

‘Princess
Hedvig Sofia’
and the Great
Northern War



‘Princess Hedvig Sofia’
and the Great Northern War



‘Princess Hedvig Sofia’ and the Great Northern War

EDITED BY
RALF BLEILE AND JOACHIM KRÜGER



STIFTUNG
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEINISCHE LANDESMUSEEN
SCHLOSS GOTTORF

SANDSTEIN VERLAG

Imprint

© 2015

Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische
Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig,
Sandstein Verlag, Dresden, and authors

This publication accompanies the exhibition
'Of Swords, Sails and Cannon – The Sinking
of the *Princess Hedvig Sofia*' at the Stiftung
Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss
Gottorf, Schleswig, 28 May to 4 October 2015.

EDITING

Angelika Abegg-Wigg

ENGLISH PROOFREADING

Wilson Huntley

IMAGE EDITING

Dorothea Berg, Jürgen Schüller

LAYOUT

Norbert du Vinage, Sandstein Verlag

MANUFACTURING

Sandstein Verlag Dresden

The German National Library lists this publication
in the German Bibliography; detailed bibliographical
data are accessible on the internet at
<http://dnb.ddb.de>

This work, including all its parts, is protected by
copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright
law without the consent of the publisher is pro-
hibited and punishable. This applies, in particular,
to reproduction, translation, microfilming and
storage and processing in electronic systems.

www.sandstein-verlag.de

ISBN 978-3-95498-166-3

Under the patronage of



Partners



Sponsors



Contents

8	ALFREDO PÉREZ DE ARMIÑÁN <i>Foreword</i>	90	MELANIE GREINERT Hedvig Sofia, Princess of Sweden, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp
9	CLAUS VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM <i>Foreword</i>	101	INGA LENA ÅNGSTRÖM GRANDIEN Nicodemus Tessin the Younger's plans for a <i>castrum doloris</i> and a sarcophagus for Hedvig Sofia
10	TIINA MERTANEN <i>Foreword</i>	106	ANJA SILKE WIESINGER Duke Frederick IV of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp and the rebuilding of the south wing of Gottorf Castle Architecture as a demonstration of princely rule
12	RALF BLEILE AND JOACHIM KRÜGER <i>Editors' foreword</i>	120	UTA KUHL War and games Fine arts as a medium of politics
16	JENS E. OLESEN The struggle for <i>dominium maris baltici</i> between Denmark-Norway and Sweden (1563–1720/21)	132	KONRAD KÜSTER Funeral Music at Gottorf around 1700
30	JOACHIM KRÜGER The Baltic Sea region by 1700 The time of the Great Northern War	140	KNUD J. V. JESPERSEN King Frederick IV of Denmark-Norway Absolutist king in an age of transition
44	MICHAEL NORTH Absolutism and baroque culture in 1700 Cultural exchange and the visual arts	150	SVERKER OREDSSON Charles XII – King of Sweden
50	LARS OLAF LARSSON Art and royal representation in Denmark and Sweden circa 1700	159	JAN KUSBER Peter I, the Great Northern War and St Petersburg
66	OLIVER AUGE The Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp between Denmark, Sweden and Russia Dynastic relations	168	GERD STEINWASCHER The connection between Russia and Holstein- Gottorp in the 18 th century
78	JAN DREES Hedvig Eleonora Regina Sueciae (HERS) From Schleswig to Stockholm	180	THOMAS STAMM-KUHLMANN Prussia, neutrality, and the acquisition of Stettin
		III.	Shipping and naval warfare in the Baltic region
		188	MARTIN KRIEGER European maritime trading during the 17 th and 18 th centuries
		198	LARS ERICSON WOLKE The Swedish navy in 1700

206	JAKOB SEERUP The material culture of Danish naval ships of the 18 th century	V. The Great Northern War – memorial culture
214	DAN H. ANDERSEN Peter Wessel Tordenskiold A naval hero from the Great Northern War	332 JOHANNA WASSHOLM The Great Northern War in Finnish memory culture
224	THOMAS EISENTRAUT The life of simple sailors after 1700	339 MICHAEL BREGNSBO Two naval heroes with admirable qualities The Great Northern War in memorial culture in Denmark
236	THOMAS EISENTRAUT The diary of Nils Trosner, 1710–1714	350 TILMAN PLATH Lost victory? The Great Northern War in the memorial culture of Russia
IV.	Underwater cultural heritage	358 INGER SCHUBERTH King Charles XII in Altranstädt 1706–1707 The strange ways of memory
250	THIJS J. MAARLEVeld Underwater cultural heritage and international efforts to protect it, notably through UNESCO	369 HAIK THOMAS PORADA 'Undefeated under the Three Crowns' Stralsund and Griebenow as examples of places of remembrance for the Great Northern War in Pomerania
258	JENS AUER AND MARTIN SEGSCHNEIDER The wreck of the <i>Prinsessan Hedvig Sofia</i> and the aftermath of the Battle of Femern	383 KARL-HEINZ STEINBRUCH The Great Northern War in Mecklenburg
271	JOACHIM KRÜGER AND KAI SCHAAKE Wrecks of the Great Northern War near the island of Rügen	394 ARND REITEMEIER The Duchy of Bremen-Verden Acquisition by the Electorate of Hanover and today's remembering of the 'Swedish Period'
282	JENS AUER The wreck of the small Danish frigate <i>Mynden</i> A story of encounters	
292	PEKKA TOIVANEN The burial grounds of the Russian galley fleet in the Gulf of Bothnia (Finland) from 1714	
302	THOMAS BERGSTRAND AND STAFFAN VON ARBIN Remnants of the Great Northern War in Marstrand, Sweden	
310	FRODE KVÅLØ The life, loss and resurgence of the frigate <i>Lossen</i> (1684–1717)	
320	MIKKEL H. THOMSEN The Battle of Ebeltoft Vig 1659 History and archaeology	
		Appendix
		400 Bibliography
		409 List of authors
		410 Illustration credits
		412 Index of names

Peter I, the Great Northern War and St Petersburg

The Great Northern War set the seal on Sweden's decline as the dominant power in the Baltic region and the rise of the tsarist realm to become a European great power. For Russia, this victory gained over decades was a tour de force for which Peter I was to be thanked. This tsar, who reformed his land under the requirements of the war and afterwards strove to Europeanise it, created, for all the erraticism and unrealised aspects, a 'changed Russia', as his Hanoverian contemporary Friedrich Christian Weber formulated it. And in the constellation of coalitions of the Great Northern War he towered above other ambivalent actors such as the baroque Augustus the Strong, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, or Charles XII of Sweden, a genius in the field of battle, because in the end Peter not only gained victory but also left something enduring. The Russian Empire had become the European pivotal power on the Continent and remained so until the end of autocracy and with long-lasting effect. The tsarist realm, whose ruler Peter I adopted the title of imperator in 1722, not without a look at the competition with the Habsburg Empire, became not only a Eurasian land power through the war but also a sea power. The visible expression of the Petrine strategy of military and above all of power-political representation was Peter's new foundation St Petersburg, that 'window on Europe', as Francesco Algarotti put it in 1739, which at the same time, however, became Europe's shop window in Russia.

JAN KUSBER

Thus, in some respects, St Petersburg is a child of the Great Northern War, into which Peter I led his realm. The tsarist realm around the middle of the 17th century did, it is true, already extend to the Pacific, but lacked an outlet to European seas that would lead to the west strategically and with respect to commercial policy. The Baltic as an early modern trading hub thus came into the young tsar's focus when he travelled through Sweden's Baltic provinces on his Grand Embassy (1697–1698). A few years before, he had only had little success with his campaigns against the Ottoman Empire in the south with his attempt to conquer the Turkish fortress of Azov in the estuary of the Don or even a port on the Black Sea. In the far north of Peter's realm, Archangelsk, the port on the White Sea, was ice-free for only about 90 days a year and in addition firmly in the hands of English and Dutch merchantmen. Peter, with his enthusiasm for the sea and everything maritime, regarded access to the Baltic as being indispensable for the future greatness of his empire. At the time, Peter's General Equipage Master of the Admiralty College, Adriaan van Bruyns, formulated this as follows: 'Already long before the war with Sweden, the tsar had been interested in possessing a port on the Baltic in order to pursue his favourite diversion, navigation, in this area so well located for him for many different intentions,



Fig. 1
Alexander von Kotzebue,
Peter I storms
Nöteborg 1702,
1846.

and to build a fleet there. As soon as he had then succeeded, through the war, in taking possession of the area where St Petersburg now stands, he resolved to build a city there, namely his beloved St Petersburg.'

At the beginning of the 17th century this access had been lost in the so-called Time of Troubles and Peter I now attempted, in alliance with the Danish King Frederick IV and Augustus the Strong, to achieve this objective against the predominant Baltic power Sweden and its King Charles XII. The course of the war was at first unfavourable for Peter: the tsar was decisively routed at Narva in November 1700 by Charles XII's troops, even deserting his army under the cover of darkness. His allies were already on the defensive on water and on land; it did not seem that Sweden's supremacy could be broken. But while the Swedish king decided to fight Augustus the Strong first, Peter reorganised his army in accordance with central and west European models, had new cannon cast from church bells and ordered the attack on the Baltic area. Behind Charles's back, so to speak, he inflicted two defeats on the small Swedish army that had remained behind in defence of the Baltic provinces and from 1702 on controlled almost the whole of Estonia and Livonia. On 11 October 1702, the fortress of Nöteborg fell, which Peter renamed Shlisselburg (fig. 1). At the beginning of the year 1703, Russian troops moved towards the delta of the Neva to take possession of it without Swedish resistance; Charles XII's few troops had fled.

The myth surrounding Peter I and St Petersburg, which originated almost at the moment of its foundation, says that Peter's soldiers conquered a tract of land lying deserted in a marsh in the delta of the Neva. Both writers and historians have contributed their share to this narrative in order to let the monarch's deed appear even greater. In actual fact, however, the area along the lower Neva had already long been part of the cultivated and developed area of Ingria.

At the beginning of the 14th century, Sweden and the important city republic of Novgorod, which was closely allied with the Hanse, fought for control of the area. After that, the region was in the sphere of influence of Sweden and, after the incorporation of Novgorod in the closing years of the 15th century, of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Grand Duke Ivan III laid claim, like his grandson Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible), to be a great power on the Baltic.

In these centuries, the estuary area was used as a landing place, and possibly also as a trading post. This is certainly attested at least for the period of renewed Swedish dominance in the region after the construction of the fortress of Nyenschantz in the year 1611 and of the settlement of Nyen soon surrounding it. Both lay within the urban area of present-day St Petersburg on the northern (or right) bank of the Neva. After the Peace of Stolbovo 1617, which brought Sweden's intervention in Russia's Time of Troubles to an end, with the conquest of the whole of Karelia and Ingria, the area seemed to have been firmly incorporated into the Swedish state. There are indications of the Swedes' greater town planning ambitions for Nyen in the 17th century: the Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna probably did at times consider erecting a second capital of the Swedish realm there. However, these plans suffered a severe setback when the settlement and fortress were destroyed by Russian troops in 1656 during the First Northern War. Already at that time, Peter I's father, Alexis, strove to make up for the tsarist realm's territorial losses. What did not succeed at that time was achieved by the son, despite the unpropitious start of the war: on 1 May 1703, the final capture of Nyenschantz took place by the Russians advancing down the Neva under the command of Peter's Field Marshal Sheremetev. At this time, Nyen had already been vacated preventively and partially destroyed by the Swedes.

The end of Nyen and Nyenschantz marked at the same time the beginning of the history of the city of St Petersburg. Officially this is linked with the date 16 May 1703: on this day, on an island located opposite Nyenschantz in the delta of the Neva, 'Hare Island', the foundation stone was laid for the Peter and Paul Fortress named after the tsar's patron saint (fig. 2). Apart from the German designation 'Sankt Petersburg', the Dutch 'Sankt Piterburch' or the Latin 'Petropolis' were also soon to be found in contemporary documents and maps.

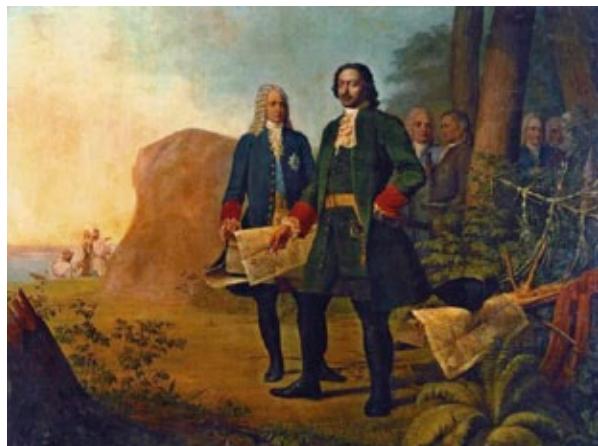
There are no sources that credibly prove that Peter regarded the bastion right from the outset as the nucleus of his future capital. First of all, the Peter and Paul Fortress was intended to take on the function of Nyenschantz, thus to strategically safeguard the Neva estuary against the Swedes. The external conditions for the foundation of a city could not have been less suitable. The delta of the Neva with its 65 river arms, the Great and the Small Neva, the Middle and the Small Nevka, the Moika, the Fontanka and numerous further tributaries, which today traverse the city as canals, was often struck by floods. A large part of the region was hardly suitable for agriculture, even if there were village settlements. Above all, fishermen would spend the summer months here. Thus initially in this difficult natural area for humans, there were only a military camp and a few months later – on the bank of the Neva opposite the fortress on Hare Island – a provisional shipyard, the so-called Admiralty, which first served as a second fortress. In the beginning, Peter's city was a city of war.

That Peter the Great, despite the adverse conditions, later chose this place as his capital, is to be attributed to the fact that a seaport could be superbly laid out there and, in addition, there was a connection to the internal Russian river system. So the city's coat of arms and flag then show, in addition to the sceptre, a sea anchor and a river anchor. Just a few months after the founding of the fortress, we already read in the first Russian newspaper – also a Petrine foundation – in August 1703: 'His Majesty the Tsar ... has left an order to build a city and a fortress on the coast of the sea in order to have a port here for all the goods which come into the country over the Baltic Sea. At the same time, goods from Persia and India are to be trans-shipped.'

