



## The Voorepera silver hoard from the 1050s

Ivar Leimus

*SA Eesti Ajaloomuuseum* (Estonian History Museum), 56 Pirita tee, 12011 Tallinn, Estonia;

ivar.leimus@ajaloomuuseum.ee

A hoard of silver from the 1050s was found in August 2023 on the hill known as Seljamäe to the south-east of the village of Voorepera in Ida-Virumaa County that contained whole and broken coins and fragments of silver jewellery. After the finders gave notice of what they had unearthed, archaeologists Sander Jegorov and Mairi Kaseorg from the National Heritage Board (MA) inspected the findspot. The coins were found scattered in a field at a distance of a few metres around a core area, and some individual coins were found nearby within the radius of ca. 50 metres. The ground around the findspot is sandy, except for the humus layer that covers it. Two other coins were found in the natural soil below the ploughed level, which was about 30 cm deep, and one of them was 60 cm deep. It is possible that the coins were pushed into the natural soil by heavy agricultural machinery. Except for an area of charcoal measuring 34 × 15 cm, no other traces of human activity were discovered at the findspot (Kaseorg & Jegorov 2023).

The large number of fragments in the hoard means that it is impossible to determine the exact number of coins. The number of intact coins and coins put together from pieces is currently 197, but the find contains a further eight tiny, unidentified fragments with a total weight of 0.22 g. These pieces may have come from one of the coins that has partially survived, but this cannot be confirmed due to the small size of the pieces.

Coins have been broken into pieces both by deliberate cutting, and possibly by the corrosive effect of the soil. A number of the coins are very fragile and have lost a substantial part of their weight. Some of them may have been broken while in the ground, or during the process of finding and excavating them, but this certainly does not apply to all the coins.

The present paper regards the geographical and chronological composition of the newly discovered hoard and seeks to answer the questions of how typical or atypical it is for Estonia. Also, the possible routes of arrival of the coins in the hoard will be discussed in that connection. In addition, the origin of silver jewellery in the find as well as its nature will be examined. And finally, the possible reasons for the dense concentration of prehistoric hoards in the vicinity of Voorepera will be addressed.

**Table.** *Coins of the Voorepera hoard***Tabel.** *Voorepera aarde mündid**Compiled by / Koostanud: Ivar Leimus***ISLAMIC COINS / ISLAMI MÜNDID**

No. / Nr	Dynasty / Dünastia	Ruler / Valitseja	Mint / Vermija	Date / Aasta	Weight g / Kaal gr	Remarks / Märkused
1	Samanids	Nasr ibn Ahmad	Andaraba?	xxx	0.34 (frg.)	Obv. Nuh?
2	Samanids	Abd al-Malik ibn Nuh or Mansur ibn Nuh	Uncertain	xxx	1.20 (cut frg.)	

**HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE COINS / SAKSA RAHVA PÜHA ROOMA KEISRIRIIGI MÜNDID**

No. / Nr	Mint / Vermija	Ruler / Valitseja	Date / Aasta	References / Viide	Weight g / Kaal gr	Remarks / Märkused
3	Verdun	B. Richard I	1039–46	Dbg. 104; CNG 3.12	0.82	
4	Epinal	B. Dietrich II	1005–46	Dbg. 28; CNG 10.2	1.17	
5	Trier	Kg Otto III	983–996	Dbg. 461; Weiller 1988. 43	0.91	
6	Trier	Archb. Poppo	1016–47	Dbg. 466; Weiller 1988, 48, phase 3	0.22 (frg.)	
7	Trier	Archb. Poppo	1016–47	Dbg. 468; CNG 17.15	0.91	
8	Andernach	'Kg. Otto III'	Ca. 1024–1050	Dbg. 433b; CNG 22.7	0.82	
9	Andernach	'Kg. Otto III'	Ca. 1002–1024	Häv. 44; CNG 22.6	1.26	
10	Andernach	Emp. Konrad II and Archb. Pilgrim	1027/30–1050–60	Dbg. 449a; CNG 22.17	0.50 (frg.)	
11–14	Andernach	Emp. Konrad II and Archb. Pilgrim	1027/30–1050–60	Dbg. 449, 451; CNG 22.17	1.05, 1.04, 1.03, 0.11 (frg.)	
15	Flanders	anonymous	Ca. 1035–40	Cf. Ilisch 2014, 1.18	1.13	Heavily bent
16	Flanders?	anonymous	Mid-11th c.	Ilisch 2014, 17.16	0.59	
17	Brabant?	COLONIA imitation		Cf. Ilisch 2014, 24.7, 24.9–11	0.81	
18	Herstal?	Emp. Konrad II, Duke Gozelo I	1027–39	Dbg. 1438; Ilisch 2014, 37.14	0.96	
19	Bouillon	Duke Gottfried III	From ca. 1050	Ilisch 2014, 27.1.1	1.03	
20	Nivelles	anonymous	Post ca. 1040	Dbg. 144; Ilisch 2014, 25.3	0.93	
21	Namur	Count Albert II	From ca. 1040	Dbg. 165; Ilisch 2014, 31.9	0.95	
22	Dinant	anonymous	Ca. 1030–40	Dbg. 174; Ilisch 2014, 30.6	1.12	
23–24	Dinant	Count Albert II	From ca. 1040	Dbg. 176; Ilisch 2014, 30.7	1.00, 0.67	
25	Liege	anonymous	Mid-11th c.	Ilisch 2014, 34.28 var.	1.10	Obv. ...ATLAMB...
26	Huy	Emp. Henry III	1046–56	Ilisch 2014, 33.18	0.36 (cut half)	
27	Huy?	Emp. Konrad II?	1027–39	Dbg. 230?; Ilisch 2014, 33.9?	1.13	Obv. neck in 2 lines like Verdun; rev. uncertain
28	Maastricht	Emp. Henry II or anonymous	Post ca. 1020	Cf. Ilisch 2014, 39.6, 39.7, 40.17	0.87	
29	Maastricht	Henry III	1039–56	Dbg. 246; Ilisch 2014, 40.23	0.73 (2 frg.)	
30	Meuse	Kg. Otto III?	983–996	Dbg. 340; Ilisch 2014, 35.3	0.91	
31	Visé	B. Reinhard	1025–38	Cf. Ilisch 2014, 38.5	0.48 (cut half)	
32–33	Celles	Henry III	1046–56	Dbg. 186; Ilisch 2014, 28.3, 3b	0.93, 0.81	

