



Figure 1. Pen-and-ink drawing in the accountbook of Tallinn 28 May 1519, marking the entry on the Royal Danish ship Maria. Tallinn City Archives, TLA.230.1.Ad 32, fol. 117v

THE ROYAL DANISH SHIP *MARIA* IN TALLINN 1518–19

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It must have been a sight when after a heavy autumn storm, a large, crippled ship that had lost three masts appeared in the Bay of Tallinn on 20 September 1518. The royal Danish ship *Maria* was probably the largest man-of-war that sailed the Baltic Sea at that time. It was certainly much larger than any of the ships in the port of Tallinn at the moment. *Maria* is relatively famous in the history of the Danish Navy, but in the long history of Danish-Estonian relations, her stay in Tallinn is just one event, a short episode. However, it has produced a significant amount of written evidence that scholarship has still not completely exhausted: in this article, some new sources from the Tallinn City Archives can be added to our previous knowledge.¹ All this enables quite a detailed reconstruction of the circumstances. Moreover, a microhistorical approach² to this one exceptional event allows some important aspects to be captured in the life of Tallinn as a medieval port town: what kind of relations Tallinn's merchants had with Danish privateers, what the capacities of local ship-building were, and what kind of challenges or opportunities wintering sailors presented. Every such encounter between land and sea in history has its own unique eventuality, but at the same time, it also has the potential to suggest some enduring patterns and structures.

Let us start with the general timeline. *Maria* appears in the sources in 1517 and was built probably a couple of years earlier. She was used for military transport during the campaign of King Christian II of Denmark against Sweden in 1518 and was on her way back to Copenhagen when she was hit by the storm. Heavy weather also caused other casualties for the Danish fleet that autumn. We hear in the correspondence about a shipwreck near Klaipėda (in present-day Lithuania), and about some rescue

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¹ Jørgen H. Barfod, *Flådens fødsel* (København: Marinehistorisk selskab, 1990), 148–149.

² Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory", *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 93–113.

works in Hel (in present-day Poland).³ *Maria* had to stay in Tallinn over the winter for repair works. After her return to Copenhagen, she was taken to the Netherlands in 1523 when King Christian II was deposed and forced into exile. There *Maria* was sold to a Genoese merchant in 1525.

When *Maria* was sold, Jürgen Hansen, one of the king's men, wrote that she was: 'a ship with which one could force the whole sea, when it appeared at sea the enemies of your grace were more afraid of *Maria* than of 10 other ships'.⁴ In a Dutch chronicle, her crew is said to have been 500 men. The ship's extraordinary dimensions are also reflected in the correspondence: the king claims in a letter to Gdańsk that he needs wood for her main mast of 20 fathoms, and a foremast of 18 fathoms, that is 36 and 32.4 metres respectively.⁵ Based on this data, visual sources, and comparison with other large warships of the time, Niels Probst has also made a reconstruction of *Maria* as a four-masted caravel and has estimated her carrying capacity as 800 tons (400 *lasts*). *Maria* was rightfully entitled a *houetschepe* by contemporaries. To put that into the perspective of 16th century Tallinn, let us take a look at the data, which Gunnar Mickwitz has on the salt ships that visited Tallinn in the years 1542–1550: out of 664 registered ships, 65% had a capacity of less than 200 tons and only 10% had a capacity of over 400.⁶ The largest ship in these 8 years that Mickwitz was able to trace carried 600 tons. In Thomas Wolf's analysis for the 15th century, most of the long-distance salt ships arriving in Tallinn could carry between 230 and 380 tons, and only the largest could carry up to 700.⁷ Even if we consider all the uncertainties of historical metrics, there is hardly any doubt that the Tallinners of the time had never seen a ship like *Maria* in their port

³ *Handlingar till Nordens historia* (henceforth *Handlingar*), ed. by Lars Sjödin, vol. II, 1.–2. (Stockholm: Nordstedt, 1977, 1979), nos. 648, 719, 752.

⁴ Niels M. Probst, "Hovedskibet Maria 1514–1525. Et rekonstruktionsforsøg", *Marinehistorisk Tidsskrift*, 23:2 (1990), 3–31, (12): 'et skib, hvormed man kunde twinge en heel sø, naar det kom i søen var eders naades fjender mere bange for Marie end for 10 andre skibe'. (English translation by the author).

