Chapter 1

Money and the Church: Definitions, Disciplines and Directions

Giles E. M. Gasper[1]

In the 1020s an exceptional coin was issued from the Danish Slagelse mint (see Plate 1).[2] Its legend, which runs across both faces of the coin, consists of the opening lines of the Gospel of St John: 'In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum [In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God]'. The Slagelse coin represents not only the oldest gospel quotation from Denmark, and indeed, Scandinavia, but also the earliest coin in Europe to carry a full quotation from the Bible. Why this particular coin was struck is not clear. It does, however, indicate a very specific instruction to a die-cutter at the disposal of Cnut the Great (1018–35), and a die-cutter who was accurate, within reasonable expectation, in his reproduction of the biblical text.

1 With bibliographical and subject-specific assistance from Svein H. Gullbekk.

2 P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter, 6. Række, historisk og filosofisk afdeling, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1900), *Knud den Store, Slagelse*, no. 38. Three examples of this issue are known, one in the collection of Stockholm and two in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen, of which one was a gift from A. Benzon's collections in 1888/89 (Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Gaveprotokol [Accession Protocol] 982). Only one of these coins has an identifiable provenance, that from the Enner hoard, Jutland, where 1,315 coins (557 German, 677 Anglo-Saxon, 24 Danish and 14 Irish) were deposited after c. 1030/1. The hoard was deposited close to a Viking Age farm house (Anne Mette Kristiansen, 'Enner-skatten – ny viden om et gammelt fund', *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* (2006): 63–71, att. xx). The coin is die-linked with another coin issued at the Slagelse mint by the contemporary moneyer Brihtric, presumably of Anglo-Saxon origin, see J. Jensen et al., *Danish Coins from the 11th Century in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals* [*Tusindtallets Danske Mønter fra Den Kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling*] (Copenhagen, 1995), p. 40. Of all Danish mints in the eleventh century, the use of Christian legends occurs most often at the Slagelse Mint, see Jens Christian Moesgaard, 'Møntprægning i Ringsted og Slagelse i 1000-tallet', Årbog *for Historisk Samfund for Sorø Amt*, 87 (2000): 40–49, at 44. For a general discussion of ecclesiastical coinage in eleventh-century Denmark, see Gert Posselt, 'Nogle danske mønter med gejstelige fremstillinger før ca. 1150', *Hikuin*, 11 *Festschrift to Brita Malmer* (1985): 207–14.

The remarkable features of the Slagelse coin help to pose a number of questions about the relationship between religion and money in the High Middle Ages, between Christian belief and practice and the evolution and development of monetary regimes and systems. That the two should not be held apart as separate spheres is one principal contention of this discussion and this volume. The church and money, however they are defined, were intimately interconnected in this period, connections which are complex, sometimes contradictory, and pervasive throughout the evidence which survives from their contemporary society.

The Slagelse coin reifies the connections and the questions: a Gospel citation, engraved on a coin die in a mint belonging to a king, who in the 1020s ruled a people still in a formative phase of Christianisation. That the coin exists is demonstrable. Why it should have been struck is much more difficult to establish. The numismatic biblical message may be explicable in the context of Cnut's reign, a period in which the political and religious climates were undergoing serious change.[3] The coin may be seen as part of an attempt to articulate Christian underpinnings for lordship. What the Gospel citation means in a mostly illiterate society is difficult to gauge; that the symbolism of the legend was as important as the text would seem reasonable, but serves to indicate how many more questions are prompted than can be definitively or even suggestively answered.

As such, the Slagelse coin stands as an intriguing and tantalizing introduction to the relationship between money and the church in this period. The coin itself is passive, but its very production implies a nexus of conceptual frameworks revolving around the mechanics of minting and Christian thought. The relationships which are largely implicit in the case of the Slagelse coin become possible to explicate in the century or so which followed: and these relationships, in their various articulations, in their various media and with their interweaving of different sources form the subject of the contributions which follow.