No. / Nr	Mint / Vermija	Ruler / Valitseja	Date / Aasta	References / Viide	Weight g / Kaal gr	Remarks / Märkused
34	Stablo	anonymous	Mid-11th c.	Dbg. 271; Ilisch 2014, 49.2	0.48 (frg.)	
35	Aachen	Kg. Henry III	1039–46	Dbg. 1192; Ilisch 2014, 50.16	1.40	
36	Cologne?	Henry II	1002–24	Häv. 158	0.66	
37	Cologne	Emp. Konrad II and Archb. Pilgrim	1027–36	Häv. 222	1.44	
38	Cologne	Emp. Konrad II and Archb. Hermann II	1036–39	Häv. 251	0.62 (broken half)	
39–42	Cologne	Archb. Hermann II	1039–56	Häv. 278	0.67 (cut half), 0.63 (cut half), 0.49 (broken half), 0.18 (frg.)	
43	Cologne	Archb. Hermann II	1039–56	Häv. 306	1.38	
44	Imitation of Cologne	anonymous		Häv. 78	0.92	
45	Imitation of Cologne	Emp. Konrad II and Archb. Hermann II	1036–39	Häv. 267	0.84 (cracked)	
46	Imitation of Cologne	anonymous		Häv. 332	1.38	
47	Duisburg	Emp. Konrad II	1027–39	Dbg. 311; Berghaus 1983, 1:1	1.08	
48–49	Remagen	anonymous	Ca. 1039–56	Dbg. 431; Kluge 1991, 136	1.35, 0.29 (cut quarter)	
50	Deventer	B. Bernolf	1046–54	Dbg. 573; Ilisch 2000, 1.12	0.86	
51	Deventer	B. Bernolf	1046–54	Dbg. 572; Ilisch 2000, 1.15	0.58 (frg.)	
52	Deventer	B. Bernolf	1046–54	Dbg. 1854; Ilisch 2000, 1.16 var.	1.03	
53–54	Deventer	B. Bernolf	1046–54	Dbg. 570–573; Ilisch 2000, 1.12–16	0.99, 0.22 (frg.)	
55	Deventer	B. Bernolf	1046–54	Dbg. 568; Ilisch 2000, 1.17	0.87	
56	Deventer	B. Bernolf	1046–54	Dbg. 1551; Ilisch 2000, 1.18	0.87	
57	Tiel	Konrad II	1024–39	Ilisch 2000, 3.7	1.45	
58	Vicinity of Tiel	Henry III?	1039–56	Ilisch 2000, 4.9?	0.84	
59	Vicinity of Tiel		11th c.	Ilisch 2000, 4.2–13	0.70	Obv. very worn
60	Vicinity of Tiel		Mid-11th c.	Ilisch 2000, 5.4.1	0.84	
61–62	Vicinity of Tiel		Mid-11th c.	Ilisch 2000, 5.8	0.85, 0.46 (broken half)	
63	Vicinity of Tiel		Mid-11th c.	Ilisch 2000, 5.9	0.70	Double strike
64	Vicinity of Tiel		Mid-11th c.	Ilisch 2000, 5.11	0.38	Obol
65	Vicinity of Tiel	Konrad II?	1024–39	Cf. Dbg. 347b; Ilisch 2000, 6.4	0.26 (frg.)	
66	Region of Nijmegen-Tiel	Emp. Konrad II	1027–39	Dbg. 742; Ilisch 2000, 8.17	1.33	
67	Region of Nijmegen-Tiel	Emp. Konrad II	1027–39	Dbg. 357; Häv. 239; Ilisch 2000, 8.23	1.43	
68	Vicinity of Tiel?			COLONIA-type	0.24 (cut quarter)	
69	Unknown mint	Count Wichmann III	994–1016	Dbg. 1229; Ilisch 2000, 20.2	0.35 (cut/broken frg.)	
70	Unknown mint	Henry II	Ca. 1002–15	Dbg. 1299b; Ilisch 2000, 20.6	0.76	

