



## Early 13th century silver hoard from Kirimäe village, Lääne County

**Ivar Leimus**

*SA Eesti Ajaloomuuseum* (Estonian History Museum Foundation), Pirita tee 56, 12011 Tallinn, Estonia;  
ivar.leimus@ajaloomuuseum.ee

**Ragnar Saage**

*Tartu Ülikool, ajaloo ja arheoloogia instituut, arheoloogia osakond* (University of Tartu, Institute of History and Archaeology, Department of Archaeology), Jakobi 2, 51005 Tartu, Estonia

### INTRODUCTION

In October 2021, a silver hoard from the early 13th century, consisting of coins, ornaments and bars was unearthed in Kirimäe village, Lääne County by hobby searchers. Subsequently, additional archaeological investigations on the site were carried out by Krista Karro from the National Heritage Board. It appeared that the finds were scattered across tens of square metres of arable land next to a prehistorical site. No remains of any possible container were detected.

The soil of the western part of the site is slightly higher than the rest of the field, it is darker and more homogenous. A couple of burned granite stones were observed in the soil, but otherwise there were no traces of the cultural layer like fragments of bones, potsherds, or charcoal. There are two mounds in the field with more limestone in the soil, apart from that the mounds are of the same colour as the field around (Karro 2021).

### COINS

124 coins were discovered in total; a fragment of a Samanid dirham, 69 German deniers, five English pennies, nine Swedish bracteates, 39 Gotland coins and a Riga bracteate (Table 1), altogether 98.3 grams of silver. In addition, a penny of the Archbishop of Riga, Silvester Stodewescher (1448–1479) was found that does not belong to the hoard, but indicates the activities that took place there in the late Middle Ages.

When speaking of the composition of the hoard, the high number of coins from Soest and its vicinity (38 pcs, i.e., more than 54% of the German total) is worth particular attention. Soest is situated in Westphalia, which was the main recruiting area of merchants frequenting Livonia around 1200 and later (Leimus 2004, 317–322). Thus, it is no surprise that deniers from Westphalia form the most substantial portion of the coins from that period found in Estonia. Consequently, we may add seven deniers from Münster, Osnabrück and Paderborn to the Westphalian group that makes their percentage of the hoard even higher – more than 64%.

**Table 1.** *Coins of the Kirimäe hoard.***Tabel 1.** *Kirimäe aarde mündid.**Compiled by / Koostanud: Ivar Leimus*

No. / nr	Country / maa	Mint / mündla	Ruler / valitseja	Year / aasta	Reference / viide	Weight g / kaal gr
1	Samanids	?	Isma'il ibn Ahmad	2xx		1.25 (frg.)
2	Holy Roman Empire	Soest	Anonym	late 11th c.	Häv. 856a	1.21
3	Holy Roman Empire	Soest	Anonym	12th c.	Cf. Häv. 856 ff.	1.31
4–18	Holy Roman Empire	Soest	Archbishop Philipp	1167–91	Häv. 882	1.02 (frg.), 1.09, 1.14, 1.18, 1.23, 1.27, 1.27, 1.29, 1.32, 1.35, 1.36, 1.36, 1.38, 1.39, 1.48
19–33	Holy Roman Empire	Soest	Archbishop Adolf	1193–1205	Häv. 918	1.15, 1.16, 1.21, 1.23, 1.25, 1.30, 1.30, 1.31, 1.32, 1.32, 1.34, 1.35, 1.36, 1.39, 1.42
34	Holy Roman Empire	Soest?	Anonym	late 12th c.	Häv. 866 var.	1.18
35	Holy Roman Empire	Imitation of Soest, Korbach/Schwalenberg?	Hermann von Waldeck or Heinrich von Schwalenberg?	1184–1223 or 1185–1214	Häv. 925; Krusy 1986, No. 38	1.22
36	Holy Roman Empire	Imitation of Soest	Archbishop Philipp	1167–1191	Häv. 896	1.40
37–38	Holy Roman Empire	Imitation of Soest, Lippstadt/ Lemgo?	Archbishop Adolf	1193–1205	Häv. 929	1.37, 1.37
39	Holy Roman Empire	Imitation of Soest, Lippstadt/ Lemgo?	Archbishop Adolf	1193–1205	Häv. 930	1.29
40–42	Holy Roman Empire	Münster	Bishop Hermann II	1173–1203	Ilisch 1994, S. 65, No. 1	1.32, 1.41, 1.45
43	Holy Roman Empire	Osnabrück	Bishop Arnold	1173–1190	Häv. 897; Kennepohl 1938, 33	1.42
44–46	Holy Roman Empire	Paderborn	Bishop Bernhard II	1186–1203	Weingärtner 1882, No. 3	1.36, 1.40, 1.47
47	Holy Roman Empire	Cologne	Archbishop Philipp, type 4	1181–1190?	Häv. 549	1.40
48–51	Holy Roman Empire	Cologne	Archbishop Philipp, type 5	1190–1191?	Häv. 573	1.19, 1.29, 1.38, 1.40
52–54	Holy Roman Empire	Cologne	Archbishop Adolf	1193–1205	Häv. 588	1.35, 1.37, 1.47
55	Holy Roman Empire	Imitation of Cologne, Wipperfürth?	Counts of Berg, Adolf V?	1189–1219?	Häv. 603	1.46
56	Holy Roman Empire	Unknown mint (Dortmund?)	Emperor Friedrich I	1152–1190	Menadier 1913, No. 26–28; Diry 2021, 6.2.2	1.32
57	Holy Roman Empire	Unknown mint (Dortmund?)	Emperor Friedrich I	1152–1190	Menadier 1913, No. 33; Diry 2021, 3.4.1	1.25
58	Holy Roman Empire	Imitation of Utrecht, Zutphen	Count Otto I	1182–1207	Schulmann 1940, No. 3	0.62
59–61	Holy Roman Empire	Nijmegen?	Emperor Friedrich I	1152–1190	Hohenstaufenzeit II, No. 1099–1101 var.	0.38, 0.41, 0.43
62	Holy Roman Empire	Magdeburg	Archbishop Wichmann	1152–1192	Mehl 2011, No. 214?	0.16 (frg.)
63	Holy Roman Empire	Magdeburg	Archbishop Ludolf	1192–1205	Mehl 2011, No. 370	0.88
64	Holy Roman Empire	Magdeburg	Archbishop Ludolf	1192–1205	Mehl 2011, No. 375	0.84
65	Holy Roman Empire	Magdeburg	Archbishop Ludolf	1192–1205	Mehl 2011, No. 379	0.88

No. / nr	Country / maa	Mint / müntla	Ruler / valitseja	Year / aasta	Reference / viide	Weight g / kaal gr
66	Holy Roman Empire	Brandenburg	Markgrave Otto II	1184–1205	Bahrfeldt 1889, No. 70	0.99
67	Holy Roman Empire	Hildesheim?	Bishop Hermann	1161–1170	Mehl 1995, No. 41 var.	0.52
68	Holy Roman Empire	Halberstadt?	Gardolf von Harbke or Konrad von Krosingk	1193–1201 or 1202–1208	Cf. Buchenau 1905, Fd. Seega, no. 629	0.46 (obol)
69	Holy Roman Empire	Brunswick?	?		? Lion or horse with a tower?	0.33
70	Holy Roman Empire	Mainz	Emperor Konrad II	1027–1039	Dbg. 790	1.04
71	England	Ilchester, Alword	Henry I, Pax-type	ca. 1103		1.38
72	England	Newcastle, Willem	Henry II, Tealby C3	ca. 1163–1167	Crafter 1998, No. 17	1.46
73	England	York, Gerard	Henry II, Short cross cl. 1–2	ca. 1180–1190		1.16
74	England	Canterbury, Reinaud	Richard I, Short cross, cl. 3	ca. 1190–1194		1.18
75	England	Canterbury, Reinaud	John, Short cross, cl. 4b	ca. 1200–1204		1.46
76–77	Sweden	Sigtuna?	Anonym (Knut Eriksson)	ca. 1180–1200	LL IA:7c; MGL B10d; Jonsson 1995, s. 54–55	0.28, 0.29
78–81	Sweden	Sigtuna?	Anonym (Knut Eriksson)	ca. 1180–1200	LL IA:7d; MGL B11c; Jonsson 1995, s. 54–55	0.26, 0.29, 0.31, 0.32
82–84	Sweden	Sigtuna?	Anonym (Knut Eriksson)	ca. 1180–1200	LL IA:5c; MGL C17a; Jonsson 1995, s. 54–55	0.24, 0.24, 0.29
85	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1150–1170	Myrberg 2008, 1:1	0.18
86	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1150–1180	Myrberg 2008, 1:1–2?	0.19
87–89	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1170–1180	Myrberg 2008, 1:2	0.18, 0.18, 0.18
90–91	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1170–1180	Myrberg 2008, 1:2?	0.16, 0.19
92–95	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1170–1190	Myrberg 2008, 1:2–3	0.17, 0.18, 0.18, 0.20
96–99	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1180–1190	Myrberg 2008, 1:3	0.15, 0.16, 0.18, 0.20
100	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1180–1190	Myrberg 2008, 1:3?	0.16
101–102	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1180–1200	Myrberg 2008, 1:3–4	0.19, 0.21
103–104	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1180–1200	Myrberg 2008, 1:3–4?	0.16, 0.16
105–107	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1180–1210	Myrberg 2008, 1:3–5	0.15, 0.17, 0.18
108–115	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1190–1200	Myrberg 2008, 1:4	0.11, 0.15, 0.16, 0.16, 0.18 (obv. double struck), 0.18, 0.19, 0.20
116–117	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1180–1200	Myrberg 2008, 1:4?	0.14, 0.27 (rev. double struck with obv.-die)
118–119	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1190–1210	Myrberg 2008, 1:4–5	0.16, 0.17