⁵ *Handlingar*, no. 945, King Christian II to Gdańsk, 19 June 1519, requests masts for *Maria*: 'eynen mast van twynttich fademe lang vnd veer andere mast de darumme tokleden denen mochten van 16 fademe lang, dar to eyn engelholtt van 18 fademe lang to eyner fuggmast'.

⁶ Gunnar Mickwitz, *Aus Revaler Handelsbüchern. Zur Technik des Ostseehandels in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1938), 152–154.

⁷ Thomas Wolf, *Tragfähigkeiten, Ladungen und Maße im Schiffsverkehr der Hanse, vornehmlich im Spiegel Revaler Quellen* (Wien: Böhlau, 1986), 177.

before. With its capacity, *Maria* also fares well among the larger ships of Western European navies that were designed as large fighting platforms.⁸

On 6 October 1518, the ship's captain, the Danish knight Ove Vincentzen Lunge,⁹ described the situation to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Königsberg.¹⁰ The ship had lost all (*sic!*) its three masts with the rigging, as well as three anchors with the anchor ropes and much more in the storm. All the people on the ship had prayed to St James and thanks to this apostle, the wind brought the ship to the port of Tallinn. It seems that despite its disabled manoeuvrability, the steering control of *Maria* had not been completely lost because she did not run aground at a random place on the Baltic shore. Autumn storms in the region tend to bring westerly winds, which together with the ship's limited manoeuvrability did not leave her much choice. Yet in general, the ship and the crew were saved and when she reached Tallinn, she remained afloat.

It is not easy to give a short answer to the question, was Tallinn a friendly port? In 1518, Tallinn's account book expresses the fear of Danish invasion and mentions the works done on town fortifications in this connection.¹¹ On the grand scale, Livonians in general and Tallinners in particular had tried to maintain neutrality in the wars over the dissolution of the Union of Kalmar. That, however, was difficult in many respects. Both parties in the conflict sought support from Livonia while at the same time trying to block the other party's possibilities for obtaining supplies, arms, and men from Livonia. Since Tallinn was a trade metropolis for the whole northern Baltic Sea region, stopping its trade with the Swedes (and Finns) was not at all easy. Tallinn was frequently involved in disputes with Danish privateers, who claimed that there were Swedish goods on the ships, whereas Tallinners insisted that the goods belonged to others. The situation was also very volatile. In the summer of 1518, Christian II issued safe conducts to the Tallinn ships, inviting them to supply his troops with victuals during the siege of Stockholm, i.e. to

⁸ Jan Bill, "The cargo vessels", *Cogs, cargoes and Commerce. Maritime bulk trade in Northern Europe 1150–1400*, ed. by Lars Berggren, Nils Hybel, Anette Landen (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2002), 92–112, (104).

⁹ Astrid Friis, "Ove Lunge", *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, https://biografiskeksikon.lex.dk/Ove_Lunge (visited 3 April 2022).

¹⁰ Handlingar, no. 650.

¹¹ Tallinn City Archives (henceforth TLA).230.1.Ad 32, fol. 112: 'Item dyt jar, do men bofructede des Denschen konynghes ankumst vor Revel, do wurden der stadtporten, torne unnde muren mennigherhande wyß ghebuwet, alßo dat al de kalk unnde deme kalkavene meyst vorbuwet wart'.

trade in the Swedish direction.¹² When the truce with Sweden was concluded shortly thereafter, trade with Sweden was allowed again. It took time for that information to reach the privateers at sea and their conduct remained difficult to predict.¹³

When *Maria* arrived in Tallinn, one such dispute was in progress. Near Naissaar, certain Danish privateers had seized some ships (*schuten*) from Tallinn bound for Stockholm.¹⁴ A month after the arrival of *Maria*, the *schuten* and most of the booty were returned to the Tallinners, yet some of the goods remained in custody. Tallinners had to turn to Sören Norby, a Danish admiral on Gotland,¹⁵ and to King Christian himself to plead for the return of the rest of the goods; on this occasion, the Tallinners also mentioned the help of the captain of *Maria* in recovering the ships and part of the goods.¹⁶ Obviously, the officers of *Maria*, taking into account their situation, did not want to escalate tensions with the town, and worked for an amicable solution.