No. / Nr	Mint / Vermija	Ruler / Valitseja	Date / Aasta	References / Viide	Weight g / Kaal gr	Remarks / Märkused
71–74	Leeuwarden	Count Brun III	Ca. 1050–57	Dbg. 502; Ilisch 2000, 21.14	0.68, 0.58, 0.57, 0.45	
75–76	Dokkum	Count Brun III	Ca. 1050–57	Dbg. 499; Ilisch 2000, 21.19	0.74, 0.32	
77	Stavoren	Count Brun III	Ca. 1050–57	Dbg. 503; Ilisch 2000, 21.11	0.74	
78–79	Jever	Duke Bernhard II	1011–59	Dbg. 591–593	0.46 (frg.), 0.17 (frg.)	
80–81	Soest	‘Otto III’	1st half of 11th c.	Häv. 849; Ilisch 1990	0.76, 0.16 (2 frg.)	
82	Soest	‘Otto III’	1st half of 11th c.	Häv. 850; Ilisch 1990	1.22	
83–84	Corvey	Abbot Arnold	1051–55	Dbg. 736	1.07, 1.07	
85–86	Bremen?	anonymous (B. Adalbert?)	1043–66	Dbg. 1777; Ilisch & Jonsson 1993	0.85, 0.81	
87	Hamburg?	anonymous		Dbg. 1278; Kilger 2000, NeIVA	0.81	
88	Naumburg?	anonymous		Dbg. 1347; Kilger 2000, SaID2	0.71	
89	Hamburg?	Count Dietmar	Ca. 1025–35	Dbg. 1291; Kilger 2000, NeIA:1	1.12	
90	Stade	Henry III	1039–56	Dbg. 720	0.92	
91	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto III and Adelheid		Hatz 1961, IV6c	0.73	Obol?
92	Goslar <i>et al.</i>	Otto III and Adelheid		Hatz 1961, III or IV	1.52	
93	Gittelde?	Otto III and Adelheid imitation		Hatz 1961, V2c var.	0.99	
94	Gittelde?	Otto III and Adelheid imitation		Hatz 1961, V2g	1.21	
95	Gittelde?	Otto III and Adelheid imitation		Hatz 1961, V2i4	1.20	
96	Gittelde?	Otto III and Adelheid imitation		Hatz 1961, V2	1.30	
97	Gittelde?	Otto III and Adelheid imitation		Hatz 1961, V5	0.77	
98	Gittelde?	Otto III and Adelheid imitation		Hatz 1961, VI1c2	1.46	
99	Gittelde?	Otto III and Adelheid imitation		Hatz 1961, VI2b	0.50 (frg.)	
100	Gittelde	anonymous B.		Dbg. 1222; Kipp 2016, 8b1	1.04	
101	Gittelde	anonymous B.		Dbg. 1588; Kipp 2016, 8b2	0.63	
102	Unknown mint	COLONIA imitation			0.93	
103–104	Magdeburg	anonymous	Ca. 1035–50	Dbg. 648; Mehl 2011	1.25, 1.16 (pierced)	
105	Magdeburg or imitation	anonymous	Ca. 1035–50	Dbg. 648 var.	0.91	Distorted inscriptions
106	Erfurt	anonymous		Cf. Stoess 1989, 30	1.20	
107	Erfurt	anonymous		Cf. Stoess 1989, group II	0.60 (2 frg.)	
108	Erfurt	anonymous			0.16 (frg.)	
109–110	Erfurt	Emp. Henry III	1046–56	Dbg. 883	0.97, 0.54 (frg.)	

No. / Nr	Mint / Vermija	Ruler / Valitseja	Date / Aasta	References / Viide	Weight g / Kaal gr	Remarks / Märkused
111–112	Erfurt	Emp. Henry III	1046–56	Dbg. 883 var.	1.16 (pierced), 0.94	Crown without pendilia
113–114	Fritzlar	COLONIA imitation	Ca. 1040–50	Ilisch 2004, 13–14	0.94, 0.94	
115	Würzburg	anonymous		Dbg. 859	0.80	
116	Bamberg	anonymous		Dbg. 1653b?	0.79	
117	Mainz	Kg. Henry II	1002–24	Dbg. 787	0.99	
118	Mainz	Kg. Henry II	1002–14	Dbg. 788	0.97 (2 frg., pierced)	
119–121	Mainz	Emp. Konrad II	1027–39	Dbg. 790	0.78 (2 frg.), 0.76, 0.76	
122	Mainz	Emp. Konrad II	1027–39	Dbg. 791	0.43	Obol
123	Mainz	Henry III	1039–56	Dbg. 793	0.70	
124	Mainz	Henry III and Archb. Bardo	1031–51	Dbg. 805	0.93	
125	Mainz	Emp. Henry III and Archb. Lupold	1051–56	Dbg. 807	1.17	
126	Mainz	Emp. Henry III and Archb. Lupold	1051–56	Dbg. 1629	0.30	Obol
127–136	Worms	'Henry II'	Ca. 1024–46	Dbg. 845 var.; Leimus 1993	1.00, 0.90, 0.87, 0.84 (in 2 pieces), 0.83, 0.80, 0.70, 0.44 (cut half), 0.26 (frg.), 0.16 (3 frg.)	
137–141	Worms	Emp. Henry III	1046–56	Dbg. 847	1.19, 0.99, 0.92, 0.74, 0.54	
142	Worms?	Emp. Henry III?			0.10 (frg.)	
143	Worms	Kg. Henry IV	1056–84	Dbg. 846; Leimus 2000	0.98	
144–145	Speyer	anonymous	1002–39	Dbg. 836; Berghaus 1954, 213	0.84, 0.71	
146–148	Speyer	Henry III	1039–56	Dbg. 829; Berghaus 1954, 213	0.89, 0.73, 0.17 (frg.)	
149–150	Speyer	Emp. Henry III	1046–56	Dbg. 830c; Ehrend 1976, 2/19	1.15, 0.75	
151	Speyer	Emp. Henry III	1046–56	Dbg. 832; Berghaus 1954, 213	1.05	
152	Speyer	Emp. Henry III	1046–56	Dbg. 834–835; Ehrend 1976, 1/12, 13	1.29	
153	Speyer	anonymous	1039–56	Dbg. 838; Ehrend 1976, 2/26	0.69	
154–156	Strasbourg	Konrad II or Henry III	1024–39–56	Dbg. 707, 709	1.22, 0.70 (frg.), 0.34 (frg.)	
157	Strasbourg	Konrad II or Henry III	1024–39–56	Dbg. 707, 709	0.32 (3 frg.)	
158	Strasbourg	Konrad II or Henry III	1024–39–56	Dbg. ?	0.67 (cut half)	
159–160	Ulm	anonymous	from ca. 1030	Klein 1993, 95	0.59 (frg.), 0.56	
161–162	Esslingen	Henry II	1002–24	Dbg. 951–952; Klein & Raff 1997, 4	0.86, 0.32 (frg.)	
163	Esslingen	Henry II–III	1002–56	Dbg. 1272; Klein & Raff 1997, 12	1.21	
164	Regensburg	Emp. Konrad II and Kg. Henry III	Ca. 1032–39	Hahn 1976, 35A	0.56 (frg.)	
165	Regensburg	Emp. Henry III	1047–56	Hahn 1976, 48A	1.13	