Not only a military base but also a commercial city was now planned: a city in accordance with the tsar's ideas. However, he was not only thinking of a maritime hub for inner-Russian

Fig. 2

Alexander Venetsianov,
Peter the Great founds
St Petersburg, 1838.



economic flows; his plans went further. In 1704, he spoke not yet, it is true, of the capital of the Russian Empire but already of *his* capital. In the same year, construction of Kronslot Fort on the island of Kotlin lying in front of the mouth of the Neva that could safeguard the delta of the river from an approaching fleet was completed. Under the name of Kronstadt, this fortress became the starting point for the Russian navy in the Baltic Sea. Its enlargement already meant such a strategic safeguarding of the Neva estuary and the growing settlement of St Petersburg that the extension of the Peter and Paul Fortress with its up to twelve-metre high bastions and fortifications no longer corresponded to a purely military need. Apart from the remaining symbolic content of the place and the name, the use of the fortress as a prison moved to the forefront. One of the first of a whole series of prominent prisoners was to be Peter's disobedient son and heir to the throne, Alexis, who died within its walls in June 1718 as a result of torture.

Also in 1704 came Peter's first order to send some thousands of serfs as labourers into the new city. In the following years, residential buildings were constructed on Vasilyevsky Island and on the left bank of the Neva for officers, nobles, craftsmen, and labourers. The tsar himself moved first into a small wooden house. The Admiralty with its workshops and a shipyard became the industrial centre of the city. An overall urban planning concept of the tsar for his city was not yet recognisable in the first few years, which was due not least to the course of war. In 1705–06, the Russo-Swedish front line was still only about 50 km away from the capital.

After the successes of the previous years, Russia remained on the defensive in 1705 and concentrated on securing conquests. The Swedes, on the other hand, went on the offensive after they had been startled by the rapid progress being made with the construction of St Petersburg. For this, 6,000 recruits were sent into the Baltic provinces as reinforcements for the armed forces. A first attack by Swedish troops against newly fortified Kronstadt in January 1705 came to nothing. In the spring, a fleet of 20 warships sailed from Karlskrona to Vyborg and then on to Kronstadt. The landing operation failed, as in the previous year, with the Swedes suffering several hundred casualties. A third attempt at landing at Kronstadt failed on 15 July, with the loss of 600 Swedes. Until December, the Swedish squadron cruised in the Gulf of Finland and prevented trade in merchandise. However, disagreements already showed among the regional Swedish commanders who tended towards uncoordinated lone attacks that the Russians were able to repulse without great difficulty. The young Russian fleet operating from Kronstadt managed to outmanoeuvre the Swedish squadron, even if a major naval battle did not come about.

In 1706, only a little fighting took place in the Swedish Baltic provinces. In the first half of the year, the Russian troops were deployed in the Polish theatre of war in order to support hard-pressed King Augustus II and to tie down Charles XII in Poland. In the north, Peter I therefore remained on the defensive. The Swedish forces were not strong enough for offensive operations.

Apart from some incursions into Russia, a renewed naval thrust was made with 14 warships to St Petersburg; that, however, yet again came to nothing. Vyborg, from where Petersburg had been attacked several times, was besieged for a short time from 11 October 1706 by a 20,000 strong Russian army.

Peter himself was to be found at various theatres of war, but only seldom in his new city. Only when Charles XII, a much admired and younger army leader than Peter in his day, decided to attack the tsar in his realm, did the change come. Charles and his about 20,000 men marched neither to St Petersburg nor to Moscow, but into the Ukraine, where they reckoned with the support of the restless Cossacks. Charles XII had overstretched his supply lines and Peter took advantage of this. In 1709 it came to the battle at Poltava, which ended with the tsar's victory. The seemingly invincible Charles XII was defeated and had to flee with a forced hard ride into the Ottoman Empire. This was the turning point in the Great Northern War. In the following year Estonian Reval, Livonian Riga and Karelian Vyborg capitulated. As a result, not only was the existence of Russian St Petersburg on the Baltic secured but also Peter's war aim of a wide coastal strip on the Baltic had been fulfilled. The war did, it is true, still continue until the Peace of Nystad in 1721; however, little changed in the result. In the medium term, there was even success in going on the offensive against the Swedish navy. At the end of May 1714, Peter's Admiral Apraxin put to sea from Kronstadt with instructions to cover the further advance in Finland and to land on Åland. In August 1714, the Russian and Swedish fleets lay opposite each other off the Hanko Peninsula. After Peter I had personally brought up further reinforcements from the Baltic provinces, the Russian galleys fought their way through the hail of Swedish cannon fire and boarded the motionless Swedish ships during a persistent calm. Then the Russians landed on the Åland Islands. The Russian fleet thus dominated the northern Baltic. The naval victory of Hanko had strategic importance. The Swedish ships employed in the Gulf of Finland withdrew. The Gulf of Bothnia was now open for Russian ships. Even attacks against the Swedish heartland were now possible and in Stockholm measures were taken for defence against attacks from the sea. In autumn 1714, Russian troops landed, for the first time, directly in Swedish territory at Umeå; the town was abandoned by the garrison after a brief skirmish. After the destruction of important military and economic facilities, the Russians withdrew to Finland again in October. The city of St Petersburg was now secured once and for all and also over a wide area.

From the critical year for the young city 1705–6, Peter was able to tackle further city planning projects purposefully and with his characteristic ruthlessness. In 1714–15, the planning schemes were once again intensified and systematised (fig. 3). While the city was rising in its foundations, Peter forbade the erection of stone buildings in the entire empire outside St Petersburg – every available stonemason was intended to work on the construction of the new city. The flight of labourers out of the city and away from the fatal injuries often occurring at the building project was punished with harsh penalties; in 1706, for instance, 30,000 serfs were conscripted in the tsarist realm and in 1707 it was 40,000. Roughly half of them managed to flee on their way to the north-western periphery. During Peter's rule, probably tens of thousands of forced labourers and serfs lost their lives on the city's building sites. They died of marsh fever, scurvy, dysentery or simply of hunger and exhaustion. Large parts of the city were erected on wooden piles in the marshy ground, like Venice. In the first phase of construction one already spoke of its really resting on the bones of serfs and conscripts because of the large number of fatalities during building. Thus Peter's creative will was faced with considerable sacrifice among his subjects. Typical of the enormous needs of the growing city was, for example, a ukase of 18 August 1710, in which he commanded 4,720 craftsmen to resettle, namely those closely linked with the construction needs of the city: 1,900 bricklayers, 1,741 carpenters, 226 smiths, 200 brick-makers, 50 coppersmiths, 48 sawyers, 41 coopers, 10 locksmiths as well as 274 younger persons 'for



Fig. 3
Johann Baptist
Homann (1663–1724),
Topographic Presenta-
tion of the New Russian
Royal Residence and
Seaport of St Peters-
burg, Nuremberg:
Johann Baptist Homann,
1718.

instruction in various crafts' were intended to be moved to St Petersburg. Since 1710, a separate office had existed in the city for coordinating public and private building projects.

As the Russian nobility showed little inclination to move into the city, in 1714, without further ado, Peter ordered 350 noble families to St Petersburg. The families had – at their own expense, of course – to move into the city with their entire households, into houses whose style and size were exactly stipulated. In the same year, St Petersburg had some 50,000 inhabited houses. The city was the first in Russia to have a municipal police as well as an effectively functioning fire brigade. The streets were partially artificially lit, the inhabitants urged to plant trees.

Until then, construction of the city had not proceeded according to a plan. Just as the tsar had subjected his whole empire to reforms rather erratically and depending on the situation, so he had also pushed St Petersburg's development ahead in accordance with the situation. In 1715, however, his architect Domenico Trezzini presented a municipal development plan that located the centre of the city on the Vasilyevsky Island. The island, which had already been partially built during the course of the development of the city, was now stabilised along its banks with piles. As it was constantly threatened by flooding, a geometric network of canals was intended



to contribute to the drainage. They were at the same time intended to serve as traffic routes, just like in Amsterdam or Venice. The rationalisation and order of the floating city on the drawing board – a basic idea that St Petersburg has in common with other cities founded at this time as the result of the will of a ruler – was also intended to be applied to life in the city. The residents had to erect their buildings in accordance with the building office's guidelines. Four house types were planned for the different estates and ranks of society into which the people in Petrine Russia had to classify themselves: houses for the 'craftsmen class', for merchants, for officials and finally for the city palaces of the nobility, mainly in a waterside location, were engraved in copper as models and were the design for those who had been allotted or presented with a plot of land. In this connection, it is typical, not just for Peter's time, that the urban planning did not provide any separate place for the lower urban classes – day labourers, carrier's men and others. From the outset they were, so to speak, driven out of the centre of the city. For the others, who were the target group of Peter's modernisation, the social allocation was not just shown by the houses and locations in the new city. Clothing and forms of representation also made them identifiable. What status the subject and resident of the city had was intended to be readily recognisable by

Fig. 4
Christian Leonhard
Wasmuth (1725–1797),
Tsar Peter I of Russia,
copy, around 1752,
oil on canvas.

the uniforms or the number of horses that were harnessed to carriages. Urban planning, position in society and individual journeys through life were considered together.

Domenico Trezzini was certainly the outstanding architect in the founding phase. The plans for the stone enlargement of the Peter and Paul Fortress were by him. It was also he who began the construction of the Peter and Paul Cathedral in the fortress after 1712. It was not completed until 1733, but already in 1725 it was to become the burial place of the Russian tsars – with the death of the founder of the city, Peter I. The architecture of the church clearly showed the break with the building traditions of the Muscovite realm. Its slender, more than 100-metre high spire of the cathedral became the benchmark for the city's other buildings.

When, in 1712, Peter the Great (fig. 4) commanded that the court was to move from Moscow to St Petersburg and the government authorities were to follow, it was clear that the nobles also had no other choice than to remain in the vicinity of the ruler and to build at least a palace in the city. In place of Peter the Great's modest wooden house came a summer palace after 1710, still comparatively modest, but situated with a pioneering garden 'in the French style' facing on to the Neva. In 1711 construction of the buildings of the first winter palace began in the direct vicinity. The palace of his friend and the first governor of St Petersburg, Alexander Menshikov, on Vasilyevsky Island, in which the tsar also received foreign state guests, was older and more magnificent. In the direct vicinity began the construction of the Twelve Colleges, the seat of the government authorities newly introduced by Peter and divided up in accordance with the principle of departmental responsibility, and the Kunstkamera ('chamber of art treasures') with its anatomy lecture theatre and observatory. The famed Globe of Gottorf was installed here.

If one looks at the history of the construction of the city, not only are the testimonies in the heart of the city to be mentioned, but also the tsar's palaces surrounding them. His first European journey had led him to the Baltic, the Netherlands and England, and in certain respects one noticed these models in the city in its first years. However, in 1717, after spending a lengthier time in the north of Germany and also conducting dynastic marriage politics there, Peter had visited Paris and Versailles. In his summer residence Peterhof on the Gulf of Finland, he strove to surpass the French kings' palace complex: Peter had the palace and gardens aligned towards the water and provided with fountains and waterworks, which, thanks to the hydraulic system on which they were based, amazed observers. The tsar's technical interest, the thinking in categories of prestige and the plans of the first architect, Johann Friedrich Braunstein, led to a palace complex that, like Peter's other summer residences, was not completed in the tsar's lifetime, but was unrivalled in Europe.

But, from the outset, St Petersburg was not only a city and residence oriented towards the water and on the water but also a port that had to do justice to Peter's intentions of creating a hub for trade. Already in 1703, when there was hardly any more to be seen than the wooden Peter and Paul Fortress, the first large merchant ship entered the Neva. But the Great Northern War at first impeded the development of trade: in summer 1704, a Swedish flotilla bombarded the fort of Kronslot under construction on Kotlin, so the tsar ordered a little later that the whole island should be fortified and expanded into a military and commercial harbour. The measures taken resembled those for the construction of the city on the banks of the Neva: in 1708, he had 3,000 inhabitants from various regions of the empire ordered to go to Kronslot; half of them admittedly evaded the order by fleeing before arriving on the island. In 1712, the tsar instructed 1,000 nobles to take residence on the island in order to give the fortress and trading point an urban character. From 1723 on, the island bore the name of Kronstadt and advanced in many respects to become the gateway to St Petersburg: in the 18th century, the customs duty for arriving ships was already levied here and in particular the large English and Dutch merchantmen had to anchor here in order not to impede shipping traffic on the Neva. In many cases the international

merchantmen would trans-ship cargo onto smaller freighters and barges in order to bring the goods into the centre of St Petersburg. Kronstadt never became a place for the nobility, rather one for officials and customs men, sailors and traders, and above all for marines and officers.

In the city of St Petersburg, internal trade and sea trade began to start up slowly in the shadow of the war and with Peter's support. The transfer of the court and central authorities certainly contributed to its development. Just as important, however, was the specific promotion of the port as ice-free for more than 200 days a year, as opposed to Archangelsk. Whereas English ships began to switch over to St Petersburg immediately, the Dutch seafarers, who dominated the trade to Archangelsk, made heavy weather of things. Peter I forced them to divert their flows of goods to the new capital by means of a high prohibitive duty on merchandise that was unloaded in the old trading town on the White Sea. For the Baltic ports, for example Lübeck, Peter's city on the Neva was located more favourably anyway. Thus in 1722, the first year after the end of the Great Northern War, more than 100 foreign ships entered St Petersburg, 35 of them from English ports, 22 from the Netherlands; however, the north German ports were placed even above them, with twelve ships alone from Lübeck. Raw materials and semi-finished products, especially iron, dominated exports from St Petersburg harbour in the 18th century, while finished and luxury products, not least for the needs of the court, played a dominant role for imports. St Petersburg's rise in its founder's epoch contributed in this way to the decline of the old port city of Archangelsk, showing in an exemplary fashion what costs the founding of a new centre on the Baltic involved for the whole tsarist realm. However, one thing did not succeed: Peter had dreamt of building a Russian merchant fleet in the shipyards of his new city that would be able to dominate the Baltic. Even if the share of Russian merchantmen in the towns around the Baltic was to become significant in the 18th century, Baltic trade in the Baltic and also the trade in St Petersburg were marked by English dominance, not only in the 18th century.

When Peter I died in 1725, he left his successors a challenging legacy. The expansion of the fleet to over 300 ships in Archangelsk, Azov and, above all, St Petersburg, his new capital, and the construction of numerous canals had drained the state financially just as much as the war against Sweden. In order to be able to survive this, Peter I had obliged the nobility to perform compulsory service, had had innumerable taxes newly invented and collected, had reorganised town and country administratively and prescribed the necessary education for his subjects in order for them to serve him as a functionary elite. The sciences, which were to receive their place in the Academy of Sciences founded in the year of his death on the bank of the Neva in his city St Petersburg, had a more utilitarian function for Peter I, for all his personal curiosity. Despite all his military successes and with his reforms, his reign was also a history of demanding too much from his subjects. Thus many a reform remained incomplete. Admittedly this was the case with all absolutist rulers reigning in Europe. However, while Peter's fleet fell into disrepair for some decades after his death, the city and port of St Petersburg flourished. Peter's capital developed into a metropolis on the Baltic and brilliant residence of European culture and sciences. In certain respects the city is the most important legacy of Peter the Great and the Great Northern War.