The volume as a whole addresses two of the larger subjects of the Middle Ages: the church and money. In so doing, its first purpose is to raise wide-ranging questions, as well as, and in the context of, smaller ones; as with the Slagelse coin, the microcosm is illustrative of the macrocosm, and reflective in many cases of the evidence available. Counter-posing the intimate to the common experience, and the individual to the general, emerges as a guiding methodology throughout the contributions. Second, the volume takes ideas and perspectives which focus on the two subjects and discusses them with reference to a diverse body of evidence: from theological texts to chronicles and charters, from account rolls to saints' lives, from the physical fabric of ecclesiastical buildings to the coins

[3] See T. Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 2009).

which circulated within society and were dropped or deposited within its built environment. The subject in its constituent sections is not new: neither money, nor the church, nor the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, are subjects or a period that have been understudied. However, the contributions all suggest that 'money' and the 'church' in this period are related to each other in different, challenging and insightful ways. The theme of the volume has been designedly chosen to seek both fault-lines and bridges between the cultural and intellectual frameworks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, generated to a great extent by church reform and what is generally known as the rise of a money-economy and the commercial revolution, its use, and perception within the secular world.[4]

Providing any sort of definition of the church in any period of its existence is a complex task. In all periods of Christian history all Christian communities engage, to one extent or another, with a series of relationships: between themselves and their communities, between communities sharing the same devotional ends and the particular circumstances of how that devotion is expressed, and between local and time-bound experience and the universal and cosmic claims of Christianity.

The foundational narratives of the early church, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, especially those attributed to St Paul, speak to these relationships and tensions, and subsequent Christian thinking incorporates many traditions of ecclesiological reflection. One of the many legacies of Augustine of Hippo, the most influential of the Latin authorities of the early church to the church of the High Middle Ages, was the question not merely of predestination, but to which city an individual belonged: the city of God or the city of Man. The answer, for Augustine, was eschatological: only at the final judgement is the identity revealed.[5] How individual Christians interacted with the world, and

[4] The classic study of church reform in the period remains, amongst a vast and growing literature, G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, R. F. Bennett (trans.) (Toronto, 1991), originally published as *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Stuttgart, 1936). Amongst recent literature see *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c. 1100,* Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (eds) (Cambridge, 2008) and *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100–c. 1500*, Miri Rubin and W. Simons (eds) (Cambridge, 2009). On the economic side, R. S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971), remains significant, as does the still magisterial account by P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988); for more recent discussion see R. H. Britnell, *The Commercialistion of English Society 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 2009).

[5] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, Bernard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, (ed.), Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 47–8 (Turnhout, 1955); *The City of God*, W. Babcock (trans.) (New York, 2012). R. A. Markus, *Saeculum*: *History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (Cambridge, 1970) is still wholly pertinent to this question.

how the church, as the collective and as individual institutions, interacted with the world, were questions of central significance throughout the period under scrutiny. The questions are easy to pose, but complex to address. The church was many things: a human institution with divine sanction, the historical link to the incarnate Christ and the Apostolic community, allegorically the bride to Christ's bridegroom, civic, urban, rural, monastic, a building both physically and metaphorically, a collection of institutions and individuals. The philosophical challenges of how to deal with unity and diversity are echoed in the practical diversity of Christianity alongside its claims to universality.

These themes are keenly observable for the period covered by this book, and are the focus for the contributions which follow. It was a period in which the institutions of the church and their purpose were scrutinised and debated across several generations, and in which the expression of Christian doctrine and identity were affected profoundly by developments in theology and canon law. Speculative and pastoral theology both informed and were themselves informed by the institutional changes which shaped the western medieval church from the eleventh century onwards, and had particular effect in the northern regions converted to Christianity only relatively recently. In this way, the theological interest in creation, time, the consequences of sin, and the humanity of Christ played out in the daily life of northern Christendom. It was a period also of church building on a scale sufficient to transform the landscape, from the stave churches of northern Norway to the soaring cathedrals of northern France and England, exhibiting complete re-building as well as layered re-use of the past. These buildings played their ideological role too, in state-formation and in the inter-twined relationship of secular authority to the territorial and temporal authority of churches from the parish to the metropolitan.

To all of these themes the contributors of the volume address themselves: many different faces and aspects of the church in the regions covered are explored, and many different sorts of material are used from which to construct the lives and experiences of the past. In the period and regions encountered – England, Normandy, Angevin France, Denmark, Norway – evidential coverage varies. In all cases, however, the dominance of a clerical voice within the documentary sources, and to some extent also the material sources, is apparent. This affects distinctly the interpretation of the church and the activity of clerical officers, and the role and emphasis to be placed on the activity of laymen, in all parts of society. An ideal image of the church, in its mediatory role between the world and the world to come, as the body of Christ, as the Gregorian model of a church for the world but unaffected by secular politics, behaviour and other threats to its purity, remained, for the most part, an ideal. Indeed, given that the high medieval period operated with an ecclesiology so heavy on eschatology, the ideal church was predicated on remaining as such. That said, the ideal was preached and expounded in the midst of social and political realities, from acts of grand and sweeping policy, to the quotidian and individual. An episode in the *Lais Le Fresne* by Marie de France, which dates from the end of the period of this book, the 1180s or so, and written in the vernacular Old French, illustrates the way in which the ideal could be gently mocked, testament to the strength of the social message churchmen and monastic chroniclers put forward, and a powerful reminder of the all too often silent laity.