No. / nr	Country / maa	Mint / müntla	Ruler / valitseja	Year / aasta	Reference / viide	Weight g / kaal gr
120	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1190–1210	LL, XXC7; Myrberg 2008, 1:4–5	0.12 (one-sided (rev.))
121–122	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1200–1210?	Myrberg 2008, 1:5?	0.17, 0.17 (both obsvs. worn or bad struck)
123	Gotland	Visby?	Anonym	ca. 1180–1210	Obv, Myrberg 2008, -, rev. I:3–5	0.23
124	Livonia	Riga	Bishop Albert	1201–1229	Pelda 1978, s. 46–47	0.17

The coins of Soest are also prevailing in the finds from Westphalia itself, for instance in the hoards of Arnsberg (*tpq* 1193) and Herford (*tpq* 1208). The only exception here is a hoard uncovered on Salzstrasse in Münster (*tpq* 1204) (Ilisch 1991, 10–14). Strangely enough, thus far these were not the coins from Soest but Münster that prevailed in Estonian finds of the period, probably reflecting direct contacts with that particular centre (Leimus 2004, 321). However, concerning the composition of the Westphalian coins in the Kirimäe hoard, the initial owner of the coins most likely did not come from Münster but some other Westphalian town.

The second largest group of German coins in the hoard consists of the deniers of Cologne and its vicinity (9 pcs). Although situated next to Westphalia, the coins from Cologne are exceptional in the Westphalian finds. There were none in the hoards of Arnsberg and Münster-Salzstrasse, and they constitute only 4% of the hoard of Herford and 8% of the Halle-Hesseln hoard (Ilisch 1991, 10–14). From Estonian finds of the period, the proportion of the coins from and around Cologne is considerably higher, around 21% (Leimus 2004, 321). In the hoard of Kirimäe, their proportion was slightly lower, indeed, but still significant, almost 13%. Seemingly, these coins did not arrive to Livonia via Westphalia but rather in a pocket of some Cologne merchant (cf. Hucker 1993, 56). Until now, more coins of Archbishop Philipp (1167–1191) than these of Adolf (1193–1205), both from Soest and Cologne, were recorded in Estonian finds. In the Kirimäe hoard, however, their number is roughly equal.

It is plausible that these coins could travel not via Lübeck or some other northern German centre since there is not a single coin from there in the find. Instead, the old waterway of the Rhine could have been used. These are not only the Cologne coins that point to the Rhine direction, but also the three pennies that probably have been struck in Nijmegen, the Netherlands (nos 59–61; Fig. 1) and represent a later stage of the coin type known so far. Zutphen that yielded us a coin, too (no. 58), also was connected to the Rhine through its tributary IJssel.



**Fig. 1.** Nijmegen, Emperor Friedrich I (1152–1190), struck probably ca. 1190–1200.

**Jn 1.** Nijmegen, keiser Friedrich I (1152–1190), vermitud arvatavasti u 1190–1200.

(AM 41234: 59.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

The few German bracteates of the hoard (nos 62–69) that were totally absent in Estonian finds until now must have arrived in a totally different way. Mainly, they originate from Magdeburg and its surroundings and, have likely come via the Elbe route.



Mostly the bracteates have been minted from 1192 to 1205, i.e. roughly at the same time as other German coins.

The English connections to Livonia were much weaker judging by the composition of the hoard. Nevertheless, there is a penny of Henry I from Ilchester among them struck by a mint that is so far unknown (no. 71; Fig. 2). Three coins represent the Short cross type, introduced by Henry II in 1180 with an almost unchanged design and Henry's name regardless of the actual ruler governing until 1272. Still, the details of the pennies in the hoard date them between the years ca. 1180–1204.

Rather exceptional for Estonian finds are the nine Swedish bracteates of Knut Eriksson (1167–1196) struck in Sigtuna. According to the Swedish numismatists, minting of this coin series started around 1180–1185 and lasted to the end of the reign of Knut Eriksson, probably until ca. 1200 (Jonsson 1995, 54–55; MGL 2019, 44). So far, three such coins were known from the Haapsalu hoard of 1180s. One bracteate was recorded in the Vaida hoard that in its main part was accumulated before the 1160s, and another one came from Saaremaa (Leimus 1997, 77). In addition, a small hoard from the Lõhavere stronghold contained an initial version of this usually corrupted coin type (Tamla *et al.* 2002, 8, 15). In the Kirimäe hoard, two subtypes of this coin can be distinguished. Six pieces have a sword left and a sceptre right of the crowned head (Fig. 3). Three coins bear a lily at the left, formed by the sceptre and the left lily of the crown, and a cross at the right (Fig. 4).

And finally, 39 pennies from Gotland are to be mentioned. Contrary to the Sigtuna coins, these small semi-bracteate-like coins are widely spread in Estonian and Latvian finds of the period. There were 341 Gotland coins in the Tamse hoard from the Muhu island (*tpq* 1193) (Molvõgin 1970). 34 coins have been recorded originating from the Ikškile fortress and 109 coins from the convent of the Holy Spirit in Riga (Berga 2000, 165–172; Ducmane & Ozoliņa, 2009, nos 53, 57). In addition, they were present in numerous smaller finds, too, especially from the Muhu hillfort (Myrberg 2008, 266–275; Tamla & Kiudsoo 2009, 46–47).



**Fig. 2.** England, Henry I, Pax-type (ca. 1103), Ilchester, moneyer Alword.

**Jn 2.** Inglise, Henry I, Pax-tüüp (u 1103), Ilchester, müntmeister Alword.

(AM 41234: 71.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 3.** Sweden, Sigtuna, Knut Eriksson (ca. 1180–1200).

**Jn 3.** Rootsi, Sigtuna, Knut Eriksson (u 1180–1200).

(AM 41234: 81.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 4.** Sweden, Sigtuna, Knut Eriksson (ca. 1180–1200).

**Jn 4.** Rootsi, Sigtuna, Knut Eriksson (u 1180–1200).

(AM 41234: 82.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



Fig. 5. Gotland?, ca. 1180–1210.

Jn 5. Gotland?, u 1180–1210.

(AM 41234: 123.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



Fig. 6. England, John, Short cross, cl. 4b, Canterbury, moneyer Reinaud.

Jn 6. Inglise, John, Short cross, cl. 4b, Canterbury, müntmeister Reinaud.

(AM 41234: 74.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



Fig. 7. The Holy Roman Empire, Halberstadt, Gardolf von Harbke or Konrad von Krosingk (1193–1201–1208). Obol.

Jn 7. Püha Rooma keisririik, Halberstadt, Gardolf von Harbke või Konrad von Krosingk (1193–1201–1208). Obol.

(AM 41234: 68.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

According to Nanouschka Myrberg, the pennies of the Kirimäe hoard mainly date from the years 1170–1200 (Myrberg 2008, 140).<sup>1</sup> Some of them may even reach into the early 1200s (nos 118–122), but this cannot be verified with complete certainty due to the poor struck characteristic for these coins. One penny of the group bears a different image on the obverse (Fig. 5) that has not been deciphered as yet. Although almost exactly the same number as the coins from Soest and its surroundings (39 and 38, respectively), the Gotland pennies altogether weigh much less (6.82 g versus 48.89 g) since their average weight is only 0.17 g in comparison to 1.29 g of the Soest deniers. Thus, in terms of value the Gotland coins were fairly marginal in the find.

