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State, Province, and the West

Volume II

Edited by

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OTTOMAN MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPE

The Collection of Ottoman-Turkish Documents in Sweden

Elżbieta Świecicka

After centuries of contact between Sweden and Ottoman Turkey, Sweden possesses a large collection of documents of archive quality. The bulk of existing documents, which constitutes the original historical records and copies of records, are kept in the Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*) in Stockholm.¹ The original letters from the sultans and the grand viziers (1656-1859), the Collection of Treaties (1657-1868), records belonging to the Royal Chancery (*Kungl. Maj:ts kansli*) as the minutes (*Riksrådets protokoll*), letter-books for foreign affairs (*registratur i utrikesärenden*), the records of payable accounts in connection to state visits (*likvidationer*) in the Treasury (*Kammarkollegiet*), all give evidence of the diplomatic relations between Sweden and the Ottoman Empire and its vassal states, especially the Tatar Khanate in the Crimea.² A lesser number of documents are to be found in the Royal Library (*Kungliga Biblioteket*), in the Uppsala University Library (*Carolina Rediviva*) and in the Swedish Military Archives (*Krigsarkivet*). Some of the documents have been translated into Latin, Swedish and other languages. These translations were made either when the letters were dispatched or later by specially trained translators, known as *dragomans*. Some texts have been transcribed into Latin characters. In these Swedish collections there are also documents concerning matters of state of other foreign powers. These found their way to Sweden in the form of booty.³

Content of Documents

Most of the historic records are notifications written according to etiquette, informing of personal occurrences: ascensions to the throne, marriages, births and departures from life. There are also letters either congratulating or condoling these important events. A large number of documents relate to the credentials of newly appointed envoys. When concerning matters of state, such as negotiations of alliance and trade agreements, senior officials, often the grand viziers wrote the letters. In contrast to the letters of the sultans, these letters are often not dated; yet another category of letters is the private correspondence between different individuals.

Ahmed III's three letters to the Swedish court are a good example of the most frequent type of correspondence. Two of them are congratulations to King Fredric I and to his wife Queen Ulrica Eleonora on their ascension to the throne. The third one is a passport issued for a Swedish sea captain on account of the Ottoman envoy's, Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa, home journey to Constantinople in 1728, through the territorial waters of Northern African states, called in Sweden the Barbary States (*Barbareskstaterna*).⁴

All the letters sent from the Ottoman Empire to Sweden had been written at the Sublime Porte, in the official Turkish language, which was named Ottoman, after the governing dynasty, on the large sheets of paper, most often in *divani* style. Two kinds of paper were used, the white, which was the most lasting, and the yellow which was more fragile. The yellow paper was regarded as more elegant and was therefore used for the sultans' correspondence with the royalties. All the sultans' letters carry the respective monarch's monogram, *tughra*, and were delivered in single-coloured silk bags, called *kese* or *kise*.⁵ Nowadays these silver, gold or purple bags are kept separately, sometimes together with pear shaped tickets, labels with the names of addressees, called *kulak*. The oldest authentic document in Swedish possession, dated 1587, is a 'deed of gift' from the Sultan Murad III to the Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha. This approximately three meters long letter has no specific connection to Sweden.

Relations between Sweden and the Ottoman Empire

There is a copy of a letter closely connected to Swedish affairs, from the same year, 1587. The letter had been sent by John III to Sultan Murad III, regarding the absence of a ruler on the Polish throne.⁶ The name of the emissary is not known. The first emissary, not an official envoy, to the Ottoman Empire in 1616, whose name is known, was Bengt Bengtsson Oxenstierna, called in Sweden 'Bengt the Traveler' (*Resare-Bengt*).⁷ Seven years later, in 1623, another

unofficial messenger, Sten Svantesson was sent to the same destination.