No. / Nr	Mint / Vermija	Ruler / Valitseja	Date / Aasta	References / Viide	Weight g / Kaal gr	Remarks / Märkused
166–167	Regensburg	Kg. Henry IV	1056–84	Dbg. 1099; Hahn 1976, 53	1.07, 0.56 (frg.)	
168	Salzburg?	Kg. Henry III, 3 period	1042–46	Hahn 1976, S107?	0.90	
169				Obv. Dbg. 1777 rv.; rv. Dbg. 881–883	1.04	
170				Obv. Cross with x-o-?-v in angles; rev. COLONIA	0.81	
171				Otto-Adelheid	0.78	
172				Obv. Long cross; rev. Hand type	0.76	
173				Obv. Tiel; rev. same obv. die as no. 175	0.75	
174				Obv., rev. building with gable, uncertain inscriptions	0.74	
175				Obv. same die as no. 173 rev.; rev. COLONIA imitation	0.71	
176				Obv. cross with dots; rev. Duisburg imitation, K. Henry III	0.66	
177				Obv. uncertain; rev. building with 4 columns	0.61	
178				Obv. Long cross, rev. uncertain	0.55 (in 3 pieces)	
179				Obv. fingers up and crozier, rev. Last small cross	0.49 (in 2 pieces)	
180				Cross with dots	0.48	Double strike, one-sided
181				Obv. 'Holzkirche?', rv. uncertain	0.46 (cut half)	
182				Obv. cross with dots, rev. 'Holzkirche' with side towers	0.37 (in 3 pieces)	
183				Obv. building with gable and 6 columns; rev. Otto-Adelheid	0.29 (2 frg.)	
184				Uncertain	0.24 (frg.)	
185				Obv. Andernach-type building, rev. Otto-Adelheid	0.15 (frg.)	
186–191					0.70, 0.42 (cut half), 0.16 (frg.), 0.11 (frg.), 0.10 (frg.), 0.05 (frg.)	Worn, uncertain

#### ANGLO-SAXON AND SCANDINAVIAN COINS / ANGLOSAKSI JA SKANDINAAVIA MÜNDID

No. / Nr	Ruler / Valitseja	Type / Tüüp	Date / Aasta	Mint, Reference / Müntla, viide	Moneyer / Müntmeister	Weight g / Kaal gr
192	Harold I	Fleur-de-lys	Ca. 1038–40	Lincoln	Colgrim	1.07
193	Edward Confessor	Radiate small cross	Ca. 1044–46	London	Eadwold	0.68
194	Knud	Lund	Short cross	Hb. 16		0.67 (in 2 pieces)
195	Lund	Svend Estridsen	1047–75	Hb. 6		0.25 (frg.)
196	Lund	Svend Estridsen	1047–75	Hb. 8 var, crescent in angles		0.66
197			Av. Long cross; rv. Last small cross	Malmer 1997, 288/1769, chain 131		0.56 (broken quarter)
198	unidentified					0.22 (8 frg.)

## COMPOSITION OF THE HOARD

Two of the coins were minted for the Emirs of the Samanid dynasty, 189 are from the Holy Roman Empire (henceforth: German), two are from England, three from Denmark, and one from somewhere in Scandinavia (see Table). The composition of the hoard, with German coins so clearly dominating, is quite unusual in Estonia, but not unique. There were only two Anglo-Saxon coins in the finds at both Änkküla (*tpq* 1089) and Kuusalu (*tpq* 1068), but none at all in the hoard at Rakvere (*tpq* 1056) (Leimus & Kiudsoo 2015, 133).

Of the German coins, 12 are from Upper Lorraine, 20 from Western Lower Lorraine, 11 from the Cologne area, 18 from the Utrecht area, ten from the Frisian area, 19 from Lower Saxony and as many as 41 from Franconia. There are fewer coins from other regions of the empire.

There are no particular rarities among the other German coins. Notable among them is a denier of Bishop Reinhard that was probably minted in Visé, and that is different in appearance to those that have been encountered before (Table: 31; Fig. 1: 1). Unfortunately, the coin is cut in half, and it is not known whether it is a variation of a known coin type or a completely new type. Two deniers that were apparently minted with the same obverse die stand out among the coins of Emperor Henry III of Erfurt, as they depict the imperial crown without the usual pendilia (Table: 111–112; Fig. 1: 2). However, these coins are not unique as similar coins were sold at the Teutoburger Münzauktion coin auction in 2012 and 2015 (nos 95 and 205).

It is notable that there are so few, only nine, of the Otto and Adelheid pennies that are so numerous in other finds, and as many as seven of those pennies are imitations probably minted in Gittelde. This same feature of imitations dominating can also be seen in the hoard that was discovered in the nearby village of Moldova, buried after 1068 (Leimus & Kiudsoo 2020, 65–66). Another exceptional feature is that eleven coins **from around** Tiel predominate among the coins from the Utrecht area, as there is only one denier that is **actually** from Tiel. This ratio is more usually weighted in favour of the coins that are actually from Tiel. The present hoard also contains only three of the usually numerous imitations of Cologne coins minted in Soest.

The 17 barbarian imitations of unknown origin in the find are, by contrast, unusually numerous. The coins listed as numbers 173 and 175 are notable for having one side minted with an identical die, while the other sides are different, with one imitating a Tiel coin and one a Cologne coin (Fig. 2: 1–2). This suggests the two coins were made in the same place and at



Fig. 1. 1 – Visé, Bishop Reinhart (1025–38), 2 – Erfurt, Emperor Henry III (1046–56).

Jn 1. 1 – Visé, piiskop Reinhart (1025–38), 2 – Erfurt, keiser Heinrich III (1046–56).

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

about the same time, which further indicates that this was not just some random or one-off coin making.

Three coins imitate the pennies of the Anglo-Saxon king Aethelred II (Table: 172 (Fig. 2: 3), 178, 179 (Fig. 2: 4)). Such coins are usually considered to have been made in Scandinavia, but in this case, the coins were minted in continental Europe, probably somewhere in the Western Slavic area. There is also a unique imitation of the Duisburg denier of Emperor Henry III (Table: 176; Fig. 2: 5).

One of the English pennies is from King Harold I, the other is from the reign of Edward the Confessor. One of the Danish coins was struck under King Canute and two under King Sweyn Estridsson. There is an imitation of a penny of Aethelred II made in a Swedish or Danish mint (Malmer 1997, chain 131), and although the dies used to make it are already known about, they have not previously been recorded in this combination.

