

CHARLES XII IN TURKEY
"NARRATIVE OF THE KING OF SWEDEN'S
MOVEMENTS 1709-1714 (?)"
A ROBERT SAMBER TRANSLATION IDENTIFIED

by

Dr. R.M. HATTON

(The London School of Economics and Political Science)
University of London

INTRODUCTION

In the Rawlinson Collection of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, exists an account ¹ of Charles XII's stay in Turkey in the hand of Robert Samber, the early eighteenth century writer and translator². The account forms part of that motley hoard of poems and plays in various stages of drafting, notes on theology and descriptions of freemason - ritual, private letters and jottings of expenditure which fills the volumes of Samber's 'Miscellaneous Manuscripts' in the Rawlinson Collection.³ The account has no title or heading of any sort in Samber's hand, but it has been listed -from a

¹ Catalogue number: Rawlinson MSS Poet. 132, f. 132 ff.

² For Robert Samber see Edward Armytage, *Robert Samber* (reprinted from *Ars Quator Coronatorum*), Margate 1848, with contributions also from other freemasons; see also *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. VI, ed. H. Fouley, London 1880, p. 475. Robert Samber was born in 1682, the son of Samuel Samber, a medical practitioner, and his wife Susannah Legg (or Legge); in 1705 he entered the English College in Rome, but left without taking the oath. He is known to have made a living in London as a writer and translator from 1716 to about 1735.

³ These volumes (Rawlinson MSS Poet. 131, 132, 133, 134 a and b, 135) contain e.g. several drafts of "Brutus, a tragedy"; a play, "Adventures of a merchant in Bengal"; a translation from the French, "A Friar unmasked"; two versions of "Memoirs of the family of Savile"; as well as numerous poems and treatises. Interspersed in the volumes one can find personal letters, e.g., vol. 134, ff. 77-78, letter from his brother dated July 14 (no year given) informing him of the death of his father and of the fact that not much estate had been left. Bills and notes of expenditure are sometimes scribbled on discarded sheets of drafts, e.g., in the margin of the Savile Memoirs is noted Samber's expenditure on beef, liver, chestnuts, punch and tobacco.

perusal of its contents—as “Narrative of the King of Sweden’s Movements 1709-1714 (?)” in the Bodleian catalogue⁴. It was this entry which attracted the present writer to the account during a search for documents in English archives which might be used as material for a biography of Charles XII of Sweden.

The problem which presented itself was one of identification of the account; for until such identification had been made, the value of the narrative could not be assessed. It was from the outset clear that the manuscript did not belong to the class of Samber’s original compositions with a historical theme, nor to his semi-original adaptations from foreign languages, but rather to Samber’s work as a translator: all the evidence of the manuscript itself, having regard to contents, style, corrections etc., leading one to the conclusion that the document was a literal translation from a non-English contemporary account of Charles XII’s stay in Turkey, its main interest being centred round *Kalabaliken*, the famous armed struggle of the Swedish King against his Turkish hosts of Jan. 31/Feb. 1 (O.S.) 1713. In this conclusion the present writer was confirmed when a copy of the manuscript was submitted to Professor A.N. Kurat, of Ankara University, whose expert knowledge of the period allowed him to say with certainty that the narrative was indeed a contemporary account of Charles XII’s years in Turkey, written by an eye-witness of the happenings described in Samber’s translation. Professor Kurat’s help in giving his opinion, and his encouragement to carry on the work of identification of the account, provided a stimulus to the slow ‘detective-work’ which had to be done, and I would like to take this opportunity to say how grateful I am to him: It was also clear from the outset that Samber’s translation did not derive from any of the well-known contemporary accounts of *Kalabaliken*⁵, relatively

⁴ F. Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western MS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. III, Oxford 1895, p. 310.

⁵ For the accounts of Ture Gabriel Bielke, J.H. von Hultman, Baron Axel Roos and Baron Axel Sparre, see full references in Aug. Quennerstedt, *Kalabaliken vid Bender. Några synpunkter*, Lund 1910 (hereafter cited as Quennerstedt, *Kalabaliken*). Of the diaries and accounts published by Quennerstedt in *Karolinska Krigares Dagböcker* (hereafter cited as *K. K. D.*) the following should be noted: J.H. von Kochen, *Kansli-Dagbok från Turkiet 1709-1714* (*K.K.D.* vol. IV, Lund 1908); Sven Agrell, *Dagbok 1707-1713* (*K.K.D.* vol. V, Lund 1909); Anon. *Dagbok af en Polack*

few in number and all ably discussed and commented upon by Swedish historians and by Professor Kurat himself⁶, so that the search for the original author of the manuscript—if the narrative had ever appeared in print—would have to be made among the rather greater number of less well-known contemporary writers on Charles XII's Turkish period⁷. Since Samber himself had failed to indicate by title or other information any direct clue to the origin of his account (or, if he had given such information, it had been lost before his manuscripts were incorporated in the Rawlinson Collection), the process of identification proved to be a long one: but it has finally enabled me to establish that Robert Samber's manuscript is a translation (with some minor alterations and a few omissions) of a rare book dating from June 1715, printed in Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania, under the title *Eigentlicher Bericht|oder Ausführl. Beschreibung|Zu welcher Zeit S. Königl. Maj. zu Schweden nach der Pultawischen Action, in der Türckey, bey Bender angekommen|und wann Sie wieder aus selbigen Landen gangen|und in Teutschland glücklich arriviret sind. Auch wie Dieselbe von dem Gross-Sultan höchst-freundlich aufgenommen|und als ein grosser Monarch, in allen durchgehends| tractiret worden. So dann| wie*

i Bender (K.K.D. vol IV, Lund 1912). Accounts discovered since Quennerstedt's book was published include: J.B. Savary's "Relation om Karl XII's vistelse i Turkiet", ed. by Gunnar Carlquist; *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (hereafter cited as *K.F.Å.*) 1913, pp. 223-307; E.H. Weismantell's *dagbok 1709-1714*, ed. by S. Bring, *Historiska Handlingar* XXVIII: 1, Stockholm 1928; "Kondottiären greve de la Cerda de Villemongue och hans minnesanteckningar om Karl XII's krig", ed. by Herman Brulin, *K.F.Å.* 1948, pp. 161-250; "Kanslisten Johan Henrik von Kochens Berättelse om Kalabaliken i Bender", ed. by S. Bring, *ibid.*, 1949, pp. 190-203.