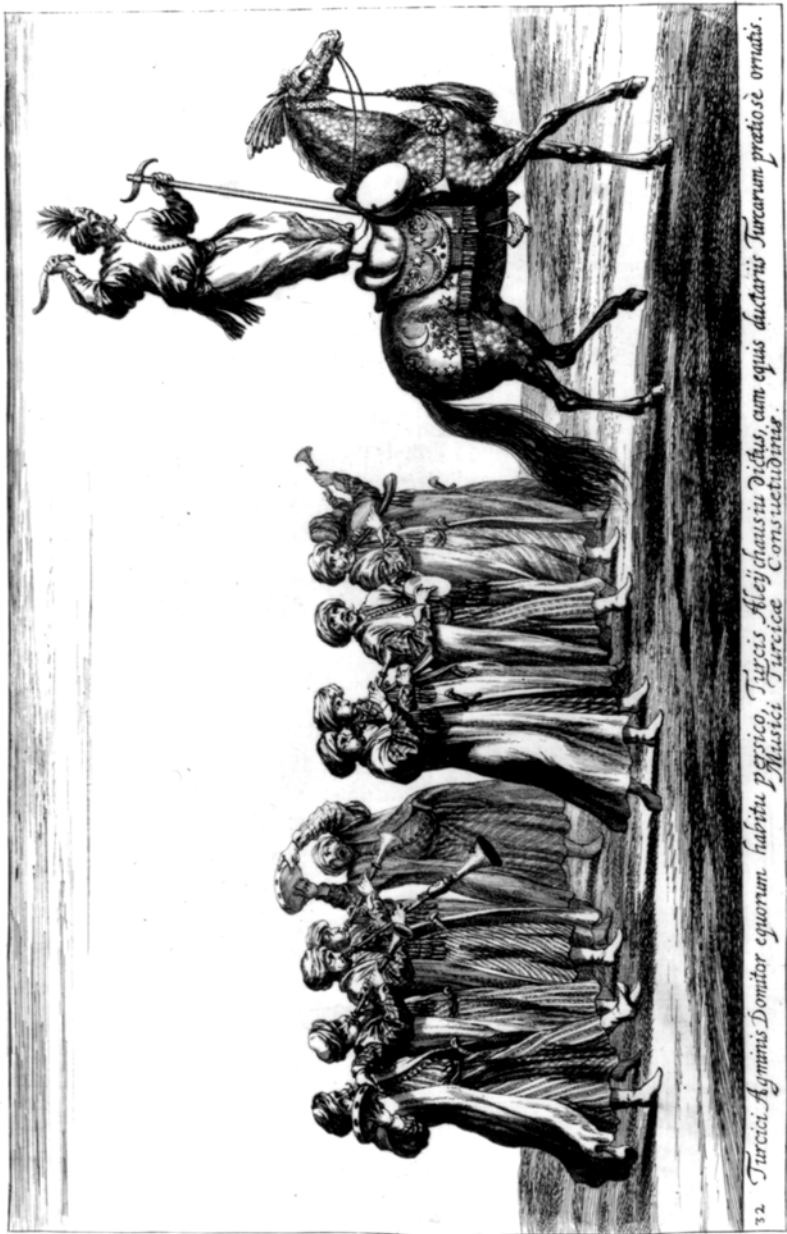
In 1631 King Gustavus II Adolphus sent the first official envoy to the Ottoman Empire, Paul Strassburgk, to assess the possibility of Ottoman military and political aid against the Habsburg Empire or the Polish Kingdom. Sultan Murad IV rejected the King's two proposals, suggesting that the Ottomans should declare war against Austria and give their support to Gustavus II Adolphus's brother in law, the Prince of Siebenburgen, Bethlen Gabor. Strassburgk's letter to the king and his report about this diplomatic mission are to be found among the documents in Swedish National Archives. During the reign of Queen Christina, yet another unofficial emissary, Bengt Skytte appeared in 1652. His journey has been described, for some unknown reason, as unsuitable and unnecessary.⁸

During the Swedish-Polish war of 1650-5, King Charles X Gustavus sent two legations, one with Claes Rålamb and another one with Gotthard Wellingk. Both had an important mission: to persuade Turks to attack Poland and to request the sultan order the Crimean Tatars to take the same course of action. Rålamb made a speech in Latin and handed over the king's letter wrapped in a blue-golden cloth, equivalent to the Ottoman kese.

The missions of both envoys were a disaster and resulted in a harsh diplomatic protest from the grand vizier to the Swedish King, stating that a war with the Ottoman state's friend Poland was out of the question and would only strengthen the common enemy, Moscow. Both journeys became very well documented. Rålamb kept a comprehensive diary, now to be seen in KB. Wellingk's mission was described by an accompanying priest, C. J. Hildebrand, and was published by Babinger in 1937. The two gentlemen's reports to the king are kept in the Swedish National Archives.