Most of the coins in the Voorepera hoard are from the 1030s–1050s, and predominate from the years immediately before they were buried (Fig. 3). The most recent coins in the hoard are three from the reign of King Henry IV (1056–84) – one denier from Worms (Table: 143; Fig. 2: 6) and two from Regensburg (Table: 166–167; Fig. 4: 1). Just slightly older



**Fig. 2.** 1 – Imitation of a denier from Tiel, 2 – imitation of a denier from Cologne, 3 – imitation of a penny of Aethelred II, Long cross / Hand, 4 – imitation of a penny of Aethelred II, Hand / Small cross, 5 – imitation of a denier from Duisburg, 6 – Worms, King Henry IV (1056–84).

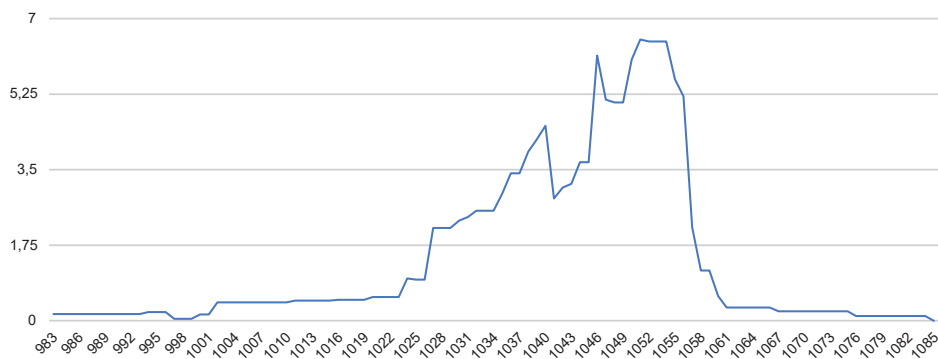
**Jn 2.** 1 – Tieli järelmünt, 2 – Kölni järelmünt, 3 – Aethelred II järelmünt, Long cross / Hand, 4 – Aethelred II järelmünt, Hand / Small cross, 5 – Duisburgi järelmünt, 6 – Worms, kuningas Heinrich IV (1056–84).

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus



is a denier of Archbishop Hermann II of Cologne (1039–56) that has not the slightest sign of wear and must have been minted at the very end of his reign (Table: 43; Fig. 4: 2). This means the hoard was buried after 1056, but not very much later, because otherwise there would likely have been more coins from King Henry IV and also some deniers of the next Archbishop of Cologne, Anno (1056–75).

This dating is quite unusual for Estonian coin hoards, as the silver-rich period in Estonia began almost exactly in 1060, and only nine hoards from the decade before that have so far been found as far as is known. The majority of these are old finds, and only a small part of the data on the coins in them has been preserved (Molvõgin 1994, 26–27). This means that the dating of those finds is not reliable. The same applies to the Varja V and Aa II finds, where the most recent coins were minted in 1054 and 1056 respectively, from which only two coins in each are known (Leimus & Kiudsoo 2020, 63). Only the Rakvere hoard and with some reservations the Ojapere hoard are definitely from the 1050s (Molvõgin 1994, nos 37, 38). This means the find at Voorepera allows the proposed dating of some anonymous coin types from Gittelde (Table: 100 and 101) to be adjusted and moved about a decade earlier than the suggested date of the 1060s (Scheunemann 2010, 4–5).



**Fig. 3.** Chronological distribution of coins.

**Jn 3.** Müntide ajaline jaotus.

Graph / graafik: Ivar Leimus



**Fig. 4.** 1 – Regensburg, King Henry IV (1056–84), 2 – Cologne, Archb. Hermann II (1039–56).

**Jn 4.** 1 – Regensburg, kuningas Heinrich IV (1056–84), 2 – Köln, peapiiskop Hermann II (1039–56).

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

## ROUTES OF ARRIVAL

It is known that a large part of Viking and late Viking silver arrived in Estonia through connections with Sweden, mainly Gotland. The hoards from Gotland from the first half of the 11th century are particularly rich (Jonsson 1993, 207–210, especially fig. 5), and they generally also contain a large amount of Anglo-Saxon pennies. The weak representation of English and Scandinavian mints in the Voorepera find indicates however that the coins in this hoard did not come to Estonia from Gotland or some other Scandinavian region, as was more usual, but by some other route.

That relatively numerous later German coins point to a completely different route and refer to the settlements of West Slavic peoples to the east of Saxony and a possible use of the Weser waterway. Equally, the large number of deniers from Franconia, especially from Mainz, Worms and Speyer, shows that the trade route of the Rhine played a major part in the hoard being formed, and the coins from the Tiel region and perhaps also those from Frisia point in the same direction. This all means the hoard was largely made up through direct communication between the coastal people of Virumaa and merchants from different parts of the Holy Roman Empire.

Eleven, or 5.6%, of the coins in the hoard are split, mostly cut with a knife, but in three cases the coins have been broken by hand. The share of cut coins varies significantly in the hoards found in Estonia, ranging from the usual 2–3% up to 5.9% in the Moldova hoard. The coins were probably cut in Estonia (Leimus & Kiudsoo 2020, 69). There are also three quarter-coin pieces among the Voorepera coins that have been made deliberately, two of them cut, and one of them broken. That the share of fragmented coins in the hoard is slightly larger than usual may indicate either that silver was highly valuable because the precious metal was in short supply, or smaller amounts than a whole denier were required, hence a smaller coin was needed. Given how few hoards there are in Estonia that date from before the 1060s, it may well be that the first reason generally dominated.

## HACKSILVER

Alongside the coins, the Voorepera hoard contained three pieces of hacksilver, all of which are cut or broken from penannular brooches with ridged flat bows (Fig. 5). These pieces weigh 1.52 g, 1.50 g and 1.07 g, which is roughly in line with the weights of the deniers of the time. This means these pieces of silver were used in trade at the time, which is further shown by the testing marks known as pecks on the fragments.