While the attitude of Tallinners towards the Danes was at best ambiguous, the overlord of the town, the Teutonic Order and first of all its Grand Master Albrecht, was doing its best to support the Danes. In the spring of 1518, a servant of King Christian already came to Tallinn with the recommendation of the Livonian Master of the Teutonic Order, Wolter von Plettenberg, to recruit pilots for navigation in the Swedish archipelago.¹⁷ When rumours of the Danish campaign spread, the Master consoled Tallinners with assurances that the king would not target Livonia if Livonians

¹² TLA.230.1.BJ 3 IV, fol. 15, King Christian II guarantees safe conduct to those Tallinners who supply victuals to the king's camp near Stockholm, Copenhagen, 14 May 1518. See also Handlingar, nos. 611, 621.

¹³ On the complex phenomenon of medieval piracy and privateering see Thomas K. Heebøll-Holm, *Ports, Piracy and Maritime War. Piracy in the English Channel and the Atlantic, c. 1280–1330* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013). For Livonia: Juhan Kreem, "Living on the Edge: Pirates and the Livonians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries", *The Edges of the Medieval World*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz and Juhan Kreem (Budapest: CEU press, 2009), 70–81.

¹⁴ Handlingar, no. 666; *Regesten aus zwei Missivbüchern des XVI. Jahrhunderts in Revaler Stadt-Archiv* (henceforth *Regesten*), ed. by Gotthard v. Hansen (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1895), no. I-110.

¹⁵ Lars J. Larsson, *Sören Norby och Östersjöpölitiken 1523–1525* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1986). Tallinn later participated in a campaign against Norby: Juhan Kreem, "Stadt im Seekrieg: Revaler Expedition gegen Sören Norby im Jahre 1526", *Rund um die Meere des Nordens. Festschrift für Hain Rebas*, ed. by Michael Engelbrecht, Ulrike Hanssen-Decker, Daniel Höffker (Heide: [s. n.], 2008), 145–153.

¹⁶ Handlingar, nos. 668, 669, 682, 1023; *Regesten* no. I-112, I-113.

¹⁷ TLA.230.1.BB 55 I, fol. 169, the Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia to Tallinn, Cēsis, 21 Feb. 1518.

did not give him any reason to do so (by supporting the Swedes).¹⁸ When *Maria* was cast to Tallinn, the Order's Grand Master in Prussia acted swiftly and sent his servant to Tallinn on 14 October to help arrange the ship's repairs.¹⁹ Taking into account the distance between Tallinn and Königsberg (800 km), the news spread with remarkable speed (24 days from the incident, 8 days from the captain's letter to the Grand Master). The Grand Master's readiness to step in was certainly motivated by his wish to gain Danish support for his upcoming war with Poland.²⁰

But let us return from large-scale *Ostseepolitik* to local circumstances. It was clear from the beginning that *Maria* would have to stay in Tallinn for a longer time. By 6 October, Ove Vincentsen had already made arrangements for the troops to travel to Denmark via land route. As *Maria* was bound for Copenhagen, where the payment of the soldiers was waiting, the captain did not have enough cash at his disposal.²¹ Moreover, the repair costs also had to be considered. Ove Vincentsen could obtain some money from the Grand Master's envoys, Friedrich von Haydeck and Dietrich Schönberg, whom he met by chance in Tallinn,²² but more support was needed.²³ The Town Council of Tallinn, however, immediately started complaining to King Christian that it had already supported Danish envoys and captains with considerable sums of money, altogether 1,800 marks, and insisted on reimbursement.²⁴ Nevertheless, Tallinn supported the ship's repairs,²⁵ and the Grand Master strongly advised the Livonian master to lend an additional 3,000 marks to Ove Vincentsen.²⁶ There is no way of finding out the whole cost of the repairs. These sums may only serve as an indication that it was (very) expensive.

Maintenance of a ship of such dimensions was probably not an easy task for the respective infrastructure in Tallinn. When it became clear to King Christian that *Maria* would have to stay over the winter in Tallinn, he wrote to Gdańsk, asking for 8–10 carpenters to be sent to Tallinn to help his chief builder Johan Schypbuwer there. The king also asked for

¹⁸ TLA.230.1.BB 55 I, fol. 173, the Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia to Tallinn, Cēsis, 29 April 1518.

¹⁹ Handlingar, no. 658.

²⁰ Erich Joachim, *Die Politik des letzten Hochmeisters in Preußen Albrecht von Brandenburg*, 2. Teil (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1894), 10–13.