References

- Anisimov 1993 | Bushkovitch 2001 | Cracraft 2003 | Donnert 1988 | Hoffmann 2003 |
Hughes 1998 | Hughes 2002 | Kusber 2009 | Velikij 2003 | Wittram 1964

Bibliography

- Abdullina 2010**
S. Abdullina (ed.), *Severnaja vojna. Vzgljad iz Vyborgskogo zamka* (Vyborg 2010).
- Adriansen 2010**
I. Adriansen, *Eriindringsssteder i Danmark. Monumenter, mindesmærker og mødesteder* (Copenhagen 2010).
- Ailes 2005**
M. E. Ailes, 'Ships, Sailors and Mediators. England's Naval Aid to Sweden 1658–1659', *Historian*, 67 (2005), 275–298.
- Alm and Millhagen 2010**
G. Alm and R. Millhagen (eds), *Drottningholms slott I. Från Hedvig Eleonora till Lovisa Ulrika* (Stockholm 2010).
- Andersen 1969**
J. Andersen, 'A new technique for archaeological field measuring', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 2 (1969), 68–75.
- Andersen 2004**
D. H. Andersen, *Mandsmod og konge-gunst. En biografi om Peter Wessel Tordenskiold* (Copenhagen 2004).
- Andersen 2010**
D. H. Andersen, *Tordenskiold. En biografi om Danmarks største søhelt* (Copenhagen 2004; new edition 2010).
- Anderson 1910**
R. Ch. Anderson, *Naval wars in the Baltic during the sailing-ship epoch, 1522–1850* (London 1910).
- Anisimov 1993**
E. V. Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great. Progress Through Coercion in Russia* (London 1993).
- Arpe 1774**
P. F. Arpe (ed.), *Geschichte des Herzoglich Schleswig-Holstein Gottorfschen Hofes und dessen vornehmsten Staats-Bedienten, unter der Regierung Herzog Friedrichs IV. und dessen Sohn Carl Friedrichs. Mit geheimen Anecdoten zur Erläuterung der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Historie besonders als der Nordischen Begebenheiten überhaupt* (Frankfurt, Leipzig 1774).
- Askgaard 1974**
F. Askgaard, *Kampen om Østersøen. Et Bidrag til nordisk søkrigshistorie på Carl X Gustafs tid 1654–60* (Copenhagen 1974).
- Attmann 1983**
A. Attmann, *Dutch Enterprise in the World Bullion Trade 1550–1800* (Gothenburg 1983).
- Auer 2000**
J. Auer, *Das Arkonawrack – Studien zu einem neuzeitlichen Schiffsfund vor der Küste Rügens*, MA thesis, University of Greifswald, 2000.
- Auer 2004**
J. Auer, 'Fregatten Mynden: a 17th-century Danish Frigate Found in Northern Germany', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 33/2 (2004), 264–280.
- Auer 2008**
J. Auer, *Fregat and snau. Small cruisers in the Danish navy 1650–1750*, PhD thesis, University of Southern Denmark, Esbjerg, 2008.
- Auer 2011**
J. Auer, *Prinsessan Hedvig Sophia: Fieldwork report 2010*, Maritime Archaeology Programme, University of Southern Denmark (Esbjerg 2011).
- Auer and Schweitzer 2012a**
J. Auer and H. Schweitzer (eds), *Field-work report Prinsessan Hedvig Sophia 2011*, Maritime Archaeology Programme, University of Southern Denmark (Esbjerg 2012).
- Auer and Schweitzer 2012b**
J. Auer and H. Schweitzer, 'The wreck of Prinsessan Hedvig Sophia. The archaeology and history of a Swedish ship of the line during the Great Northern War', *Skyllis*, 12/1 (2012), 57–64.
- Auge 2010**
O. Auge, 'Dynastiegeschichte als Perspektive vergleichender Regionalgeschichte. Das Beispiel der Herzöge und Grafen von Schleswig und Holstein (Anfang 13. bis Ende 17. Jh.)', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, 135 (2010), 23–46.
- Auge 2012**
O. Auge, 'Die Herzöge von Sachsen-Lauenburg und der dynastische Heiratsmarkt in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit', *Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 148 (2012), 119–152.
- Auge forthcoming**
O. Auge, 'Das Konnubium der fürst-bischöflichen oder jüngeren Gottorfer Linie, vergleichend betrachtet', in O. Auge and A. Scharrenberg (eds),
- Die Fürsten des Bistums. Die fürst-bischöfliche oder jüngere Linie des Hauses Gottorf in Eutin bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches**, Wissenschaftliches Arbeitsgespräch in der Eutiner Landesbibliothek am 4. und 5. April 2014 (forthcoming).
- Barfod 1997**
J. H. Barfod, *Niels Juels flåde. Den danske flådes historie 1660–1720*, Marinehistoriske skrifter 27 (Copenhagen 1997).
- Barott 2011**
P. Barott, *Seekisten. Vielzweckmöbel der Seeleute* (Bremen 2011).
- Bazarova 2014**
T. Bazarova, *Sozdanje paradiza. Sankt-Peterburg i Ingermanlandija v epochu Petra Velikogo* (Saint Petersburg 2014).
- Belasus 2002**
M. Belasus, 'Ein Schiffsgeschütz aus der Kieler Förde', *Starigard. Jahresbericht des Fördervereins für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der CAU Kiel*, (2002), 30–35.
- Belasus and Rasmussen 2005**
M. Belasus and R. Rasmussen, 'Die Kanonen Tordenskiolds', *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Schleswig-Holstein*, 13 (2005), 75–90.
- Belik 1990**
A. Belik, *The Russian Navy in the 1700's*, A paper from the VIII Baltic Seminar. The War of King Gustavus III and the Naval Battles of Ruotsinsalmi. Kotka 5.–7.7.1990.
- Bengtsson 1954**
F. G. Bengtsson, *Karl XII:s levnad*, vols 1–2 (Stockholm 1954).
- Berg 1970**
L. O. Berg, 'Karolinsk flotta. Studier och tabeller', *Forum navale*, 25 (1970), 3–85.
- Bergerhausen 2009**
H.-W. Bergerhausen (ed.), *Die Altran-städter Konvention von 1707. Beiträge zu ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte und zu ihrer Bedeutung für die konfessionelle Entwicklung in Schlesien*, Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte 11 (Würzburg 2009).
- Bergersen 1925**
O. Bergersen, *Viceadmiral Tordenskiold*, 2 vols (Trondheim 1925).

- Bergersen 1953–1957**
O. Bergersen, *Fra Henrik Bielke til Iver Huitfeldt. Udsyn over den danske-norske fællesflåtes historie i perioden 1630–1710*, 4 vols (Trondheim 1953–1957).
- Bergstrand 2005**
Th. Bergstrand, ‘Arkeologiskt massmaterial i bohuslänska hamnar – med utblick från undersökningarna i Marstrand’, in S. von Arbin (ed.), *Arkeologisk forskning och kulturmiljövård med maritim inriktning. Föredrag hållna vid ett symposium i Uddevalla den 21–22 oktober 1999* (Uddevalla 2005), 37–41.
- Beskrovnyj 1959**
L. Beskrovnyj (ed.), *Poltava. k 250-letiju Poltavskogo sraženija. sbornik statej* (Moscow 1959).
- Beskrovnyj 2009**
L. Beskrovnyj (ed.), *Severnaja vojna 1700–1721 gg. sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow 2009).
- Bidrag Store Nordiske Krigs historie 1899–1934**
Generalstaben (ed.), *Bidrag til den Store Nordiske Krigs historie*, 10 vols (Copenhagen 1899–1934).
- Bischoff and Hill 2012**
M. Bischoff and Th. Hill, ‘Gottorf’, in W. Adam and S. Westphal (eds), *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der frühen Neuzeit. Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum*, vol. 1: Augsburg–Gottorf (Berlin, Boston 2012), 669–712.
- Bjerg 1990**
H. Chr. Bjerg, *Tordenskiold. Glimt af Wessel* (Lyngør 1990).
- Bjerg 2010**
H. Chr. Bjerg, *Dansk orlogshistorie 1510–2010* (Copenhagen 2010).
- Bjerg and Frantzen 2005**
H. Chr. Bjerg and O. L. Frantzen, *Danmark i krig* (Copenhagen 2005).
- Bjerke 1992**
A. E. Bjerke, *Nordens Løve – Karl 12 i Norge. Felttogene i 1716 og 1718* (Oslo 1992).
- Bjerke 2003**
A. E. Bjerke, *Karl XII i Norge 1716. Det glömda fälttåget* (Kristianstad 2003).
- Börjeson et al. 1936**
H. J. Börjeson, P. Holck and H. Szymanski, *Lists of men-of-war 1650–1700* (London 1936).
- Böttiger 1889**
J. Böttiger, *Hedvig Eleonoras drottningholm: anteckningar till slottets äldre byggnadshistoria* (Stockholm 1889).
- Bohmbach 2003**
J. Bohmbach, ‘Bremen–Verden in der Schwedenzeit’, in N. Horn (ed.), *Integration durch Recht. Das Wismarer Tribunal (1653–1806)* (Cologne 2003) 51–63.
- Bohmbach 2008**
J. Bohmbach, ‘Stade und sein Hafen. Grundlinien der Stadtentwicklung bis zur Schwedenzeit’, in A. Schäfer et al. (eds), *Schätze im Schlick. Maritime Archäologie des 1000-jährigen Hansehafens Stade* (Stade 2008), 15–28.
- Bohn 2006**
R. Bohn, *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* (München 2006).
- Boisen Schmidt 1967**
J. Boisen Schmidt, *Studier over statshusholdningen i Kong Frederick IV's regeringstid 1699–1730* (Copenhagen 1967).
- Boudriot 1986**
J. Boudriot, *The Seventy-Four Gun Ship*, vol. 1–4 (Annapolis, Md. 1986).
- Boxer 1977**
C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600–1800* (London 1977).
- Brand and Mueller 2007**
H. Brand and M. Mueller (eds), *The Dynamics of Economic Culture in the North Sea and Baltic Region* (Hilversum 2007).
- Braun and Gugerli 1993**
R. Braun and D. Gugerli, *Macht des Tanzes – Tanz der Mächtigen. Hoffeste und Herrschaftszeremoniell 1550–1914* (Munich 1993).
- Bring 1918**
S. E. Bring (ed.), *Karl XII. Till 200-Års-dagen av hans död* (Stockholm 1918).
- Burke 1992**
P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, London 1992) (german edition: Ludwig XIV. Die Inszenierung des Sonnenkönigs [Berlin 1993; 3rd edition 2009]).
- Bushkovitch 2001**
P. Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great. The Struggle for Power, 1671–1725* (Cambridge 2001).
- Capp 1989**
B. Capp, *Cromwell's Navy. The Fleet and the English Revolution 1648–1660* (Oxford 1989).
- Carlson 1877**
E. Carlson, *Om Karl XI:s vistelse i Sachsen 1706–7. Med särskild hänsyn till det nordiska krigets inverkan på spanska tronföljarstriden* (Stockholm 1877).
- Carlson 1888**
F. F. Carlson, *Karl der Zwölfe von Schweden*, Geschichte Schwedens, vol. 6 (Gotha 1888).
- Carlson 1907**
E. Carlson, *Der Vertrag zwischen Karl XII. von Schweden und Kaiser Joseph I. zu Altranstädt* (Stockholm 1907).
- Cederlund 2006**
C. O. Cederlund, *Vasa I: The Archaeology of a Swedish Royal Ship of 1628* (Stockholm 2006).
- Christensen 1969**
A. E. Christensen, ‘The significance and practical value of the 3-point method’, *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 2 (1969), 76–77.
- Christiansen 2010**
H. Christiansen, *Orlogsfladen skibe gennem 500 år. Den dansk-norske flåde 1510–1814 og den danske flåde 1814–2010*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen 2010).
- Cleere 1984**
H. Cleere (ed.), *Approaches to the archaeological heritage: A comparative study of world cultural resource management systems* (Cambridge 1984).
- Conlin and Russell 2010**
D. L. Conlin and M. A. Russell, ‘Maritime Archaeology of Naval Battlefields’, in C. R. Geier et al. (eds), *The Historical Archaeology of Military Sites: Method and Topic* (College Station 2010), 39–56.
- Conrads 1971**
N. Conrads, *Die Durchführung der Altranstädt Konvention in Schlesien 1707–1709* (Cologne 1971).
- Cracraft 2003**
J. Cracraft, *The Revolution of Peter the Great* (Harvard 2003).
- Czok 1989**
C. Czok, *August der Starke und seine Zeit* (Leipzig 1989; paperback edition: Munich 2006).
- Dahlgren 1969–1971**
St. Dahlgren, ‘Hedvig Eleonora’, in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 18 (Stockholm 1969–1971), 512–515.
- Dahlgren 1992**
St. Dahlgren, ‘Karl XI’, in A. Florén et al., *Kungar och Krigare* (Stockholm 1992), 83–148.
- Danielsen 1975**
J. Danielsen, *Just Juels Rejse til Moskva 1709–11* (Copenhagen 1975).
- Degen 2010**
O. Degen (ed.), *Tolden i Sundet. Toldopkrævning, politik og skibsfart i Øresund 1429–1857* (Copenhagen 2010).
- Dehn-Nielsen 2007**
H. Dehn-Nielsen, *Kings and Queens of Denmark* (Copenhagen 2007).
- Ditta 2014**
M. Ditta, *Ole Judichær and danish Naval Ship Construction and Design in the late 17th Century. A preliminary analysis of the model of the 54-gun Prinz Wilhelm in the collection of the Royal Danish Naval Museum*, Master thesis, University of Southern Denmark, Esbjerg, 2014.
- Djupdræt 2001**
M. B. Djupdræt, ‘Die Inszenierung der Gottorfer Geschichte durch Jürgen Ovens. Der Zyklus von Historiengemälden aus Schloß Gottorf’, *Nordelbingen*, 70 (2001), 25–49.
- Donnert 1988**
E. Donnert, *Peter der Große* (Leipzig 1988).
- Drees 1997**
J. Drees, ‘Jürgen Ovens (1623–1678) als höfischer Maler: Beobachtungen zur Portrait- und Historienmalerei am Gottorfer Hof’, in Spielmann and Drees 1997b, 244–259.
- Drees 2003**
J. Drees, ‘“Virtutis gloria merces”: Herzog Friedrich III. von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf (1597–1659) und sein Streben nach Ruhm und Anerkennung durch die Förderung der Wissenschaften und Künste’, in D. Roth (ed.), *Die Blumenbücher des Hans Simon Holtzbecker und Hamburgs Lustgärten. Hans Simon Holtzbecker, Hamburger Blumenmaler des*

17. Jahrhunderts, botanische, garten- und kunsthistorische Aspekte, Ergebnisse einer Tagung am 27. und 28. Oktober 2000 und Katalog einer Ausstellung vom 26. Oktober bis 23. Dezember 2000 in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Kielern-Weiler 2003), 89–114.