Two pieces with an identical houndstooth decoration fit together, with three dots inside the tooth pattern, which allows to conclude that the brooch was cut up at that site. The third piece has a different decoration with six bumps inside the tooth, and so logically originates from a different brooch.

Brooches of this type were common in south and south-west Finland, but they have also been found in Ingria, on the south-east shore of Lake Ladoga, and even in central and northern Russia, northern Norway and northern Sweden (Salmo 1965, 72–75). Most such brooches are plain and undecorated,



Fig. 5. Pieces of hacksilver.

Jn 5. Hakkhõbeda tükid.

Photo / Foto: Ivar Leimus

and only three of the 27 found in Finland have a pattern on their bow, while only one, the Sismä specimen from a silver hoard (*tpq* 1006), has the same triangular pattern as that in the Voorepera hoard (Rapakko 2017, 7–9, 17–18; Talvio 2002, 159–160; Suomen kansallismuseo, RKHY166: 98). Two intact examples of such brooches have previously been found in Estonia, one of them in the Väike-Rõude hoard that was buried after 1018 (Leimus 1991), and the other in the Viltina grave on Saaremaa (AI 3884: 3854). There were also three bow fragments from similar brooches in the Varja II hoard (*tpq* 1029; Leimus & Kiudsoo 2016, 45; Kiudsoo 2019, fig. 140), five or six pieces of brooches in the Valingu find from the 11th century (Tamla 2022) and at least 18 pieces of brooches in the 11th-century hoard found at Preedi (Tamla 2023; 2024). Six of the brooch bows in the Preedi hoard are decorated, but only one with a houndstooth pattern, and even that only on one side. This makes the fragments of Voorepera brooches rare, yet not unique.

It should be emphasised that the brooches were cut or broken on the spot, as the examples show. While the fragments from the Voorepera and Varja II hoards have an indisputable monetary significance since they were found together with coins and have testing pecks on them, the nature of the finds at Preedi and Valingu is quite different. The jewellery in the hoards is broken into pieces, but photographs at least show no other damage, because it is mainly smooth and not pecked. Only three small coin fragments with the total weight of 0.68 g were found alongside the jewellery at Valingu (Tamla 2022, 7–8) and only one whole coin was found at Preedi, and it was some 100 metres away from the jewellery (Tamla 2023, 24, fig. 7). This means that those finds were not classic monetary hoards consisting of coins and hacksilver. It appears that the silver may have been cut for some reason other than trade there (cf. Tamla 2022, 12).

### WEALTHY IDA-VIRU

Two small silver hoards had already been found in Voorepera in 2016, one of which was hidden after 1017/1018, and one after 1068 (Kiudsoo & Tamla 2017, 75–80). The findspots of the hoards were earlier surrounded by bogs, which have by now mostly been drained. The best-known archaeological site in the area is the Alulinn stronghold in the bog (Tõnisson 2008, 233–234). The village of Voorepera is ancient, and it was listed in the Danish Census Book under the name *Uorumperæ*. It was owned at that time by Priest Eilardus, then came under the Cistercian monastery at Valkena (present-day Kärkna) by 1287 at the latest, after which it belonged from 1426 to the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order and then was privately owned (Johansen 1933, 670). Paul Johansen considers it possible that the King of Denmark leased Voorepera at first from the Valkena monastery, and Eilardus was appointed to manage and run the monastery (Johansen 1933, 778). The monks' road marked in 1549 between Aa and Odris (Kohtla) must probably also have had certain links to the former monastery (Tõnisson 2008, 234).

Now that there are three known silver hoards at Voorepera, or four if to include the remains of the nearby Aa II hoard (Fig. 6), Voorepera is comparable for the density of its antiquities with neighbouring Varja with its five silver hoards, and Kõue in Harjumaa, which has four. On a broader scale it is not surprising that the new hoard was found in the Ida-Viru County, which is the region in Estonia that is the richest in such findspots. More than 20 Viking and late Viking Age hoards had been found there by 2016 that were presumably connected to the port site of Purtse (Fig. 6; Kiudsoo 2016). In addition, Vitsiku (Leimus *et al.* 2022), Vainu (Leimus 2023), Erra (Leimus 2022a), Moldova (Leimus & Kiudsoo 2020), Sompä

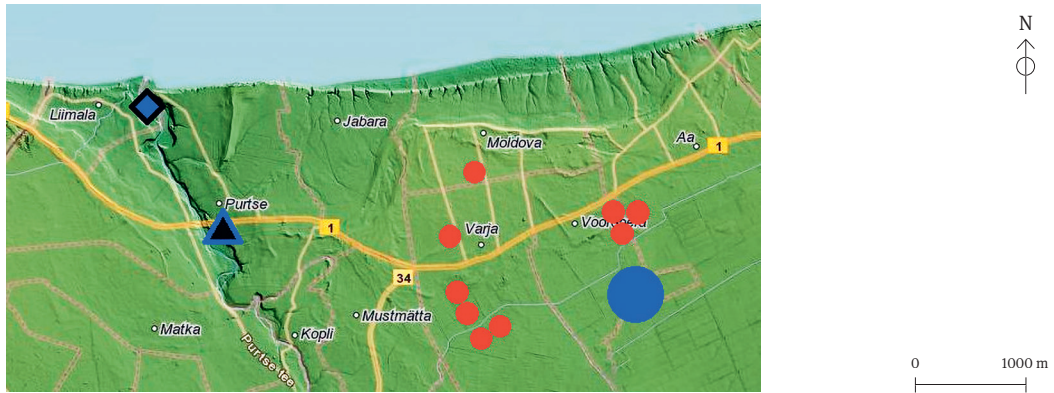


Fig. 6. Hoards from the vicinity of Voorepera. The new hoard marked in blue.

Jn 6. Voorepera lähiumbruse aarded. Uus aare on tähistatud sinisega.

Map / Kaart: Mauri Kiudsoo

(Leimus 2022b), and now Voorepera III have been added since. The nearby mighty hill fort, marked with a triangle on the map (Fig. 6), could have been an important commercial centre of the time (Tõnisson 2008, 231–232; Leimus & Kiudsoo 2020, 63).