²¹ Handlingar, no. 650.

²² Handlingar, no. 754.

²³ Handlingar, no. 677. Ove Vincentsen entitles himself here as a knight (*Ritter*).

²⁴ Handlingar, no. 666; Regesten, no. I-109.

²⁵ Handlingar, no. 702; Regesten, no. I-115.

²⁶ Handlingar, no. 717.

another 400–500 guilders of credit to support master Schypbuwer.²⁷ Besides that, King Christian sent his courtier Herman Poll, himself a Livonian nobleman,²⁸ to supervise the works. Moreover, the king's messenger Hinrik Trummensleger was sent via Gdańsk and Königsberg to raise funds and support for the works in Tallinn.²⁹ Gdańsk kept some distance with the king, for they also had problems with Danish privateers.³⁰ The town claimed that it could not send carpenters nor lend money. In Gdańsk, it was believed that it would be easy to recruit the carpenters in Tallinn.³¹ It is true that in comparison to Gdańsk,³² Tallinn was not a significant shipbuilding centre. In the 15th century, the Tallinn town council had at least twice (in 1465 and 1473/74) commissioned a ship to be built in Gdańsk.³³ On the other hand, Tallinn's carpenters had experience in building smaller vessels (*lodjen*), and their expertise was also implemented, for example, in Tartu in the 1480s.³⁴ We may therefore stick to the assessment of the Gdańsk town council that Tallinn could handle the repairs of *Maria*. The works were indeed ultimately arranged locally but the extent to which Tallinn's carpenters participated is not documented.

The availability of suitable building material must have been a more serious problem. On 25 October, Ove Vincentsen was already searching as far as Königsberg for a main mast.³⁵ Grand Master Albrecht claimed that he could not deliver such a mast in one piece but in three.³⁶ Knudt, the

²⁷ Handlingar, no. 680.

²⁸ Nicolai von Essen, *Genealogisches Handbuch der Oeselschen Ritterschaft* (Tartu: Saaremaa Üldkasulik Ühing, 1935), 272–273.

²⁹ Handlingar, nos. 698, 699.

³⁰ Paweł Sadłoń, "Skippers from Gdańsk as Victims of Danish Privateers from the Turn of the 15th Century to the First Half of the 16th Century", *Wasser in der mittelalterlichen Kultur / Water in Medieval Culture, Gebrauch - Wahrnehmung - Symbolik / Uses, Perceptions, and Symbolism*, ed. by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich et al. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 221–228; Paweł Sadłoń, "The city of Gdańsk faces the threat of Danish privateers at the end of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth century", *New Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Poland and Prussia. The Impact Gdańsk*, ed. by Beata Możejko (London, New York: Routledge, 2017), 114–126.

³¹ Handlingar, no. 719.

³² Charlotte Brämer, "Die Entwicklung der Danziger Reederei im Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 63 (1922), 33–93. The landscape of Hanseatic shipbuilding in later times is well summarised by Karl-Friedrich Olechnowitz, *Der Schiffbau der Hansischen Spätzeit: eine Untersuchung zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hanse* (Weimar: Böhlau Nachfolger, 1960).

³³ See *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1463–1507*, ed. by Reinhard Vogelsang (Köln: Böhlau, 1983), nos. 1265, 1493, 1500, 1515.

³⁴ *Kämmereibuch*, nos. 1693, 1697, 1699, 1700, 1703.

³⁵ Handlingar, no. 677: 'Hoffmastbom so wol als all ander Bowes Notdorff'.

³⁶ Handlingar, no. 718: 'Hauptmasbaum'.

scribe of the king of Denmark, reported in February of 1519 that the foremast and the small masts were ready in Tallinn and that the ship would be able to sail by St George's Day (23 April).³⁷ But at the same time, Ove Vincentsen was still looking for some masts. In March of 1519, he and the Grand Master's envoy Diertrich Schönberg were also planning to build a yacht in Tallinn for the Grand Master but dropped the idea because of the lack of local wainscot (*wagenscot*, that is oak planks or boards).³⁸ *Maria's* rigging probably remained unfinished or sub-standard when she left Tallinn because in June of 1519, King Christian was still inquiring in Gdańsk about the availability of wood for the masts of *Maria*.³⁹ Gdańsk replied that they did not have masts that were as long as the king was requesting, but were ready to supply shorter ones.⁴⁰

