



# Searching for the battlefield – finding a silver hoard in Vanamõisa village, Viljandi County

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## INTRODUCTION

The battle of St Matthew's Day (also called the battle of Paala, Sakala, or the battle near Fellin) on 21 September 1217 was the largest field battle in the crusade against the Estonians. In the battle, the united troops of Estonia's six counties fought against German, Livonian and Latgalian forces. The course of the battle is well known from a description in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (HCL XXI, 2–3), but the exact location has remained a mystery. Based on a note in the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle (LR, lines 1384–1387) that the battle took place 1.5 miles from Viljandi, researchers have proposed Vanamõisa village, 11 km northwest of Viljandi, as one of the most likely venues.<sup>1</sup>

Vanamõisa village is located by the River Lemmjõgi in the northern part of the Sakala Upland. The best-known sites in the village are the ruins of a medieval chapel at Kirikumägi (Eng. ‘Church Hill’), Tammemägi (Eng. ‘Hill of Oaks’) sacred natural site and Madi cemetery, all of which were initially associated with the battle of St Matthew's Day (Fig. 1). Archaeological fieldwork has not confirmed those



Fig. 1. Areas investigated with metal detectors in 2018 and the location of the hoard in Vanamõisa village.

Jn 1. 2018. aastal metallidetektoritega uuritud alad ja aarde leiuukoht Vanamõisa külas.

Base map / Aluskaart: Estonian Land Board / Maa-amet; additions / täiendused: Marge Konsa

<sup>1</sup> The summary of the discussion on the possible venues for the battlefield of St Matthew's Day is presented in Vassar 1968, Vahtre 1990 and lately Laas 2017.

assumptions. However, studies revealed that the Vanamõisa area was inhabited already in the Stone Age when settlement sites were set up in the area of the later Madi cemetery and Kirikumäe. During the Viking Age, the settlement of Rattama was established at the source of the River Lemmjõgi, near a spring. The nearby cemetery of Madi was the burial site of the inhabitants of Rattama from the 10th to the 13th century (Konsa 2003; 2013).

In the last decade, searches for the battlefield of St Matthew's Day have intensified because of the 800th anniversary of the battle. While earlier archaeological research had focused on the central part of Vanamõisa village, Jaan Laas (2015; 2017) has lately suggested that the battlefield was in the northeast or northwest part of the village. Fieldwork was carried out in collaboration with detectorists and archaeologists to check these assumptions.

## METAL DETECTOR SURVEYS IN 2013 AND 2018

On 21 September 2013, a metal detector survey was conducted in the northeastern and eastern fields of the Vanamõisa and Kookla villages. In addition to modern era metal accessories of the clothing, also two prehistoric or medieval horse crampsons (TÜ 2730) were collected. No artefacts indicating an ancient battlefield were found, nor traces of archaeological sites. A new search for the battlefield was set out on 22 September 2018. More than 40 detectorists and archaeologists from the National Heritage Board and the University of Tartu participated. This time the focus was on the western and northwestern part of the Vanamõisa village. South of the River Lemmjõgi, the fields were inspected in Siimu and Kuusikupõllu cadastral units and north of the Lemmjõgi in Vanapõllu cadastral unit.

Artefacts from different periods were found (TÜ 2738; TÜ 2739), all of which are attributable to the local settlement and not to the battle of St Matthew's Day. The oldest finds were flint and quartz flakes and one quartz core. These can be associated with the Stone Age settlement alongside the River Lemmjõgi. Stray finds from later periods include, for example, a 13th-century finger-ring, medieval wheel-thrown pottery and a socketed iron crossbow bolt from the 15th–16th centuries. Several artefacts belonged to the Modern Period, as metal accessories of the clothing, jewellery and 17th–18th-century coins. The most remarkable, however, was the discovery of a Viking Age silver hoard (AI 8100) on the northern bank of the Lemmjõgi.

## VANAMÕISA SILVER HOARD

### Location and fieldwork

The hoard was situated on the edge of former river floodplain, which is currently used as arable land. In the past, the River Lemmjõgi had more water and was wider. Now the fields are drained, and the river is dammed-up upstream at the Vanamõisa farms. The coins from the hoard were scattered over a ploughed field in an area of approximately 25 × 25 m. Because of the relatively large distribution area of coins, a shovel loader was used to peel the soil in 10 cm layers, which was then searched with metal detectors (Fig. 2). Most of the coins were collected on the day the hoard was discovered. In the following weeks the field was repeatedly inspected with metal detectors, but only a few additional coins were found. No traces of an occupation layer were discovered and the upper layer of the soil was entirely mixed with ploughing. The natural loam untouched by human activity started at the depth of 25–60 cm below the ground level. Most of the hoard had been spread by ploughing, yet in one place four coins were found together 60 cm below ground level directly on top the loam layer, which may indicate the original location of the hoard. There were no traces of a possible container. Based on the characteristics of the landscape and the soil, it can be concluded that

the hoard was not originally placed into water, but buried in a shallow bump beside a river floodplain.