Thus, the coin deposits from the area cover approximately three centuries of diverse trade connections of the ancient inhabitants of the Ida-Viru County. The Voorepera hoard is a good example of direct contacts between local people and merchants from the Holy Roman Empire around the mid-11th century.

## REFERENCES

- Berghaus, P. 1954.** Beiträge zur deutschen Münzkunde des 11. Jahrhunderts. – Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik, 8, 207–223.
- Berghaus, P. 1983.** Duisburger Münzen. – Duisburg im Mittelalter. 1100 Jahre Duisburg 883–1983. Begleitschrift zur Ausstellung. Duisburg, 89–113.
- CNG = Kluge, B.** Conspectus Nummorum Germaniae Medii Aevi (CNG). Kommentierter Typenkatalog der deutschen Münzen des Mittelalters – von den Anfängen bis zur Ausbildung der regionalen Pfennigmünze, von 880 bis um 1140. – Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten, 192–194 (1999), 197–200 (2000), 204 (2001).
- Dbg. = Dannenberg, H.** Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit, 4 Bde, Tafeln. Berlin, 1876–1905.
- Ehrend, H. 1976.** Speyerer Münzgeschichte. Speyer.
- Hahn, W. 1976.** Moneta Radasponensis. Bayerns Münzprägung im 9., 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Braunschweig.
- Hatz, V. 1961.** Zur Frage der Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige. Versuch einer Systematisierung auf Grund des schwedischen Fundmaterials. – Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis 1. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar. Antikvariska serien 9. Stockholm, 107–151.
- Häv. = Hävernick, W.** Die Münzen von Köln. Die Münzen und Medaillen von Köln, 1. Köln, 1935.
- Hb. = Hauberg, P.** Myntforhold og udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146. *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Skrifter, 6. Række, histor.-filosof. Afd. 5, 1.* København, 1906.
- Ilisch, P. 1990.** Zur Datierung der in nordischen Funden vorkommenden ottonischen Münzen von Köln. – Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 1983/84 (1990), 123–144.
- Ilisch, P. 2000.** Die Münzprägung im Herzogtum Niederlothringen I. Die Münzprägung in den Räumen Utrecht und Friesland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde 84–85, 1997/8* (2000). Amsterdam.
- Ilisch, P. 2004.** Die Fritzlarer Colonia-Prägung des 11. Jahrhunderts. *Beiträge zur Münzkunde in Hessen-Kassel 21.* Kassel.
- Ilisch, P. 2014.** Die Münzprägung im Herzogtum Niederlothringen II: Die Münzprägung im südwestlichen Niederlothringen und in Flandern im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde 100 Special.* Amsterdam.
- Ilisch, P. & Jonsson, K. 1993.** En ärkebiskoplig mynttyp präglad i Bremen? – Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad, 7, 120–125.

- Johansen, P. 1933.** Die Estlandliste des Liber Census Daniae, II. Halbband. Kopenhagen–Reval.
- Jonsson, K. 1993.** The routes for the importation of German and English coins to the Northern Lands in the Viking Age. – Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft. Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit. Ergebnisse des Dannenberg-Kolloquiums 1990. Sigmaringen, 205–232.
- Kaseorg, M. & Jegorov, S. 2023.** Aruanne arheoloogilist välitöödest Ida-Virumaal, Voorepera külas 24.08.2023. Tartu. (*Manuscript in MA.*)
- Kilger, Chr. 2000.** Pfennigmärkte und Währungslandschaften. Monetarisierungen im sächsische–slawischen Grenzland ca. 965–1120. *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI, Nova series 15.* Stockholm.
- Kipp, U. 2016.** Gittelder Pfennige. Die Geschichte der Münzstätte Gittelde und ihrer Prägungen. Gittelde.
- Kiudsoo, M. 2016.** Viikingiaegsed aarded Eestis. Idateest, rauast ja hõbedast. Tallinn.
- Kiudsoo, M. 2019.** Eesti muinasaarded. Tallinn.
- Kiudsoo, M. & Tamla, Ü. 2017.** New hoards from Voorepera, Eastern Virumaa. – AVE, 2016, 75–80.
- Klein, U. 1993.** Die Münzprägung im südwestlichen Schwaben. Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung. – Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft. Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit. Ergebnisse des Dannenberg-Kolloquiums 1990. Ed. by B. Kluge. Sigmaringen, 89–109.
- Klein, U. & Raff, A. 1997.** Die Münzen und Medaillen von Esslingen. *Süddeutsche Münzkataloge, 7.* Stuttgart.
- Kluge, B. 1991.** Deutsche Münzgeschichte von der späten Karolingerzeit bis zum Ende der Salier (ca. 900 bis 1125). Sigmaringen.
- Leimus, I. 1991.** Väike-Rõude aare 11. sajandi esimesest veerandist. – Artiklite kogumik. Ed. by L. Jaanits & V. Lang. MT, I. Tallinn, 146–153.
- Leimus, I. 1993.** Einige Bemerkungen zu den Wormser Denaren vom Typ Dannenberg 845. – Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft. Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit. Ergebnisse des Dannenberg-Kolloquiums 1990. Ed. by B. Kluge. Sigmaringen, 119–124.
- Leimus, I. 2000.** Dbg. 846 – eine Prägung von Henry III. oder Henry IV? – Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten, 196, 57–61.
- Leimus, I. 2022a.** Ekspertiis Ida-Virumaalt Erra alevikut leidud müntide kohta. Tallinn. (*Manuscript in MA.*)
- Leimus, I. 2022b.** Ekspertiis Ida-Virumaalt Jõhvi vallast Sompä külast leidud müntide kohta. Tallinn. (*Manuscript in MA.*)
- Leimus, I. 2023.** En ny dirhem-skat fra 900-tallet fra landsbyen Vainu, Ida-Virumaa amt, Estland. – Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad, 2, 2023, 37–42.
- Leimus, I. & Kiudsoo, M. 2015.** Der spätwikingerezeitliche Münzfund von Änkküla, Kreis Jõgeva, Estland (*tpq* 1089). – Myntstudier. Festschrift till Kenneth Jonsson. Ed. by T. Talvio & M. Wijk. Stockholm, 130–141.
- Leimus, I. & Kiudsoo, M. 2016.** Ett nytt Anund Jakob mynt i en estländsk skatt. – Myntstudier, 1, 2016, 44–52.
- Leimus, I. & Kiudsoo, M. 2020.** A new late Viking Age hoard from Estonia. – Arheoloģija un Etnografija, 31, 62–83.
- Leimus, I., Kiudsoo, M. & Saage, R. 2022.** A late 8th century hoard of dirhams and hack silver from Vitsiku village in North-East Estonia. – AVE, 2021, 17–30.
- Malmer, B. 1997.** The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage c. 995–1020. *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis, Nova series 9.* Stockholm–London.
- Mehl, M. 2011.** Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg im Mittelalter, 2 Bde. Hamburg.
- Molvögin, A. 1994.** Die Funde westeuropäischer Münzen des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts in Estland. *Numismatische Studien, 10.* Hamburg.
- Rapakko, J. 2017.** Suomussalmen Heinisaaren hevosenkenkäsolki. Arkeologinen esinetutkimus, Oulun yliopisto 2017. <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:oulu-201711183124> (*last accessed 01.08.2024.*)
- Salmo, H. 1965.** Finnische Hufeisenfibeln. *SMYA 56.* Helsinki.
- Scheunemann, A. 2010.** Münzen aus Gittelde, Sachsen, in wikingerezeitlichen Fundkontexten in Schweden. Uppsats i Arkeologi, Stockholms Universitet.
- Stoess, Chr. 1989.** Die frühesten Erfurter Münzen. – Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 70. Geburtstag. Münster, 1–10.
- Talvio, T. 2002.** Coins and coin finds in Finland AD 800–1200. *Iskos, 12.* Helsinki.
- Tamla, Ü. 2022.** Arvamus Harjumaalt Saue vallast Valingu külast 2021. aastal avastatud hõbe- ja pronksesemete kohta. Tallinn. (*Manuscript in MA.*)
- Tamla, Ü. 2023.** Arvamus Järvamaal Järva vallas Preedi külas 2023. aastal avastatud leidude kohta. Tallinn. (*Manuscript in MA.*)
- Tamla, Ü. 2024.** Two hacksilver hoards and other finds discovered from Preedi village in Järva county. – AVE, 2023, 89–98.
- Tõnisson, E. 2008.** Eesti muinaslinnad. Ed. by A. Mäesalu & H. Valk. MT, 20. Tartu–Tallinn.
- Weiller, R. 1988.** Die Münzen von Trier. Beschreibung der Münzen: 6. Jahrhundert – 1307. Düsseldorf.