Drees 2005/06

J. Drees, 'Stammbuch/Adam Olearii / Fürstl. Holstein Gott. Gesandtschafts/Raths und Secretarii der Gesandtschaft an D. Muscovitischen/ und Persischen Hof: Das Stammbuch des Götterer Hofgelehrten Adam Olearius (1599–1671)', *Jahrbuch der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf*, 10 (2005/06), 12–23.

Dromgoole 1999

S. Dromgoole (ed.), *Legal Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage: National and International Perspectives* (London, Boston 1999).

Dromgoole 2013

S. Dromgoole, *Underwater Cultural Heritage and International Law* (Cambridge 2013).

Droysen 1869

J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte der preußischen Politik, Vierter Theil, Zweite Abtheilung, Friedrich Wilhelm I. König von Preußen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1869).

Ellenius 1966

A. Ellenius, *Karolinska bildidéer* (Uppsala 1966).

Ellenius 2003

A. Ellenius (ed.), *Baroque Dreams. Art and Vision in Sweden in the Era of Greatness* (Uppsala 2003).

Endsor 2009

R. Endsor, *The Restoration Warship. The Design, Construction and Career of a Third Rate of Charles II's Navy* (London 2009).

Ericson et al. 2003

L. Ericson, M. Hårdstedt, P. Iko, I. Sjöblom and G. Åselius, *Svenska slagfält* (Stockholm 2003).

Ericson Wolke and Hårdstedt 2009

L. Ericson Wolke and M. Hårdstedt, *Svenska sjöslag*, Forum Navales skriftserie 36 (Stockholm 2009).

Ericson Wolke 2012

L. Ericson Wolke, *Sjöslag och rysshärningar. Kampen om Östersjön under stora nordiska kriget 1700–1721* (Stockholm 2012).

Eriksson 2014

G. Eriksson, *Slaget vid Rilax 1714* (Raseborg 2014).

Eriksson et al. 2013

N. Eriksson, C. During, J. Holmlund, J. Rönnby, I. Sjöblom and M. Ågren, *Resande mannen (1660)*, Marinarkoologisk rapport 2012 (Huddinge 2013).

Evers 2014

S. Evers, 'Textilien als Würdeformel. Die Ausstattung der Paraderäume im Schloss Charlottenburg und im Residenzschloss Dresden', in F. Göse et al. (eds), *Preussen und Sachsen. Szenen einer Nachbarschaft*, Katalog Erste Brandenburgische Landesausstellung Schloss Doberlug 2014 (Dresden 2014), 114–121.

Fabricius 1944

K. Fabricius (ed.), *Danmarks Konger* (Copenhagen 1944).

Feld and Leisinger 2003

U. Feld and U. Leisinger (ed.), *Musik am Meiningen Hof*, Denkmäler mitteldeutscher Barockmusik, ser. 1, vol. 2 (Leipzig 2003).

Feldbæk and Jespersen 2002

O. Feldbæk and K. J. V. Jespersen, *Revanche og neutralitet 1648–1814*, Dansk udenrigspolitis Historie, vol. 2 (Copenhagen 2002).

Fiedler 1987

B.-Chr. Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1652–1712. Organisation und Wesen der Verwaltung*, Einzelschriften des Stader Geschichts- und Heimatvereins 29 (Stade 1987).

Fiedler 2003

B.-Chr. Fiedler, 'Die Landstände der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und das Wismarer Tribunal. Fallstudien zur Besetzung der Richterstellen aus der Einrichtungsphase (1653–1657)', in N. Jörn (ed.), *Integration durch Recht. Das Wismarer Tribunal (1653–1806)*, Quellen und Forschungen zur höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im alten Reich 47 (Cologne 2003) 65–81.

Fiedler 2009

B.-Chr. Fiedler, 'Feldherr und Erneuerer der Verwaltung. Hans Christoph von Königsmarck (1605–1663). Schweizerischer Gouverneur in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden', Zwi-

schen Elbe und Weser. Heimat und Kultur, Zeitschrift des Landschaftsverbandes der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden, 28 (2009), 6–8.

Findeisen 2008

J.-P. Findeisen, *Dänemark. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (2nd edition, Regensburg 2008).

Förster 1994

Th. Förster, *Die Methodik der Prospektion und Dokumentation von Unterwasserfundstellen am Beispiel von sechs Wrackstellen des 16. bis 20. Jahrhunderts vor Rügen und Hiddensee* (Leipzig 1994).

Fontana 2008

E. Fontana (ed.), *Wenn Engel musizieren. Musikinstrumente von 1594 im Freiberger Dom* (Leipzig, Döbel 2008).

Frantzen 1988

O. L. Frantzen (ed.), *Linieskibet Holsten 1772–1814*, Marinehistoriske Skrifter, no. 21 (Copenhagen 1988).

Frantzen 1999

O. L. Frantzen, 'Svenske Stöbejernskanoner i dansk tjeneste 1660–1814', in F. Sandstedt and Th. Roth (red.), *Athena och Ares* (Stockholm 1999), 147–160.

Frantzen and Jespersen 2010

O. L. Frantzen and K. J. V. Jespersen (eds), *Danmarks krigshistorie 700–2010* (Copenhagen 2010).

Fredrik 1861

O. Fredrik, *Några bidrag till Sveriges Krigshistoria åren 1711, 1712 och 1713. Försök til historisk afhandling* (Stockholm 1861).

Fredrik 1892

O. Fredrik, *Några bidrag till Sveriges Krigshistoria åren 1711, 1712 och 1713* (Stockholm 1892).

Frost 2000

R. I. Frost, *The Northern Wars. War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlow 2000).

Fryxell 1858

A. Fryxell, *Berättelser ur svenska historien. Tjugondesjunde Delen: Karl den Tolftes Regering. Sjunde Häftet: Karl den tolfte och hans samtida* (Stockholm 1858).

Fryxell 1860

A. Fryxell, *Geschichte Karls XII.* (Leipzig 1860).

Fuchs 1907

K. Fuchs, 'Die Zweihundertjahrfeier der Konvention von Altranstädt', *Leipziger Illustrierte Wochenschrift*, No. 36 (1907).

Fuhrmann 1990

K. Fuhrmann, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen königlicher und gottorfischer Linie in den Herzogtümern Schleswig und Holstein in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Kieler Werkstücke, ser. A, vol. 1 (Frankfurt a. M. 1990).

Fuhrmann 1997

K. Fuhrmann, 'Christian Albrecht – Zwischen Schweden und Dänemark', 'Herzog Friedrich IV. – Im Ringen um das Ansehen als "Armierter Stand"', in Spielmann and Drees 1997b, 35–53.

Gamrath and Ladewig Petersen 1980

H. Gamrath and E. Ladewig Petersen, 'Tiden 1559–1648', in A. E. Christensen et al. (red.), *Danmarks historie*, vol. 2:2 (Copenhagen 1980), 443–700.

Glete 2010

J. Glete, *Swedish Naval Administration 1521–1721. Resource Flows and Organisational Capabilities* (Leiden, Boston 2010).

Glete no date

J. Glete, *List of Swedish Warships 1521–1721* (no date).

Goodwin 1987

P. Goodwin, *The Construction and Fitting of the Sailing Man of War 1650–1850* (London 1987).

Granlund 2004

L. Granlund, 'Queen Hedwig Eleonora of Sweden: Dowager, builder and collector', in C. Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815. The role of the consort* (Cambridge 2004) 56–76.

Graulich 1973

G. Graulich (ed.), *Heinrich Schütz, Musikalische Exequien*, Stuttgarter Schütz-Ausgabe, vol. 8 (Stuttgart 1973).

Gusarov 2010

A. Gusarov, *Pamjatniki voinskoy slavy Peterburga* (Saint Petersburg 2010).

Hacker and Hardenberg 2003

H.-J. Hacker and H. Hardenberg, *Die Schwerdenstraße* (Rostock 2003).

- Hahn 1998**
P.-M. Hahn, 'Magnifizenz und dynastische Legitimation durch Übernahme kultureller Muster. Die Beziehungen der Hohenzollern zum Haus Oranien und den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert', in P.-M. Hahn and H. Lorenz (eds), *Formen der Visualisierung von Herrschaft. Studien zu Adel, Fürst und Schloßbau vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Potsdam 1998), 9–56.
- Haintz 1936–1958**
O. Haintz, *König Karl XII. von Schweden*, 3 vols (Berlin 1936–1958).
- Halldin 1963**
G. Halldin, *Svenskt skeppsbyggeri. En översikt av utvecklingen genom tiderna* (Malmö 1963).
- Harding and Löb 2004**
M. Harding and D. Löb (eds), *Danmarks konger og dronninger* (Copenhagen 2004).
- Hartmann and Villadsen 1979**
S. Hartmann and V. Villadsen, *Danmarks arkitektur. Byens huse – Byens plan* (Copenhagen 1979).
- Hatton 1968**
R. M. Hatton, *Charles XII of Sweden* (London 1968; 1974; swedish edition: Karl XII och Sverige, Köping 1985).
- Heeres et al. 1988**
W. G. Heeres, L. M. B. J. Hesp and L. Noordgraaf (eds), *From Dunkirk to Danzig. Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350–1850* (Hilversum 1988).
- Heiberg 2006**
St. Heiberg, *Christian 4. – en europæisk statsmand* (Copenhagen 2006).
- von Heidenstam 1953**
V. von Heidenstam, *Karolinerna*, 2 vols (Stockholm 1953).
- Hein 2009**
J. Hein, 'Frederik IV.', in Kappel and Brink 2009, 243–247; 257; 268.
- Heinze 2010**
J. Heinze, *Abschlußbericht zur Bergung und Dokumentation des Schiffswracks Möchgut, Ostsee VII, Fundplatz 67 im Greifswalder Bodden* (Lübstorf 2010; unpublished).
- Heinzelmann et al. 2006**
E. Heinzelmann, St. Robl and Th. Riis (eds), *Der Dänische Gesamtstaat/The Oldenburg Monarchy. Ein unterschätztes Weltreich? An Underestimated Empire?* (Kiel 2006).
- Henningsen 2008**
L. N. Henningsen, 'Die Herzöge von Gottorf', in Porskrog Rasmussen et al. 2008, 142–185.
- Herfert 1966**
P. Herfert, 'Erik von Schmitterlöw (25. Juli 1882 – 29. Mai 1964)', *Greifswald Stralsunder Jahrbuch*, 6 (1966), 99–102.
- Hildebrand 1918**
S. Hildebrand, *Karl XI:s Almanacksanteckningar* (Stockholm 1918).
- Hillebrand 1996**
M. Hillebrand, *Fürstliche Eheverträge. Göttinger Hausrecht 1544–1773*, Rechtshistorische Reihe, vol. 141 (Frankfurt/Main 1996).
- Hinners 2012**
L. Hinners, *De fransöske handtverkarne vid Stockholms slott 1693–1713. Yrkesroller, organisation, arbetsprocesser*, Eidos 25, Skrifter från konstvetenskapliga institutionen vid Stockholms universitet (Stockholm 2012).
- Hjärne 1932**
H. Hjärne, *Karl XII: omstörningen i Östeuropa 1697–1703* (Stockholm 1932).
- Hjulhammar 2012**
M. Hjulhammar, 'Sjunkna skepp i Stockholms vatten', in M. Dunge (ed.), *Stockholm Örlogsstaden, Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 2012–2013* (Stockholm 2012), 112–127.
- Hoffmann 2003**
P. Hoffmann, *Sankt Petersburg. Stadt und Hafen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2003).
- Hoffmann 2006**
Ch. Hoffmann, '‘Die bei den Brem- und Verdischen Collegiis stehenden Bedienten’. Die kurhannoversche Beamenschaft zu Stade 1715–1810', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 78 (2006), 309–434.
- Holck 1939**
P. Holck, *Afhandling over den historiske Modelsamling på Holmen* (Copenhagen 1939).
- Hoving 1994**
A. J. Hoving, *Nicolaes Witsens Scheeps Bouw-Konst Open Gestelt* (Franeker 1994).
- Hughes 1998**
L. Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter the Great* (Yale 1998).
- Hughes 2002**
L. Hughes, *Peter the Great. A Biography* (Yale 2002).
- d'Hulst 1982**
R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaeus* (Ithaca, NY 1982).
- Isacson 2004**
C.-G. Isacson, *Karl X Gustavs Krig. Fälttogen i Polen, Tyskland, Baltikum, Danmark och Sverige 1655–1660* (Lund 2004).
- Israel 1989**
J. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford 1989).
- Jane 1899**
F. T. Jane, *The Imperial Russian Navy* (London 1899).
- Jensen 1982**
F. P. Jensen, *Danmarks konflikt med Sverige 1563–1570* (Copenhagen 1982).
- Jensen 2010**
Th. N. Fejerskov Jensen, *En analyse af Ivar Huitfeldt som erindringssted*, unpublished Master dissertation, Department of History, University of Southern Denmark, 2010.
- Jespersen 1989**
K. J. V. Jespersen, *Tiden 1648–1730*, Gyldendals Danmarks historie, vol. 3 (Copenhagen 1989).
- Jespersen 1994**
K. J. V. Jespersen, 'Rivalry without Victory. Denmark, Sweden and the struggle for the Baltic, 1500–1720', in G. Rystad et al. (eds), *In Quest of Trade and Security. The Baltic in Power Politics 1500–1990*, vol. 1: 1500–1890 (Lund 1994), 137–176.
- Jespersen 2002**
K. J. V. Jespersen, 'Danmark og Europa 1648–1730', in C. Due-Nielsen et al. (eds), *Dansk udenrigspolitis historie*, vol. 2: Revanche og neutralitet 1648–1814 (Copenhagen 2002), 10–199.
- Jespersen 2011**
K. J. V. Jespersen, *A History of Denmark* (2nd edition, London 2011).
- Jödicke 1907**
G. Jödicke, *Die Feier der Altranständler Konvention am 1. September 1907* (Lützen 1907).
- Jörn and Porada 2009**
N. Jörn and H. Th. Porada (eds), *Lebenswelt und Lebenswirklichkeit des Adels im Ostseeraum – Festgabe zum 80. Geburtstag von Bernhard Diestelkamp*, Schriften der David-Mevius-Gesellschaft 5 (Hamburg 2009).
- Johannesson 1997**
K. Johannesson, 'En gudomlig ordning', in *Signums svenska konsthistoria*, vol. 6: Barockens konst (Lund 1997), 9–31.
- Johansson 2003**
C. Johansson, 'Nya Varvet – en nordisk mötesplats med gamla anor', in S. Christensson (ed.), *NHV 50 år. Jubileumsskrift* (Gothenburg 2003), 47–70.
- Jordening 1896**
B. W. Jordening, *Katalog over Den Historiske Modelsamling paa Orlogsværftet* (Copenhagen 1896).
- Josephson 1924**
R. Josephson, *Tessin i Danmark* (Stockholm 1924).
- Josephson 1930–1931**
R. Josephson, *Tessin. Tiden – mannen – verket*, vols 1–2 (Stockholm 1930–1931).
- Josephson 1947**
R. Josephson, 'Karl XI och Karl XII som esteter', *Karolinska förbundets årsbok*, (1947), 7–67.
- Jutikkala and Pirinen 1979**
E. Jutikkala and K. Pirinen, *A History of Finland* (Espoo 1979).
- Kankaanpää 2001**
M. J. Kankaanpää, *Suuri Pohjansota, iso viha ja suomalaiset* (Jyväskylä 2001).
- Kappel and Brink 2009**
J. Kappel and C. Brink (eds), *Mit Fortuna übers Meer. Sachsen und Dänemark – Ehen und Allianzen im Spiegel der Kunst (1548–1709)*, Katalog Staatlische Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Munich 2009).
- Kappel and Weinhold 2007**
J. Kappel and U. Weinhold, *Das Neue Grüne Gewölbe, Führer durch die ständige Ausstellung* (Berlin, Munich 2007).