#### DATING THE HOARD

The date after which the artefacts of the Kirimäe find must have been deposited (*terminus post quem*) when considering only coins attributed with certainty is 1193 (Archbishop of Cologne Adolf, nos 20–33, 37–39, 52–54). Slightly later, in ca. 1200–1204 an English Short Cross penny, class 4b has been minted (no. 75, Fig. 6). It cannot be excluded that a bracteate, probably minted in Halberstadt, was also struck during the rule of Bishop Konrad von Krosingk (1202–1208) (no. 68, Fig. 7), but it is equally likely to belong to the rule of his predecessor Gardolf von Harbke (1193–1201) (cf. Buchenau 1905, pl. 26, no. 32 (629)). This particular coin also stands out due to its unprecedented low weight for a denier that, according to Prof. Bernt Kluge might rather indicate a rare obol, i.e. halfpenny (pers. comm.).

However, the upper time limit of the youngest coins in the hoard (*terminus ante quem*) most probably is the year 1204/5, which marks the end of minting by Archbishop Adolf in Cologne as well as

<sup>1</sup> The authors thank Dr Nanouschka Myrberg Burström for reviewing the identifications of Gotland coins of the Kirimäe hoard.

Soest (Hävernicks 1935, 132). Theoretically, this could be the year 1208, too, since the next Archbishop of Cologne Bruno (1205–1208) could not establish himself and, consequently, struck no coins at all (Hävernicks 1935, 138). Only the next Archbishop Dietrich I (1208–1212) resumed minting in these centres. This means that neither Cologne nor Soest could yield any new coins during the short reign of Bruno and the deniers of the former bishops might have continued to flow to Livonia until 1208. However, there are no coins struck after 1205 in the hoard from any other German mint either: the same year of 1205 also marks the death of another well-dated mint lord represented in the Kirimäe hoard, Archbishop of Magdeburg Ludolf (nos 63–65). There are a couple of German imitative coins (nos 35, 55) whose probable issuers may have ruled a decade or so longer, but they had gained power already in the 1180s. Besides, they imitate the Cologne coins of Archbishops Philipp and Adolf (Hävernicks 1935, nos 603, 925) and most likely cannot be much younger. Thus, there are no foreign coins in the find that can be dated post 1205.

Thus, the coins in the find form a chronologically compact group from ca. 1180 to 1200. Because of the long reign of Emperor Frederick I (1152–1190) and Archbishop of Cologne Philipp (1167–1191) some German deniers may have been struck slightly earlier, but despite that they most probably arrived in Livonia together with a later group of coins (Leimus 2004). The same applies to the few earlier Gotlandic pennies.

There are very few coins from the Viking and late Viking Age in the find: a fragment of a dirham from the early 10th century (no. 1), a denier of Soest from the late 11th century (no. 2), a denier of Mainz from the 1020–1030s (no. 70) and an English penny from the early 12th century (no. 71). Conditionally, a Soest denier from the 12th century (no. 3) may also be included in the earlier group of coins.

Such a compact composition is characteristic for Estonian coin finds from the late 12th and early 13th century (Leimus *et al.* 2018, 33–34). It was derived from a new wave of the western expansion that may have been fed by the exploitation of the new silver mines discovered in the Holy Roman Empire after a longer silver crisis in 1168 (Leimus 2018). Consequently, it may be presumed that the contacts of the once owner of the Kirimäe wealth deposit with merchants – be it in Riga, his home village or elsewhere – were just a one-time thing and reflect the origin of the foreigners.

## WHEN DID BISHOP ALBERT BEGIN TO MINT?

Apart from foreign coins there is one Livonian penny in the find, the bracteate of Bishop Albert of Riga (no. 124, Fig. 8). Albert was ordained in 1191. Next year he arrived in Livonia and in 1201 founded the town Riga. The bishop possessed the mint right in 1211 at the latest, because that year he granted the minting right in Riga to the merchants coming from Gotland (Leimus 2005). However, there is no documentation of gaining the mint right by Albert himself.



**Fig. 8.** Livonia, Riga, Bishop Albert (1201–1229).  
**Jn 8.** Liivimaa, Riia, piiskop Albert (1201–1229).  
 (AM 41234: 124.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

The coins of Albert are rare; so far, only 25 pieces are known (24 are mentioned in Berga 2008, 254). 20 coins belong to a small hoard unearthed during the archaeological excavations on the Mārtiņsala island on the River Daugava. That find did not contain any other coins and as such is undatable. Two single coins of Albert were also discovered on the same site (Berga 2008, 256–257). Yet one bracteate was unearthed excavating the Pada prehistorical grave field in north Estonia that mainly dates from the last quarter of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th century. The Albert bracteate was found at the skeleton CLI together with four pennies from Gotland, the younger of which date from ca. 1210–1220 (Toomas Tamla, pers. comm.). A probable fragment of an Albert coin belongs to the hoard discovered in 1881 during the construction works in the courtyard of the convent of Holy Spirit in Riga (Berga 2000, 165–172). The hoard contains 178 coins, but just one of them could be dated with some precision – a sterling of Bishop Bernhard zur Lippe (1227–1247) struck in Corvey around 1230<sup>2</sup>, and finally one coin of Albert is recorded in the Tingby hoard from Småland, Sweden. The most recent coins of this hoard are minted during the reign of Sverker Karlsson (1196–1208), but largely the find consists of Gotland coins (Jonsson 2015, 1129, 1132, fig. 4). According to the classification of Myrberg the youngest of them can be dated to ca. 1200–1210 (Myrberg 2008, 246–247 does not mention the coin by Albert).

Thus, the finds of the Albert's coins do not allow to date them with any precision so far. However, the composition of the Kirimäe hoard may change our understanding on the very beginning of minting in Riga in particular and Livonia in general. Relying on the well-known privilege of Albert of 1211 no minting of the bishop is usually expected to have taken place before that year (Švābe 1939, 343; Pelda 1978, 46–47 and other authors after her). But such a late dating does not correspond to the rest of the hoard, which is relatively older. Already the composition of the Tingby hoard with the youngest coins from the first decade of the 13th century hints to a somewhat earlier time.

In fact, it is entirely feasible since Albert was enfeoffed with Livonia, i.e., he became a *Reichsfürst* (prince of the Holy Roman Empire) in 1207 while visiting King Philipp in the Holy Roman Empire (HCL X:17; Gnegel-Waitschies 1958, 79; Berga & Dāboliņš 2012, 142). The mint right was one of the prerogatives of these princes. This was officially confirmed a bit later, by Emperor Frederick II for bishops in 1220, and by King Henry VII in 1231 and Emperor Frederick II in 1232 for other princes of the empire (Schrader 1966). But that was just the formalisation of a process that had started decades earlier, during the final years of Emperor Frederick I and the ensuing contest for the throne in 1198–1215. However, before 1207, Albert could not have the right to mint on his own even theoretically.

Still, when considering the composition of the Kirimäe hoard even the year 1207 seems to be a bit too late. How to explain this discrepancy? Here we should bear in mind that in 1207 it was not the first time for Albert to meet the king. Already before the arrival to Livonia he made a tour in the Holy Roman Empire. During Christmas 1199 the bishop accompanied his relative and patron, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen Harwich II and participated in the crowning festivities of King Philipp in Magdeburg. A *Hoftag* was arranged on that occasion where selected chief princes gathered. Here, Albert got a promise from the king that the property of every crusader who goes to Livonia would be laid under the pope's protection, likewise that of those who were heading to Jerusalem (HCL III:1; Gnegel-Waitschies 1958, 54–55). Hence, the young prelate had achieved a personal access to the king. It cannot be

<sup>2</sup> About the dating of the coin see: <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?term=corvey+hermann&category=1-2&lot=&thesaurus=1&images=1&en=1&de=1&fr=1&it=1&es=1&ot=1&currency=usd&order=0> (last accessed 10.07.2022.).



excluded that it was already in Magdeburg he received the right to mint coins in his new domain.

Be that as it may, it is difficult to imagine that minting took place in Ikšķile (Uexküll) or Mārtiņsala (Holm), although the last-mentioned place has yielded most of the known Albert's coins today. The situation in Livonia at the time was too uncertain and unsafe for such undertakings. It started to improve for the colonists only after 1201 when Albert founded Riga, and 1202 when the Livonian Brothers of the Sword was established. Consequently, Albert must have begun with minting in Riga either soon after founding it or, which is less likely, in 1207 after gaining the status of a *Reichsfürst*.

### SILVER BARS

Aside from the coins there were a whole silver bar and 14 bar fragments in the hoard weighing 472.6 g in total (Fig. 9, Table 2). It is one of the largest assemblages of bars in Estonian hoards of the period. Only the four whole ingots in the hoard of Mäetaguse (*tpq* 1232) weighed slightly more, almost half a kilogram (Hausmann 1914, 160).