The nearest monument to the hoard site is a medieval village cemetery 260 metres south of the find spot. However, the hiding place of the hoard was at a distance from the contemporary settlement. The nearest Viking Age settlement sites at Rattama and Kobruvere are 1.7 km and 2 km respectively from the find location of the Vanamõisa hoard.



**Fig. 2. Excavations of the Vanamõisa hoard.**

Jn 2. Vanamõisa aarde kaevamine.

Photo / Foto: Nele Kangert

### Composition and dating of the hoard

The silver hoard of Vanamõisa consists of non-monetary silver and 157 whole and fragmented silver coins. The amount of non-monetary silver was small. In the same area as the coins only two pieces of a silver bar, a fragment of silver wire and two drops of silver were found. Based on their geographic origin the following coins are represented in the hoard: 72 (45.9%) German, 45 (28.7%) English, 28 (17.8%) Islamic, 8 (5%) Scandinavian (from them five Swedish), 3 (2%) Byzantine and one (0.6%) Irish coin (Table).

The older part of the hoard consists of 28 Islamic dirhams, most of which (18 coins) bear the names of the emirs of Samanid origin. Even 10 coins out of 28 are minted by emir Mansūr ibn Nūh in the middle of the 10th century. Apparently, they form the most ancient part of the hoard that was acquired together, along with some older coins of the dynasty of Samanids. There are a few dirhams from the Hamdanids, Uqaylids and Marwanids dynasties in the areas of nowadays Iraq and Syria, and three Qarakhanids dirhams from Central Asia. Those are characteristic of Estonian's hoards of the late 10th and early 11th centuries and reflect the

last trips of the inhabitants of the Baltic Sea countries to the Orient market (Leimus 2007a). A couple of Abbasids coins, one of them probably from the 9th century, could end up among others at an unknown time. It is noteworthy that although there are many cut or broken coins in the Vanamõisa hoard, their percentage is especially high among Islamic coins – there are only three whole dirhams.

The Byzantine miliaries from Constantinople are a rather typical denomination in the hoards of Estonia and other Baltic Sea countries, on the other hand, there are usually only a few of them per hoard. Northern merchants purchased the Byzantine coins probably in the markets of Syria-Iraq as they travelled home through Byzantine areas that reached up to the Black Sea (Leimus 2009). In this case, one Byzantine coin was minted by emperor John I Tzimisces, two by Basil II and Constantine VIII in the late 10th and early 11th centuries.

According to Philip Grierson (1973), one quarter coin of the latter rulers belongs to class IV (Fig. 3). This is quite a rare coin in the Baltic Sea area – so far, six such coins have been found in Sweden and two in Estonia. Of the three miliaries, one coin is half and one quarter.



**Fig. 3. Byzantium, Basil II & Constantine VIII (976–1025), class IV.**

Jn 3. Bütsants, Basileios II & Konstantinos VIII (976–1025), klass IV.

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 4. Imitation of Otto and Adelheid pennies.**

Jn 4. Otto ja Adelheidi penni järelmün.

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 5. Regensburg, Duke Heinrich V, 2nd rule (1018–26).**

Jn 5. Regensburg, hertsog Heinrich V, 2. period (1018–1026).

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

German coins (72 specimens) form the largest part of the Vanamõisa hoard. Most of them (20 coins, nearly 28%) are so-called Otto and Adelheid pennies. There are seven coins of Cologne, but much less from other mints. One coin imitating the Otto and Adelheid pennies has been struck somewhere in the West Slavic region (Fig. 4). The German deniers are from the reigns of Otto III and Heinrich II (983–1024), with no older coins among them. Probably the youngest German coin (Fig. 5) comes from Regensburg and was minted during the second reign of Duke Heinrich V of Bavaria (1018–1026). One Maastricht (Fig. 6) and one Erfurt (Fig. 7) denier should belong to approximately the same time.

Almost one-third of the German coins (23 specimens) were cut up or broken, meaning that they were considerably less fragmented than could be seen with Islamic coins. Seven German coins were either cut or broken in half.