The story concerns twin sisters, Le Fresne (Ash) and La Codre (Hazel). Separated by their mother ashamed of having given birth to twins having previously denounced another woman's twin-bearing as the product of adultery, Le Fresne is brought up at a nunnery. Unaware of her identity or status, she grows up and attracts a young man, for whom she leaves the monastic house and with whom she goes to live. Despite loving Le Fresne the young man becomes betrothed to and marries La Codre: the identity of the two women is revealed when Le Fresne leaves her richest possession, the cloth in which she was wrapped as a baby, as a gift for the husband to be. The cloth is identified by the women's mother, and all ends well, with Le Fresne married to the man she loves.[6] The episode in question concerns Le Fresne's attendance in the nunnery and her young man's craft and guile in gaining unimpeachable access to the community. Le Fresne's beauty was remarkable:

> When she reached the age when Nature forms beauty, there was no fairer, no more courtly girl in Brittany, for she was noble, cultivated, both in appearance and in speech. No one who had seen her would have failed to love and admire her greatly.

Having engineered, successfully, one visit, the protagonist pondered his next move:

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[6] The resolution to the *Lais* also provides commentary on developing positions on marriage during the twelfth century. Having married Gurun to Le Fresne's sister La Codre on the previous evening, at a point where their relationship as twin sisters was not known, and Gurun's evident affection for Le Fresne had been over-ruled by La Codre's apparent higher social standing, the archbishop of Dol, in response to the discovery of Le Fresne as the equal of La Codre, 'recommended that things be left as they were that night; the next day he would unjoin those he had married. Thus they agreed and the following day the two were separated. Gurun then married his beloved and her father gave her to him as a mark of affection': Marie de France, *The Lais of Marie de France*, G. Burgess and K. Busby (trans), 2nd edition (London, 1999), p. 67. On medieval marriage see Christopher Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1989), Neil Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches 1100–1300* (Cambridge, 1997), *Medieval Families, Perspectives on Marriage, Household and Children*, Carol Neel (ed.) (Toronto, 2004), and David D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford, 2008).

> He was distraught and did not know what to do, for if he were to return too often the abbess would notice and he would never see the girl again. He thought of a solution: he would increase the wealth of the abbey and give a great deal of his land, thereby enriching it for all time, for he wanted to have a lord's rights to a dwelling-place and residence. In order to join their community he gave them a generous portion of his wealth, but his motive was other than remission for his sins. He went there often to talk to the girl, and begged her and promised her so much that she granted what he sought.[7]

The story of *Le Fresne* provides an alternative interpretative framework for pious donation, and the interaction of church, lay society and money, here in the form of landed wealth. While it is true that this framework is one of literary construction and for entertainment, it serves as a reminder that other frameworks are no less constructed. The episode in question also highlights another question, which lies at the heart of the investigations in this volume: how the people of the high medieval period experienced the church.

Individual experience of church was, naturally enough, bound up with life-cycle, from cradle to grave, from this world to that which is to come. It is the duality of temporal location on the one hand, and the anticipation of eternity on the other, that makes the experience challenging to interpret and express. The notion of the church was grounded on the contingency of creation upon its creator, and the time-bound qualities of existence: what had a beginning will have an end. This applied to individuals as to communities and to the very world itself. This journey was made in hope, a hope sharpened in a society in which the effects of original sin create an inherent imperfection, dependent on divine grace, fuelled by a strong sense of eschatological presence; judgment was real but postponed until the fulfilment of time. In the duality of experience of responsibilities of life in a Christian community both temporal and spiritual, money has a significant role to play, as sign and signifier, and as agent, of those experiences. Money and the church are intimately connected in this period: the chapters in this volume attempt to show how widely and deeply this connection can be made. What

[7] Marie de France, *The Lais of Marie de France*, Burgess and Busby (trans), p. 64. *Les lais de Marie de France*, (ed.) J. Rychner (Paris: Éditions Champion, 1966): 'Quant ele vint en tel eé / Que Nature furme beuté, / En Bretaine ne fu si bele / Ne tant curteise dameisele; / Franche esteit e de bone escole, / E en semblant e en parole. / Nuls ne la vit que ne l'amast / E merveille ne la preisast'. ll. 231–42, p. 51. 'Esguarez est, ne seit coment, / Kar si il reperiout sovent, / L'abeesse s'aparcevreit; / Jamés des oilz ne la vereit. / D'une chose se purpensa: / L'abeïe crestre vodra; / De sa tere tant i dura / Dunt a tuz jurs l'amendera, / Kar il i voelt aveir retur / E le repaire e le sejur. / Pur aveir lur fraternité, / La ad grantment del soen doné, / Mes il i ad autre acheisun / Que de receivre le pardun! / Soventefeiz i repeira; / A la dameisele parla: / Tant li pria, tant li premist, / Qu'ele otria ceo ke il quist'. ll. 257–74, p. 52.