## VOOREPERA HÕBEAARE 1050. AASTATEST

Ivar Leimus

Augustis 2023 avastati Ida-Virumaal, Voorepera külast kagus Seljamäe-nimeliselt kõrgendikult hõbeaare, mis koosneb tervetest ja katkistest müntidest ning hõbeehete fragmentidest. Mündid paiknesid põllul laiali paarimeetrisel tuumikalal, üksikuid münite leidis veel ka selle ümbruses u 50 m raadiuses. Peale ühe sõelaigu mingeid muid jälgi inimtegevusest leiukohal ei avastatud.

Mündikatkeste suur hulk ei luba aarde müntide hulka täpselt tuvastada. Tervete ja erinevatest tükkidest kokku pandud müntide koguarv ulatub hetkel 197-ni. Seejuures on tükke tekkinud niihästi müntide tahtliku tükeldamise tulemusel kui ka tõenäoliselt pinnase söövitava mõju tõttu.

Müntidest on kaks vermitud Samaniidide dünastia emiiride poolt, 189 Saksa Rahva Püha Rooma keisririigis (edaspidi: Saksa), kaks Inglismaal, kolm Taanis ja üks kusagil Skandinaavias (tabel). Aarde koosseis, milles Saksa mündid nii selgesti prevaleerivad, on Eesti oludes küll mõnevõrra eripärane, kuid mitte ainulaadne.

Enamasti kuuluvad Voorepera aarde mündid 1030.–1050. aastatesse, eriti peitmisele vahetult eelnenud ajajärku. Aarde noorimad mündid on kolm kuningas Heinrich IV (1056–84) münti: üks denaar Wormsist ja kaks Regensburgist. Seega on aare peide-

tud peagi pärast 1056. aastat, sest hilisemal peitmisel võiks Heinrich IV münite olla oluliselt enam. Niisugune dateering on Eesti mündiaarete puhul mõnevõrra eba-harilik, sest meil algas hõbedarikas periood enam-vähem täpselt 1060. aastast. 1050. aastatest oli Eestist seni kindlalt teada vaid kaks aaret.

Inglise ja Skandinaavia vermingute vähene esindatus Voorepera leius lubab järeldada, et selle aarde mündid ei ole meile jõudnud Ojamaa või mõne muu Skandinaavia piirkonna kaudu nagu tavaliselt, vaid mingit teist teed mööda. Aarde koosseisu põhjal tulevad siin kõne alla Reini ja Weseri veetee.

Peale müntide sisaldas peitleid kolm tükki hakk-hõbedat, kõik lõigatud-murtud hoburaudsõle hari-kaarest. Niisiis on tegemist kaubatehingus tarvitatud kaaluhõbedaga, mida tõendavad ka sõlekatkeil leiduvad hõbedaproovimise jäljed.

Vooreperast oli juba 2016. aastal avastatud kaks väikest hõbeaaret, millest üks peidetud pärast 1017/8., teine pärast 1068. aastat. Nüüdseks juba kolme (kui liita nendega lähedusest avastatud Aa II aarde jäänu-sed, siis isegi nelja) teadaoleva hõbeaardega võib Voorepera muinasvarade tiheduselt võrrelda naabruses asuva Varjaga (viis hõbeaaret) ja Harjumaal asuva Kõuega (neli hõbeaaret). Laiemas pildis sobitub uus leid Eesti leiurikkaimale Ida-Virumaale hästi.