The English pennies (45 coins) are approximately from the same time as the German coins, the types of coins represented in the hoard were minted between 991 and 1023. Only three of them bear the name

of King Cnut (Fig. 8). The others are minted in the name of his predecessor Aethelred II. Although Cnut did rule in England already in 1016, his first coin type was probably introduced a year or two later. About one-third of the Anglo-Saxon pennies (14 coins) comes from London, where England's most active mint was located.

Of the rarer coins, the Last small cross type penny made by moneyer Thurcetel in Torksey should be highlighted (Fig. 9). One coin struck with the same pair of dies is in Stockholm (Hild. 3831), another with a different reverse in Copenhagen (SCBI 7, 1250). The hoard also contained two rare specimens of the Last small cross-type, with four smaller crosses around the central cross. One is minted at Colchester, the other at Thetford (Fig. 10). Apart from these two mints, only Ipswich, Stamford and Sudbury are known for the same subtype of coins. Sixteen English coins (35.5%) have been cut or broken, five of them cut in half. This figure, just over a third, quite closely coincides with the degree of fragmentation of the German coins.

Besides the English pennies, it is important to mention the rare Irish coin, which was minted by King Sihtric (Sigtrygg) in Dublin (Fig. 11). This king of Norwegian-Irish mixed descent ruled Ireland with breaks between 989 and 1036. This particular coin dates back to the time of its Anglo-Saxon prototypes, ca. 1009–1017/8.

The hoard also contains eight so-called Anglo-Scandinavian imitations, which have been minted somewhere in Scandinavia following the example of English coin types. Five of them are barbaric copies, probably from the ancient Swedish capital of Sigtuna. The reverse of one coin is already imitating King Cnut's recent Quatrefoil coin type (Fig. 12). Only a few coins have readable inscriptions, one imitating Canterbury and the other a London coin (it even bears the name of Cnut). Those coins are made somewhere in southern Scandinavia, possibly in Lund.



**Fig. 6. Maastricht, anonymous, ca. 1020–30.**  
**Jn 6. Maastricht, anonüümne, u 1020–1030.**  
Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 7. Erfurt, anonymous, ca. 1020.**  
**Jn 7. Erfurt, anonüümne, u 1020.**  
Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 8. Cnut, Quatrefoil (ca. 1017/8–1023), Lewes, moneyer Godefred.**  
**Jn 8. Knut, Quatrefoil-tüüp (u 1017/8–1023), Lewes, müntmeister Godefred.**  
Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 9. Aethelred II, Last small cross (ca. 1009–1017), Torksey, moneyer Thurcetel.**  
**Jn 9. Aethelred II, Last small cross tüüp (u 1009–1017), Torksey, müntmeister Thurcetel.**  
Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 10.** Aethelred II, Last small cross (ca. 1009–1017), Thetford, moneyer Eadric.

Jn 10. Aethelred II, Last small cross tüüp (u 1009–1017), Thetford, müntmeister Eadric.

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 11.** Ireland, Sihtric, Last small cross (ca. 1009–1017), Dublin, uncertain moneyer.

Jn 11. Iirimaa, Sihtric, Last small cross tüüp (u 1009–1017), Dublin, teadmata müntmeister.

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 12.** Anglo-Scandinavian imitation, Long cross / Quatrefoil, Sigtuna.

Jn 12. Anglo-Skandinaavia järelmünt, Long cross / Quatrefoil-tüüp, Sigtuna.

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

66, no 41). Mäetaguse hoard II (tpq 1014) comes in the same line, where only 4% of the coins are dirhams (Leimus in print). On the other hand, the hoards of this decade have an extraordinarily high percentage of English pennies, often exceeding 50%.

Thus, the composition of the Vanamõisa hoard is somewhat different from others – there are fewer English and Arabic coins than is common in southern Estonia, but these variations are not exceptional.

In addition to Vanamõisa hoard (tpq 1018), a number of 11th-century coin deposits have been found in the northern part of present day Viljandi County: Immaküla (tpq 1014), Vahamulla (tpq 1054?), Olustvere (tpq 1080), Lõhavere hill fort (tpq 1083), Lõhavere village (tpq 1084) and Soomevere (tpq 1089) (Molvõgin 1994, nos 16, 35, 54, 59; Tamla & Kiudsoo 2017). All those hoards indicate the wealth and importance of the area in the 11th century. By contrast, earlier hoards from the 9th and 10th centuries are not known there.