It is of course clear that not any random type of wood would have done. Tallinn's immediate surroundings were not particularly rich in forests. The town procured its timber from as far as Kolga,⁴¹ which is 50 km east of Tallinn. Kolga was a manor that was run by the Cistercians of Roma, Gotland, and from autumn of 1519 it was a fief of the Danish kings. In Tallinn's accountbooks Swedish wood appears frequently⁴² and a commander of the Teutonic Order in Tallinn also bought his building timber from ships in the harbour in the 16th century,⁴³ which means that wood was being imported. From among medieval Livonian towns, Riga in particular was a hub of forestry products, which arrived in the city by way of the River Daugava from further upstream.⁴⁴ Gdańsk's timber supply was dependent on the River Vistula. In Prussia, the great rivers Nemunas and Pregola also contributed to the availability of timber on the coast.⁴⁵ In

³⁷ Handlingar, no. 769: 'fukmasten roen ock andre smo master aere alt rede wed honden, boden oc seglene aere oc poa ther neste redes'.

³⁸ Handlingar, no. 803.

³⁹ Handlingar, no. 945.

⁴⁰ Handlingar, no. 997.

⁴¹ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 14, ed. by Christian Gahlbeck, Madlena Mahling, Klaus Neitmann, Matthias Thumser (Wien: Böhlau, 2020), nos. 741, 748 (1483): *thunholt, holsten*.

⁴² TLA.230.1.Ad 32 *passim*.

⁴³ *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, part 2, vol. 3, ed. by Leonid Arbusow (Riga, Moskau: Deubner, 1914), no. 645.

⁴⁴ Māris Zunde, "Timber export from Old Riga and its impact on dendrochronological dating in Europe", *Dendrochronologia*, 16/17 (1998/99), 119–130; Māris Zunde, "Timber and its Use from the Late Iron Age to the End of the Medieval period in Latvia", *Ecologies of Crusading, Colonization, and Religious Conversion in the Medieval Baltic. Terra Sacra vol. 2*, ed. by Aleksander Pluskowski (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 25–34.

⁴⁵ Tomasz Ważny, Dieter Eckstein, "Der Holzhandel von Danzig/Gdańsk – Geschichte, Umfang und Reichweite", *Holz als Roh- und Werkstoff* 45 (1987), 509–513; Gavin Simpson,

northern Estonia, such an industry was absent and developed only later in the 17th century in Pärnu and Narva (again with supply from the respective rivers).⁴⁶ In conclusion, while Tallinn was able to make repairs and build smaller vessels, it was not actually suitable for large-scale wooden ship-building and *Maria* was clearly oversized for the local capacities. Nevertheless, with some effort, *Maria* was made operational again.

Attempts to acquire better fittings for *Maria* were actually continuous. King Christian already wrote to Gdańsk on 8 October 1518, most likely not knowing the fate of his flagship yet, that he had heard about a large anchor weighing 12 shippounds (12 x 164? = 1,968 kg) in Gdańsk, which he would like to obtain for *Maria*.⁴⁷ Gdańsk replied that they would try to find it, but that they were also prepared to arrange for making a new anchor, for payment of course.⁴⁸ Since *Maria* had lost her anchors, it really was necessary to commission one. On 28 March 1519, an anchor was shipped from Gdańsk with the skipper Kleys Bokelmann to Tallinn.⁴⁹ It is fair to assume that *Maria* did not leave Tallinn before it arrived. The royal payment, however, was still pending two years later in the summer of 1521, when a delegation from Gdańsk was in Copenhagen demanding, among other things, the price of 210 Prussian marks for the anchor.⁵⁰ Anchors were expensive. A couple of decades earlier, the Tallinn town council had sold one anchor for 41 and a half Riga marks.⁵¹ This monetary comparison also manifests the dimensions of *Maria*.

What about the crew in the meantime? It is not known how many men *Maria* was bringing to Tallinn. While its crew numbered hundreds of men, she must have been carrying a similar number of mercenary corps. As we have seen from Ove Vincentsen's first report, a number of men left on foot and on horseback. The mercenaries were most likely discharged after the Swedish campaign was over and the truce had been concluded between Denmark and Sweden. We also have information about another

"Seeing Wood for the Trees: Poland and the Baltic Timber Trade, c. 1250–1650", *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in Cracow and Poland*, ed. by Agnieszka Rożnowska-Sadraei, Tomasz Węclawowicz (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2014), 235–254.