In 1669, Charles XI's Regency Council corresponded with Sultan Mehmed IV about the safety of Swedish merchant vessels, which were often attacked and robbed by the pirates from the aforementioned Barbary States. These states were Ottoman vassals and Ottoman sultans had the power to require and receive the obedience of their rulers. The messenger in this particular matter, who also came with the answer, was a certain Aslan Ağa, who visited Sweden in 1669 and 1671.⁹

The Swedish dual attitude towards this potential ally or enemy was clearly exemplified during the coronation parade of Charles XI in 1672. In Ehrenstrahl's famous pictures one can admire the riders' fantastic clothing and excellent horses. Swedish aristocrats were grouped and dressed as 'Goths, Poles, Turks and other European Nations'. The riders were so grandiosely clothed, that 'one was under impression, that these represented the very best their nation could



‘The Turkish Supreme Commander, in the Persian clothing, on the horse covered with an elegant caparison. He is followed by the musicians in the Turkish fittings’.
The picture no 32 in Ehrenstrahl’s *Certamen equestre*. Photo: Royal Library.

afford'. However during the festivities' dialogues, the Europeans proclaimed the own superiority and mocked the Turkish group.¹⁰

The Debts of Charles XII

As it is well known, the Swedish King, Charles XII, called by Ottomans Demirbaş Şarl, spent five years in Bender, on Ottoman soil¹¹. He had regular contacts with the Sublime Porte through his messengers, M. Neugebauer and S. Poniatowski.¹² It is also known that he was in debt both to the Ottoman state and the other lenders, merchants and bankers.¹³

After his death, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha was of the opinion, that Charles XII's successor, Fredric I, should pay the royal debts. In 1727, an envoy Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa was sent to Sweden. This was the first official visit of such a high ranking envoy to Sweden. His legation resided in Stockholm in a house, which still exists, called Insentiernska House. Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa got many promises of settlement of the Swedish debts and many assurances of eternal friendship.¹⁴ His portrait, by Georg Engelhard Schröder, showing him smoking *nargile* (water-pipe) is to be found in Gripsholm Castle.¹⁵ Nevertheless he returned home empty-handed.

The Sublime Porte waited indulgently for five years and then a new envoy, Çelebizâde Said Mehmed Efendi was sent. He came to Stockholm in 1733 accompanied by a retinue of 43 people to fulfill Ottoman expectations that a well educated and more experienced diplomat would be more effective in achieving repayment of the debt. But according to Johannes Kolmodin, the Swedish diplomat and dragoman, another, much more important motive led the legation: the Ottoman fear, that Sweden might sign a treaty with Russia. Said Mehmed Efendi's visit coincided with a change of alliances among the European states. Most probably the envoy wanted to probe the Swedish position on this matter. As it will appear later these misgivings were not unmotivated.¹⁶

Said Mehmed Efendi was received with great pomp, accompanied by the firing of cannons. But the result of his visit was more or less the same as Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa's. Schröder also portrayed him, together with his retinue. The painting belongs to the famous Bibyer Collection of Turkish portraits and landscapes. The collection was initiated by Charles XII's companion in arms and the first Swedish *chargé d'affaires* in Turkey, 1709-13, Gustaf von Celsing. Another trace of Said Mehmed Efendi's visit to Sweden is his letter, kept at the Swedish National Archives, (Ekeblad's Collection), to the countess Hedvig De la Gardie, written in French, after his return to Constantinople in 1734.



The Turkish envoy to Sweden and Poland 1733
No 138 at the Exhibition *Wojna i Pokój*

Said Mehmed Efendi is also known for having founded the first Turkish printing house, together with Ibrahim Müteferrika. In this printing house were printed these thirteen Turkish incunables, which are today in possession of the Royal Library in Stockholm.¹⁷ They were bought in Constantinople by the Swedish diplomats, Edvard Carleson and Karl Fredrik von Höpken, (1735-42/45). Buying Turkish manuscripts and pieces of art was not the primary task of Swedish diplomats. The primary task was to discuss a trade agreement with the Ottoman Empire, and of course, the repayment

Said Mehmed Efendi on his way back to Constantinople stopped in Warsaw, where he wanted to get information about Stanisław Leszczyński's chances of regaining the Polish throne.¹⁸ He was

received with all the marks of honour by *interrex* primate Teodor Potocki. At this occasion another portrait was made, a little engraving in half-length, which was used as an illustration in a book. Recently this picture was displayed at a Polish Turkish exhibition, entitled 'anonymous Turkish envoy to Sweden'.¹⁹

of the Charles XII's debts. The permanent Swedish embassy had been put up in 1736 during Carleson's and von Höpken's time in Constantinople. They left the interesting collection of letters and the journey reports to Ephesus and the Holy Land.