The youngest well-dated coins of the Vanamõisa hoard are the denier of the Duke Heinrich V of Bavaria (1018–1026), Quatrefoil-type pennies of the King Cnut (1017/8–1023) of England and an imitation of the latter. However, there are only three Quatrefoil pennies, but even 14 Last small cross-type coins from previous King Aethelred II. Therefore, it can be assumed that the hoard was collected shortly after 1018, probably around AD 1020.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The 1020s was a pivotal time for coin usage in Estonia. On the one hand, the inflow of eastern silver to southern Estonia continued for the time being, and the last trade trips were made to Baghdad (Leimus 2007a). For example, the Vaabina (tpq 1010/11) and Võõpsu (tpq 1013/14) hoards from Võru and Põlva County include 55% and 67% Islamic coins respectively, and the Immaküla hoard (tpq 1014) from northern Viljandi County has 47%.

At the same time, the composition of the hoards in northern and western Estonia had already changed. There was a significant increase in European coins and a decline in Islamic coins. In Paljassaare hoard (tpq 1010/11) the amount of eastern coins is 8%, in Kunda (Kaliküla) hoard (tpq 1018) 18.5%, and in Väike-Röude hoard (tpq 1018) only 1% (Molvõgin 1994, 566, nos 13–16, 18–19). Also, the hoard of Alansi (tpq 1018) consists mostly of western European coins (Leimus 2007b,

On the other hand, almost all coins in Vanamõisa hoard are heavily deformed – bent and pecked, which was probably done to test the quality of silver. The find also has a surprisingly high number of fragmented coins. It should be noted that the high fragmentation of coins is only characteristic of the Estonian hoards of the late 10th and early 11th centuries (such as Räägi *tpq* 998 or Kloodi *tpq* 1002), but it is rare in later hoards (Molvõgin 1994, nos 6, 7). Cutting or breaking coins may indicate a shortage of silver, which was especially acute in the second half of the 10th century as evidenced by the extraordinarily high degree of fragmentation of Islamic dirhams in Vanamõisa hoard. It was probably not until the first decades of the 11th century that the economic and perhaps related political importance of the region began to rise.

Finally, we return to the large-scale field survey aimed first and foremost to locate the battlefield of the early 13th century. Based on our experience, we can conclude that ancient battlefields are very difficult to find and so far, despite several extensive surveys, no prehistoric or medieval battlefields have been positively identified in Estonia. However, the searches have not been in vain, as in most cases they have brought to light important archaeological finds, this time the Vanamõisa silver hoard hidden in the early 11th century.

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**Table.** List of coins.**Tabel.** Müntide loend.

Compiler / Koostaja: Ivar Leimus

**Islamic coins**

No / nr	Dynasty / Dünastia	Ruler / valitseja	Mint / müntla	Year AH / hidžra aastal	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
1	Abbasids	Unknown ruler	Unknown mint	9th century AD	1.68	Fragment
2	Abbasids	ar-Radi billah	Unknown mint	32x	0.91	Fragment
3	Abbasids	al-Muttaqi billah	Basra	332	3.16	Pierced
4	Samanids	Isma'il ibn Ahmad	aš-Šāš	286	1.59	Fragment
5	Samanids	Nasr ibn Ahmad	Balh	323 or 324	3.09	Riveted, rim broken
6	Samanids	Nasr ibn Ahmad	Samarqand	325	3.28	Rim broken
7	Samanids	Nasr ibn Ahmad	Samarqand	331	1.91	Rim broken
8	Samanids	Nūh ibn Nasr	Buhhara	341	1.51	Fragment
9	Samanids	Nūh ibn Nasr	Samarqand	Xxx	0.48	Fragment
10	Samanids	Nūh ibn Nasr	Uncertain mint	Xxx	1.52	Fragment
11	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Samarqand	356	1.51	Fragment
12	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	aš-Šāš	358	1.93	Fragment
13	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Uncertain mint	35x	0.56	Fragment
14	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Uncertain mint	363	1.13	Fragment
15	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Samarqand or aš-Šāš	357–366	1.40	Fragment
16	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Uncertain mint	Xxx	1.52	Fragment
17	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Uncertain mint	Xxx	1.29	Fragment
18	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Uncertain mint	Xxx	1.02	Fragment
19	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Uncertain mint	Xxx	0.36	Fragment
20	Samanids	Mansūr ibn Nūh	Uncertain mint	Xxx	0.30	Fragment
21	Samanids	Uncertain ruler	Samarqand	Xxx	0.23	Fragment
22	Hamdanids	Nāsir ad-daula & Sayf ad-daula	Uncertain mint	Xxx	2.87	Pierced
23	Uqaylids	Husām ad-daula	al-Mawsil	390?	3.16	
24	Uqaylids	Janāh ad-daula?	Uncertain mint	Xxx	1.56	Circumcised
25	Marwanids	Mumahhid ad-daula	Mayyafariqin?	39x	1.53	Cut half
26	Qarakhanids	Nasr ibn `Ali?	Uncertain mint	395	0.84	Fragment
27	Qarakhanids	Nasr ibn `Ali	Ahsikat	396	2.18	
28	Qarakhanids	Uncertain ruler	Uncertain mint	39x	0.34	Fragment