⁶ For such discussion see in particular Quennerstedt, *Kalabaliken*; Arthur Stille, "Karl XII och Porten", in *Karl XII. Till 200 årsdagen av hans död*, ed. S. Bring, Stockholm, 1918 and Eric Tengberg, *Från Poltava till Bender. En studie i Karl XII's Turkiska Politik 1709-1713*, Lund 1953, chapters XIV and XV. To these should be added Stig Jägerskiöld, "Ur Johannes Kolmodins Litteräre kvarlatenskap", *K.F.Å.* 1935, pp. 5-30 and A.N. Kurat, *İsveç kiralı XII. Karl'ın Turkiyede kalışı ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, İstanbul 1943, soon to be made available to non-Turkish reading scholars through the translation in progress in Sweden by W. Björkman.

⁷ The best guide to these accounts is the *Bibliotheca historia sueo gothica* compiled by the eighteenth century collector and bibliophile, C.G. Warmholtz (1713-1785); his 15 volumes were ready in manuscript by 1778, but were not printed, as far as the last 13 volumes are concerned, till after his death. The relevant numbers for the Turkey period are in volume 10 (Upsala, 1805), 5599-5762.

*Se. Königl. Majestät allda über 5. Jahr residiret|und Dero Haupt-Quartier etlichemal changiret, So fort| was die Türckische und Tartarischen Rebellen (auf Anstiftung der Schwedischen Feinde|und deren grossen Geld-Summen) vor Verratherey und gottlose Streiche ausgeübet: Und wie sie Se. Königl. Majest zu zweyen mahlen| und zwar 2. Jahr nach ein ander|rebellisch-und verrätherischer- Weise attaquiret und letztens 3. Wochen lang vorher durch 3000. Tartarn bloquirt| nachdeme |den 31 Jan und Febr. st. v.1713 mit Bomben| Carcassen|Canonen und Granaten xc. Die selbe beschossen| biss sie Dero hohe Person (als das Königl. Hauss völlig in Brand gerathen) in der Retirade sogar durch ihre grosse Macht| genommen|und weggeführt haben| und was weiter darauf erfolget ist; Treulichst beschrieben und an Tag gegeben von FRODNUAN, Einem Schwedischen Officier, der meist überall selbst mit zugegen gewesen. Strahlsundt/im Monat Junii 1715—hereafter called *Eigentlicher Bericht* for short⁸. No copy of this book is in the possession of the British Museum or of the Bodleian Library (nor, as far as I have been able to ascertain, can it be found in any of the libraries of the United States of America), but through the courtesy of *Kungliga Biblioteket*, Stockholm, and the help of the National Central Library, this book and two others - the *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung*⁹ and the *Ausführliche Reise-Beschreibung*¹⁰ (to give them*

⁸ The copy consulted by me, an octavo volume of 116 pp., belonged to the well-known eighteenth century collector, Mattias Benzeltierna, whose valuable collection was given in 1864 to *Kungl. Biblioteket*. In footnotes the *Eigentlicher Bericht* will be indicated by *E.B.*

⁹ Full title: *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung| oder eigentlicher Bericht|wann und wie Seine Majestät CAROLUS XII. König in Schweden xc. Nach der Pultawischen Action in der Turkey bey Bender angekommen; wie dieselbe von dem Gross-Sultan allerfreundlichst aufgenommen|und als ein grosser Monarch tractiret worden; Was in denen 5. Jahren|in welchen sich Se. Königl. Majest. daselbst aufgehalten|für sonderbare Zufälle sich ereignet; insonderheit|wie|durch Anstiftung dero Feinde|ihre geheiligte Person von Türck und Tartarisch-Rebellen-Rotten äusserst verfolgt|Auch endlich Gottlos-Verrätherischer Weiss gefänglich weggeführt| und in weiteres Elendhaben gebracht werden wollen: Wovon sie Gottes Allmacht. Hand Wunders-würdig errettet| also dass endlich wiederum glücklich und freudigst in Teutschland angelangt seynd. Anjetzo in sweyen Theilen|mit besonderm Zusatz|von einem Schwedischen Officier, Namens Frodnuan der meist überall selbst zugegen gewesen|treulich beschrieben|und am Tag gegeben. Im Jahre Christi/1715. This title-page gives no place of publication. In footnotes this book will be referred to as the *S.R.-B.* See also *infra*, note 28.*

¹⁰ *Ausführliche Reise-Beschreibung Sr. Königl. Majestät Zu Schweden CARL XII. Was sich nach der Pultawischen Action auf Dero gefährlichen Reise nach Bender vor seltsame Zu-*

the short titles which I propose to use for convenience)—printed in 1715 and 1716 respectively—were put at my disposal¹¹. These three books were all necessary for the final identification of the Bodley manuscript. A fourth book, in the possession of the British Museum, the *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung* (called the 'Swedish Itinerary' in the British Museum Catalogue)¹², printed in Stralsund in 1715 but of a different, and, as it proved, earlier edition than the book from *Kunliga Biblioteket*, was also essential to the work of identification and helped materially to establish the internal relationships between the four books.