⁴⁶ Arnold Soom, "Der ostbaltische Holzhandel und die Holzindustrie im 17. Jahrhundert", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 79 (1961), 80–100.

⁴⁷ Handlingar, no. 652.

⁴⁸ Handlingar, no. 719.

⁴⁹ Handlingar, no. 830.

⁵⁰ *Hanserecesse von 1477–1530*, part 3, vol. 7, ed. by Dietrich Schäfer (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905), no. 431 # 12.

⁵¹ *Kämmereibuch*, no. 2416; The scribe has also drawn an anchor on the margin: see Juhan Kreem, *Sketches of a clerk. Pen-and-ink drawings in the margins of the medieval account books of Reval (Tallinn)* (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 2006), 56–57.

ship in Curonia, which brought unemployed mercenaries from Sweden at about the same time.⁵² But even if a considerable number of men did not stay in Tallinn over the winter, the crew and the officers of the ship certainly remained. The wintering of sailors in Tallinn was not unusual, although the estimation of their number remains very vague. In 1556, for example, Tallinn claimed to have 400 or more wintering sailors, which the town used as an argument against housing yet another banner (*fähnlein*) of mercenaries in town: the council claimed that the town could not prevent fights between sailors and mercenaries, nor protect the honour of the town's wives, daughters and maids.⁵³ The presence of hundreds of able-bodied men was obviously a problem for a town with 5,000–6,000 inhabitants.

And so it happened that on 12 February 1519, the town councillor Gert Witte requested safe conduct for two men, Andreas Hemmersberch and Hans Krone, because of a fight they had with the headmen and privateers of Denmark, in which one man named Niclas was killed.⁵⁴ Hemmersberch and Krone were lodging with Tallinner burghers,⁵⁵ which probably means that they were either travelling merchant journeymen or wintering sailors. We cannot tell with certainty whether Niclas was a member of the crew of *Maria*, or of some other Danish privateer ship, but the incident exemplifies the problem of discipline. However, since there is no other evidence of escalation and no further correspondence on this particular issue between the rulers of this world, we may assume that the case was settled somehow. The homicide of Niclas is by no means exceptional in the Tallinn register of safe conducts from 1515–1626 that is quoted here.

Other evidence suggests that the wintering sailors were not exclusively a problem in Tallinn, but they were also welcome guests at parties. Anu Mänd has collected mentions of sailors in medieval account books where they perform sword dances in the Town Hall or the St Canute Guild during

⁵² Handlingar, no. 648.

⁵³ Regesten, no. II-226.

⁵⁴ *Das Revaler Geleitsbuch 1515–1626*, ed. by Nikolai Essen, Paul Johansen (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 1939), no. 63: 'Anno 19 mandaghes na Appollonie [14 Feb.] worden gheleydet Ghert Witte, Andres Hemmersberch to hus myt Klutinghe, vnnde Hans Krone to Husz myt Bockholte, eyner manghelinghe haluen myt denn houetluden vnnde vthliggherenn vth Dennemarken, dar eyn gheslaghen wart, ghenomet Niclas'.

⁵⁵ Jacob Kluting was a Burgher of Reval since 1516, see *Tallinna kodanikkuderaamat 1409–1624*, ed. by Otto Greiffenhagen (Tallinn 1932: Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus Ühisus, 1932), 42, 47. There were also some members of the Bockholt family in the Great Guild at that time (Hans, Baltzar, Hinrik), see *Das Bruderbuch der Revaler Tafelgilde (1364–1549)*, ed. by Torsten Derrik (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2000), 397, 401, 407.