**Byzantine coins**

No / nr	Ruler / valitseja	Reference / viide	Year / aasta	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
29	John I Tzimisces	Grierson 1973, class VII	969–976	1.40	Broken half
30	Basil II & Constantine VIII	Grierson 1973, class IIA	976–1025	2.50	
31	Basil II & Constantine VIII	Grierson 1973, class IV	976–1026	0.59	Quarter

**German coins**

No / nr	Mint / müntla	Ruler / valitseja	Reference / viide	Year / aasta	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
32	Huy	Otto III	Dbg. 223; Ilisch 2014, 33.7.2	983–1002	1.12	

No / nr	Mint / müntla	Ruler / valitseja	Reference / viide	Year / aasta	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
33	Maastricht	Anonymous	Dbg. 253, 1388; Ilisch 2014, 40.19-20	c. 1020–1030	1.38	
34	Western Low Lothringia, uncertain mint	Otto III?		983–1002?	0.78	Very worn
35–40	Cologne	Kg. Otto III	Häv. 34; Ilisch 1983–84	983–1002	1.56, 1.54, 0.92 (frg), 0.80 (frg), 0.59 (frg), 0.40 (frg)	2 whole, 4 fragmented
41	Cologne	Emp. Heinrich II	Häv. 189	1014–1024	1.68	
42–43	Imitation of Cologne, Andernach?	Kg. Otto III	Häv. 44; Ilisch 1983–84, S. 143	983–1002	1.32, 0.68	Second is cut halfpenny
44	Deventer	Kg. Otto III	Dbg. 560, 1550; Ilisch 1997/8, 1.2-3	983–996	0.55	Broken halfpenny
45–47	Deventer	Kg. Heinrich II	Dbg. 91b, var.; Ilisch 1997/8, 1.5	1002–1014	1.00, 0.84, 0.33	Last is a fragment
48–49	Unknown mint around Nijmegen-Tiel	'Kg. Otto I'	Häv. 32; Ilisch 1997/8, 8.4	Late 10th – early 11th c.	1.51, 1.31	
50	Unknown mint around Nijmegen-Tiel	Emp. Heinrich II	Häv. 170a; Ilisch 1997/8, 8.14	1014–1024	1.34	
51	Frisia, uncertain mint	Anonymous	Dbg. 1309; Ilisch 1997/8, 20.4	Late 10th c	0.59	Worn, pierced
52	Frisia, uncertain mint	Anonymous	Dbg. 1299b; Ilisch 1997/8, 20.6	c. 1002–1015	0.85	
53–54	Frisia, uncertain mint	Anonymous	Ilisch 1997/8, 20.8.1	c. 1002–1015	0.74, 0.23	Second is a fragment
55	Saxonia, uncertain mint (Lüneburg?)	Duke Bernhard I	Dbg. 585; Kilger 2000	973–1011	1.27	
56	Saxonia, uncertain mint (Lüneburg?)	Duke Bernhard I	Dbg. 587; Kilger 2000 (Lüneburg?)	973–1011	1.35	
57–60	Soest	Emp. Otto III	Häv. 73, 850; Ilisch 1983–84	996–early 11th c	1.37, 1.33, 0.65, 0.64	Last two are cut halfpennies
61–63	Goslar et al.	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, III6	Late 10th – early 11th	1.50, 1.46, 1.20	
64	Goslar et al.	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, III	Late 10th – early 11th c.	1.68	
65	Goslar et al.	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV2	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.22	
66	Goslar et al.	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV4d	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.00	
67	Goslar et al.	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV5g	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.32	
68	Goslar et al.	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV5 or 6	Late 10th – early 11th c	0.97	
69	Goslar et al.	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV6	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.25	