- Karl and Polianski 2009**
L. Karl and I. J. Polianski (eds), *Geschichtspolitik und Erinnerungskultur im neuen Russland*, Formen der Erinnerung, vol. 40 (Göttingen 2009).
- Karlsson 2007**
Å. Karlsson, 'Drottning Hedvig Eleonora: landsmoder och kulturmecenat', *Karolinska förbundets årsbok*, 2007, 9–24.
- Kent 2008**
Neil Kent, *A concise History of Sweden* (Cambridge 2008).
- Kindtler-Nielsen 2013**
B. Kindtler-Nielsen, 'Tordenskiold som dansk erindringsstød 1940–2000', *Tidsskrift for Søvæsen*, 184/3 (2013), 157–184.
- Kleingärtner and Nakoinz 2005**
S. Kleingärtner and O. Nakoinz, 'Zwei neuzeitliche Schiffswracks vor Dranske, Lkr. Rügen', *Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, *Jahrbuch*, 53/2005 (2006), 315–346.
- Koivumäki 2003**
T. Koivumäki, *Sailing Warships* (2003) <<http://koti.mbnfi/felipe/index.html>> accessed 29 March 2012.
- Kong Friderich 1752**
Kong Friderich den Femtes Søe=Krigs-Artikels=Brev (Copenhagen 1752).
- Kong Frideric 1756**
Kong Frideric den Femtes Krigs-Artikels-Brev for Land Tjenesten ved Søe Etaten (Copenhagen 1756).
- Krotov 1996**
P. Krotov, *Gangutskaja batalija 1714 goda* (Saint Petersburg 1996).
- Krotov 2009**
P. Krotov, *Bitva pri Poltave. k 300-letnej godovščine* (Saint Petersburg 2009).
- Krüger 1974**
L.-E. Krüger, *Der Erwerb Bremen-Verdens durch Hannover. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Großen Nordischen Krieges in den Jahren 1709 bis 1719* (Hamburg 1974).
- Krüger 2002**
J. Krüger, 'Die Schiffssperre im Greifswalder Bodden aus dem Jahre 1715 und ihr historischer Hintergrund', in C. O. Cederlund and K. Krüger (eds),
- Maritime Archäologie heute, Internationale Tagung der maritimen Archäologie im Ostseeraum**, 3 (Rostock 2002), 186–193.
- Krüger 2007**
J. Krüger, *Wolgast in der Asche. Ausgewählte Quellen zur Lustration der Stadt in der Dänenezeit 1715–1721*, Publikationen des Lehrstuhls für Nordische Geschichte, vol. 8 (Greifswald 2007).
- Krüger 2010**
J. Krüger, *Dänemark und Pommern. Sachthematicsches Archivinventar zu den Beständen an Pomeranica und Sueco-Pomeranica im dänischen Reichsarchiv in Kopenhagen*, Publikationen des Lehrstuhls für Nordische Geschichte, vol. 12 (Greifswald 2010).
- Krüger 2012**
J. Krüger, 'Die Seeschlacht vor Wittow im Jahre 1712. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Großen Nordischen Krieges', *Skyllis. Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie*, 12/1 (2012), 64–71.
- Krüger 2014**
J. Krüger, 'Karl XII. – Der "heroische" Militärmonarch Schwedens', in M. Wrede (ed.), *Die Inszenierung der heroischen Monarchie. Frühneuzeitliches Königtum zwischen ritterlichen Erbe und militärischer Herausforderung*, Historische Zeitschrift, Beiheft 62 (Munich 2014), 358–381.
- Küster 2011**
H. Küster, 'Die Unterweser. Landschaft und Geschichte', in H. Bickelmann (ed.), *Fluss, Land, Stadt. Beiträge zur Regionalgeschichte der Unterweser*, Schriftenreihe des Landschaftsverbandes der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden 36 (Bremerhaven 2011) 45–56.
- Küster 2015**
K. Küster, 'Death and the Lutheran Idea of Becoming a Heavenly Musician', in T. Rasmussen and J. Ø. Flæten (eds), *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*. Refo 500 Academic Studies, vol. 22 (Göttingen 2015).
- Kusber 2009**
J. Kusber, *Kleine Geschichte St. Petersburgs* (Regensburg 2009).
- Kuvaja 1999a**
Chr. Kuvaja, *Finska bönder som den ryska ockupationsarméns försörjare 1713–1721* (Åbo 1999).
- Kuvaja 1999b**
Chr. Kuvaja, *Försörjning av en ockupationsarmé. Den ryska arméns underhållssystem i Finland 1713–1721* (Åbo 1999).
- Kvalø 2014**
F. Kvalø, 'Arkeologiske maritime kulturminner gjennom 60 år. Lovverk, praksis og perspektiv', in E. Koren and F. Kvalø (eds), Hundre år over og under vann. Kapitler om maritime historie og arkeologi i anledning Norsk Maritime Museums hundreårsjubileum (Oslo 2014), 197–237.
- Kvist et al. 2011**
P. Kvist, M. Dupont and J. Mikkelsen (eds), *Mellem København og Tranquebar. På rejse med Asiatiske Kompagnis skib Kronprinsessen af Danmark 1748–1750* (Copenhagen 2011).
- Langberg 1978**
H. Langberg, *Danmarks Bygningskultur. En historisk oversigt*, vol. 1 (Aarhus 1978).
- Lapin 2009**
V. Lapin, *Poltava – rossiskaja slava. Rossija v Severnoj vojne 1700–1721 gg* (Saint Petersburg 2009).
- Larsson 2012**
L. O. Larsson, "... Nur die Stimme fehlt!". *Porträt und Rhetorik in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Kiel 2012).
- Laß 2008**
H. Laß, 'Der zeremonielle Wandel im Alten Reich in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts und die landesherrlichen Appartements im Celler Residenzschloss', in H. Laß (ed.), *Hof und Medien im Spannungsfeld von dynastischer Tradition und politischer Innovation zwischen 1648 und 1714. Celle und die Residenzen im Heiligen Römischen Reich deutscher Nation*, Rudolstadt Forschungen zur Residenzkultur, vol. 4 (Munich, Berlin 2008), 117–127.
- Lauridsen 1999**
J. T. Lauridsen, *Krig, købmænd og kongemäßt – og andre 1600-tals studier* (Copenhagen 1999).
- Lavery 1981**
B. Lavery, *Deane's Doctrine of Naval Architecture 1670. Edited and Introduced by Brian Lavery* (London 1981).
- Lavery 1984**
B. Lavery, *The Ship of the Line*, vol. 2: Design, construction and fittings (London 1984).
- Lehmann 1984**
L. Th. Lehmann, *Galleys in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam 1984).
- Lengeler 1998**
J. Ph. Lengeler, *Das Ringen um die Ruhe des Nordens. Großbritanniens Nordeuropa-Politik und Dänemark zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe A: Beiträge zur schleswig-holsteinischen und skandinavischen Geschichte, vol. 18 (Frankfurt/Main 1998).
- Lenhammar 2004**
H. Lenhammar, 'Perspektiv på Alstrandstid', in A. Jarlert (red.), *Arkiv, fakultet, kyrka*, Festskrift till Ingmar Brohed, Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis, vol. 48 (Lund 2004), 109–128.
- Liljegren 2000**
B. Liljegren, *Karl XII. En biografi* (Lund 2000).
- Lind 1896**
H. D. Lind, *Kong Frederik den Tredjes Sømagt. Det Dansk-Norske Søvæsens Historie 1648–1670* (Odense 1896).
- Lind 2009**
G. Lind, 'Nederlag, krise og legitimitet. Roskildefredens følger for stat og samfund i Danmark', in H. Sanders and P. Karlsson (red.), *Roskildefreden 1658 i perspektiv* (Roskilde 2009), 13–31.
- Lindblad 1982**
J. T. Lindblad, *Sweden's Trade with the Dutch Republic, 1738–1795* (Assen 1982).
- Lindeqvist 1919**
K. O. Lindeqvist, *Ison vihan aika Suomessa* (Porvoo 1919).
- Ljungström 1997**
L. Ljungström, 'Hedwig Eleonora – Prinzessin von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf, Königin von Schweden', in Spielmann and Drees 1997b, 287–290.
- Loewe 1913**
Viktor Loewe (Hrsg.), Preußens Staatsverträge aus der Regierungszeit König Friedrich Wilhelms I. Publikationen aus den K. Preußischen Staatsarchiven, Bd. 87 (Leipzig 1913).
- Loewe 1923**
V. Loewe (ed.), *Preußens Staatsverträge aus der Regierungszeit König Friedrich I.*, Publikationen aus den Preußischen Staatsarchiven, vol. 92 (Leipzig 1923).

- Lohmeier 2008**
D. Lohmeier, 'Die Fürstbischöfe von Lübeck aus dem Hause Gottorf', in Porskrog Rasmussen et al. 2008, 187–207.
- Lowenthal 1996**
D. Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: the Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York 1996).
- Lünig 1720**
J. C. Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Politicum, Oder Historisch- und Politischer Schau-Platz Aller Ceremonien, welche bey Päbst- und Kayser, auch Königlichen Wahlen und Crönungen ingleichen bey grosser Herren Einholungen beobachtet worden; Auch wie Kayser, Könige, Chur- und Fürsten, Grafen und Herren einander in Briefen tractiren; nebst unterschiedlichen Hof-Ordnungen, Rang-Reglementen, Anmerckungen, Elenchis u. voll. Registern, 2 vols* (Leipzig 1720).
- Lüth et al. 2004**
F. Lüth, Th. J. Maarleveld and F. Rieck, *Tauchgang in die Vergangenheit, Archäologie in Deutschland, Sonderheft* (Stuttgart 2004).
- Lukitschev and Witt 1997**
M. Lukitschev and R. Witt (eds), *Die Götter auf dem Weg zum Zarenthron. Russische-gottorfische Verbindungen im 18. Jahrhundert. Eine russisch-schleswig-holsteinische Archivausstellung im Landesarchiv Schleswig* (Schleswig 1997).
- Lund 1976**
H. Lund, *Mindelunden ved Jægerspris* (Jægerspris 1976).
- Lundh-Eriksson 1929**
N. Lundh-Eriksson, *Sveriges Prinsessor 1539–1829* (Stockholm 1929).
- Lundh-Eriksson 1947**
N. Lundh-Eriksson, *Hedvig Eleonora* (Stockholm 1947).
- Lyngby et al. 2010**
Th. Lyngby, S. Metz, S. Nørby and J. Seerup, *Danmarks største søhelte* (Copenhagen 2010).
- Maarleveld 2009**
Th. J. Maarleveld, 'Shared Heritage: Joint Responsibilities in the Management of British Warship Wrecks overseas. International Good Practice or a Few Comments Upon Them', in S. Gallagher (ed.), *Shared Heritage: Joint Responsibilities in the Manage-*
- ment of British Warship Wrecks overseas*, Seminar collected papers, 8th July 2008, at the University of Wolverhampton (Swindon 2009), 58–74.
- Maarleveld 2011**
Th. J. Maarleveld, 'Ethics, Underwater Cultural Heritage, and International Law', in A. Catsambis et al. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology* (Oxford, New York 2011), 917–941.
- Maarleveld 2012**
Th. J. Maarleveld, 'The maritime paradox: does international heritage exist?', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 18/4 (2012), 418–431.
- Maarleveld 2014**
Th. J. Maarleveld, 'Underwater Sites in Archaeological Conservation and Preservation', in C. Smith (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York 2014), 7420–7427.
- Maarleveld et al. 2013**
Th. J. Maarleveld, U. Guérin and B. Egger (eds), *Manual for Activities directed at Underwater Cultural Heritage. A guide on the Rules annexed to the UNESCO 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* (Paris 2013).
- Magnusson 1990**
B. Magnusson, 'Some notes on the development of drawing practices in Nicodemus Tessin's workshop', in E. Fischer and V. Villadsen (eds), *European drawings from six centuries. Festschrift to Erik Fischer* (Copenhagen 1990), 119–140.
- von Malmborg 1978**
B. von Malmborg, *Svensk porträttkonst under fem århundraden*, Nationalmusei skriftserie, vol. 18 (Malmö 1978).
- Material dla istorii russkogo flota 1866**
Material dla istorii russkogo flota I. Material dla istorii Russkogo Flota izvlechenya iz churnalov Petra Velikogo, Jekateriny I i knasja Menschikova i morskye churnalny N. A. Sinyavyna i grafa Apraxina (Saint Petersburg 1866).
- Mattsson 1984**
R. Mattsson, *När ryska galärer spred skräck i skärgården från Hangö till Umeå*, Hufvudstadsbladet (Helsingfors 1984).
- Melien 2010**
T. J. Melien, *Iver Huitfeldt og slaget i Køge Bugt 1710* (Oslo 2010).
- Meltzer 1716**
Chr. Meltzer, *Historia Schneebergensis Renovata, Das ist: Erneuerte Stadt- und Berg-Chronica Der im Ober-Erz-Gebürge des belobten Meißens gelegenen Wohl-Löbl. Freyen Berg-Stadt Schneeberg* (Schneeberg 1716).
- Metasch 2007**
F. Metasch, *300 Jahre Altranständter Konvention, 300 Jahre Schlesische Toleranz*, Begleitpublikation zur Ausstellung des schlesischen Museums in Görlitz (Dresden 2007).
- Möhlenkamp 1991**
A. Möhlenkamp, *Form und Funktion der fürstlichen Appartements im deutschen Residenzschloß des Absolutismus*, PhD thesis, Philipps-Universität, Marburg 1991.
- Möller 2013**
G. Möller (ed. on behalf of Hansestadt Stralsund, Untere Denkmalschutzbehörde), *Denkmalplan Stralsund – Recherchen und Analysen für die Pflege des Welterbes* (Schwerin 2013).
- von Moerner 1867**
Th. von Moerner (ed.), *Kurbrandenburgs Staatsverträge von 1601 bis 1700* (Berlin 1867).
- Molaug 1998**
S. Molaug, 'The excavation of the Norwegian frigate Lossen, 1717, in M. Bound (ed.), *Excavating ships of war*, The International Maritime Archaeological Series, vol. 2 (Oxford 1998), 159–167.
- Molaug and Scheen 1983**
S. Molaug and R. Scheen, *Fregatten Lossen, et kulturhistorisk skattekammer, Norsk Sjøfartsmuseum Skrifter, no. 43* (Oslo 1983).
- Mollet 1981**
A. Mollet, *Le jardin de Plaisir* (Paris 1981).
- Montagu 1962**
J. Montagu, 'The church decorations of Nicodemus Tessin the Younger', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, 31/1–2 (1962), 1–27.
- Moroзов 1912**
A. V. Morozov, *Katalogh, Russikh I* (Moscow 1912).
- Müller-Berneck 1938**
H. Müller-Berneck, 'Meine Taucherforschungen auf Arkona-Riff. Ergebnisse und Ausblicke', *Nachrichtenblatt der Marineoffiziersvereinigungen*, 19 (1938), 1–8.
- Myschlayevskij 1896**
A. S. Myschlayevskij, *Pjotr Velikij. Vojna v Finlandij v 1712 1714 goda* (Saint Petersburg 1896).
- Møller 1988**
J. Møller, *Kongens nye Torv* (Viborg 1988).
- Neville 2009**
K. Neville, *Nicodemus Tessin the Elder. Architecture in Sweden in the Age of Greatness* (Turnhout 2009).
- Nielsen 2012**
X. Nielsen, 'Clay pipes', in Auer and Schweitzer 2012a, 42–48.
- Nistahl 1989**
M. Nistahl, 'Die Reichsexekution gegen Schweden in Bremen-Verden', in H.-J. Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität* (Stade 1989), 97–123.
- Noldus 2004**
B. Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste. Relations in Architecture and Culture between the Dutch Republic and the Baltic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Turnhout 2004).
- Nora 1984**
P. Nora, 'Présentation', in P. Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1: La République (Paris 1984).
- North 2011**
M. North, *Geschichte der Ostsee. Handel und Kulturen* (München 2011).
- North 2015**
M. North, *The Baltic. A History* (Cambridge, Mass. 2015).
- Nyberg 2001**
F. Nyberg (ed.), *Tapani Löfvingin päiväkirja* (Porvoo 2001).
- Nævestad 2007**
D. Nævestad, 'Fra Lossen's skatter: Andres Bohses skriveskrin (1700-tallet)', *Norsk Sjøfartsmuseums årbok*, 2007, 154–159.
- Oakley 1992**
St. P. Oakley, *War and Peace in the Baltic, 1560–1790* (London 1992).