**Fig. 9.** Silver bars from the hoard of Kirimäe.

**Jn 9.** Kirimäe aarde hõbedakangid.

(AM A 1307: 1–15.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

**Table 2.** *Silver bars in the hoard of Kirimäe.***Tabel 2.** *Kirimäe aarde hõbedakangid.*

Compiled by / Koostanud: Ivar Leimus

No. / nr	Weight g / kaal gr	Length mm / pikkus mm	Width mm / laius mm	Height mm / kõrgus mm	Cross-section / läbilõige	Remarks / märkused	Pecks / täkked
1	58.75	110		9	8 Semi-circular	Cast, stamped twice	0
2	53.18	73	11		9 Semi-circular	Cast	1
3	52.25	67	12		9 Semi-circular	Cast	2
4	50.36	105.5	7–10.5		5–7 Semi-circular	Cast, with a small notch	1
5	43.41	70	10		8 Semi-circular	Cast, with a cut	1
6	39.92	46	12		11 Semi-circular	Cast	2
7	28.65	34	16–17		7 Semi-circular	Cast, with a cut	22
8	26.4	41	12		5...6 Rhomboid-semi-circular	Hammered	6
9	25.16	33,5	11.5		9 Semi-circular	Cast	10
10	23.93	47.5	10.5		6 Trapezoid	Hammered, with a deep cut	12
11	19.76	46	7.5		7.5 Square	Cast	15
12	18.17	26.5	11		10 Semi-circular	Cast	5
13	16.56	31.5	11		6 Flat semi-circular	Cast	4
14	10.11	19	10		9 Semi-circular	Hammered	3
15	5.98	17.5	27		0.25 Flat	End-piece?	6

Several types of bars can be distinguished based on their shape. Most of the bars are rod-like with a semi-circular cross-section. One thinner bar has an almost square cross-section, one bar with the semi-circular cross-section is remarkably flat. Some bars are thinner (nos 1, 4, 5, 11), some are thicker (nos 2, 3, 9, 12). A fragment of the thickest bar may originate from a Novgorod *grivna*. All these bars have been manufactured by casting. Two fragments with a rhomboid cross-section are, in addition, hammered on the surface like the spiral ingots from Gotland and Latvia. Still, they are too small to decide whether they have been cut off from spirals or produced as flat already. One piece of ‘hack silver’ is cut off from some thicker sheet of silver with a half-round end.

The heaviest piece of a bar (no. 1) is also the most remarkable since it bears two slight imprints of a minting die on it (Fig. 10a–b). Such dies were used for striking Gotland pennies, according to the Myrberg’s classification of type 1:4 that are dated to ca. 1190–1200 (Myrberg, pers. comm.). Accordingly, the bar under discussion has been manufactured and stamped in an official mint on Gotland during the last decade of the 12th century. Thus, by marking the

**Fig. 10a–b.** *Silver bar with the imprints of a minting die.***Jn 10a–b.** *Münditemplijäljega hõbedakang.*

(AM A 1307: 1.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

bar, the local mint lord – in this case probably the merchantry on Gotland, commonly known as *universitas mercatorum*, guaranteed its fineness and weight. By doing so, a piece of silver was transformed into a piece of money. This is a unique find since no other marked silver bars of the period are known either from Gotland or elsewhere around the Baltic Sea. In the Holy Roman Empire, stamping of silver ingots only began during the 13th century (Lehmann 2011, 25–26), in Russia even later (Zaicev 2018a, 64–68; Zaicev 2018b).

The stamped ingot gives a unique opportunity to compare it to the other Visby coins from the same hoard. The analysis was carried out using a SPECTRO xSORT handheld X-Ray fluorescence (XRF) analyser.<sup>3</sup> Firstly, the composition of the stamped ingot and a Visby coin is very similar (Table 3: 1, 4). It is characterised by a high silver content and similar alloying elements (copper and lead) and impurities (zinc, bismuth and gold). The silver content is even higher in the ingot. However, the composition of the Soest coin is also very close to both the Visby coin and the stamped ingot. A shorter ingot with a triangular cross section was also analysed, which is very similar to the stamped ingot. The composition seems to be standardised and with a high silver content regardless of the form of the ingot (or coin).

**Table 3.** Results of the XRF analysis.

**Tabel 3.** XRF analüüsi tulemused.

Compiled by / Koostanud: Ragnar Saage

No./ Nr Artefact / ese	Cu	Zn	Ag	Au	Hg	Pb	Sn	Bi
1 Ingot with a Visby stamp (AM A 1307: 1)	3.45%	0.04%	94.3%	0.16%	0.02%	1.62%	0.00%	0.11%
2 Hacked ingot, triangular cross section (AM A 1307: 4)	3.79%	0.01%	94.54%	0.21%	0.02%	1.09%	0.00%	0.02%
3 Soest coin (AM A 1307)	2.64%	0.01%	96.46%	0.09%	0.02%	0.41%	0.00%	0.02%
4 Visby coin (AM A 1307)	6.17%	0.02%	92.47%	0.18%	0.02%	0.80%	0.00%	0.21%
5 Crystal ornament frame (AM A 1307: 25)	0.33%	0.01%	0.03%	0.05%	0.02%	29.08%	70.26%	0.21%

Unfortunately, there was only one single intact bar in the hoard (no. 4), with all the others being just cut or hacked pieces. It is complicated to find out their weigh standard (if there was any). Yet we can present some considerations. The only intact bar weighs 50.36 g, which well corresponds to a quarter of ca. 200-g mark, or half of a local unit called *osering* that corresponded to ca. 100 g silver (HCL XVI:4; Leimus 2002, 44–46; Leimus 2014, 47–50). Bars 2 and 3 are approximate halves weighing 53.18 and 52.25 g, most probably halves of *osering*s. The marked bar weighs a little more at 58.75 g but judging by its length it forms more than half of a bar, maybe ca. 60% of a bar initially weighing around 100 g. Bar 5 (43.41 g), on the contrary, is missing slightly more than a half, which again is indicative of a 100-g piece. All the other fragments are too small to calculate their initial weight.

The provenance of the bars in the hoard, except no. 1 from Gotland, remains indeterminate. Considering the weight standard and shape of nos 4, 5 and 11, they could be of the same Gotland origin. But the Latvian centres cannot be excluded either since there are casting moulds for bars excavated from the Latvian hillforts. In addition, two bars weighing roughly 100 g each have been found on the Mārtiņsala island (Mugurēvičs 2008, 158). Bars of the similar shape and weight also belonged to the hoard of Kaunata from east Latvia (Urtāns 1977, 200–201). Starting from the 13th century, bars sometimes marked with different symbols have been cast in Riga (Berga 2021, 7–24). In Lithuania, the production of bars with an average of

<sup>3</sup> The following settings were used: a two-second screen for light elements at 50 kV and a 10 second measurement for heavy elements at 15 kV. The analysis was carried out on the untreated surface of the artefacts.



100 g started in the mid-13th century at the latest (Grimalauskaitė & Remecas 2020, 96), but some Estonian finds date them even to the 1220–1230s (Leimus 2011, 84–86).

It should be noted that the fineness of silver of almost every bar (except no. 1) has been checked by pecking them in a way that was common during the Viking Age. The larger pieces have more pecks, the smaller ones fewer, despite the shape of the bar. At the same time, the coins in the hoard, except the few coming from the Viking Age, bear no traces of checking. Here, two possible explanations can be offered. First, the pecked bars are older than coins, i.e. they originate from the period when pecking was a common practice. Second, pecking of the bars may hint to certain distrust of the population in respect of bars whereas the checking of coins was no longer considered necessary.

## ORNAMENTS

Apart from the coins and bars there are a number of silver ornaments in the hoard: two thin concavo-convex bracelets with an expanding middle part and a broken end, three loose ends of bracelets of the same type, a plate terminal of a neck-ring, a finger-ring and half a sheet of a pendant (Fig. 11). In addition, there was a piece of silver sheet in the hoard. Also, a small ornament decorated with a rock crystal was found (Fig. 12). The weight of ornaments, leaving aside the weight of the rock crystal, is 65.1 g in total.



**Fig. 11.** Pieces of silver ornaments from the hoard of Kirimäe.

**Jn 11.** Kirimäe aarde hõbeehete katked.

(AM A 1307: 16–24.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

All the ornaments in the find, except the finger-ring, are smashed and broken as it was common in the Viking Age, leaving the impression of hack-silver at first glance. A closer inspection, however, leaves an impression that the ornaments have probably been deformed in the agricultural activities, probably by heavy machinery. The broad and thin bracelets, for instance, are broken but not deliberately cut along the vertical ornamentation zone that separates their endings from the bow. Bracelets, deformed exactly the same way and, seemingly, by the same reason can be found also in other hoards from approximately the same time (e.g. Kumna, Angerja III) (AM A 434, 1096).