Shrovetide festivities.⁵⁶ Moreover, the masters of ships are often listed as guests of the respective banquets of elite corporations, first of all of the Brotherhood of Black Heads.⁵⁷ In connection with the stay of *Maria* in Tallinn, Ove Vincentsen Lunge was invited to the Great Guild, where he took part in the festivities on Shrove Tuesday on 8 March 1519 and became a member of the Guild.⁵⁸

It is not clear when *Maria* set sail.⁵⁹ At the end of March, she was still in Tallinn,⁶⁰ and on 19 June, King Christian was already ordering her repair materials for delivery to Copenhagen,⁶¹ i.e. she was already there or at least expected to arrive soon. The navigational season usually started in Tallinn in April,⁶² but the town's account book registers the amount of gunpowder lent to the captain of *Maria* on 28 May.⁶³ That does not necessarily mean that the ship was still in Tallinn at that time, but only suggests that it might have left sometime in May. In June of 1519, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order urged Tallinners to help *Maria*, if she happens to return.⁶⁴

In conclusion, how could we characterise the stay of *Maria* in Tallinn? It cannot be denied that relations between the Danes and Tallinners were strained and a certain suspicion was felt in town regarding the Danish navy's prominent presence. But when Tallinn had problems with Danish privateers, the leaders of *Maria* helped to solve them. The town could not completely avoid the rows between the wintering sailors, but the registered incidents remained in the frames of the ordinary. It was just as ordinary that the captain joined the party held by the merchant elite. Thus, the visit

⁵⁶ Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival. Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 104–105.

⁵⁷ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 99.

⁵⁸ Ivar Leimus, Rein Loodus, Anu Mänd, Marta Männisalu, Mariann Raisma, *Tallinna Suurgild ja gildimaja* (Tallinn: Ajaloomuseum, 2011), 38, n 110: 'her Acke Vintsens ryttder utt Dennemarcken'.

⁵⁹ Barfod, *Flådens fødsel*, 149.

⁶⁰ Handlingar, no. 830.

⁶¹ Handlingar, no. 945.

⁶² Mickwitz, *Aus Revaler Handelsbüchern*, 156.

⁶³ TLA.230.1.Ad 32, fol. 117v: 'Szonavendes vor Vocem jocunditatis [28 May 1519]: Item deme hovetmanne van des konynghes schepe der Marien na des rades bovele ghelenet 2 tunne krudes, also 1 tunne slanghenkrudt, ghewaghen 17 lisp., de andere tunne stenbusbenkrudt, ghewaghen 14 lisp.' The scribe has drawn a pointing hand and a crown near this entry to stress its importance, see Kreem, *Sketches of a clerk*, 40–41.

⁶⁴ *Virtuelles Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order to Tallinn, 13 June 1519, <http://www.spaetmittelalter.uni-hamburg.de/Urkundenbuch/pub/dh/dh286.htm> (visited 3 April 2022).

of *Maria* reveals tensions and conflicts while suggesting mechanisms of conflict resolution and socialisation in Tallinn.

Tallinn does not seem to have been particularly suitable as a location for large-scale ship repairs. There was local competence but the supply of raw materials was obviously not sufficient for *Maria*. Correspondence on the matter indicates that the search for masts extended as far as Königsberg and Gdańsk, which exemplifies the nodes and networks of shipbuilding in the region and underlines the role of Gdańsk in the branch of the Baltic Sea area of the time. But even if the repairs on *Maria* in Tallinn were not completely satisfactory, the ship was still made operational again. *Maria* was an extraordinary ship, and so its visit to Tallinn also demanded extraordinary efforts, but in general, the town could manage the demands ensuing from the visit.

KEYWORDS: Maritime history, Danish navy, privateering, ship-building, socialisation of sailors.

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KOKKUVÕTE: *Taani kuninga laev Maria Tallinnas 1518–19*

1518. aasta sügisel paiskas tugev läänetorm Tallinna Taani kuninga Christian II lipulaeva *Maria*, mis oli arvatavasti omaaegse Läänemere suurim sõjalaev. Laev oli remonditööde tõttu sunnitud Tallinnas talvituma. Artikkel seab eesmärgiks selle üksiksündmuse võimalikult mitmekülge rekonstruktsiooni seni vähe või üldse mitte kasutatud kirjalike allikate vahendusel, et visandada keskaegse Tallinna kui sadamalinna funktsioneerimise põhijooni. Allikates kajastuvad üldisest poliitilisest olukorrast tulenevad pinged, laeva varustamisega seotud probleemid ja meremeeste läbikäimine

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linnaelanikega. Tallinn ei olnud küll keskaegse Läänemereruumi silmapaistev laevaehituskeskus, kuid Maria saadi siiski uuesti merekõlblikuks.

MÄRKSÕNAD: merenduse ajalugu; Taani merevägi; kaaperdus; laevaehitus; meremeeste suhtlus

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