This internal relationship is quite an interesting study in itself, but it is sufficient for my present purpose to summarize briefly the result of my researches on this part of the problem. The *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung* (the 'Swedish Itinerary' of the British Museum) was published anonymously and first of the four, some time before June 1715. It was written by a member of the Swedish forces who took part in the journey from Poltava to Bender with the King, a man who was—soon after the establishment of Charles XII's camp at Bender—sent home to Stockholm as one of the small suite which in August 1709 went under the leadership of major-general Meijer-

fälle ereignet. Zu welcher Zeit Dieselbe bey Bender angekommen/von dem Gross-Sultan höchst freundlich aufgenommen/ und als ein grosser Monarch in allen tractiret worden. Wie lange Sr. Königl. Majestät allda residiret/auch was merckwürdiges Zeit Ihres allda seyn passiret/ und wann Sie wieder aus selbigen Landen gangen und in Teutschland glücklich angekommen. Aufrichtig beschrieben Von einem Schwedischen Officier/der meist überall mit zugegen gewesen. Stralsundt 1716. In footnotes this book will be referred to as the *Aus.R.-B.*

¹¹ I would like to express my gratitude for the kind help given me by the officials of the National Central Library and of *Kunigl. Biblioteket*, and particularly by Dr. W. Odelberg, in having these three books sent to London.

¹² *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung von Pultava nach Bender und die durch die Wallachei und Moldau nach Teutschland worinn die dabey sich ereignete seltsame Zufälle communiciret werden. Denne noch hierbey gefüget: Die grosse Missive und das Göttliche Manifest an das zwar gedruckte aber nicht unterdruckte Schweden Betreffende Die veritable und Weltkündige Gewissheit der Gegenwart Caroli XII. Königs in Schweden etc. Zu Stralsund in Pommern Gedruckt im Jahr 1715.* The major part of this book, filling 99 octavo pp., is the first edition of the *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung* known to me; it is followed, pp. 100-110, by the *Die grosse Missive, etc.*, i.e. the *Vale Porta Ottomanica Salve Suecia etc.* noted by C.G. Warmholtz, *op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 130, no. 5796; while on pp. 111-112 is the 'Reiselied' of Charles XII which was included also in the *S.R.B.*; cp. note 28 *infra*.

feldt¹³ with letters from Charles XII to the Swedish royal family and orders to the Swedish statesmen in Stockholm. The narrative of this book covers not only the journey from Poltava to Bender, but also, in some considerable detail, the ride of the smaller party from Bender through Wallachia, Moldavia and Hungary until its safe arrival in the Empire. A copy of this *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung* came into the hands of the Hungarian historian Aladar Ballagi, who in his book on Charles XII's return journey from Turkey, published in 1922,¹⁴ was able to show – by a close comparison between the *Schwedische Reisz - Beschreibung* and the independently written diary, *Historia ablegationes ad Regem Sveciae Carolum XII*, of another member of the party, the Hungarian Daniel Krmann – how reliable and correct the information given by the anonymous Swedish traveller was in all that relates to the trip through Moldavia, Wallachia and Hungary.¹⁵ Ballagi, however, would seem to conclude that the *Schwedische Reisz - Beschreibung* was written by Meijerfeldt himself¹⁶ : a supposition which cannot be upheld since it fails to take into account that the anonymous officer went from Poltava to Bender with Charles XII, while Meijerfeldt, sent after the battle of Poltava to negotiate with Tsar Peter, arrived at Bender only early in August.¹⁷ All the members of Meijerfeldt's party, military and non-military, are known to us by name, thanks to Ballagi's researches in Hungarian archives¹⁸, but no definitive identification of the

¹³ Baron Johan August Meijerfeldt, a major-general since 1704, promoted general in 1711, see for his career *Biographiskt Lexicon öfver namnkunniga Svenska Män*, vol. IX, Upsala 1843, pp. 61-63.

¹⁴ Ballagi's work, *Karoly és a svédek átvonulása Magyarországon 1709-1715*, Budapest 1922, has been made accessible to non-Magyar reading historians through the authorised German translation (though in an abbreviated form) by Edm. Beck in *K.F.Ä.* 1931, pp. 172-239 and *K.F.Ä.* 1934, pp. 144-187, "Zur Geschichte der Heimkehr Karls XII und des Schwedischen Heeres durch Ungarn".

¹⁵ Ballagi, *K.F.Ä.* 1931, pp. 180-198.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-3.

¹⁷ Meijerfeldt arrived at Bender on Aug. 3 1709 (Sw.S.), left about a week later and arrived in Stockholm on October 26, see Sten Bonnesen's footnotes 1 and 3 to Ballagi, *K.F.Ä.* 1931, p. 183. It is interesting to note that the anonymous writer of the *S.R.B.* several times mentions Meijerfeldt, though not by name, reporting his arrival at Bender and his departure.

¹⁸ See Ballagi, *K. F.Ä.* 1931, pp. 183-4, for names of those in the party.

Swedish officer or civil servant who *wrote* the *Schwedische Reisz - Beschreibung* has yet been made.¹⁹ The personality of this anonymous writer does, however, come across very clearly and charmingly in his account: a man of fortitude and even temper, of some learning and erudition, who quoted Latin and Greek from memory and drew historical parallels between the fortunes of the Swedish armies and those of Roman and Greek days, a man with an observant eye and of some literary ability into the bargain, whose book can be read for pleasure as well as for the historical information it contains.