The diameter of the bracelets across the middle is 48 and 46 mm respectively. Their mid-field is decorated with a cross of five annulets, in both ends there is a cross of four annulets. From above and below a double zone of punched marks fringes the field, the edges are decorated with borders of double triangles ('wolf-teeth'). The triangles of both bracelets are identical, i.e. the same punches have been used. The ends of the bracelets are separated from the mid-part by vertical wave-like plaited ornamentation that also can be seen on all the broken ends of the bracelets in the hoard.

This kind of plait ornamentation is characteristic for the bracelets particularly found in north Estonia (ancient regions of Revala and Harjumaa) where they occur in many hoards (Liikva, Kehala, Mõigu, Paunküla, Kumna, Angerja III, etc.) (AI 2505, 5147; AM A 12, 290, 434, 1096; Tõnisson 1970, 221; Kiudsoo & Leimus 2008, 223, fig. 1). Estonian archaeologist Evald Tõnisson has even suggested one and the same silversmith having produced them (Tõnisson 1962, 215). In some cases, the comparison of punches used in stamping confirms his theory. For instance, identical triangular stamps were found on some bracelets from the Paunküla and Mõigu hoard. In addition, there is a hoard of bracelets of an unknown provenance ('Estland') found in the 19th century (Hansen 1875, 18, VI.1–3; AM A 145).<sup>4</sup> Two bracelets out of four in the find have identical stamps as the items from Paunküla and Mõigu, the other two constitute another die-identical pair.

For the most part, however, this is not the case. Probably, this was a fashion followed by a small number of silversmiths in a restricted area. The same plaited ornamentation also appears on silver bracelets from the islands Saaremaa and Muhu. On the other hand, they are considerably larger (up to 60 mm in the centre) and represent some other workshop or tradition (Tõnisson 1962, 215). Somewhere in between the North and the islands are two bracelets from the Lõhavere hillfort, 54 mm large (Kiudsoo 2019, 155, fig. 146). The Kirimäe bracelets were probably manufactured in Revala–Harjumaa.

The plate terminal of the neck-ring in the hoard is decorated with rows of quite rough notches. The neck-rings like that were spread only in north Estonia, in ancient Revala, Harjumaa and Virumaa. According to Evald Tõnisson, they became fashionable only in the 13th century (Tõnisson 1962, 210–211), which makes the fragment from Kirimäe one of the earliest samples of the type.

The finger-ring of the hoard is thicker in the middle part and has been plaited from two silver wires. According to Estonian archaeologist Jüri Selirand the finger-rings like this are mostly of Curonian origin. However, he does not exclude the possibility of being Estonian in origin (Selirand 1974, 175).

The sheet pendant is decorated with simple notches that fringe its edge in two rows to presumably form a cross in the centre, though due to the poor condition this is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> There is a later remark on the museum's inventory card stating that the items originate from Kiltisi, Ridala parish near Haapsalu but this is not possible to prove. One pair of bracelets of the find looks rather new, another pair is heavily worn and pierced. It seems that they may not belong to one and the same find at all.



**Fig. 12a–b.** Ornament with a rock crystal.

**Jn 12a–b.** Mäekristalliga ehe.

(*AMA 1307*: 25.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

holding the jewel is typical for medieval ornaments from central and northern Europe – but there is a problem. According to German experts, the ornaments of such a shape first began to appear during the 13th century, only around 1230/40 or even later (pers. comm. with Dr. Thomas Kühtreiber (Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Universität Salzburg) and Dr. Stefan Krabath (Niedersächsisches Institut für historische Küstenforschung, Wilhelmshaven)).

Therefore, either the ornament from Kirimäe provides the earliest sample for the type or – which seems more plausible – it does not belong to the hoard at all. It is conceivable that the ornament could have been lost during the late 13th or even 14th century and collected with coins and other items by the finders accidentally. It would not be the only case. A Riga pfennig minted by Archbishop Silvester Stodewescher (1448–1475) also was picked up in the same field at the same time.

## CONNECTIONS

Be that as it may, the content of the Kirimäe hoard reflects different business directions of its former owner. Whereas the coins seem to be brought from some centre of foreign merchants in Livonia, the ornaments mostly have been manufactured in north Estonia, most likely today's Harjumaa district.

Kirimäe was no backcountry at the time discussed here. As mentioned above, a prehistorical site is situated immediately next to the find area. In addition, an ancient grave field is located half a kilometre northwards from the find, having been in use in the 6th, 11–12th,

Whereas all the silver ornaments in the Kirimäe hoard are of local origin, the smallest one (diameter 14 mm) with a rock crystal in its centre must have been brought from abroad (Fig. 12).<sup>5</sup> This is a unique find for Estonia since just one single pendant with a much bigger rock crystal is known so far, coming from the hoard of Kostivere (*tpq* ca. 1220) (Tamla & Kiudsoo 2009, 52–53). Remarkably, the crystal from Kirimäe is faceted, probably by grinding since the facets are not sharp.

It may have been used as a pendant although other options such as a mount, a small brooch or a plate of a finger-ring cannot be excluded either. For example, a finger-ring with the plate of a similar shape belonged to a hoard from Opole, Silesia that was buried in the early 14th century (Masner 1904).<sup>6</sup>

Surprisingly, the frame of the crystal is not silver as expected, but pewter (Table 3: 5). Its *huitfoil*-shaped and pierced form with claws

<sup>5</sup> Cleaned by Jaan Märss, Tallinn City Museum.

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Dr Myrberg Burström for the hint.

and 16–17th cc. (Mandel 2003, 95–96; Mandel 2011, 31–33). A coin from Soest, minted by Archbishop of Cologne Philipp (Fig. 13; Häv. 882, identified by Arkadi Molvõgin) was found in that particular grave field. The Kirimäe hoard contained even 15 coins of the same type (nos 4–18). The coin from the grave is provided with a suspension loop and worn to a certain degree, thus used as a pendant for a while. Considering the composition of the hoard and the condition of the coin there is good reason to believe that both the settlement and the grave field continued to exist also in the early 13th century.

Kirimäe (Fig. 14: 1) is situated at a distance of only 10 kilometres as the crow flies from the town of Haapsalu (Fig. 14: 2). Although the town itself was founded only during the 13th century it is important to note that local peasants had found a silver hoard from the vicinity of the town already in the 1870s (Leimus 1997; Williams 2000, 986–989). Besides English and German pennies from the 11th century there were also some later coins: two pennies of king Stephen of England (1135–1154)<sup>7</sup>, one Scottish penny of Henry of Northumberland (1136–1152), three bracteates from Sigtuna from the 1180–1190s and one coin from Gotland that according to an old photo cannot be dated more precisely than ca. 1150–1180 (AM N 7032: 179).

The ‘Haapsalu’ hoard, despite all the uncertainties, can belong to the 1180s and as such is slightly older than that of Kirimäe. That is also seen by its composition, which resembles the Viking Age hoards. Westphalian coins, which were so numerous in the Kirimäe hoard, are totally absent here. The coins from Gotland are represented by only a single item in the ‘Haapsalu’ hoard. The only hoard from approximately the same period that contained several coins from Gotland (9 pcs.) is that of Padiküla (*tpq* 1170) (Molvõgin 2001, 180–181).



Fig. 13. The Holy Roman Empire, Soest, Archbishop Philipp (1167–1191) from the grave field of Kirimäe.

Jn 13. Püha Rooma keisririik, Soest, Peapiiskop Philipp (1167–1191) Kirimäe kalmeväljalt.

(AI 2643: 210.)

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



Fig. 14. West Estonian hoards from the late 12th – early 13th c.: 1 – Kirimäe, 2 – Haapsalu, 3 – Tamse.

Jn 14. 12.–13. sajandi vahetuse aarded Lääne-Eestis. 1 – Kirimäe, 2 – Haapsalu, 3 – Tamse.

Map / Kaart: Mellin 1798, additions / täiendused: Ivar Leimus

<sup>7</sup> Among them one of his posthumous type 7, struck 1153/4–1158 (Allen 2015, 35). A bracteate of Munich or Freising from the 1230–1240s (Williams 2000, no. 39) cannot belong to the hoard being half a century too young and coming from the region that did not supply coins to Livonia.



Apart from the coins, a fragment of a silver sheet depicting an animal in Ringerike-style (Jets 2013, 78–86) and some fragments of ornaments decorated with filigree belonged to the ‘Haapsalu’ hoard. Such silver scrap is characteristic of Estonian hoards from the Viking Age. The silver artefacts in the Kirimäe hoard, on the contrary, seem to have been buried intact initially.