- Olden-Jørgensen 2010**
S. Olden-Jørgensen, *Stormen på København 1659. Et københavnsk og nationalt erindringssted gennem 300 år* (Copenhagen 2010).
- Olesen 2012**
J. E. Olesen, 'Christian IV. og den dansk-svenske magtkamp ca. 1620–1648', in Chr. Kuvalja and A.-C. Östman (red.), *Svärdet, ordet och pennan – kring människa, makt och rum i nordisk historia*, Festschrift til Nils Erik Villstrand den 24 maj 2012 (Åbo 2012), 97–120.
- Olin 2000**
M. Olin, *Det karolinska porträttet. Ideologi, ikonografi, identitet* (Stockholm 2000).
- Olsson 1918**
M. Olsson, *Riddarholmskyrkan: Konsthistoriska studier* (Stockholm 1918).
- Olsson 1928–1937**
M. Olsson, *Riddarholmskyrkan*, I–II, Sveriges Kyrkor II:1–2 (Stockholm 1928–1937).
- Olsson 1940**
M. Olsson (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia II. Det tessinska slottet* (Stockholm 1940).
- Olsson 1998**
A. Olsson, 'Landskapets budbärare – vrak som kommunikationslämnin- gar', *Bohuslän. Årsbok*, 1998, 75–82.
- Olsson 1999**
A. Olsson, 'Marstrandsprojektet', *Stiftelsen Västsvensk Konservatorsateljé Årsskrift*, 1998 (1999), 6–11.
- Oredsson 1998**
S. Oredsson, 'Karlst XII', in S. Oredsson (ed.), *Tsar Peter och kung Karl. Två härskare och deras folk* (Stockholm 1998), 35–74.
- Oredsson 2007**
S. Oredsson, *Gustav II Adolf* (Stockholm 2007).
- Ormrod 2005**
D. Ormrod, *Rise of Commercial Empires. England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650–1770* (Cambridge 2005).
- Persson 1999**
F. Persson, *Servants of Fortune. The Swedish court between 1598 and 1721* (Lund 1999).
- Petersen 2001–2002**
K. B. Petersen, *Danske Marineblankvåben*, vol. I–II, Vaabenhistoriske Aarbøger no. 46–47 (Copenhagen 2001–2002).
- Petrunin 2009**
J. Petrunkin, *Severnaja vojna v monetach i medaljach* (Moscow 2009).
- Pipping 1999**
O. Pipping, 'Fredricus och den marin-historiska forskningen', *Stiftelsen Västsvensk Konservatorsateljé Årskrift*, 1998 (1999), 17–20.
- Porada 2005**
H. Th. Porada, *Pommern, Skandinavien und das Baltikum – Sachthematicsches Archivinventar zu den frühneuzeitlichen Beständen an Nordica, Baltica und Sueco-Pomeranica im Staatsarchiv Stettin*, Publikationen des Lehrstuhls für Nordische Geschichte an der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, vol. 6 (Schwerin 2005).
- Porada and Schnell 2009**
H. Th. Porada and D. Schnell, 'Ein Erinnerungsraum für den schwedischen Sieg bei Fraustadt 1706 – Carl Gustav Rehnskiölds Schloss Griebenow', in *Schweden und die deutschen Landeskirchen – Achtes Symposium der deutschen Territorialkirchengeschichtsvereine*, Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte, 87 (2008), Studien zur Deutschen Landeskirchen-geschichte, vol. 8 (Würzburg 2009), 33–58.
- Porskrog Rasmussen 2010**
C. Porskrog Rasmussen, 'Innovative Feudalism. The Development of Dairy Farming and Koppelwirtschaft on Manors in Schleswig-Holstein in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, 58/2 (2010), 172–190.
- Porskrog Rasmussen 2014**
C. Porskrog Rasmussen, 'Forms of Serfdom and Bondage in the Danish Monarchy', in S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Schiavitù e servaggio nell' economia Europa. Secc. XI–XVII* (Firenze 2014), 281–290.
- Porskrog Rasmussen et al. 2008**
C. Porskrog Rasmussen, E. Imberger, D. Lohmeier and I. Momsen (eds), *Die Fürsten des Landes. Herzöge und Grafen von Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* (Neumünster 2008).
- Poulsen et al. 1973**
V. Poulsen, E. Lassen and J. Danielsen (eds.), *Dansk kunsthistorie. Rigets mænd lader sig male 1500–1750* (Copenhagen 1973).
- Probst 1984**
N. M. Probst, 'Samtidige illustrationer af danske 1600-tals orlogsskibe, Van de Velde tegninger II', *Marinehistorisk Tidsskrift*, 17/3 (1984), 9–28.
- Probst 1992**
N. M. Probst, 'Wasser-alen. Et hidtil overset længdemål fra Christian IV's tid', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 92 (1992), 288–300.
- Rahn 1998**
K. Rahn, *Findbuch des Bestandes 2.11–2/1 Acta externa*, vol. 1: Beziehungen Mecklenburgs zu Staaten und Städten des Ostseeraums, Findbücher, Inventare und kleine Schriften des Landeshauptarchivs Schwerin, vol. 3 (Schwerin 1998).
- Ramstad 2008**
M. Ramstad, 'Trosners dagbok – en boknars eventyrlige fortelling 1710–1714 fra store nordiske krig', *Årbok for Haugalandmuseene*, 2007/2008 (2008), 166–171.
- Rangström 1995**
L. Rangström, *Karl XI:s karusell 1672* (Stockholm 1995).
- Ribbing 1949**
O. Ribbing, *Göteborgs eskader och örlogsstation 1523–1870*, Historik utarbetad och utgiven av Försvarsstabens krigshistoriska avdelning (Gothenburg 1949).
- Rieg 1903**
A. Rieg, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Wien, Leipzig 1903).
- Riise Kristensen 2009**
J. Riise Kristensen, 'Bjergningsarbejder under Store Nordiske Krig ved Marstrand og Strömstad 1719', *Mari-tim Kontakt*, 32 (2009), 95–111.
- Roberts 1979**
M. Roberts, *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560–1718* (Cambridge 1979).
- Rodger 2005**
N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean. A Naval History of Britain 1649–1815* (New York 2005).
- Roding 1990**
J. Roding, 'The Myth of the Dutch Renaissance in Denmark. Dutch Influence on Danish Architecture in the 17th Century', in J. Ph. S. Lemmink and J. S. A. M. van Koningsbrugge (eds), *Baltic Affairs. Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500–1800*, Baltic Studies I (Nijmegen 1990), 343–353.
- Roding 1996**
J. Roding, 'The North Sea coasts, an architectural unity?', in J. Roding and L. Heerma van Voss (eds), *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800)*, Proceedings of the International Conference held at Leiden, 21–22 April 1995 (Hilversum 1996), 95–106.
- Rostunov 1987**
I. Rostunov (ed.), *Istorija severnoj vojny 1700–1721 gg.* (Moscow 1987).
- Rothe 1747–1750**
C. P. Rothe, *Forsøg til navnkundige Danske Mænds Livs og Levnets Beskrivelse*, 3 vols (Copenhagen 1747–1750).
- Rübcke-von Veltheim 2014**
B. Rübcke-von Veltheim, 'Gottver-trauen ist sein Kapital', in *Christi Ehr vnd gemeinen Nutzen willig zu fodern vnd zu schützen. Beiträge zur Kirchen-, Kunst- und Landesgeschichte Pom-merns und des Ostseeraums*, Fest-schrift für Norbert Buske, Michael Lissok und Haik Thomas Porada, Beiträge zur pommerschen Landes-, Kirchen- und Kunstgeschichte, vol. 18 (Schwerin 2014), 877–904.
- Rystad 2001**
G. Rystad, *Karl XI. En biografi* (Lund 2001).
- Rålamb 1943**
Å. Rålamb, *Skeps Byggerij eller Adelig Öfnings Tiende Tom*, Sjöhistoriska Museet Faksimileditioner Faksimiltryck (Malmö 1943).
- Sapper and Weichsel 2008**
M. Sapper and V. Weichsel (eds), *Geschichtspolitik und Gegenerinnerung. Krieg, Gewalt und Trauma im Osten Europas* (Berlin 2008).
- Schaake 2009**
K. Schaake, *Abschlußbericht zur archäologischen Voruntersuchung im Trassenbereich der geplanten Off-shore-Windpark-Netzanbindung nach Lubmin (Trasse Ost-2 – Schiffssperre im Greifswalder Bodden)* (Lübstorf 2009, unpublished).