The publication of this *Schwedische Reisz - Beschreibung* encouraged another member of the Swedish army who had been at Bender to attempt to complete the story for the five years which Charles XII spent in Turkey after the departure of Meijerfeldt's suite for Sweden in 1709: the result was the *Eigentlicher Bericht*, published in June 1715, the book which Samber later translated. In the 'Vorrede' to the *Eigentlicher Bericht* the author expressly stated that his purpose was such a completion of the *Schwedische Reisz - Beschreibung*, and he proceeded to correct what he deemed an error in the former work by pointing out, on the opening page of his own first chapter, that he himself had counted more than one hundred cannon-shot to welcome Charles XII at Bender, thus improving on the 'some cannon-shot' of the earlier writer²⁰. The author then went on to deal, fairly briefly, with the early Bender years, giving most of his space to the story of *Kalabaliken* and finally, again rather briefly, narrating the break-up from Turkey in 1714 and the safe arrival of the Swedish army in the Habsburg dominions and the Empire. The *Eigentlicher Bericht* was not published anonymously, but under the pseudonym "Frodnuan, a Swedish officer who himself took part in nearly all that is described". This pseudonym was presumably not difficult for contempo-

¹⁹ For an attempted identification of the author of the *Aus. R.-B.* as Yxkull-Meyendorf, see *infra*, p. 92 and notes 31 and 32.

²⁰ The *E. B.* opens, after the 'Vorrede', on p. 3 as follows: "Die Reise-Beschreibung von Poltava nach Bender so in diesem Jahr beraus gegeben worden ist unvollkommen und meldet wenig oder gar nichts was über die 5 Jahr so lange wir uns in der Türckey aufgehalten haben alldorten Merckwürdiges vorgefallen sey irret auch darinnen dass Se. Königl. Majestät ungefähr med. Jul. st. v. 1709 bey Bender unter Losung etlicher Canonen da es doch über 100 Canons-Schusse gewesen so ich selbst damals gezehlet". This correction refers to the *S.R.-B.*, p. 81.

raries to solve since it when read backwards gave Naundorf, the name of a man who had already to some extent advertised his connexion with the army in Bender by the casting of two medals, the first commemorating *Kalabaliken* of 1713, the second one the struggle of Charles XII with the league formed against him on his return from Turkey in 1714: on the first of these the medallist described himself as "E.G.Naundorf, Mag: Post: in Campo"²¹, on the second more briefly as "Naundorf"²². He published at least one other book, dealing with the customs of the Turks and Tartars, under the 'Frodnuan' pseudonym²³; and it is therefore feasible to assume that he was reasonably well known to contemporaries, though I have been unable to find any printed identification of him as the author of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* until the Swedish bibliophile C.G.Warmholtz in his *Bibliotheca historica sueo-gothica* suggested the Naundorf solution of the pseudonym Frodnuan²⁴. Warmholtz's identification, though not printed till 1805, may well, however, have rested on oral tradition and contemporary evidence, since his bibliography was compiled in the eighteenth century, and was indeed ready for the press by 1778.

The completion of the *Schwedische Reisz-Beschreibung* by the *Eigentlicher Bericht* seems to have created a contemporary demand for a narrative of the whole period of Charles XII's stay in Turkey, and before the year was out a new book appeared which was in reality the two separate accounts joined together, though with a new title-page which advertised the book as *Schwedische Reisz - Beschreibung etc.*, "now in two parts with particular additions by a Swedish officer named Frodnuan who himself took part in nearly all that is describ-

²¹ C. G. Warmholtz, *op.cit.* note 7 *supra*, vol. 10, p. 131; G. Nordberg, *Histoire de Charles XII. Roi de Suède*, vol. III, The Hague, 1748, p. XII, Liste des Medailles, no.122: Sur l'attaque que Charles XII eut à soutenir à Bender de la part des Turcs en 1713.

²² *Ibid.*, no. 133; Sur la Ligue entre le Czar, les Rois de Dannemarck et de Prusse et les Electeurs de Saxe et de Hanover contre Charles XII.

²³ This book, 80 pp., is bound with the *Eigentlicher Bericht* in the copy in the possession of *Kungl. Biblioteket*; its title is given, in an abbreviated form, Warmholtz, *op.cit.*, vol. 10, no. 5797.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131. This identification is repeated by Leonard Bygden, *Svenskt Anonym och Pseudonym Leksikon*, vol. I, Upsala 1898-1905.

ed"²⁵. This volume repeats in its first part the original *Schwedische Reisz - Beschreibung* without changes and then proceeds in a second, separate part to give the narrative of the *Eigentlicher Bericht*, with some minor changes in the opening page²⁶, with the omission of one important section dealing with the author's capture²⁷ and with the addition of an engraved plan of Charles XII's camp at Warnitza; the title-page of this second part being, however, different from that of the *Eigentlicher Bericht*; running as follows: *Der Schwedischen Reisz - Beschreibung CONTINUATION: Oder Fernerausführlicher Bericht | was bey Bender|als seine Majestät Carolus XII. König in Schweden xc. Allda residiret|Mit den Türcken u. Tartarn vorgegangen: Wie selbe Höchstgedachte Se. Königl. Majest. Zu zweien-malen|Und zwar 2. Jahr nacheinander| daselbst attackiret; und letzeresmal 3. Wochen lang vorhero mit viel 1000 Tartarn bloquirt|nachmals mit Bomben|Carcassen|Canonen xc. Sie beschossen| biss Dero hohe Person so gar gefänglich weggeführt haben; und was weiters darauf erfolget ist. Von einem Schwedisch. Officier| Nahmens FRODNUAN, der meist überall selbst zugegen gewesen | Treulich eröffnet und am Tag gegeben. Gedruckt im Jahr 1715.*²⁸

The next step, in 1716, was the publication of the *Ausführliche Reise-Beschreibung*, where, by leaving out the description of the journey through Moldavia, Wallachia and Hungary, a continuous narrative from Poltava to the end of 1714 was achieved²⁹. This book was published anonymously as by "a Swedish officer who took part in nearly all that is described",³⁰ thus providing a possible identi-

²⁵ See note 9 *supra* for the full title.