No / nr	Mint / müntla	Ruler / valitseja	Reference / viide	Year / aasta	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
70	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV7g	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.34	
71	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV8c?	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.46	
72	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV10a	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.09	
73	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV10c var.	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.43	
74	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV10h	Late 10th – early 11th c	0.97	
75	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV11a	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.36	
76	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV15?	Late 10th – early 11th c	0.95	
77– 79	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, IV	Late 10th – early 11th c	1.52, 1.42, 1.37	
80	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto & Adelheid	Hatz 1961, III–IV	Late 10th – early 11th c	0.27	
81	Imitation of OAP, West-Slavonic?	Imitation of Otto & Adelheid	Type Hatz 1961, III7	Late 10th – early 11th c.	1.51	
82– 83	Magdeburg?	Anonymous	Dbg. 1330; Kilger 2000, 4.2.1	Late 10th – early 11th c.	1.28, 0.88	Second is a fragment
84	Magdeburg?	Anonymous	Dbg. 1332 var.; Kilger 2000, 4.2.2	Early 11th c	0.70	
85	Erfurt	Anonymous	Dbg. 877–878; Stoess 1989, 11?	c. 1020	0.60	Fragment
86– 87	Mainz	Kg. Heinrich II	Dbg. 785	1002–1014	1.11, 0.58	First has broken rim, second is a cut halfpenny
88	Mainz	Kg. Heinrich II	Dbg. 788	1002–1014	1.34	
89– 90	Worms	Emp. Otto III	Dbg. 844	996–1002	1.08, 0.48	Second is a cut halfpenny
91	Worms	Heinrich II	Dbg. 845	1002–1024	0.63	Fragment
92	Speyer	Emp. Otto III	Dbg. 827?	996–1002	0.85	
93– 94	Speyer or Mainz	Emp. Otto III	Cf. Dbg. 778/9, 825	996–1002	1.11, 1.06	
95	Strasbourg	Kg. Heinrich II	Dbg. 918	1002–1014	1.29	Pierced
96	Strasbourg	Emp. Heinrich II	Dbg. 920	1014–1024	0.81	Cut halfpenny
97	Esslingen	Kg. Otto III	Dbg. 1271; Klein & Raff 1997, 2, Gruppe II	983–996	1.43	Pierced
98	Regensburg	Kg. Heinrich II	Hahn 1976, 29b2 var.	2nd period, 1009–1024	1.54	
99	Regensburg	Duke Heinrich V	Hahn 1976, 31e8	2nd rule, 1018–1026	1.12	
100	Salzburg	Bp. Hartwig	Hahn 1976, 98A?	1st period, 1009–1018	0.39	Quarter
101	Unidentified				1.33	Totally worn
102	Unidentified				0.18	Fragment, obol?
103	Unidentified				0.09	Fragment

## English coins

No / nr	Ruler / valitseja	Type/ münditüüp	Mint / müntla	Moneyer/ müntmeister	Year / aasta	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
104	Aethelred II	Crux	Canterbury	Duda	c. 991–997	1.46	
105	Aethelred II	Crux	London	Godric	c. 991–997	1.70	
106	Aethelred II	Crux	London	Wulfgar	c. 991–997	1.63	
107	Aethelred II	Crux	Uncertain mint	Eadmund	c. 991–997	1.24	Fragment
108	Aethelred II	Long cross	Cambridge	Leofstan	c. 997–1003	1.55	
109	Aethelred II	Long cross	Exeter	Wynsige	c. 997–1003	0.60	Broken halfpenny
110	Aethelred II	Long cross	Lewes	Uncertain moneyer	c. 997–1003	0.79	Broken halfpenny
111	Aethelred II	Long cross	Lincoln?	Othbern or Othgrim	c. 997–1003	0.67	Fragment
112	Aethelred II	Long cross	London	Aelfric	c. 997–1003	1.66	
113	Aethelred II	Long cross	London	Aelfwine	c. 997–1003	1.63	
114	Aethelred II	Long cross	London	Godwine	c. 997–1003	1.61	
115	Aethelred II	Long cross	London	Godwine	c. 997–1003	1.32	
116	Aethelred II	Long cross	London	Leofwine	c. 997–1003	1.35	
117	Aethelred II	Long cross	London	Wulfwine	c. 997–1003	1.32	
118	Aethelred II	Long cross	Thetford	Osbern	c. 997–1003	0.66	Broken halfpenny
119	Aethelred II	Long cross	Uncertain mint	Uncertain moneyer	c. 997–1003	0.48	Fragment
120	Aethelred II	Long cross	Uncertain mint	Uncertain moneyer (Go.....)	c. 997–1003	0.30	Fragment
121	Aethelred II	Helmet	Canterbury	Godman	c. 1003–1009	0.98	
122	Aethelred II	Helmet	Canterbury	Wulfsige	c. 1003–1009	1.20	Pierced
123	Aethelred II	Helmet	Chichester	Uncertain moneyer	c. 1003–1009	0.60	Fragment
124	Aethelred II	Helmet	Exeter	Aelfmaer	c. 1003–1009	0.98	
125	Aethelred II	Helmet	London	Sigwine	c. 1003–1009	1.64	
126	Aethelred II	Helmet	London	Uncertain moneyer	c. 1003–1009	0.37	Fragment
127	Aethelred II	Helmet	Thetford?	Uncertain moneyer	c. 1003–1009	0.37	Fragment
128	Aethelred II	Helmet	Winchester	Wulfnoth	c. 1003–1009	1.27	
129	Aethelred II	Helmet	Uncertain mint	Uncertain moneyer (.....e)	c. 1003–1009	0.28	Fragment
130	Aethelred II	Helmet	Uncertain mint	Uncertain moneyer (....ric)	c. 1003–1009	0.85	Cut halfpenny
131	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Canterbury	Godric	c. 1009–1017/8	1.18	Rim broken
132	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Chester	Gunleof	c. 1009–1017/8	1.13	
133	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Colchester, var. Hild Ac	Elfwine	c. 1009–1017/8	1.35	
134	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Ilchester?	Wulfnoth	c. 1009–1017/8	0.85	Rim broken
135	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Lewes	Leoffa	c. 1009–1017/8	1.52	
136	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Lincoln	Aethelnoth	c. 1009–1017/8	1.56	
137	Aethelred II	Last small cross	London	Leofred	c. 1009–1017/8	1.41	
138	Aethelred II	Last small cross	London	Wulfred	c. 1009–1017/8	1.30	
139	Aethelred II	Last small cross	London or imitation	Eadsige	c. 1009–1017/8	0.57	Fragment
140	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Thetford, Var. Hild Ac	Eadric	c. 1009–1017/8	1.44	
141	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Thetford	Leofric	c. 1009–1017/8	1.07	
142	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Torksey	Thurcetel	c. 1009–1017/8	1.00	Rim broken