With time the number of the duties increased and their successors, the sons of Gustaf von Celsing, Gustaf junior (1745-71) and Ulric (1756-60, 1769-79), among other commercial affairs continued the efforts to obtain further subsidies for Sweden, despite the fact that Sweden had not yet been able to pay back all the money borrowed by Charles XII. These two gentlemen collected a large number of oriental *objects d'art* and oriental manuscripts, among them also Turkish ones. Most of them were donated to Uppsala University Library, *Carolina Rediviva*. The Celsing family had also in their possession forty documents, among them letters from the sultans and Crimean Khans to the Swedish Royal House. The location of these documents is, as I understand, rather unclear.²⁰

Since the financial situation in Sweden was still deplorable the successors of Celsing in Constantinople inherited the same mission to borrow more money. In 1789 the Ottoman government promised one million *piaster* in a long subsidy agreement, signed by Selim III, 'under the obligation not to conclude a separate peace treaty with the Russians without a preceding agreement with the Ottomans. This promise was not kept by Gustav III'.²¹

Registers and Catalogues

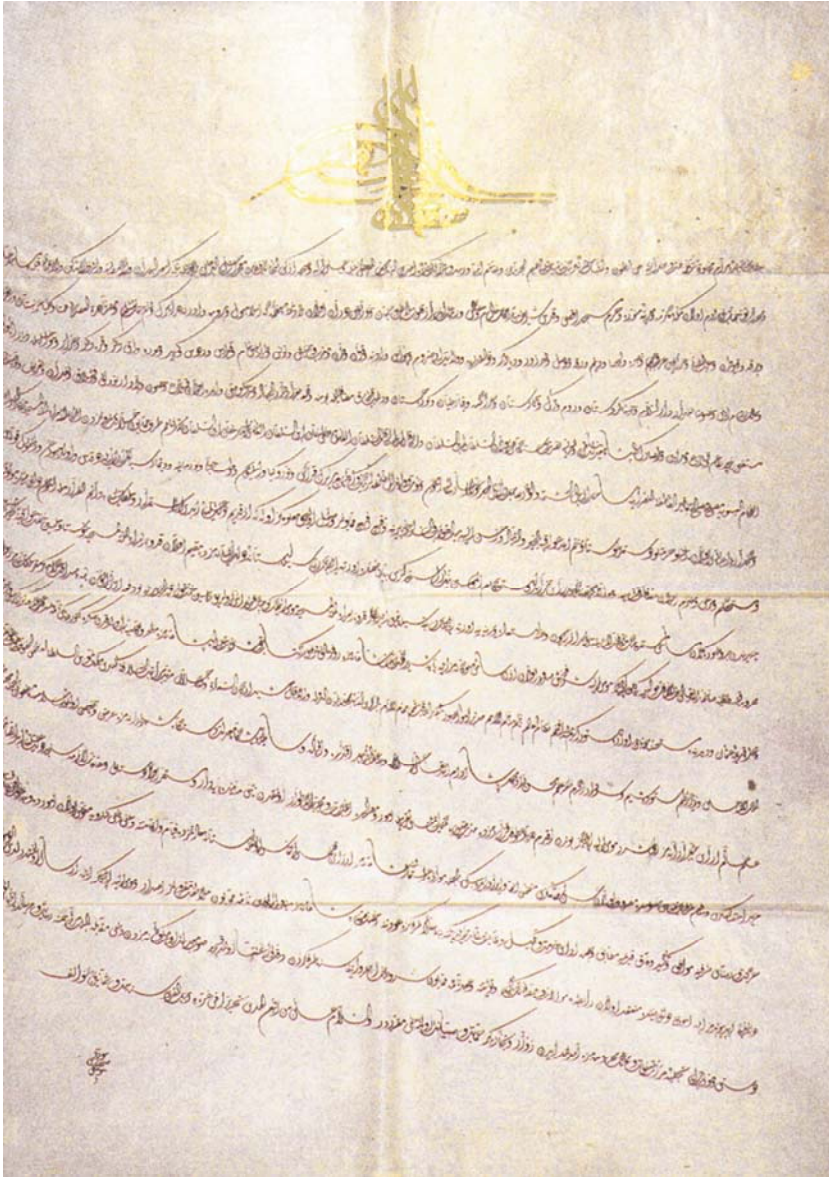
Since permanent diplomatic relations with the Ottoman state were established, the number of official documents kept at the Swedish embassy increased considerably. Some transcriptions of Turkish documents were at an early stage moved to Carolina Rediviva in Uppsala, where they came to constitute the primary sources for the above mentioned researcher and diplomat, Johannes Kolmodin's studies. The lion's share of diplomatic records was placed at the Swedish National Archives (RA), divided between the collection Turcica, (which constitutes a part of the National States Archives' Diplomatica Collection) and the Archive of the Head of Chancellery, which later on was transferred to the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²² The greater part of the embassy archive, for the years 1734 (1675)-1949, is stored in the branch of the National Archives situated in Arnänge, Täby, outside Stockholm. This archive