Thus, despite only two decades separating the two hoards compared here they represent totally different eras – one the glorious Viking past, another the grim medieval future. At the same time, finding two substantial hoards this close to one another, not only geographically but also chronologically, points to a certain importance of the region in international trade of the period discussed here. Estonian archaeologist Anton Pärn has suggested a prehistoric waterway that passed through the Haapsalu strait and connected the Riga Bay with the Gulf of Finland (Pärn 2001, 101–105; Pärn 2016, 521). He also presupposes the existence of a harbour situated somewhere in the Haapsalu strait since there was a harbour of local importance later in the Middle Ages SE of the Haapsalu strait connecting it with the Taebila River. There is also a Leedi hillfort situated a couple of kilometres away from Kirimäe and dated to the 11–13th century (Tõnisson 2008, 262–263). Whether and how the owner of the Kirimäe hoard could have been related to the harbour and/or the hillfort remains hypothetical so far.

Yet the Kirimäe hoard is not the only one in Estonia from the time around 1200. A hoard similar in its composition was discovered in 1967 in the Tamse village, the island of Muhu (Fig. 14: 3; Molvõgin 1970). It contained 440 coins: 92 from the Holy Roman Empire, five from England, 341 from Gotland and two from an unknown mint but probably also from Gotland. There was only one single denier from the Viking Age in the find. Like in the hoard of Kirimäe, the coins from Westphalia (62 pcs.) and Cologne (26 pcs.) are prevailing among the German coins in the Tamse find, too. The only difference is that they predominantly originate from Münster (49 pcs.), not Soest.

The Tamse hoard also has the same *tpq* of 1193 based on the reign of Archbishop Adolf of Cologne. However, there are only seven coins of his in comparison to 30 of Archbishop Philipp. In the Kirimäe hoard this ratio was 20:21, thus almost equal. All the Tamse coins from Münster are minted by Bishop Hermann (1173–1203) after 1189. Most of them (36 pcs.) bear correct inscriptions and, consequently, have been produced at the earlier stage of minting. Only 13 coins may have been struck later and are partially illegible (Ilisch 1994, 64–66). The Gotland coins in the Tamse hoard represent the types I:1–I:5 according to Myrberg but only seven of them may be dated to the later period of ca. 1200–1210 (Myrberg 2008, 270). Thus, based on the composition it seems to have been buried or at least collected slightly earlier than the hoard of Kirimäe.

Arkadi Molvõgin has associated the hiding of the Tamse hoard with the raid of the Danes to Saaremaa in 1206. There could be other reasons to bury the treasure; taking into consideration the chronological composition of the hoard it may have been collected already earlier, even around 1200. Also, the assumption that the coins were obtained on a trade trip to Gotland (Molvõgin 1970, 131; Tamla & Kiudsoo 2009, 46–47) needs more substantial justification since the coins from Westphalia and Cologne are totally missing in finds from Gotland of the period (Leimus 2004, 324; Myrberg 2008, 239–244). How then could they have been brought from there?

Apparently, there could have existed some outpost of pre-hanseatic German merchants on Muhu island since several hoards and single coins from the late 12th – early 13th century have been found on the Muhu hillfort as well as Saaremaa (Leimus 2004, 328–329, tab.). Could it have been the destination of the Kirimäe man, too? We shall never know.

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The recently discovered hoard of Kirimäe is unique in several respects. It contains a number of rare and even some unrecorded coins. It also provides us with the earliest evidence of minting by bishop Albert in Riga and dates it to the early years of his reign. In addition, the stamped silver bar in the deposit proves that silver ingots were cast on Gotland at the end of the 12th century. Since we are entitled to believe that it cannot have been just a single case, it also testifies that the bars on the island might have been treated as pieces of money rather than just pieces of silver. The location of the finding place of the hoard not far from what some decades later became the town Haapsalu supports the idea of a certain importance of the area in international trade already in the late 12th – early 13th century.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The XRF analysis was supported by the Postimees Fond research grant POST126.

## REFERENCES

- Allen, M. 2015.** Mints and Money in Medieval England. Cambridge.
- Bahrfeldt, E. 1889.** Das Münzwesen der Mark Brandenburg von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Anfange der Regierung der Hohenzollern. Berlin.
- Berga, T. 2000.** Svētā Gara konventa 13. gadsimta monētu depozīts. – Senā Rīga, 2. Rīga, 165–172.
- Berga, T. 2008.** Mārtiņsalas pili un ciemā atrastās monētas. – Mugurēvičs, E. Viduslaiku ciems un pils Salaspils novadā. Rīga, 254–262.
- Berga, T. 2021.** Silver bars and trade in the towns of Livonia (13th – 14th century). – Everyday Life in a Hanseatic Town. Papers of the International Conference in Tallinn. Ed. by I. Leimus. Eesti ajaloomuseum, Varia historica, 8. Tallinn, 7–24.
- Berga, T. & Dāboliņš, V. 2012.** 800 years of documentary evidence on the coinage of Riga. – Monetary History of the Baltics in the Middle Ages. International symposium in Tallinn, 9–10 Dec. 2010. Ed. by I. Leimus. Eesti ajaloomuseum, Varia historica, 6. Tallinn, 140–149.
- Buchenau, H. 1905.** Der Bracteatenfund von Seega: ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der deutschen Münzdenkmäler aus dem Zeitalter der staufischen Kaiser. Marburg.
- Crafter, T. C. R. 1998.** A Re-Examination of the Classification and Chronology of the Cross-and-Crosslets Type of Henry II. – British Numismatic Journal, 68, 42–63.
- Dbg. = Dannenberg, H.** Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit, Bd. 1–5. Berlin 1876–1905.
- Diry, R. 2021.** Sancta Colonia Pacis Mater – Roma Caput Mundi (SCPM – RCM). Stand der Dinge, Evaluation, Extrapolation und Katalog. – Münzstätten, Münzprägung und Münzwege des Mittelalters in Hessen. Ergebnisse der Tagung Frankfurt und Hessen im Monetären mittelalterlichen Transit. Ed. by C. Stoess, R. Diry & S. Steinbach. Berliner numismatische Forschungen. Neue Folge, Bd. 12. Regenstein, 317–403.
- Ducmane, K. & Ozoliņa, A. 2009.** Latvija Eiropā: monētu depozīti 1.–20. gadsimtā. *Latvijas Nacionālā Vēstures Muzeja Raksti*, 16. Rīga.
- Gnegel-Waitschies, G. 1958.** Bischof Albert von Riga. Ein Bremer Domherr als Kirchenfürst im Osten. Hamburg.
- Grimalauskaitė, D. & Remecas, E. 2020.** Money in Lithuania. Vilnius.
- Hansen, G. 1875.** Die Sammlungen inländischer alterthümer und anderer auf die baltischen Provinzen bezüglichen Gegenstände des Estländischen Provinzial-Museums. Reval.
- Hausmann, R. 1914.** Der Silberfund von Mehntack in Estland. – Baltische Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte. Arbeiten des Baltischen Vorbereitenden Komitees für den XVI. Archäologischen Kongress in Pleskau 1914. Berlin, 158–167.
- Häv. = Hävernicks, W. 1935.** Die Münzen von Köln. Köln.
- HCL = Henriku Liivimaa kroonika. Heinrichi Chronicon Livonia**, transl. Richard Kleis, ed. by E. Tarvel. Tallinn, 1982.
- Hohenstaufenzeit = Münzen der Hohenstaufenzeit:** Sammlung eines Gelehrten, Teil II: Das Rheinland, Westfalen, Mittelrheingebiet, Oberlothringen, das Elsass, ... Zürich 1960.
- Hucker, U. 1993.** Expansion nach Übersee. Zur Auswanderung Niederdeutscher in das Ostbaltikum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. – Zwischen Heimat und Fremde: Aussiedler, Ausländer, Asylanten. Ed. by W. Kurschner, H. von Laer. Vechtaer Universitätsschriften, 11. Cloppenburg, 55–73.
- Ilisch, P. 1991.** Münzschatzfunde aus Westfalen. *Bildheft des Westfälischen Landesmuseums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster*, Nr. 30. Münster.
- Ilisch, P. 1994.** Die mittelalterliche Münzprägung der Bischöfe von Münster. *Numismatische Schriften des Westfälischen Landesmuseums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte*, 3. Münster.