No / nr	Ruler / valitseja	Type/ münditüüp	Mint / müntla	Moneyer/ müntmeister	Year / aasta	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
143	Aethelred II	Last small cross	Wareham	Aelfgar	c. 1009–1017/8	1.26	
144	Aethelred II	Last small cross	York	Thorstan	c. 1009–1017/8	1.59	
145	Cnut	Quatrefoil	Lewes	Godefred	c. 1017/8–1023	1.08	
146	Cnut	Quatrefoil	London	Uncertain moneyer	c. 1017/8–1023	0.42	Broken halfpenny
147	Cnut	Quatrefoil	Uncertain mint	Uncertain moneyer (...bern), annulets in angles	c. 1017/8–1023	0.48	Fragment
148	Aethelred II or Cnut	Uncertain type	Uncertain mint	Uncertain moneyer		0.13	Fragment

**Irish coin**

No / nr	Ruler / valitseja	Type/ münditüüp	Mint / müntla	Moneyer / müntmeister	Year / aasta	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
149	Sihtric	Last small cross	Dublin	Uncertain moneyer	c. 1009–1017/8	1.14	

**Anglo-Scandinavian coins**

No / nr	Ruler / valitseja	Type/ münditüüp	Mint / müntla	Moneyer / müntmeister	Reference / viide	Weight (g) / kaal	Comments / märkused
150	'Aethelred II'	Long cross	'Canterbury'	'Leofric'	Malmer 1997, 166/1160	1.07	
151	'Aethelred II'	Long cross	Sigtuna		Malmer 1989, 265/629	1.86	
152	'Aethelred II'	Long cross	Sigtuna		Malmer 1997, 221/1278	2.08	
153	'Aethelred II'	Long cross	Sigtuna		Malmer 1997, 226/1449	0.59	Cut halfpenny
154	'Aethelred II'	Long cross			Malmer 1997, 248/1270	1.37	Rim broken
155	'Aethelred II'	Long cross	Sigtuna		Malmer 1997, 354/1515	1.76	
156	'Aethelred II and Cnut'	Long cross / Quatrefoil	Sigtuna		Malmer 1997, 334/1968	1.46	
157	'Cnut'	Last small cross	'London'	'Thorcl'	Malmer 1997, 628/1730	0.51	Cut halfpenny

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## MADISEPÄEVA LAHINGUPAIKA OTSINGUTEST JA HÖBEARDE LEIDMISEST VILJANDIMAAL VANAMÕISA KÜLAS

Marge Konsa, Ivar Leimus, Nele Kangert ja Ain Mäesalu

Välitööd Vanamõisa külas olid seotud 1217. aasta Madisepäeva lahingupaiga otsingutega. Kui varaseimat arheoloogilistel uuringutel oli põhitähelepanu küla keskosas, Kirikumäe, Rattama ja Madi ümbruses, siis viimastel aastatel on keskkendutud küla serva-aladele. 2013. aastal kontrolliti koos detektoristidega põlde Vanamõisa küla kirde- ja idaosas ning Kookla

külas. Lisaks uusaega kuuluvatele riietuse metallosadele, leiti ka kaks muinas- või keskaegset hobuse jäändela. Muinasaeagle lahingule viitavad leide ei saadud ning samuti puudusid mõnede muulle arheoloogilisele muistisele viitavad jälged.