contains correspondences with the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with foreign authorities and individuals. The Turcica Collection comprises the correspondence and reports from the Swedish envoys, the copies of the 134 letters of the sultans and the grand viziers to Sweden and a number of miscellaneous records. The original letters are kept in the collection of 'Over-sized Turkish and Oriental records'.²³

The very first catalogue of Turkish documents in the Swedish National Archives was prepared by T. Westrin in 1890 and in 1895 the first list of treaties concluded by Sweden with foreign powers, in which documents concerning the Swedish-Turkish relations are mentioned. The Turkish part was compiled by Herman Almkvist. This part comprises the diplomatic correspondence between Sweden and the vassal states of the Ottoman Empire: Siebenburgen, Tripoli, Tunis, Alger and the independent Sultanate of Morocco.²⁴ All these states had Ottoman-Turkish as their official language. A part of these documents are letters to the Sublime Porte regarding the vassal states piracy against the Swedish ships. Within this part, under the heading 'Turkey', alongside the treaties ratified by the Ottoman sultans and the *berats* (description of duties and rights for interpreters), are named the documents of King Charles X Gustavus's authorization, written in Latin, for Claes Rålamb and Gotthard Vellingk giving them the right to conclude an alliance with the Ottoman Empire, from 1657.

The person who presented a near complete list regarding the Ottoman-Turkish documents in Sweden was Karl Vilhelm Zettersteen, (1866-1953). He published in the catalogue of the manuscripts from Carolina Rediviva, *Die arabischen persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala* and wrote the first part of a comprehensive catalogue of documents kept in the Swedish National Archives, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im schwedischen Reichsarchiv verzeichnet und beschrieben*.

The catalogue *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im schwedischen Reichsarchiv* covers 218 different documents, 134 of them are mostly the letters to the Swedish Royal House from the sultans and grand viziers of the Ottoman Empire. The remaining two parts of the catalogue, still in the form of manuscript are stored in three boxes, containing numbered sheets of paper. Most of these Turkish documents originate from 'the Embassy Archive in Constantinople'. They are numbered from 869 to 1298 and 1299-1734. Among them are letters from Mahmud I, Mustafa III, Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid to the Swedish kings and also *fermans* (permissions), diplomas and memoranda. Both unpublished parts have been microfilmed, but some of the notes are difficult to read.



The letter from Mustafa III. to Gustaf III, 1772, Swedish National Archives.
Photo: Kurt Eriksson

The Diplomatica Collection was also presented by Zetterstéen in a number of separate articles.²⁵

In 1980 Sören Tommos published a topical up to date description of Swedish diplomatic correspondence for the period 1634-1809, *The Diplomatica Collection in the Swedish National Archives. The Diplomatica Collection* was followed in 1981 by the inventory of the Swedish historical sources regarding North Africa, Asia and Oceania, published in English as a UNESCO project. The Turkish part was elaborated by the Senior Archivist Folke Ludvig.²⁶

In the Swedish National Archive there are also a number of special registers. The register called 'Person-, family- and estate archives' (*Person-, släkt-, och gårds arkiv*) contains information about specific individuals, for instance about Muradgea d'Ohsson, the dragoman and later on the Swedish ambassador in Constantinople.²⁷ In another register, Subject Collections (*Ämnessamlingar*), under the heading *Militaria*—the register of the collection regarding the history of wars (*Förteckningen öfver krigshistoriska samlingen*)—it is possible to find records concerning the Swedes' sojourns in Turkey.