- Jets, I. 2013.** Lahingu maod: Skandinaavia 9.–11. sajandi kunstistiilid Eesti arheoloogilistel leidudel. Doktoriväitekirj. Tallinn.
- Jonsson, K. 1995.** Från utländsk metall till inhemskt mynt. – Myntningen i Sverige 995–1995. Numismatiska Meddelanden, 40, 43–61.
- Karro, K. 2021.** Aruanne 21.10.2021 Kirimäel toimunud välitööde kohta. Tallinn. (*Manuscript in MA.*)
- Kennepohl, K. 1938.** Die Münzen von Osnabrück. Die Prägungen des Bistums und des Domkapitels Osnabrück, der Stadt Osnabrück sowie des Kollegiatstiftes und der Stadt Wiedenbrück. Münster.
- Kiudsoo, M. 2019.** Eesti muinasaarded. Kaubateed ja -kontaktid. Tallinn.
- Kiudsoo, M. & Leimus, I. 2008.** Hoards discovered in 2007. – AVE, 2007, 223–227.
- Krusy, H. 1986.** Die Münzen der Grafen von Schwabenberg und ihrer Seitenlinien Pyrmont, Sternberg und Waldeck (letztere bis etwa 1228, der endgültigen Entstehung der Grafschaft Waldeck). Köln.
- Lehmann, R. 2011.** Archäometallurgie von mittelalterlichen deutschen Silberbarren und Münzen. Hannover: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Universität, Diss. <https://doi.org/10.15488/7682>
- Leimus, I. 1997.** Haapsalust Briti Muuseumi. Ühe Eestimaa hõbeaarde kauge teekond. – Läänemaa Muuseumi toimetised, I. Haapsalu, 74–82.
- Leimus, I. 2002.** Raha Eestis AD 1200. Margad, nogaad ja oseringid. – Tuna, 4, 2002, 39–46.
- Leimus, I. 2004.** Wann und woher ist der deutsche Kaufmann nach Livland gekommen. Eine numismatische Studie. – Delectat et docet. Festschrift zum 100jährigen Bestehen des Vereins der Münzenfreunde in Hamburg, hrsg. v. Manfred Mehl. Numismatische Studien, Heft 16. Hamburg, 317–332.
- Leimus, I. 2005.** Einige Spekulationen über die münzberechtigte Autorität auf Gotland in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts. – Riga und der Ostseeraum. Von der Gründung 1201 bis in die Frühe Neuzeit. Ed. by I. Misāns & H. Wernicke. Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung, 22. Marburg, 64–75.
- Leimus, I. 2011** = Леймус, И. Находки литовских слитков в монетно-вещевых кладях Эстонии. – XVI всероссийская нумизматическая конференция. Санкт-Петербург – Репино, 18–23 апреля 2011 года. Тезисы докладов и сообщения. Санкт-Петербург, 84–86.
- Leimus, I. 2014.** Monetary History of Medieval Courland: Some Speculations. – Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls 2013/4 (89), 37–59.
- Leimus, I. 2018.** Silver and Christianisation. – From Ore to Money, Mining, Trading, Minting. Proceedings of the Tallinn (2018) Conference. Ed. by G. Depeyrot, I. Leimus. Collection moneta, 202. Wetteren, 61–77.
- Leimus, I., Kiudsoo, M. & Haljak, G. 2018.** Sestertsist sendini. Tallinn.
- LL** = Lagerqvist, Lars O. 1970. Svenska mynt under vikingatid och medeltid (ca 995–1521) samt gotländska mynt (ca 1140–1565). Stockholm.
- Mandel, M. 2003.** Läänemaa 5.–13. sajandi kalmed. Eesti ajaloomuuseum, Tõid ajaloo alalt, 5. Tallinn.
- Mandel, M. 2011.** Arheoloogiga Läänemaa radadel. Tallinn.
- Masner, K. 1904.** Neuerwerbungen des Museums, 1. Ein Schmuckfund aus dem Mittelalter. – Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift. Zeitschrift des Vereins für das Museum Schlesischer Alterthümer, Neue Folge, III. Bd. Breslau, 72–83.
- Mehl, M. 1995.** Die Münzen des Bistums Hildesheim, Teil 1: Vom Beginn der Prägung bis zum Jahre 1435. Hildesheim.
- Mehl, M. 2011.** Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg im Mittelalter. 2 Bde. Hamburg.
- Mellin, L. A. 1798.** Atlas von Liefland, oder von den beyden Gouvernemenentern u. Herzogthümern Lief- und Ehistland, und der Provinz Oesel. Riga. Online version at the Library of Congress: <https://www.loc.gov/item/75572471/> (last accessed 15.09.2022.)
- Menadier, J. 1913.** Die Aachener Münzen. Münzen, Urkunden und Akten. Berlin.
- MGL** = Golabiewski Lannby, M. 2019. Kung Knut Eriksson och penningarna. Stockholm.
- Molvõgin, A. 1970** = Молвыгин, А. Тамзеский клад монет начала 13 века. – Studia archaeologica in memoriam Harri Moora. Ed. by M. Schmiedehelm, L. Jaanits & J. Selirand. Tallinn, 126–132.
- Molvõgin, A. 2001.** Padiküla aarde mündid. – Studia numismatica II. Festschrift: Mihhail Nemirovitš-Dantšenko 80. Ed. by I. Leimus. Eesti ajaloomuuseum, Tõid ajaloo alalt, 3. Tallinn, 173–185.
- Mugurēvičs, E. 2008.** Viduslaiku ciems un pils Salaspils novadā. Riga.
- Myrberg, N. 2008.** Ett eget värde. Gotlands tidigaste myntning, ca 1140–1220. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology*, 45. Stockholm.
- Pelda, K. 1978** = Пелда, К. Датировка и определение некоторых спорных монет Латвии XIII – первой половины XVI века. – Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis 1978/11, 46–52.
- Pärn, A. 2001.** Die Rolle der Wasserstraße bei der Ortswahl der Stadt Haapsalu (Hapsal). – Lübeck style? Novgorod style? Baltic Rim Central Places as Arenas for Cultural Encounters and Urbanisation. Ed. by M. Auns. CCC Papers, 5. Riga, 97–107.
- Pärn, A. 2016.** Haapsalu – Wurzeln, Gründung und Entwicklung. – Vorbesiedlung, Gründung und Entwicklung. Comp. by M. Gläser & M. Schneider. Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum, X. Lübeck, 519–535.
- Schrader, E. 1966.** Zur Deutung der Fürstenprivilegien von 1220 und 1231/32. – Stupor mundi. Zur Geschichte Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen. Ed. by G. Wolf. Wege der Forschung, 101. Darmstadt, 420–454.



- Schulmann, M. 1940.** De munten met het opschrift Trajectum door de Graven van Gelderland Hendrik 1134–1181 en Otto I 1182–1207 te Zutphen geslagen. – Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde, 1940, 65–70.
- Selirand, J. 1974.** Eestlaste matmiskombed varafoodalsete suhete tärkamise perioodil (11.–13. sajand). Tallinn.
- Švābe, A. 1939.** Mūsu senās naudas sistēmas. – Latvijas vēstures institūta Žurnāls, 3 (11), 323–350.
- Tamla, Ü. & Kiudsoo, M. 2009.** Ancient hoards of Estonia. Tallinn.
- Tamla, Ü., Kallavus, U. & Leimus, I. 2002.** Hõbeaare Lõhavere linnuselt. – EJA, 6: 1, 3–24.
- Tõnisson, E. 1962.** Eesti aardeleidud 9.–13. sajandist. – Muistsed kalmed ja aarded. Ed. by H. Moora. Tallinn, 182–274.
- Tõnisson, E. 1970.** Kumna hõbeaare. – Studia archaeologica in memoriam Harri Moora. Ed. by M. Schmiedehelm, L. Jaanits & J. Selirand. Tallinn, 218–225.
- Tõnisson, E. 2008.** Eesti muinaslinnad. Comp. and ed. by A. Mäesalu & H. Valk. MT, 20. Tartu–Tallinn.
- Urtāns, V. 1977.** Senākie depoziti Latvijā (lidz 1200.g.). Rīga.
- Weingärtner, J. 1882.** Die Gold- und Silber-Münzen des Bisthums Paderborn: nebst historischen Nachrichten; Nachträge zu den Münzen der Edlen von Büren und der Abtei Helmershausen. Münster.
- Williams, G. 2000.** A Hoard from Estonia in the British Museum. – XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress, Berlin 1997. Akten – Proceedings – Actes. Berlin, 986–989.
- Zaicev V. 2018a** = Зайцев, В. О клеймах смоленских князей на серебряных платежных слитках XIV в. – Банкаўскі веснік, КРАСАВІК, 64–68.
- Zaicev V. 2018b** = Зайцев, В. Русские клейма на рублях и полтинах XIV–XV вв. Москва.