- Schaake et al. 2012**
K. Schaake, J. Krüger and R. Göhler, 'A Swedish Barrier of Sunken Ships from 1715. New Findings from a NAS-2 Workshop in Greifswald', *Skyllis. Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie*, 12/2 (2012), 148–154.
- Scherer 2003**
Th. Scherer, *Vier untersuchte Klinkerschiffe einer schwedischen Schiffsperre von 1715 im Greifswalder Bodden*, Magister thesis, University of Bamberg, 2003.
- Schilling 1989**
R. Schilling, *Schwedisch-Pommern um 1700* (Weimar 1989).
- Schillmeier 1989**
U. Schillmeier, *Theodor Allers. Ein Barockbildhauer in Schleswig-Holstein Gottorf von 1684–1704*, PhD thesis, 3 vols, University of Kiel, 1989.
- Schlichting and Dannenberg 2013**
F. Schlichting and H.-E. Dannenberg, *Elbe-Weser-Dreieck. Eine kleine Landeskunde der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden*, Schriftenreihe des Landschaftsverbandes der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden 42 (Stade 2013).
- Schlögel et al. 2007**
K. Schlögel, F. B. Schenk and M. Ackelet (eds), *Sankt Petersburg. Schauplätze einer Stadtgeschichte* (Frankfurt/Main 2007).
- von Schmettow et al. 2000**
H. von Schmettow, F. Lüth and U. Schoknecht (eds), *Schutz des Kulturerbes unter Wasser. Veränderungen europäischer Lebenskultur durch Fluss- und Seehandel*, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns 35 (Lübstorf 2000).
- Schnell 2014**
D. Schnell, 'Schloß Griebenow – Geschichte und Geschichten', in *Christi Ehr vnd gemeinen Nutzen willig zu fodern vnd zu schützen. Beiträge zur Kirchen-, Kunst- und Landesgeschichte Pommerns und des Ostseeraums*, Festchrift für Norbert Buske, Michael Lissok und Haik Thomas Porada, Beiträge zur pommerschen Landes-, Kirchen- und Kunstgeschichte, vol. 18 (Schwerin 2014), 189–232.
- Schnitzer 2009**
C. Schnitzer, "Bey dero höchsterfrelichen Anwesenheit allhier in Dreßden". Die Festlichkeiten anlässlich des Besuchs Frederiks IV. von Dänemark 1709 in Dresden', in Kappel and Brink 2009, 289–301.
- Schnitzer and Hölscher 2000**
C. Schnitzer and P. Hölscher (eds), *Eine gute Figur machen. Kostüm und Fest am Dresdner Hof*, Ausstellungskatalog Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden 2000).
- Schönrock 2015**
F. Schönrock, *Das bürgerliche Wohnhaus in Greifswald im 18. Jahrhundert. Wandel und Kontinuität*, Beiträge zur Architekturgeschichte und Denkmalpflege in Mecklenburg und Vorpommern, vol. 11 (Schwerin 2015).
- Schuckelt 2009**
H. Schuckelt, 'Das Fest von 1709', in Kappel and Brink 2009, 284–285.
- Scovazzi 2012**
T. Scovazzi, 'Underwater Cultural Heritage', in R. Wolfrum (ed.), *The Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Oxford, New York 2012).
- Seerup 2010**
J. Seerup, *Søetaten i 1700-tallet: Organisation, personel og dagligdag i 1700-tallets danske flåde*, PhD thesis, University of Copenhagen, 2010.
- Sjöblom 1947**
A. Sjöblom, *Ehrenstrahl* (Malmö 1947).
- Sjurnal ili padennaja sapiska 1770**
Sjurnal ili padennaja sapiska imperatora Pjotra Velikogo s 1698 Goda (Saint Petersburg 1770).
- Skogh 2013**
L. Skogh, *Material Worlds. Queen Hedwig Eleonora as Collector and Patron of the Arts* (Stockholm 2013).
- Smirnov 2009**
A. Smirnov, *Det första stora kriget* (Stockholm 2009).
- Snickare 1999**
M. Snickare, *Enväldets riter. Kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre* (Stockholm 1999).
- Spielmann and Drees 1997b**
H. Spielmann and J. Drees (eds), *Gottorf im Glanz des Barock. Kunst und Kultur am Schleswiger Hof 1544–1713*, vol. 1: *Die Herzöge und ihre Sammlungen* (Schleswig 1997).
- Stadelmann 2008**
M. Stadelmann, *Die Romanovs* (Stuttgart 2008).
- Stamm-Kuhlmann 1995**
Th. Stamm-Kuhlmann, *Die Hohenzollern* (Berlin 1995).
- Steffy 1994**
J. R. Steffy, *Wooden ship building and the interpretation of shipwrecks* (College Station 1994).
- Steinbruch 1998**
K.-H. Steinbruch, 'Der Nordische Krieg in Mecklenburg', in *Stadtgeschichtliches Museum in Wismar* (ed.), *Schwedenzeit* (Wismar 1998), 38–54.
- Steinbruch 2014**
K.-H. Steinbruch, 'Die Beräumung des Schlachtfeldes und die Verwundetenversorgung nach dem 20. Dezember 1712', in R. Stutz (ed.), *300 Jahre Schlacht bei Gadebusch. Internationale Tagung vom 12. bis 14. Oktober 2012 in Gadebusch*, Publikationen des Lehrstuhls für Nordische Geschichte, vol. 18 (Greifswald 2014), 229–242.
- Steinwascher 2011**
G. Steinwascher, *Die Oldenburger. Die Geschichte einer europäischen Dynastie*, Kohlhammer-Urban-Taschenbücher, Geschichte/Politikwissenschaft, vol. 703 (Stuttgart 2011).
- Steinwascher 2012**
G. Steinwascher, *Die Oldenburger* (2nd edition, Stuttgart 2012).
- Stöwesand 1923**
R. Stöwesand, *Lützen, Meuchen, Altranstädt. Ein Reiseführer für Lützenfahrer nebst einem geschichtlichen Anhang* (Lützen 1923).
- Stoldt 2011**
P. Stoldt, *Schwedens Motive und Wege zur Herrschaft über die Provinz Bremen-Verden 1648–1719* (Norderstedt 2011).
- Strandell 1972**
B. Strandell, *En bok om Strömstad. Staden och dess invånare under 300 år* (Stockholm 1972).
- Strindberg 1919**
A. Strindberg, 'Sveriges förstörare', in A. Strindberg, *Samlade skrifter*, vol. 53: *Tal till Svenska Nationen samt andra tidningsartiklar 1910–1912* (Stockholm 1919), 53–57.
- Svalesen 1996**
L. Svalesen, *Slaveskipet Fredensborg og den dansk-norske slavehandel på 1700-tallet* (Oslo 1996).
- Svenska flottans historia 1944–1949**
Svenska flottans historia I–III (Stockholm 1944–1949).
- Svensson 1943**
A. Svensson (ed.), *Svenska flottans historia*, vol. 2: 1680–1814 (Malmö 1943).
- Syndram 2009a**
D. Syndram, 'Sammeln von Schatzkunst am Kurfürstlichen und königlichen Hof in Dresden', in Kappel and Brink 2009, 83–87.
- Syndram 2009b**
D. Syndram, 'August der Starke', in Kappel and Brink 2009, 249–253; 279, Cat.-No. V.35.
- Sørensen 1890**
S. A. Sørensen, 'Dannefer, Jacob Nielsen', in *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon* IV (Copenhagen 1890), 176–178.
- Tank 1923**
R. Tank, *Tordenskiolds Matros. Dagbok ført av en norsk matros paa den dansk-norske flåte 1710–1714* (Kristiania 1923).
- Tarle 1958**
E. Tarle, *Severnaja vojna i svedskoe nasestvie na Rossiju* (Moscow 1958).
- Techen 1929**
F. Techel, *Geschichte der Seestadt Wismar* (Wismar 1929).
- Thomsen 2006**
M. H. Thomsen, 'En sådan näsestyver. Om en slem overraskelse for den dansk-hollandske flåde – og for arkæologen', in E. Gøbel and C. Lemée (eds), *Skibsbyggeri og seafart i Renæssansen*, Maritim Kontakt 28 (Copenhagen 2006), 69–83.

- Titze 1994**
M. Titze, 'Der Schloßbau zu Weißenfels in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte und Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts in Mitteldeutschland', in Freundeskreis Schloß Neu-Augustusburg e.V. (ed.), *300 Jahre Schloß Neu-Augustusburg, 1660–1694, Residenz der Herzöge von Sachsen-Weißenfels*, Festschrift (Weißenfels 1994), 37–56.
- Titze 2002**
M. Titze, *Das barocke Schneeberg. Kunst und städtische Kultur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Sachsen* (Dresden 2002).
- Toivanen 1988**
P. Toivanen, *Expedition to Ostrobothnia by the Russian Island Fleet, 1714. On the Russian Trial in the Maksamaa (Maxmo) Islands* (1988).
- Trevelyan 1930**
G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, vol. 1 (London 1930).
- Tuomisto 1998**
A. Tuomisto, *Suomalaiset sotamuis-tomerkit. Sotiemme muistomerkit Pähkinääsaaren rauhasta 1323 nykypäivään 1998* (Helsinki 1998).
- Tuxen and With-Seidelin 1910**
A. P. Tuxen and C. L. With-Seidelin, *De Nordiske Allieredes kamp med Magnus Stenbock 1712–1713*, Bidrag til Den Store Nordiske Krigs Historie, vol. 4 (Copenhagen-Kristiania 1910).
- Tuxen and With-Seidelin 1922**
A. P. Tuxen and C. L. With-Seidelin, *Erobringten af Sveriges tyske Provinser 1715–1716* (Copenhagen 1922).
- Uldum 1999**
O. C. Uldum, 'Ebeltoft Fiskerihavn – nødudgraving af et kavelbygget skib fra tiden omkring år 1640', *Marinarkæologisk Nyhedsbrev fra Roskilde*, 12 (1999), 36–38.
- Velikij 2003**
P. Velikij, *Pro et contra. Ličnost'i dejanija Petra I v ocenke russkich myslitelej i issledovatelej* (Saint Petersburg 2003).
- Vigeland 1953**
N. P. Vigeland, *Norge på havet*, vol. 1 (Oslo 1953).
- Vilinbakhov and Olaussion 1999**
G. Vilinbakhov and M. Olaussion, *Catherine the Great & Gustav III* (Helsingborg 1999).
- Vilkuna 2006a**
K. H. J. Vilkuna, *Paholaisen sota* (Helsinki 2006).
- Vilkuna 2006b**
K. H. J. Vilkuna, *Viha: perikato, katkeruu ja kertomus isostavihasta* (Helsinki 2006).
- Villstrand 2011**
N. E. Villstrand, *Sveriges Historia 1600–1721* (Stockholm 2011).
- Vozgrin 1986**
V. Vozgrin, *Rossija i evropejskie strany v gody severnoj vojny* (Leningrad 1986).
- Vozgrin 2007**
V. Vozgrin (ed.), *Severnaja vojna, Sankt-Peterburg i Evropa v pervoj četverti XVIII v.* (Saint Petersburg 2007).
- de Vries und van der Woude 1997**
J. de Vries und A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy. Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1814* (Cambridge 1997).
- Wade 1996**
M. R. Wade, *Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus, German Court Culture and Denmark. The "Great Wedding" of 1634*. Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, vol. 27 (Wiesbaden 1996).
- Warner 1979**
O. Warner, *Fighting Sail: Three hundred Years of Warfare at Sea* (London 1979).
- Wessman 1924**
V. E. V. Wessman (ed.), *Finlands svenska folkdiktning, 2 Historiska sägner* (Helsingfors 1924).
- Wieringa et al. 1983**
W. J. Wieringa, H. F. J. M. van den Eerenbeemt, H. Baudet and H. J. van Stuijvenberg (eds), *The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region, 1400–1800* (Leiden 1983).
- Wiesinger 2010**
A. S. Wiesinger, 'so würde es eins der schönsten Palläste in Europa gewesen sein', *Schloss Gottorf als barocke Fürstenresidenz*, PhD thesis, University of Kiel, 2010.
- Willem 2014**
W.J.H. Willem, 'The Future of World Heritage and the Emergence of Trans-national Heritage Regimes', *Heritage & Society*, 7/2 (2014), 105–120.
- Winberg-Aminoff 2007**
J. Winberg-Aminoff, *På flykt i eget land. Internflyktingar i Sverige under stora nordiska kriget* (Åbo 2007).
- Winter 1985**
H. Winter, *Der holländische Zweidecker von 1660/1670* (Rostock 1985).
- Wittram 1964**
R. Wittram, *Peter I., Czar und Kaiser. Zur Geschichte Peters des Großen in seiner Zeit*, 2 vols (Göttingen 1964).
- Wolf 2008**
J. Wolf (ed.), *1707–2007 Altranstädter Konvention. Ein Meilenstein religiöser Toleranz in Europa* (Halle 2008).
- Wróblewski 2013**
E. Wróblewski, *Danish-Norwegian Sailors During The Great Northern war, 1700–1721. A portrait based on the available archaeological and historical sources*, Master thesis, University of Southern Denmark, Esbjerg, 2013.
- Zapnik 2007**
J. Zapnik, *Pest und Krieg im Ostseeraum – der 'Schwarze Tod' in Stralsund während des Großen Nordischen Krieges 1700–1721*, Greifswalder Historische Studien, vol. 7 (Hamburg 2007).
- Øvrebø 1996**
E. Øvrebø, *I kongens teneste. Militær utskriving frå Bergens stift under Store nordiske krig 1709–1719* (Bergen 1996).
- Ångström Grandien 2009**
I. L. Ångström Grandien, *The Ridдарholmen Church in Stockholm as a Burial Church for Swedish Heroes from the Thirty-Years-War* (no place 2009) <www.martin-carl-adolf-boeckler-stiftung.de/Heft_24_Angstroem.pdf>

List of authors

Dr. Dan H. Andersen Copenhagen, danh.andersen@gmail.com	Prof. Dr. Jan Kusber Arbeitsbereich Osteuropäische Geschichte, Johannes Gutenberg- Universität Mainz, kusber@uni-mainz.de	Dr. Jakob Seerup Orlogsmuseet/The Royal Danish Naval Museum, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, jakob.seerup@natmus.dk
Staffan von Arbin M. A. Bohusläns Museum, Uddevalla, staffan.arbin@vgregion.se	Prof. Dr. Konrad Küster Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, konrad.kuester@ muwi.uni-freiburg.de	Dr. Martin Segschneider Archäologisches Landesamt Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig, martin.segschneider@alsh.landsh.de
Dr. Jens Auer Institut for Historie, Syddansk Universitet, Esbjerg, auer@sdu.dk	Frode Kvalø Norsk Maritimt Museum, Oslo, frode.kvalo@marmuseum.no	Prof. Dr. Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann Allgemeine Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, stamm@uni-greifswald.de
Prof. Dr. Oliver Auge Historisches Seminar, Abteilung für Regionalgeschichte, Christian- Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, oauge@email.uni-kiel.de	Prof. Dr. Lars Olof Larsson Kiel, larsson-lo@gmx.de	Karl-Heinz Steinbruch M. A. Mecklenburgica – Archiv- und Recherchedienst, Schwerin, Mecklenburgica.Steinbruch@ t-online.de
Thomas Bergstrand M. A. Bohusläns Museum, Uddevalla, thomas.bergstrand@vgregion.se	Prof. Dr. Thijss J. Maarleveld Institut for Historie, Syddansk Universitet, Esbjerg, t.maarleveld@sdu.dk	Prof. Dr. Gerd Steinwascher Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit, Carl von Ossietzky Universität, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Oldenburg, gerd.steinwascher@ nla.niedersachsen.de
Dr. Michael Bregnsbo Institut for Historie, Syddansk Universitet, Odense, bregnsbo@sdu.dk	Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Michael North Lehrstuhl für Allgemeine Geschichte der Neuzeit, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt- Universität Greifswald, north@uni-greifswald.de	Mikkel H. Thomsen M. A. Vikingeskibsmuseet, Roskilde, mht@vikingeskibsmuseet.dk
Dr. Jan Drees Schleswig, drees.sl@t-online.de	Prof. Dr. Jens E. Olesen Lehrstuhl für Nordische Geschichte, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greif- swald, olesen@uni-greifswald.de	Pekka Toivanen Jakobstad
Thomas Eisentraut M. A. Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, thomas.eisentraut@ schloss-gottorf.de	Prof. Dr. Sverker Oredsson Historiska institutionen, Lunds Universitet, Lund, sverker.oredsson@hist.lu.se	Dr. Johanna Wassholm Department of History, Åbo Akademi University, Turku, johanna.wassholm@abo.fi
Prof. Dr. Lars Ericson Wolke Försvarshögskolan, Stockholm, lars.ericonwolke@fhs.se	Dr. Tilman Plath Lehrstuhl für Osteuropäische Geschichte, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt- Universität Greifswald, tilman.plath@uni-greifswald.de	Anja Silke Wiesinger Kiel, a_wies@web.de
Melanie Greinert M. A. Kiel, melanie.greinert@gmx.de	Prof. Dr. Haik Thomas Porada Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde, Leipzig, H_Porada@ifl-leipzig.de	Dr. Inga Lena Ångström Grandien Stockholm, inga.lena@angstrom-grandien.com
Prof. Dr. Knud J. V. Jespersen Institut for Historie, Syddansk Universitet, Odense, kjvj@sdu.dk	Prof. Dr. Arnd Reitemeier Institut für Historische Landes- forschung, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, arnd.reitemeier@ phil.uni-goettingen.de	
Prof. Dr. Martin Krieger Historisches Seminar, Christian- Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, krieger@email.uni-kiel.de	Kai Schaake M. A. Landesverband für Unterwasser- archäologie Mecklenburg- Vorpommern e.V., Putgarten/Rügen, k.schaake@uwa-mv.de	
Dr. Joachim Krüger Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, joachim.krueger@ schloss-gottorf.de	Dr. Inger Schuberth Lützen-Stiftung Göteborg, Wachtberg bei Bonn, Dr.Inger.Schuberth@t-online.de	
Dr. Uta Kuhl Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kultur- geschichte, Stiftung Schleswig- Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, kuhl@schloss-gottorf.de		