money was within the period is equally complex, and revealing of the society in which it was produced and whose anxieties and hopes it served.

The classic definition of money stresses its function as a means of exchange, a standard of value and a means to store wealth. Money, it can be argued at a general level, is any object that is generally accepted in payments by sellers of goods and services or by purchasers.[8] The general acceptability of different kinds of money is established when a large proportion of the community accept its existence in particular forms. Part of the universal quality of money derives from this interactivity between supplier and demander: more than the intrinsic value it is the notion of general acceptability which forms money as social convention, and as of universal value.[9] Money facilitates exchange, and does so better than other systems, for example barter, described memorably by W. S. Jevon as a bilateral activity dependent on 'a double coincidence (of wants) that will rarely happen'.[10] With rapid monetisation of value, virtually everything can be expressed in terms of a common denomination: money. Only money, in terms of its pure concept, has attained this final stage; it is nothing, as Georg Simmel puts it, 'but the pure form of exchangeability'.[11]

All of these functions can be found within the period in question: money was used within daily transactions and increasingly as the period went on, in the development of units of value in complex but interchangeable systems and in the deposit of coins to store wealth, for example in hoards, within and without buildings, secular and ecclesiastical. A progressive expansion of monetary affairs occurred with varied underlying reasons for the growth of the monetary economy. Year by year the changes were often imperceptible, but in 200 years their cumulative effect was great.[12] It is important to note that in this process of monetisation, money was certainly not confined to coin: sophisticated monetary

8 Fadhel Kaboub, 'Money', in *Encyclopedia of World Trade from Ancient Times to the Present*, vol. 3 of 4, Cynthia Clark Northrup (ed.) (New York, 2005), p. 670.

9 The nature of what becomes designated as money in a given society is culturally constrained, as much as conventions to decide standards of time. The importance lies in the fact that something is chosen as money, not the particularity of choice. Within world history money takes on a wide variety of forms, from the huge stone money from the island of Yap in Oceania, to shells, iron and bronze in other Asian societies, and within Europe at various times tea, pepper, hides, corn, livestock, butter, silver, gold and coins. See, James Tobin, 'Money', in *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Money and Finance* (London, 1992), pp. 770–78).

10 W. S. Jevon, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (London, 1875), p. 3.

11 Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (London and New York, 1978), p. 130.

12 Michael Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe 820–1396* (London, 1979), p. 18.

systems could exist without coin.[13] However, coinage retains a pre-eminent hold on the high medieval, as well as the modern conception, of money.

Contemporary writers, which, for the majority of this period, means those from a clerical background, make reference to coin so frequently as for it to be a fundamental aspect of their world-view. The coin becomes a way in which to describe money and economic transaction, but, equally powerfully, becomes a metaphor for spiritual health. Money, and in particular coin, has a capacity in these authors to define and transcend conceptual boundaries. What was money becomes a question with multiple dimensions, kaleidoscopic in its scope. The complexity of this ubiquity is illustrated in the overlapping nature of the source material. Where charters, for example, will, on the whole, discuss money and coin in flat economic terms, other literature, from letters and chronicles to theological treatises and sermons, explores moral issues with reference to money by analogy, by metaphor and by description. The boundaries between these source genres are permeable when it comes to the use of money; money already by the eleventh century is a concept used and explored by churchmen *in re* and *in mens*, in reality and in mentality.