²⁶ The *S.R.-B. Continuation* begins, (translated into English): 'Anno 1709 in the autumn Charles XII moved from his tent into a house', thus abbreviating the opening of the *E.B.*, given in note 20 *supra*.

²⁷ This can be seen when the *E.B.*, pp. 69 ff. is compared with the *S.R. - B. Continuation*, pp. 45 ff. The *Aus. R - B.*, pp. 115 ff., restores the part missing from the *S.R.-B. Continuation* and is identical with the *E.B.*

²⁸ Note that the title-page of the *S.R. - B. Continuation*, like the title - page covering the whole book, has no place of publication. The first part of the *S.R.-B.* covers 133 pp., then 2 pp. with the 'Reiselied' of Charles XII follow before the 80 pp. of the *S.R.-B. Continuation*.

²⁹ See the *Aus. R.B.*, pp. 73 ff., as compared with the *S.R.-B.* pp. 94 ff. Note, however, that the running together of the two separate accounts has not been very carefully done; there remains in the *Aus.R.-B.*, p. 68, a sentence referring to the coming description of the Moldavia, Wallachia and Hungary journey.

³⁰ See note 10 *supra* for the full title of this book.

fication with 'Frodnuan' of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* and *Der Schwedischen Reisz-Beschreibung Continuation* without committing an actual falsehood, since to have named 'Frodnuan' on this 1716 edition would have implied that he was also the writer of the description of the journey from Poltava to Bender. A false impression was all the same given, since it would appear, if not to contemporaries who had followed the various editions, at least to posterity, as if the 1716 volume were written by one Swedish officer who had taken part in all the events described. Subsequent writers have certainly fallen into this trap. The editor of the *Biographiskt Lexicon öfver namnkunniga Svenska Män*, vol. 23, published in 1857,³¹ who utilized a copy of the *Ausführliche Reise - Beschreibung* (the only copy which to his knowledge existed in Sweden at that time, in the possession of General Count G. von Essen) assumed the book to have been written by one officer, whom he attempted to identify as Carl Ulric Yxkull-Meyendorf on the grounds that about most of Charles XII's officers it could be said with certainty that they could *not* have written the book, while about Yxkull-Meyendorf it could at least be said that he seemed the most likely of those who were in a position to have written it.³² C. G. Warmholtz also assumed that the 1716 edition was by one writer, though he thought that writer to be Frodnuan (*i.e.* Naundorf) and the book

³¹ This biographical dictionary of Swedish famous men (hereafter cited as *B.L.*), published in 23 volumes between 1835 and 1857, was edited by F.V. Palmblad, P. Wieselgren and others; but neither the volumes nor the articles carry any indication of the individual editors and contributors.

³² *B.L.*, vol. 23, Örebro 1857, pp. 35-42, article on Carl Ulric Yxkull-Meyendorf. The writer of the article gives many quotations from the *Aus. R.-B.* and gives resumés of some sections of it; further quotations and resumés can be found in the article in the same volume, pp. 107-114, on Baron Gustaf Zülich, and a briefer reference is also given *ibid.*, pp. 117-118, in the article on Baron Bengt Fabian Zöge: quotations and references which were of great help to me in my efforts to trace the author of Samber's manuscript. The attempted identification of the author of the *Aus.R.-B.* as Yxkull-Meyendorf is invalidated, since the writer of the article was unaware of the suppressed part of the narrative, that dealing with the journey through Moldavia, Wallachia and Hungary. We know that the author of the second section was Frodnuan-Naundorf; and the fact that the author of the first section had been a member of Meijerfeldt's party precludes Yxkull-Meyendorf from having been its author, it being quite clear that he was not a member of that party.

to be a variant of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* of 1715.³³ Warmholtz had no high opinion of Naundorf: "He may have been an honest man, a good subject, a faithful servant: but he was neither a happy writer nor an imaginative inventor of medals", the bibliophile summed up.³⁴ It should be noted, however, that Warmholtz was not easily given to praise and characterised even G. Nordberg's history of the reign of Charles XII, which Warmholtz himself had translated into French, as the work of one who might be "a good theologian and preacher, but less good than average as an historian"—Warmholtz going so far as expressing his regret at the time he had wasted on the Nordberg translation.³⁵ Warmholtz's rather low opinion of Naundorf is echoed by Anders Fryxell in his *Berättelser ur Svenska historien* when he, in the part dealing with Charles XII's stay in Turkey (published in 1856),³⁶ in two places where he quotes or gives information which a comparison of the text shows as coming from the *Eigentlicher Bericht*, takes care to preface these quotations and resumé by saying in the one place, "According to a less trustworthy narrative",³⁷ and in the other, "A less trustworthy narrator and admirer of Charles adds".³⁸ Fryxell does not in these two cases mention either Naundorf's name, pseudonym or the title of his book; but he does, in a third place, quote information for which he gives "Naundorf, pp.55-56" as a source,³⁹ a reference which corresponds to the pagination of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* and which therefore helps to prove that the *Eigentlicher Bericht* is a book from which Fryxell drew information, not only in the three instances mentioned already, but also, as becomes clear on investigation, for other parts of his narrative of Charles XII's Turkey period, where no references or acknowledgments are given.

³³ C.G. Warmholtz, *op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 131, no. 5797. The Catalogue of *Kungl. Biblioteket* also gives Naundorf as the author of the *Aus. R-B*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131, no. 5797. Note, however, that it is not Warmholtz, but A. Anderson, the compiler of the index to *Bibliotheca historica sueo-gothica* (*Register*, Upsala 1889), who identifies Bellerive with Naundorf and does therefore, by implication, draw down on Naundorf Warmholtz's criticism of Bellerive, no. 5685.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol.10, p. 177, no. 7954.