Uued otsingud korraldati 2018. aasta 22. septembril. Neil osales tõle 40 detektoristi ning arheoloogid

Muinsuskaitseametist ja Tartu Ülikoolist. Seekord keskenduti Vanamõisa küla lääne- ja loodeosal. Saadi eri perioodist pärit leide, mis kõik on seostatavad kohapealse asustuse, mitte aga Madisepäeva lahinguga. Kõige vanemateks leidudeks olid kivi-aegsed tulekivi- ja kvartsikillud ning kvartsnukleus. Hilisematest perioodidest leiti juhuleiuna näiteks 13. saj sõrmus, keskaegset kedmaraamikat, 15.–16. saj ammuunooleots, uusaegseid ehteid ja 17.–18. saj münte. Kõige tähelepanuvääärsemaks osutus aga viikingiaegse aarde leidmine Lemmjöe lähedalt.

Aardest pärit mündid paiknesid küntud põllumaal u  $25 \times 25$  m suurusel alal laiali. Kuna müntide esinemisala oli võrdlemisi suur, siis kasutati abivahendina kopplaadurit, millega kooriti 10 cm kaupa pinnast, mis metallidetektorite abil läbi otsiti. Selgus, et leialal puudusid kultuurkihi tunnused ning valdavalt oli kogu münte sisaldav pinnas künninga segatud. Inimtegevusest puutumata looduslikuks pinnaseks oli liivsavi, mis algas maapinnast 25–60 cm sügavusel. Kui enamik aardest oli künninga laiali kandunud, siis ühes kohas olid vahetult liivsavikihi peal, maapinnast u 60 cm sügavuselt koos 4 münti, mis võivad osutada aarde algsele asukohale. Maaстiku ja mullastiku iseloomust võib järeldada, et aaret ei pandud vette, vaid see oli maetud jõelammi ääres olevale madalale põndakule.

Vanamõisa hõbeaarde moodustasid kaks toorhõbeda kang, katke hõbetraadist, kaks hõbedatilka ja 157 hõbemünti. Kõige rohkem oli aardes Saksa (72 tk), Inglise (45 tk) ja islami (28 tk) münte. Vähemal määral olid esindatud ka Skandinaavia (8 tk), Bütsantsi

(3 tk) ja liri mündid (1 tk). Aarde vanema, ilmselt omal ajal korraga omandatud osa moodustavad 10. saj keskpaiku vermitud Samaniidide dünastia dirhemid. Aarde noorimad kindlalt dateeritavad mündid on Baieri hertsogi Heinrich V (1018–1026) denaar, Inglismaa kuninga Knuti Quatrefoil-tüüpi (1017/8–1023) pennid ja üks viimaste jälgendus. Nende põhjal võib oletada, et aare on kogutud varsti pärast 1018. aastat, töenäoliselt 1020. aasta paiku.

11. saj teine aastakümme oli Eesti mündikasutuses murruanguline aeg. Ühelt poolt jätkus esialgu veel ida hõbeda sissevool Lõuna-Eestisse ja tehti viimsed kaubasõidud Bagdadi. Lääne- ja Põhja-Eestis oli aga aarete kooseis juba muutunud ja neis oli märgatavalalt suurenenedud lääne-euroopa müntide osakaal ning islammaade müntide arv vähenenud. Vanamõisa aarde kooseis erineb mõnevõrra teistest – siin on tavapärasest vähem Inglise ja Lõuna-Eesti jaoks ka araabia münti, kuid need kõikumised pole midagi erakordset.

Lisaks Vanamõisa aardele on Põhja-Viljandimaalt leitud veel rida 11. saj aardeid, mis osutavad piirkonna jõukusele sellel ajal. Teisalt on peaaegu kõik Vanamõisa aarde mündid tugevasti deformeeritud – painutatud ja täkitud, mida tehti töenäoliselt hõbeda kvaliteedi proovimiseks. Ühtlasi on leius üllatavalt palju münditükke. Müntide tükeldamine võib viidata hõbedapuudusele, mis oli eriti terav 10. saj teisel poolel, mida näitab Vanamõisa aardes olnud araabia dirhemite erakordsest kõrge fragmenteeritus. Töenäoliselt saigi piirkonna majanduslik ja ehk ka sellega seotud poliitilise tähtsuse tõus alguse alles 11. saj esimestel kümnenitel.