Illustration credits

Cover The Museum of National History, Frederiksborg (A363), photo: K. Weiss.	Larsson, Art and royal representation Fig. 1: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, photo: Nationalmuseum. Fig. 2: After: Svecia antiqua et hodierna, Buch 1 Taf. 82, photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Kiel. Fig. 3: After: Svecia antiqua et hodierna, Buch 1 Taf. 19, photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Kiel. Fig. 4: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1974/1793 Fig. 5: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1966/608 Fig. 6: Stiftung Schloss Eutin, photo: C. Dannenberg. Fig. 7: Stiftung Schloss Eutin, photo: C. Dannenberg.	Wiesinger, Duke Frederick IV Fig. 1: Photo; Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig. Fig. 2: Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Kort og tegninger 1600–1900, krigsministeriet, K 19, mappe 22, 1–5. Fig. 3: Photo: A. S. Wiesinger. Fig. 4: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege (Plansammlung). Fig. 5: Photo: Städtisches Museum Flensburg, Inv.Nr. 341. Fig. 6: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig Abt. 402 B II Nr. 247.
Endpapers Graphics J. Schüller, Schleswig.		Kuhl, War and games Fig. 1: Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden Nr-C 1968-791, photo: H. Boswank. Fig. 2: Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden Ca 199/4, photo: H. Boswank.
Frontispiece Nationalmuseum Stockholm, photo: C. Heisser.		Fig. 3: Rüstkammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, photo: H.-P. Klut. Fig. 4: Rüstkammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, photo: H.-P. Klut.
Pages 14–15 Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig.		Fig. 5: Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, photo: J. Karpinski. Fig. 6: Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, photo: J. Karpinski.
Olesen, Struggle Fig. 1: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1958/14. Fig. 2: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1971/766. Fig. 3: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1957/351. Fig. 4: Photo: C. Dannenberg. Fig. 5: Photo: C. Dannenberg.	Auge, Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp Fig. 1: Graphics: Sandstein Verlag. Fig. 2: Graphics: Sandstein Verlag. Fig. 3: Stiftung Schloss Eutin, photo: C. Dannenberg. Fig. 4: Stiftung Schloss Eutin, photo: C. Dannenberg. Fig. 5: Graphics: J. Schüller, Schleswig.	Fig. 7: Photo: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig.
Krüger, Baltic Sea region Fig. 1: Graphics J. Schüller, Schleswig, base map: GfK Geomarketing, ZBSA 2014. Fig. 2: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1961/277. Fig. 3: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1989/470. Fig. 4: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1952/47. Fig. 5: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1997/21.	Drees, Hedvig Eleonora Fig. 1: Statens Porträtsamling, Gripsholm. Fig. 2: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Fig. 3: Stiftung Schloss Eutin. Fig. 4: Rosenborg Castle, DKK 6–78, photo: R. Kühling. Fig. 5: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1974/1793.	Küster, Funeral Music Fig. 1: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Fig. 2: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. Fig. 3: Photo: K. Küster.
Pages 42–43 Schleswig Holsteinisches Landesarchiv, Schleswig Abt. 402 B II Nr. 247.	Greinert, Hedvig Sofia Fig. 1: Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek, Kiel, Sign. P8-H-124. Fig. 2: LASH, Urk. Abt. 8, Nr. 574. Fig. 3: Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek, Kiel, Sign. P4-F-7. Fig. 4: LASH, Abt. 7, Nr. 342, 348, 349, 350.	Jespersen, King Frederick IV Fig. 1: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1905/4. Fig. 2: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1955/271.
North, Absolutism and baroque culture Fig. 1: Photo: M. Müller. Fig. 2: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.	Ångström Grandien, Nicodemus Tessin Fig. 1: NM H THC 4824th. Fig. 2: NM H THC 3072. Fig. 3: NM H THC 3065.	Fig. 3: Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig Inv.-Nr. 1969/1260.

Oredsson, Charles XII
Fig. 1: Stiftung Schloss Eutin,
photo: C. Dannenberg.
Fig. 2: © Staatliches Museum
Schwerin, photo: A. Bötefür.
Fig. 3: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.

Kusber, Peter I
Fig. 1: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 2: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 3: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 4: Stiftung Schloss Eutin,
photo: C. Dannenberg.

Steinwascher, Connection
Fig. 1: Stiftung Schloss Eutin,
photo: C. Dannenberg.
Fig. 2: Stiftung Schloss Eutin,
photo: C. Dannenberg.
Fig. 3: Stiftung Schleswig-
Holsteinische Landesmuseen
Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig
Inv.-Nr. 1969/37.
Fig. 4: Stiftung Schloss Eutin.
Fig. 5: Stiftung Schleswig-
Holsteinische Landesmuseen
Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig
Inv.-Nr. 2000/325.
Fig. 6: Stiftung Schloss Eutin,
photo: C. Dannenberg.

Stamm-Kuhlmann, Prussia
Fig. 1: Wikimedia Commons.

Pages 186–187
Photo: C. Dannenberg

Krieger, European maritime trading
Fig. 1: Leihgabe aus Privatbesitz,
Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische
Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf,
Schleswig, photo: C. Dannenberg.
Fig. 2: Rigsarkivet Copenhagen,
0370-013, Orlogsværftet,
Tegninger A 766, photo: J. Krüger.
Fig. 3: Rigsarkivet Copenhagen,
0370-013, Orlogsværftet,
Tegninger A 931, photo: J. Krüger.
Fig. 4: Rigsarkivet Copenhagen,
0370-013, Orlogsværftet,
Tegninger A 906, photo: J. Krüger.

Ericson Wolke, Swedish navy
Fig. 1: Krigsarkivet (Military Archives),
Stockholm.
Fig. 2: Rigsarkivet Copenhagen,
0008 Skibsjournaler Nr. 91,
photo J. Krüger.

Seerup, Material culture
Fig. 1: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.
Fig. 2: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.
Fig. 3: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.
Fig. 4: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.

Andersen,
Peter Wessel Tordenskiold
Fig. 1: Oslo Museum, photo: R. Aakvik.
Fig. 2: National Museum Copenhagen
Medal-Nr. 333.

Eisentraut, The life
Fig. 1: RA Copenhagen, Skibs jounaler,
Orlogskib Beskiermeren 1712, 90A.
Fig. 2: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.
Fig. 3: www.marmuseum.no/Skipskis
te+fra+utgravningen+av+fregatten
+Lossen+42.jpg.hTL9jADMx
MMW4-MNFUEXToZkUgTpQBt
KETMtjnoY5T-ZjL5ACJ1SoS.ips
Fig. 4: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.

Eisentraut, Diary of Nils Trosner
Fig. 1: National Archives of Norway,
Oslo, EA-3667/G/Loo48a.
Fig. 2: National Archives of Norway,
Oslo, EA-3667/G/Loo48a.
Fig. 3: National Archives of Norway,
Oslo, EA-3667/G/Loo48a.
Fig. 4: National Archives of Norway,
Oslo, EA-3667/G/Loo48a.
Fig. 5: National Archives of Norway,
Oslo, EA-3667/G/Loo48a.

Pages 248–249
Photo: G. Lorenz, Wendtorf.

Maarleveld,
Underwater Cultural Heritage
Fig. 1: Rijksmuseum SK-A-581.
Fig. 2: UNESCO.
Fig. 3: UNESCO.

Auer and Segschneider,
Prinsessan Hedvig Sofia
Fig. 1: J. Auer 2014, based on a pre-
pared map by NordNordWest,
Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 2: Fredrik V Atlas, Volume 32,
Royal Library Copenhagen.
Fig. 3: J. Auer 2014, based on field-
work data.
Fig. 4: J. Auer 2014, based on field-
work data.
Fig. 5: After Auer 2011.
Fig. 6: Photo: L. Hermannsen 2009.
Fig. 7: Photo: L. Hermannsen 2011.

Krüger and Schaake,
Wrecks of the Great Northern War
Fig. 1: Graphics: J. Schüller, Schleswig.
Fig. 2: Photo: J. Ehresmann,
published with the kind permission
of the Amt für Kultur und Denk-
malpflege – Archäologie, Mecklen-
burg-Vorpommern.
Fig. 3: Photo: J. Ehresmann,
published with the kind permission
of the Amt für Kultur und Denk-
malpflege – Archäologie, Mecklen-
burg-Vorpommern.

Fig. 4: Rigsarkivet Copenhagen 0008,
Admiralitets- og Kommissariats-
kollegiet, Skibsjournaler, Nr. 99A –
99bA, photo: J. Krüger.

Fig. 5: Photo: O. Braasch, published
with the kind permission of the
Amt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege
– Archäologie, Mecklenburg-Vor-
pommern.
Fig. 6: Rigsarkivet Copenhagen 0008,
Admiralitets- og Kommissariatskol-
legiet, Skibsjournaler, Nr. 91,
photo: J. Krüger.

Auer, Mynden
Fig. 1: Design and graphic J. Auer 2014,
based on map data by NordNord-
West, Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 2: Design and graphic J. Auer
2014.
Fig. 3: Riksarkivet Oslo, Manuskript-
samlingen, quarto 48, daybook of
Niels Trosner.
Fig. 4: After Auer 2000.
Fig. 5: Landesamt Bodendenkmal-
pflege MV 1998.
Fig. 6: Design and graphic J. Auer
2014 based on map data by Nord-
NordWest, Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 7: Rigsarkivet København.

Toivanen, Russian galley fleet
Fig. 1: Graphics J. Schüller, Schleswig.
Fig. 2: Graphics J. Mocka, Schleswig.
Fig. 3: Photo: Th. Eisentraut.

Bergstrand and von Arbin,
Marstrand
Fig. 1: Bohusläns Museum.
Fig. 2: Københavns Universitets-
bibliotek.
Fig. 3: Det Kongelige Bibliotek.
Fig. 4: Photo: J. Lindström/Bohusläns
Museum.
Fig. 5: Photo: K. Åshede/Bohusläns
Museum.

Kvalø, Lossen
Fig. 1: Photo: NMM Archive.
Fig. 2: Drawing by E. Karlsen, NMM.
Fig. 3: Drawing by E. Karlsen and
O. Krogness.
Fig. 4: Photo: NMM.
Fig. 5: Photo: NMM.

Thomsen, Ebeltoft Vig
Fig. 1: Graphics J. Schüller, Schleswig.
Fig. 2: Collection: The National
Maritime Museum, Amsterdam
(S.2063).
Fig. 3: Museum Boijmans Van
Beuningen, Rotterdam (MB 1866/T
219 [PK]), photo: Studio Tromp,
Rotterdam.
Fig. 4: Graphics J. Schüller,
Schleswig.

Fig. 5: © National Museum of
Denmark 1999 (NMU1700-Tr-7).
Fig. 6: The Museum of National
History, Frederiksborg (A2818),
photo: L. Larsen.

Pages 330–331
Oslo Museum, photo: R. Aakvik.

Wassholm, Finnish memory culture
Fig. 1: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 2: www.epmuisto.fi
Fig. 3: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 4: www.futurifilmi.fi
Fig. 5: www.estofennia.eu

Bregnsbo, Two naval heroes
Fig. 1: Photo: ©2005 Hans Andersen.
Fig. 2: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 3: Photo: C. Dannenberg.

Plath, Lost Victory?
Fig. 1: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 2: Wikimedia Commons.
Fig. 3: Wikimedia Commons.

Schuberth, Altranstädt
Fig. 1: National Library of Sweden,
KoB PH St.f.2.
Fig. 2: National Library of Sweden,
KoB HP CXII A 70.
Fig. 3: National Library of Sweden,
KoB Sv. Kpst, Hedengran,
Ambrosius 2.
Fig. 4: Author.
Fig. 5: Photo: Museum Schloss
Altranstädt.

Porada, Undefeated
Fig. 1: Photo: H. Th. Porada.
Fig. 2: Photo: H. Th. Porada.
Fig. 3: Photo: B. Rübcke von Veltheim.
Fig. 4: Karte (ergänzt) aus Porada
2005, 18; © Thomas Helms Verlag,
Schwerin.
Fig. 5: Photo: D. Schnell.
Fig. 6: Collection of Th. Helms.

Steinbruch,
Great Northern War in Mecklenburg
Fig. 1: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin,
2.12-2/19 Feindliche Invasionen,
II. Archiv Schwerin, Vol. CVIII.
Fig. 2: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin,
2.12-2/19 Feindliche Invasionen,
II. Archiv Schwerin, Vol. CVIII.
Fig. 3: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin,
2.12-2/19 Feindliche Invasionen,
II. Archiv Schwerin, Vol. XCIV.
Fig. 4: Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin,
2.12-2/19 Feindliche Invasionen,
II. Archiv Schwerin, Vol. XCIV.

Reitemeier, Duchy of Bremen-Verden
Fig. 1: Wikimedia Commons.

On 25 April 1715, the Swedish Rear Admiral Carl Hans Wachtmeister scuttled his flagship *Prinsessan Hedvig Sofia* in the Baltic Sea off Bülk, after it had been badly damaged in a naval engagement off Femern during the course of the Great Northern War. In 2008, divers discovered the wreck and shortly afterwards underwater archaeologists were successful in identifying it. As a result, a window was opened into a past which had never had light cast on it in the Baltic region from an international perspective.

In this volume accompanying the special exhibition 'Of Swords, Sails and Cannon – The Sinking of the *Princess Hedvig Sofia*', 37 contributions from authors from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia, and Germany delve more deeply into the topics presented in the exhibition. The key areas are 'Baltic in change around 1700', 'Absolutism in the Baltic region', 'Shipping and naval warfare', 'Underwater cultural heritage', and 'The Great Northern War – memorial culture'.

In addition a German-language exhibition catalogue has appeared.



Schloss Gottorf
Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen

SANDSTEIN
ISBN 978-3-95498-166-3