³⁶ Anders Fryxell, *Berättelser ur Svenska historien*, 23 del: *Karl den Tolfdes Regering*, 3 häftet, *Karl XII i Turkiet*) Stockholm 1856.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 100, footnote 1.

The *Eigentlicher Bericht* has not, however, been tested by a modern, thorough comparison with other accounts of *Kalabaliken*; and there are grounds for believing that it has been under-estimated and needlessly neglected as a source for the history of Charles XII in Turkey: understandably neglected, however, due to the need which the historians of the period have felt to examine and test the value of the accounts written by men who were in more important official or military positions than Frodnuan-Naundorf, and whose contributions could therefore throw light on the policy either of Charles XII or of the Turkish officials involved in the dramatic action.⁴⁰ The first-hand accounts which we possess of *Kalabaliken* are, all the same, brief, and so are those of the spectators and diplomats and travellers who wrote of what they had seen or been told of the fray⁴¹: the wealth of general information which Naundorf provides deserves for that reason alone a close examination to decide whether his account is based (as it would seem) on a diary or journal which he kept at the time or whether it was compiled from memory and

⁴⁰ Quennerstedt, *Kalabaliken*, p. 29, may be said by implication to have included the *E.B.* in his remark on Fryxell's use of sources which are not very reliable.

⁴¹ For such accounts see "Relation d'un marchand françois (*i.e.* de la Mare) parti de Bender le 14 de fevrier, arrivé à Constantinople le 23 de dit mois", printed by A. N. Kurat, *İsveç kuralı XII. Karl' in Turkiyede kalışı ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, Appendix volume, İstanbul 1943, pp. 187-192, and the French and Austrian diplomatic reports printed *ibid.*; *The Camden Third series*, vol. LXXVIII, London 1953, *The Despatches of Sir Robert Sutton*, ed. by A.N. Kurat (hereafter cited as Kurat, Sutton); *James Jefferyes's Despatches from Bender and Stralsund*, printed by Ernst Carlson in *Historiska Handlingar* XVI: 2, Stockholm 1897, to be supplemented by the Jefferyes letters from Bender found in the Dresden archives and printed by H. Voges, "Nya upplysningar från åren 1712 och 1713 om Karl XII's vistelse i Turkiet", *K.F.Å.*, 1923, pp. 234-242; *Anecdotes du Sejour du Roi de Suède à Bender, ou Lettres de M. Le Baron de Fabrice pour Servir d'eclaircissement à l'Histoire de Charles XII*, Hamburg 1760; A. de La Motraye, *Voyages du Sr. A. de la Motraye en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, vol. II, The Hague 1727; W. Theyls, *Mémoires Pour servir à l'Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*, Amsterdam 1722; G. de Lamberty, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du XVIII: e siècle etc.*, vol. VIII, The Hague, 1730, pp. 321 ff. The recently published *Die Memoiren des Kammerherrn Friedrich Ernst von Fabrice*, ed. by R. Grieser in *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens*, vol. 54, Hildesheim 1956, has no new information on *Kalabaliken*, but reprints, pp. 83 ff., in German translation, the three letters printed by De la Motraye in his *Voyages etc.*, vol. II, Appendix.

from news-sheets and pamphlets after his return. Another field of investigation which suggests itself is the problem to what extent Frodnuan - Naundorf's account, published so soon after *Kalabaliken*, has influenced those participants and spectators who put down their memories of the Turkish period later in the century. Obviously Frodnuan - Naundorf's account cannot be used as a source for *Kalabaliken* without the usual caution and criticism necessary with all historical documents of this type. His position as a participant in or an eyewitness of the events he narrates is, however, beyond doubt. The description of him as a "Swedish officer" on the title-pages of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* and the *Der Schwedischen Reisz-Beschreibung Continuation* may not bear a full investigation⁴²; but Charles XII's signature to the commission of Egidius Naundorff to be *Fältpostmästare* (Postmaster - in-the-field), dated July 4 1714, can be seen in the Swedish *Riksarkiv*⁴³, and from a series of accounts, memorials and letters, kept in the archives of the Swedish *Kansli-kollegium* and utilized by Teodor Holm in his history of the Swedish Postal Services⁴⁴, it is possible to learn something about Naundorf (or Naundorff) and to reconstruct his connexion with Charles XII's army during the Russian campaign and the Turkey years. Egidius Naundorf was employed in the Austrian postal service when he in 1705 in Carlsbad made the acquaintance of Swedish persons of rank and influence, who suggested to him that he might find a post in the Swedish service. Naundorf acted on this suggestion once Charles XII's army had entered Saxony; armed with introductions he presented himself to the Chancery-in-the-field and was offered the Fieldpostmastership in succession to one Caspar Wulff, whose effects he bought. Naundorf's income was to be derived partly from the charges which he was authorised to make to those in the army who wanted to send private letters, but mainly from the accounts

⁴² Naundorf is called "a Swedish officer" on the title pages of the *E.B.* and the *S.R.-B. Continuation*, but he is not listed in A. Lewenhaupt, *Karl XII's officerare*, vol. II, Stockholm 1921, nor in B.A. Ennes, *Biografiska minnen af konung Carl XII's krigare*, vol. II, Stockholm 1819, where officials as well as officers are listed.