As mentioned previously, Zetterstéen accomplished and published (in two parts, 1930 and 1935) his *opus magnum*: *Die arabischen persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*. He based his work on the preparatory works, done during the years by Swedish translators and researchers, especially Peter Rubens, Carl Aurivillius and C. J. Tornberg. Most of these manuscripts and documents, kept in Carolina Rediviva, were bought or donated by different individuals who are all mentioned in Zetterstéen's preface to the *Handschriften*. Among the donors we find the Swedish scholars: J.G. Sparwenfeld, M. Sturtzenbecher and also Oscar II of Sweden, who in 1891 donated to the library twelve valuable manuscripts, offered him during the official visit (1885) to the Ottoman Empire. Zetterstéen's Uppsala Catalogue, (*Handschriften*), contains information about a large number of documents: original letters from the Ottoman sultans to the Swedish kings and *vice versa*, the messages from the dragomans, letters of safe conduct, the passes and fermans. Many of them concern Charles XII's sojourn in Bender. Several documents, such as a treaty between Ahmed I and the British King James (1612) are of foreign provenance.

In Carolina Rediviva there is also a handwritten catalogue started by Tornberg and continued by Zetterstéen. This catalogue is from a time before 1930 and contains information about a number of literary works, collections of *fetvas* and some dictionaries. Additional material about Charles XII (Demirbaş Şar), excerpted from the Ottoman Archives by A. Refik and J. Kolmodin is listed separately. It contains non-catalogued letters in Turkish, diplomatic reports, clippings from Turkish newspapers, translations of articles etc.²⁸

According to documents in the Royal Library the manuscripts catalogue, *Katalog över Kungl. Bibliotekets orientalska handskrifter*, was elaborated and published 1923 by W. Riedel, a German orientalist living in Sweden. According to the preface, the collection consists of manuscripts and documents bought in the Ottoman Empire on the behalf of the government office in Stockholm, which after 1727 were handed over to the Royal Library. Actually, among mainly literary works, there are some single documents, such as the Turkish passes for different ships and a ferman for a certain Swede, signed by the grand vizier, with permission to visit libraries in Constantinople, which apparently required as much hardship as today.

Besides Riedel's catalogue, there are two folders, entitled 'Manuscripts, [...] and Oriental Codex'²⁹ with information regarding a few records. At least one of them, 'A description of the Turkish system of *ziyemeti* and *timar*', possesses the qualities of a document. Both of them contain a reference to the Engström collection, again material about Charles XII's stay in Bender. The Royal Library has also a large collection of *Rålambiana*, envoy Rålamb's diary and drawings and obtained in Turkey paintings and miniatures.

More about Charles XII, the subject which most interests Swedes, is to be found in the Swedish Military Archives, *inter alia* the letters of his officers (C. Sparre, C. Loos and H. Gyllenskepp), and records regarding the military administration of the Swedish forces in the Ottoman Empire and their return journey.³⁰

Published Documents

Few of the documents from Swedish archives and libraries have been analyzed and published. Most of them are sleeping like the princess in the fairy tale, untranslated and sometimes not even read, neither at arrival nor later. The aforementioned author, H. Almkvist, published 1899 a berat, a dragoman diploma, which had been issued for a interpreter who worked for the Swedish embassy. However the berat's translation is regarded as erroneous.

Forty years later, Zetterstéen in cooperation with the Turkish historian A. N. Kurat published thirteen documents from different archives. Three of them are from the Bibyer collection.³¹ The documents are presented both in facsimile form, rewritten versions and are translated into German. All of them except one, again, have a connection to Charles XII's stay in Bender. The exception is a letter from Mehmed IV to the Polish King John Casimir. This letter, and three others, which concern Polish matters, has been commented on by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz in his article for *Folia Orientalia* in 1961.³² The Polish King John Casimir is also the addressee of the letters from Grand Vizier Kara Murad Pasha. The

fourth letter has the Polish Chancellor Koryciński as addressee. The letters were dispatched from the Sublime Porte either with the Polish envoy Bieczyński or with the Turkish envoy to Poland, Mustafa Ağa. These two traveled together to Poland and were imprisoned near Warsaw, which was in 1655 under Swedish occupation. The letters were confiscated by Mazovia's governor, Erik Oxenstierna.

