or Ukrainian Cossacks both Zaporozhian and Hetman ones should have somehow been infringed upon by the Turkish side in their religious affairs during their existence in Carlopolis (1709 – 1713)⁶⁸.

If we talk about the dangers of real and not imagination, then we should mention the risk of losing personal freedom and becoming a victim of the slave trade. Many of the inhabitants or visitors of Carlopolis had chances of such an unfortunate fate. In particular, in the autumn of 1709, the local Turkish authorities captured several dozen Cossacks from the Right Bank (Polish) of Ukraine who came to Bender to trade in various goods. They were detained as Russian spies and sold into slavery. A little later, having experienced the hardships of lack of money, the Zaporozhian and Hetman Cossacks joined the slave trade. The facts of the capture and sale of their former allies, the Swedes, to the Nogais was especially shocking. Obviously, there was a deceit or a direct abduction of the Caroleane people who were poorly familiar with the local realities. As of the beginning of 1710, the number of such “Swedes” (here we mean all Europeans who served in the Swedish army) who were sold in captivity, exceeded 100 people⁶⁹.

It should be noted that accusations of selling Christian prisoners who were the subjects of the Moscow tsar (a total of about a hundred, both Russians and Ukrainians) to “busurmans”

65 Peter Englund, *Poltava: Rozpovid' pro zahybel' odniyeyi armiyi*. Kharkiv: Folio; Stokhol'm: Shvedskyy inystytut, 2009. S. 16-20.

66 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 521.

67 Georgiy Astvatsaturov, *Benderskaya krepost'*. Bender: Petitsa, 1997. S. 30.

68 Igor Sapozhnikov, “Mecheti i tserkvi Bender do serediny XIX veka”. *Eminak: naukoviy shchokvartal'nik*. № 4 (20) (zhovten'-gruden'). T. 2. Mykolayiv, 2017. S. 69.

69 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 4-4 ob.

were also put forward against the Swedish side. In particular, the famous Petrine associate and namesake Peter (Pyotr) Shafirov reports a similar fact that took place in 1712 in his "Discourses on the causes of the [Swedish – VM] war,"⁷⁰. As you know, 40 Swedish officers accompanied the Tatar-Zaporizhian army which at the beginning of January 1711 moved along the left bank of the Dnieper to the Russian fortresses on the Samara River, Novo-Bogoroditskaya and Novo-Sergievskaya. They were used as qualified consultants during the assault on defensive structures. After the seizure of the Novo-Sergievskaya fortress, the Cossacks donated part of the captured Moscow soldiers and their family members to the Crimean Khan, his Murzas and Swedish officers⁷¹. The latter most likely sold off the slaves upon their return to Bender.

Conclusion

Thus, having examined the short-term history of the existence of the so-called Carlopolis, which was the camp of the Swedish King Charles XII and his Ukrainian allies between 1709 and 1713 with an emphasis on the daily life of its inhabitants, we came to the following conclusions.

The triple change of the location of the camp during such a short period was caused by: 1) the desire of the Caroleanes as well as the Cossacks from the Hetmanate and Zaporozhye to take the safest place in terms of defence against a possible attack by Russian troops; 2) the use of the Dniester River as a water barrier by the Turkish masters of the geographical factor, and the proximity of the fortifications of the Bender fortress as a means of pressure on unwanted guests; 3) the poor awareness of the Swedish side regarding the landscape and ecological features of the place chosen for the second camp. The combination of these circumstances allows us to consider Carlopolis not as a classical settlement, but rather as a military camp similar to the Zaporozhye Kosh / slashes of the 17th and 18th centuries. Once in a habitat that was little familiar to them, the Swedes borrowed from their Cossack allies the most rational practices that were developed by the latter over the centuries of existence in the conditions of the steppe Frontier.

During the entire period of his stay near Bender, the daily life of Carlopolis was for a significant part of its population, a picture of survival and everyday struggle with a hostile environment. Completely dependent on the content of the receiving party, the masses of ordinary Caroleans and Cossacks were constantly starving and suffering from various diseases. The Swedes who were not adapted to the new realities were in the most disadvantageous position. The consequence of that was a constant decrease in the population of the camp due to mortality and desertion.

The hardships of physical existence were compounded by a general atmosphere of anxious expectation. The ongoing Northern (Russian-Swedish) war on top of which lay the

70 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 334.

71 Volodymyr Milchev, "Zaporoz'kyy harnizon Novoserhiyivs'koyi fortetsi: storinka kampaniyi 1711 roku". *Ukrayina v Tsentral'no-Skhidnij Yevropi (z naydavnishykh chasiv do kintsya XVIII st.)*. Vyp. 5. Kyiv, 2005. S. 464.

Russian-Turkish confrontation of 1710 – 1713 kept the inhabitants of Carlopolis captive with numerous phobias. The main one, perhaps, was the fear of the arrival of the troops of the Russian Tsar Peter I with the following options: 1) a military clash; 2) the role of a bargaining chip in big politics and the issuance of Turkish allies for reconciliation. The harsh living conditions on the borderlands invariably led to the devaluation of human relations and moral values. Their most notorious manifestation was the practice of capturing and selling into slavery: 1) Russian prisoners by the Swedes; 2) the Cossacks, especially the Zaporozhian Cossacks, their Swedish allies.

In conclusion, we note that for the inhabitants of Carlopolis, the more than three years of staying on the steppe border of the Ottoman Empire, near the borders of the Russian state (Muscovy) and the Kingdom of Poland, were difficult. For these inhabitants of “middle” Europe, this was a not entirely successful experience of adaptation to the living conditions on the Frontier, which were alien to their mentality and everyday practices, which had already begun in the “long” 18th century.

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