⁴³ See reference to Riksregistraturet in Teodor Holm, *Sveriges Allmänna Postväsen, ett försök till Svensk Posthistoria*, vol.V: 3, 1698-1718, Stockholm 1929, 187.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-190; the series consists of 45 documents, dating from 1720-1729, some of them of considerable length; the observations of Postcammereraren Skraggenschiöld on Naundorf's memorials have also been preserved.

which he were to present to the Chancery-in-the-field for the official letters despatched to Sweden and to all parts of Europe at his own charge. It is from Naundorf's attempts in the 1720's to recover the money owing to him—since the accounts he presented before the battle of Poltava were burnt with the rest of the Chancery papers and not paid during the Turkey years—that the series of documents referred to above derive. In these papers we can find an explanation why the *Eigentlicher Bericht* has so little to tell about the early Turkey years; for Naundorf, who like the rest of those who escaped from Poltava and Perevolotjna lost all his possessions, arrived in Turkey so ill that, it is clear from one of his petitions, he spent the first three years there regaining his health, being frequently confined to bed during those years.⁴⁵ This circumstance, as well as the greater dramatic possibilities of the period of *Kalabaliken*, accounts for the concentration of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* on the later Turkey years. Even where *Kalabaliken* is concerned, it should be noted that Naundorf was not an eyewitness to the whole of it; and that he—as he freely admits—had to rely for the story after his own capture on the information given him by his friends⁴⁶. It must also be taken into account that Naundorf was not in an official position which would give him access to important information: he has nothing to tell us on the level of policy, what he repeats is the common happenings and gossip of the camp, the day-to-day occurrences and general events; and only on one aspect, that of postal communication, may he have something original to contribute, for by virtue of his office what he has to say about the many routes whereby expresses were sent to Constantinople becomes interesting.⁴⁷ Naundorf was by no means the intellectual equal of the anonymous writer whose work he attempted to complete: he had neither that lively mind nor that easy pen so that his work is on altogether a more prosaic and reporting level. It is natural that he should attempt to stress the mitigating circumstances surrounding his own surrender to the Turks⁴⁸, but he does not make himself out to be more heroic than he was; it is equally natural that he should have felt an active dislike of the Turks after *Kalabaliken*—dislike to which he gives ex-

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190, quoting petition.

⁴⁶ See *infra*, p. 126 of document.

⁴⁷ See *infra*, pp. 109-110, 111 and 114 of document.

⁴⁸ See *infra*, pp. 124-126 of document.

pression⁴⁹, though he is careful to point out that some Turks behaved much better than others to the Swedes⁵⁰. He is at times rather given to the telling of anecdotes connected with the life of the camp, anecdotes which Robert Samber in three places cut out, possibly as inessential to the main lines of the account, or as of little interest to the English reader for whom Samber was preparing his translation⁵¹. Within his own limits, however, Naundorf seems to have been a conscientious reporter, and since the broad outlines of his account are borne out by a comparison with other reports, *e.g.*, those of the English minister accredited to Charles XII, James Jefferyes⁵², and of the Dutch interpreter employed by the Swedish King, Jean Baptiste Savary⁵³, it is reasonable to assume that the whole of his book merits consideration as a source for *Kalabaliken*: this is how the Bender period looked to one who lived through it.

The *Eigentlicher Bericht* being so rare a book, and Samber's translation being, with some few exceptions and omissions, so faithful to the original, we possess in the Bodley document an account in English of a participator to set beside those accounts of the spectators already available in English: in the report of James Jefferyes from Bender and of Sir Robert Sutton from Constantinople in the first place⁵⁴, and in the translations of De la Motraye's travels and Fabrice's letters in the second⁵⁵.

The problem of identification solved, another set of problems appeared: How did Naundorf's book come into Robert Samber's

⁴⁹ This dislike is particularly noticeable in a sentence which Samber has left out, when Naundorf is telling the story of the agony suffered by those Turks who drank from Dr. Skraggenstierna's medicine; cp. *E.B.*, p. 45.

⁵⁰ See *infra*, pp. 131 and 132 of document.

⁵¹ See footnotes 8, 51 and 101 to document.

⁵² For James Jefferyes and his mission to Bender, see *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689-1789 (Camden Third Series, vol. XLVI, London 1932)*, ed. by D.B. Horn, p. 141; for his despatches from Bender, note 41 *supra*. For his pre-1709 connexion with the Swedish army, see introduction to *Captain James Jefferyes's Letters to the Secretary of State, Whitehall, from the Swedish Army 1707-1709* by R.M. Hatton (*Historiska Handlingar*, 35: 1, Stockholm 1953), pp.2-27.

⁵³ See for the publication of Savary's account note 5 *supra*.

⁵⁴ For these accounts, published in 1897 and 1923 in Jefferyes's case, and in 1953 for Sutton's part, see note 41 *supra*.

⁵⁵ For these works see note 41 *supra*; an English translation of De la Motraye's work, in three volumes, was published in 1732; and Fabrice's letters appeared in an English translation in 1761.

hands? For what purpose did Samber translate the book? Was there any connexion between Samber and Rawlinson⁵⁶, or is the presence of the Samber miscellaneous manuscripts in the Rawlinson Collection a matter of pure chance? To these problems no certain answers can be given, but one hypothesis can be suggested based on the assumption that the presence of the Samber manuscripts in the Rawlinson Collection is not wholly accidental. It has long been known that Rawlinson was in sympathy with the Jacobite movement⁵⁷, and this sympathy naturally made him interested in Charles XII, the Swedish warrior-king on whom Jacobite hopes centred in the 1716-18 period. Rawlinson has been generally regarded as a "magpie collector"⁵⁸, but at least in one respect Mr. B.J. Enright, of the Bodleian Library, who is at present engaged on a study of Rawlinson, feels that this label is misleading: Rawlinson was, he has concluded from his examination of the manuscripts collected, interested enough in Charles XII to make a habit of acquiring documents and letters connected in any way with the Swedish King⁵⁹. It might therefore be possible that Rawlinson picked up a copy of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* during his prolonged visit to the Continent between 1720 and 1726, and that he, to continue this line of thought, might have handed it to Samber for translation on his return to England in 1726. A connexion between the two men would be possible through their separate relationships with Edmund Curll, the publisher and bookseller.⁶⁰ Samber worked as a "literary hack" for Curll, translating and adapting foreign books, mainly from the French⁶¹; and Curll and Rawlinson were well acquainted. Rawlinson edited for Curll Erdeswicke's *Survey of Staffordshire* before his long visit

⁵⁶ For Richard Rawlinson, see W.D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, Oxford 1890, pp. 231-251, and the same author's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter cited as *D.N.B.*), vol. XLVII, London 1909, pp. 774-776.