The last published document is the oldest document in Swedish possession, a deed of gift from 1587. It was published 1955 by Walter Björkman. Many years have passed since then, and there is a great deal to be done in this field, and much new historical knowledge to be gained.³³

Notes

¹ I am grateful to Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet) for the possibility to publish the Ottoman letter from the TURCICA COLLECTION; and to Carolina Rediviva Library for the pictures from Ehrenstrahl's book. I also would like to express my gratitude to the Senior Archivist of the Swedish National Archives Folke Ludwigs, for his valuable comments during writing this article. I owe much to Dr. Birgit Schlyter, the editor of *Dragomanen*, the annual of Swedish Istanbul Research Institute in which the Swedish version of this article was published 2000 and to David Williams who read the English version of the manuscript.

² For a description of the Swedish National Archive's collections of original letters, treaties, *Turcica*, *Extranea*, and the other records, see *Riksarkivets bestandsöversikt* (BÖ), Folke Ludwigs, Lisbeth Näslund & Stefan Söderlind, 'Sources in Sweden', in: *Sources of the History of North Africa, Asia and Oceania in Finland, Norway and Sweden*, (München, 1981); Sören Tommos, 'The Diplomatica Collection in the Swedish National Archives', in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Riksarkivet*, (Stockholm 1980). For the historical background, especially concerning the period when Sweden and the Ottoman Empire were superpowers, see T. J. Arne, 'De äldre förbindelserna mellan Sverige och Turkiet' [The Earlier Relations between Sweden and Turkey], in *Härd och Hembygd* (Norrköping, 1927); Walther Björkman, 'Die schwedisch-türkischen Beziehungen bis 1800', in *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1932a); Walther Björkman, 'Schwedisch-türkische Beziehungen seit 1800', in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin (MSOSW)* 35, II (1932b); Ulla Ehrensvärd, 'Sverige och Turkiet. Introduktion till utställning i Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm 14 april-7 augusti med anledning av Svenska Forskningsinstitutets i Istanbul 15-årsjubileum', [Sweden and Turkey. Exhibition Catalogue...] in: *Meddelanden* 2 (1977); Gunnar Jarring, 'Sveriges diplomatiska förbindelser med tatarerna på Krim' [Diplomatic Relations between Sweden and the Crimean Tatars], in [*Utrikespolitik och historia. Studier tillägnade Wilhelm M. Carlgren* (Stockholm, 1987); Elżbieta Świącicka, 'Den diplomatiska trafiken mellan Sverige, Tatariet och Osmanska riket från Gustav Vasas tid till Karl XII' [Diplomatic Traffic between Sweden, Tartary and the Ottoman Empire, from Gustav Vasa's time to Charles XII], in *Den nordiska mosaiken*, (Uppsala, 1997); Kaj Falkman, *Turkiet/Gränsfursten. Utsikter från Svenska Palatset i Istanbul* [Turkey/The Boundary Prince...] (Stockholm, 1999).

³ They are to be found within the 'EXTRANEA' Collection: 'Turkey, records and letters'. (*Turkiet, handlingar, och brev*). The Swedish term '*arkivhandlingar*' is used to convey the meaning of two Anglo-Saxon terms: '(archival) documents', and 'historical records'. I wish to extend my thanks to Dr. Staffan Smedberg for his helpful review of the terminology. The Swedish collections contain also manuscripts, miniatures, incunables, maps, etc, but these are not objects of this article.

⁴ Zetterstéen, K. V., *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv verzeichnet und beschrieben* [Nos.1-218], (Uppsala, 1945), No 7, 8 and 9. Alger, Tunis and Tripoli. They were very important for the Swedish sea trade and there were Swedish consuls in their capital towns.

⁵ The excellent description of these oriental letter covers is to be found in Agnes Geijer & Carl Johan Lamm, 'Orientalische Briefumschläge in schwedischem Besitz' in: *Vitterhets-historie- och antikvitetsakademiens handlingar* (VHAAH) 58:1, (1945).

⁶ K. V. Zetterstéen,, 'De orientaliska urkunderna i svenska riksarkivet' [The Oriental Documents in the Swedish National Archives], in: *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Part 80, (*Historiska studier*, I.), (Stockholm, 1952b), 212

⁷ T. J. Arne, *Svenskarna och Österlandet* [The Swedes and the Orient] (Stockholm, 1952); Sven Hedin, *Bengt Bengtsson Oxenstierna (ResareBengt)* (Stockholm, 1919).