### 13. SAJANDI ALGUSE HÕBEAARE KIRIMÄE KÜLAST LÄÄNEMAALT

Ivar Leimus ja Ragnar Saage

Oktoobris 2021 avastasid asjaarmastajad Läänemaal Kirimäe külas müntidest, hõbeesemetest ja -kangidest koosnenud muinasaarde. Muinsuskaitseameti arheoloogi Krista Karro juhatamisel korraldati leiukohal täiendavad väliuuringud. Selgitati välja, et leiud paiknesid haritaval põllumaal muinasaegse asulakoha lähedal ja olid mitmekümne meetri ulatuses laiali küntud.

Aardes oli kokku 124 münti: üks Samaniidide dirhemi katke, 70 Saksa denaari, viis Inglise penni, üheksa Rootsi brakteaati, 38 Ojamaa penni ja üks Riia brakteaat (tabel 1). Müntide kogukaal ulatub 98,3 grammi. Lisaks koguti põllult üks Riia peapiiskop Silvester Stodewescheri (1448–1479) penn, mis ei kuulu aardesse, kuid dokumenteerib hiliskeskaegset elutegevust.

Enamik aarde Saksa münte pärineb Soestist ja mujalt Vestfaalist (64%) ning Kölnist ja on Saksamaalt lahkunud tõenäoliselt Reini veeteed mööda. Seevastu brakteaadid pärinevad Magdeburgist ja selle ümbrusest, mis viitab Elbe veetele. Inglise penne on leius vähe. Rootsist pärineb üheksa kuningas Knut Eriksoni brakteaati (jn 3–4) ja Ojamaalt 38 anonüümset münti.

Välismaiste müntide dateeringute põhjal otsustades peab aare olema kogutud mitte varem kui 1200. aastal (Inglise Short cross tüüpi penn, jn 6). 13. sajandi alguse võiks kuuluda mõned Ojamaa mündid, aga see pole kindel. Münte, mis kindlasti võiksid olla löö-

dud pärast 1205. aastat (Kölni peapiiskop Adolfi valitusaja lõpp), leius pole. Valdavalt moodustavad aarde mündid kompaktsed grupi aastaist 1180–1200.

Aarde noorim münt on Riia piiskop Alberti brakteaat (jn 8). Albertil oli mündiõigus olemas hiljemalt 1211. aastal, kui ta andis Riias rahaloõmise õiguse Ojamaalt saabuvatele kaupmeestele. Millal aga piiskop ise mündiõiguse sai, kirjalikud allikad ei reeda. Münte (seni oli neid teada ainult 25) täpsemalt ajaldada ei luba ka seniste leidude numismaatiline kontekst. Lähtudes 1211. aasta dokumendist, pole piiskopi müntimist enne nimetatud aastat vaikimisi eeldatud. See aga ei sobi Kirimäe aarde koosseisuga, mis viitab kuni aastakümne varasemale ajale.

Võimalik, et Albert sai kuningas Philippilt mündiõiguse 1207. aastal, kui ta tõsteti riigivürstiks. Riigivürsti seisusega kaasnes Saksamaal mündiõigus. Piiskoppide osas sõnastati see ametlikult küll alles 1220. aastal, kuid eksisteeris realselt juba 12. sajandi lõpus. Teisalt pole välistatud, et Albert sai kuningalt mündiõiguse juba reisides Liivimaale, kui ta 1199. aasta jõulude ajal võttis osa Philippi kroonimisest Magdeburgis ja sellega kaasnenud õukonnapäevast. Mündiõigust rakendama võis piiskop hakata siiski alles pärast teatava turvalisuse saavutamist, mis kaasnes Riia linna rajamisega 1201. ja Mõõgavendade ordu asutamisega 1202. aastal. See aeg – 13. sajandi algus – sobib hästi kokku ka aarde ülejäänud müntide dateeringutega.

Lisaks müntidele oli aardes üks terviklik hõbedakang ja 14 hõbedakangi katket kogukaaluga 472,6 g (tabel 2, jn 9). See on suuremaid hõbedakangide kogumeid Eesti 12. sajandi lõpu – 13. sajandi alguse aaretes. Oma kujult võib Kirimäe leiust eristada mitut tüüpi kange, kuid suurem osa neist on pulgakujulised ja suhteliselt poolümara ristlõikega. Ehkki aardes on ainult üks terviklik hõbedakang, lubab nende tükide analüüs oletada, et kasutusel on olnud u. sajagrammine kaalustandard, mida vaadeldaval ajal nimetati oseringiks.

Kõige raskem kangidest (nr 1) kannab oma ühel küljel kahte õrna münditempli jälge (jn 10). Niisuguste templitega vermiti Ojamaa penne umbes aastail 1190–1200. Niisiis on kang märgistatud seelses rahapajas. Seeläbi anti kangide headusele ja kaalule garantii ning muudeti tembeldatud hõbedatükk ametlikult rahaühikuks. See on unikaalne leid, sest nii varajasi tembeldatud kange Ojamaalt ega ka kusagilt mujalt Läänemere ruumist varem teada ei olnud.

Läbi viidud analüüsid selgitasid, et niihästi tembeldatud kui ka ühe teise sarnase väliskujuga, kuid tembeldamata hõbedakangi hõbedasisaldus oli kõrge ja metalli koostis väga sarnane. Nendest ei erinenud oluliselt ka võrdluseks vaadeldud Soesti ja Visby mündi koostis. Nähtavasti oli kangide-müntide hõbedasisaldus standardiseeritud.

Peale maksevahendite sisaldas Kirimäe aare rea hõbedast ehteasju. Esiletoomist väärivad kaks keskosast laienevat õhukest õoneskumerat käevõru (üks ots kummagi ära murdunud), kolm sama tüüpi käevõru otsa ja ühe kaelavõru plaatotsaga haak, lisanduvad sõrmus, poolik rinnaleht ja mingi hõbepleki tükk (jn 11). Aarde hõbeesemed kaaluvad kokku 65,1 g. Peale selle oli leius üks ornamentaalses tinasulamist raamistuses mäekristallist(?) väike ehteke (d = 14 mm, jn 12).

Peaaegu kõik ehted on lõmastatud ja tükkideks, mis esmapilgul jätab mulje sihilikult fragmenteeritud kaaluhõbedast, nagu see oli tavaks viikingiajal.

Lähemal vaatlusel selgus siiski, et ehteasjad on tõenäoliselt deformeerunud põllutööde käigus.

Tüpoloogia põhjal peaksid ehted olema kohalikud ja valdavalt valmistatud Harjumaal või Rävalas, v.a sõrmus, mis võib olla ka kurši päritolu. Välismaiseid sidemeid peegeldab aga gootipäraselt raamitud mäekristall, mis pärineb Kes- või Põhja-Euroopast. Kuid Euroopa kolleegide arvates hakati niisugust tüüpi ehteid valmistama mitte enne 1230/40. aastaid või veelgi hiljem. Näib, et see ei kuulugi Kirimäe leiu hulka, vaid on kaotatud näiteks millalgi 14. sajandil ja sattunud aarde esemete sekka juhuslikult. Samamoodi korjati põllult koos aarde müntidega üles ka Riia 15. sajandi penn.

Kirimäe aarde leiukoha vahetus läheduses asub muinasasula, mõnisada meetrit eemal aga kalmeväli, mida on kasutatud niihästi 6., 11.–13. kui ka 16.–17. sajandil. Paar kilomeetrit eemal seisab 11.–13. sajandisse kuuluv Leedi linnamägi ja linnulennult vaid u. 10 km kaugusele jääb Haapsalu linn. See asutati küll alles 13. sajandil, kuid väärrib märkimist, et kusagilt Haapsalu lähistelt avastati 1870. aastatel samuti muinasaare, mis kuulub 1180. aastatesse ja on niisiis ainult pisut vanem Kirimäe leiust.

Kahe olulise, ligikaudu samaaegse ja lähestikku paiknenud hõbeaarde leidmine osutab käsitletava piirkonna tähtsusele 12. sajandi lõpus – 13. sajandi alguse rahvusvahelises kaubanduses. Anton Pärn on oletanud läbi Haapsalu väina kulgenud muinasaegset mereteed, mis ühendas Riia lahte Soome lahega.

Natuke kaugemalt, Tamse külast Muhumaalt pärineb veel üks hõbeaare. Oma dateeringult ja koosseisult on see peaaegu identne Kirimäe leiuga. Lisaks on Muhu linnuselt, aga ka Saaremaalt leitud mitu 13. sajandi alguse aaret, samuti üksikuid selleaegseid münte kalmetest jm. Ei saa välistada, et Muhu saarel oli tollal mingi saksa kaupmeeste asupaik. Kas Muhu saarele tegi kaubaretke ka Kirimäe suurunik, see jääb mõistagi tõestamatuks oletuseks.