⁵⁷ Macray, *D.N.B.*, vol. XLVII, p. 774.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Armytage, *op. cit.* note 2 *supra*.

⁵⁹ I am very grateful to Mr. Enright for discussing this part of his forthcoming thesis with me.

⁶⁰ For Edmund Curll, see article in *D.N.B.*, vol. V, London 1908, pp. 327-331 by H. R. Tedder, and Ralph Straus, *The Unspeakable Curll*, London 1924 (hereafter cited as Straus, *Curll*).

⁶¹ Armytage, *op. cit.* note 2 *supra*; Straus, *Curll*, p. 77

abroad,⁶² and the acquaintance was kept up after Rawlinson's return; we know, *e.g.*, that Curll was being entertained in Oxford by Rawlinson and other antiquarians in 1729.⁶³ Such a handing over of the book to Samber for translation by Rawlinson might explain Rawlinson's later interest in Samber and the acquisition of Samber's miscellaneous manuscript works by Rawlinson after Samber's death in 1735 or thereabouts.⁶⁴ It seems feasible to assume from what we know of the dates of Samber's works in the volumes in the Rawlinson Collection that the translation was made in the late 1720's or early 1730's⁶⁵. We cannot say with any certainty, however, at what time Samber translated the *Eigentlicher Bericht*, beyond that it must have been done after June 1715 when the book was published and before Samber's death in 1735 (?). There are indications—referred to below—that the work of checking the translation was not completed; but it is not justifiable to conclude that Samber's death interrupted the work: he might equally well have abandoned it at any time between 1715 and 1735.

The connexion suggested between Samber and Rawlinson through Curll must remain purely conjectural, no more than one hypothesis among several: indeed, a case can easily be made against it on the grounds that if Rawlinson commissioned the translation, we would expect to find either the original *Eigentlicher Bericht* or the fair copy of Samber's translation among Rawlinson's books or papers, and neither has come to light. It is equally open to conjecture whether Rawlinson—assuming that he had no hand in commissioning the translation—bought Samber's 'Miscellaneous Manuscripts' because he noticed the account of Charles XII's Turkey years among them or because some other item attracted him.

If Rawlinson had nothing to do with Samber undertaking the translation, two alternative possibilities suggest themselves. Either

⁶² Straus, *Curll*, pp. 68-69; Macray, *D.N.B.*, vol. XLVII, p. 776.

⁶³ Straus, *Curll*, pp. 139-140.

⁶⁴ The date of Samber's death is not known, but it is assumed by the authorities quoted in note 2 *supra* to have taken place in 1735 or shortly afterwards.

⁶⁵ W.D. Macray, *op. cit.* note 53 *supra*, suggests that the miscellaneous works of Samber in the Rawlinson Collection date from the years 1710-1729; Dr. Chetwynde Crawley in Armytage, *op. cit.* note 2 *supra*, gives Samber's writing years as 1716-1735.

Samber embarked on the task as part of his ordinary work as a translator at a time when a publication of an English version of the *Eigentlicher Bericht* was being considered, possibly at those times when there was in England a lively interest in Charles XII and in Sweden⁶⁶: immediately upon Charles XII's return to the North, during the excitement of the Gyllenborg arrest in 1717, after the death of Charles XII in 1718. Or Samber himself, who is known to have been a Catholic, at least in his youth, when he spent some time at the Jesuit College in Rome (though he left without taking the oath)⁶⁷, may have had Stuart sympathies which made him interested on his own account in the Swedish King; he himself may therefore have acquired the book and begun a translation of it with the idea of treating the subject more freely and dramatically at a later date. He never did so; nor was the translation ever published⁶⁸, though the narrative found in Samber's 'Miscellaneous Manuscripts' is in an all but completed form: being neither as heavily corrected as one would expect in the drafting stages of the work nor as some of Samber's other drafts in the Rawlinson Collection. It is not a fair copy, however, several changes and corrections having been made, presumably when the translation was being checked against the original. It is noticeable that towards the end of the translation several obvious mistakes have been left uncorrected⁶⁹ as if the checking had not been fully finished. The handwriting is on the whole easy to read, though the legibility varies, and one word remains conjectural, in spite of generous help given by Bodleian Library officials⁷⁰, even after comparison with the text of the *Eigentlicher Bericht*. In the editing of the document, Samber's spelling and punctuation have been preserved, though words accidentally omitted and punctuation necessary for

⁶⁶ For such periods see R.M. Hatton, "Jonh Robinson and the Account of Sueden", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London 1955, pp. 128-159 and the references given in that article.

⁶⁷ See note 2 *supra*.

⁶⁸ For Samber's published work see bibliography in Armytage, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁹ See *infra*, notes 79, 81, 96 and 98 to document.

⁷⁰ I am grateful to these officials, and especially to P. Long, Assistant in the Department of Western MSS, for attempting to decipher this word for me; see *infra* note 62 to document.

the grasp of the sentence have been added in square brackets. Footnotes identify persons mentioned and draw attention to omissions and differences from the *Eigentlicher Bericht*. It is the editor's hope that the printing of Samber's translation may make Egidius Naundorf's memories of *Kalabaliken* more readily accessible and stimulate further inquiry into their value as source material for the years Charles XII and his men spent in Turkey.