⁸ Arne, *Svenskarna*, 154

⁹ Kaj Ettliger, 'Aslan Aga – türkisk ambassadör till Sverige eller svenskt sändebud med diplomatiska uppdrag till Turkiet?' [Aslan Aga – the Turkish Ambassador to Sweden or the Swedish Envoy with Diplomatic Mission to Turkey?], in *Personhistorisk tidskrift* (1998).

¹⁰ The quotations after Ehrenstrahl 1685 (?) in translation from German

¹¹ Eric Tengberg, *Från Poltava till Bender. Studie i Karl XII:s turkiska politik 1709-1713*, [From Poltava to Bender...], (Lund, 1953); see also *Karolinska Förbundets Årsböcker*, especially the article of A. Refik, KFA 1919; BÖ, Vol I, Part 2, 87, 283, 317.

¹² They were received in audience by the Sultan in 1709. Neugebauer was later succeeded by T. Funk.

¹³ BÖ, Vol. I, Part 1, 87, Part 2, 145

¹⁴ Arne, 93

¹⁵ The Topkapı Museum has another portrait of Kozbekçi Mustafa Ağa.

¹⁶ Kolmodin's later comments to the translation of Said Mehmed Efendi's report on journey in *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* 1920, 256-303.

¹⁷ Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Seyirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, (Ankara 1968); John Rohnström, 'The Turkish Incunabula in the Royal Library', in: *Turica et Orientalia, Studies in honour of Gunnar Jarring on his eightieth birthday 12 October 1987*, editor Ulla Ehrensvärd, (Stockholm, 1988), 122

¹⁸ S. Leszczyński was supported by France, the Ottoman Empire and initially by Charles XII. His concurrent, Augustus III of Saxony, was supported by Russia.

¹⁹ *Wojna i Pokój: Skarby sztuki turekiej ze zbiorów polskich*. Katalog wystawy, Muzeum Narodowe [War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries], National Museum, Exhibition Catalogue (Warszawa, 2000), No 138, 244

²⁰ Kurat & Zetterstéen published the full list of these documents in 1938. In 1968 Reychman and Zajączkowski wrote as follows: 'Oriental documents [...] exist in the Bibyer Archives'. According to Fredrik von Celsing from Biby Estate, all the documents have been transferred to Carolina Rediviva. Although, I could not find any notation about this fact. According to the unprinted, undated catalogue by Tornberg & Zetterstéen in the Uppsala University Library (Carolina Rediviva), the Library possesses only 'the duplicates of the documents, which are kept at the

Celsings' Trust Biby, in Södermanland'. I went through this archive's minutes without finding any trace of these forty documents. Perhaps the original letters were given to Muradgea d'Ohsson while he was writing his monumental 'Tableau Générale'.

²¹ Arne, 93

²² Utrikesdepartamentet med föregångare, Huvudarkivet 1681-1952

²³ The complete list of Ottoman-Turkish documents in BÖ, Vols. I, II and index in Vol. VII.

²⁴ Bernhard Taube & Severin Bergh, 'Förteckning öfver Samlingen af Originaltraktater i Svenska Riksarkivet', [The Collection of Original Treaties] in: *Meddelanden Riksarkivet* (MRA), Vols XVII, XVIII 1894, XIX 1895, 329

²⁵ Zettersteen 1930, 1936, 1941 and 1948.

²⁶ Ludwigs, Näslund.& Söderlind, 'Sources in Sweden'.

²⁷ Most of d'Ohsson's papers were donated to the Lund University Library.

²⁸ Carolina Rediviva, Caps. Fol. Q15:11, Q15:12, Q15:20.

²⁹ VU and Cod. Orient.

³⁰ Krigsarkivet: Stora nordiska kriget, VII Turkiet. See also B. Broomé, 'Privatarkiv och enskilda personers arbetspapper i Kungl. Krigsarkivet' [Private Papers in the Royal Military Record Office], in: *Kommissionen för riksinventering av de enskilda arkiven*. (Stockholm, 1963).

³¹ Among them, there are letters written to Charles XII by the high Ottoman officials

³² The letters No 2, 54, 55 and 112 in Zettersteen's Catalogue.

³³ A part of collection of the diplomatic letters in Ottoman-Tatar language, written by the Crimean Khans' mothers and wives, became published by I. Ianbay (Jerusalem) in *Manuscripta Orientalia* T. VIII/1, 2002 and Elżbieta Świącicka (Uppsala) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* T. LV/1, 2002.