Experience of money, like that of the church, was both individual and communal. What the chapters in this volume address are aspects of those experiences. The authors represent different disciplinary backgrounds, from numismatic and economic history, to theological, historical and literary studies, and from archaeology (with inspiration from anthropological approaches), to art and architectural history. The perspectives of each practitioner, and the interplay between the sources examined and analysed, provide a multi-faceted approach to the question of how money was used, exploited and experienced within the

[13] This issue has been the subject of intense debate for Norway, especially between Svein H. Gullbekk and Kåre Lunden. See Gullbekk, 'Medieval Law and Money in Norway', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 158 (1998): 173–84; Lunden, 'Money economy in medieval Norway', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 24 (1999): 245–65; Gullbekk, *Pengevesenets fremvekst og fall i Norge i middelalderen* (Oslo, 2003), with a revised edition with English summary published by Museum Tusculanum Press in 2009; also his 'Natural or money economy in medieval Norway', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 30 (2005): 3–19, and 'Lite eller mye mynt i Norge i middelalderen?', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 84 (2005): 551–72; Lunden, 'Mynt, andre pengar og politisk-økonomisk system i mellomalderen', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 86 (2007): 7–34; Gullbekk, 'Myntenes omløpshastighet i norsk middelalder', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 90 (2011): 511–29. Two standard studies of the issue are A. Steinnes, 'Mål, vekt og verderekning i Noreg i millomalderen og ei tid etter', in Sven Aakjær (ed.), *Mål og Vekt* (Oslo-Stockholm-København, 1936) and Lunden, *Korn og kaup. Studiar over prisar og jordbruk på Vestlandet i mellomalderen* (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø, 1978). Wider discussion on the phenomenon can be found with reference to Iceland in particular, see Gullbekk, 'Money and its Use in the Saga Society: Silver, Coins and Commodity Money', in *Viking Settlements and Viking Society*, Svavar Sigmundsson (ed.), (Reykjavik, 2011), pp. 176–88.

period. The breadth of interpretative arcs allows evidence not often juxtaposed to be so presented: the stave-church coin finds against sermonising metaphors of monk and coin, or the market data from post-conquest England with the money-making activities of the Danish church. In a period where evidence is sometimes limited, or particular rather than general, a collaborative approach serves to stimulate, inform, open and question the investigative paradigms adopted. The complexity of responses to how people used money in the High Middle Ages, the coupling and overlaying, for example, of the pragmatic with the altruistic, the needful and the desirous, the practical and the conceptual, requires concomitant complexity from modern interpretation.

To provide sufficient comparative focus the chapters concentrate on northern Europe, from the northern Holy Roman Empire, Denmark and Norway, to England and Normandy, and within the period bounded flexibly by 1000 and 1200. These parameters allow comparison between regions of shared and dissimilar culture, between established regnal units and those emerging, between regions recently conquered and converted, and between regions of differing documentary traditions, fewer in eleventh- and twelfth-century Scandinavia compared with the richer, principally monastic sources, from further south and west, and differing material remains, such as the coin finds in Scandinavian churches not replicated commonly in northern France or England. The chapters explore continuities and change, and the often intertwined nature of both when applied to particular phenomena. The longevity of the image of the coin for monastic life with its roots within the early texts of monastic history can be held against the considerable extent to which the image was deepened and elaborated within the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Numismatic evidence is used in various contributions to investigate market velocity in England, as a measure of Danish kingdom-formation and to pose questions of the nature of church reform in Norway, and of the realities of funding church-building programmes in England and Scandinavia.

The volume is divided into three sections, the first devoted to attitudes towards money within the church, with survey chapters by Naismith and Gasper, exploring these in contexts both secular and monastic, across the greater part of the period in question, with a focus on England and northern France. When, how and why attitudes towards money changed form the basis of these chapters, against the context of church reform in its different manifestations. Detailed studies of the image of the monk as coin by Dinkova-Bruun, and of the writings of Alan of Lille by Langholm, complement and extend the scope of the investigations, showing the variety of responses to money, as concept and as means by which to explore notions of truth, justice and moral goodness.

The second section offers four chapters on the more practical use of money by churches and churchmen. Vroom offers commentary on the mechanisms by which cathedral-building was organised and managed across a broad spectrum of examples. Bolton gives a critical assessment of the English post-conquest church, and the access of its leaders and officers to money in coin. That the period of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries comprised one of the largest building programmes within western history, using huge resource, provides a focal point to the arguments raised. A case-study by Poulsen brings to the fore the different circumstances, in terms of evidence, chronology and institutional experience, of the Danish church, equally involved in property rights, markets and minting concessions, but making an insightful and instructive comparison with the English situation. The nature of monetary exchange and of the post-conquest English economy is taken up in the final chapter of the section by Mayhew and Mayhew. The church here, as in Denmark, is revealed as an agent both passive and active in the processes of monetisation.

A third and final section reflects on the making and the deposit of coins. Steinbach with respect to monastic minting under the Ottonian and Salian imperial houses and Moesgaard with respect to ducal Normandy discuss the challenges in assigning coins to particular places of production, and both, in the course of so doing, open out the question to a consideration of how religious houses expressed their identity and how they interacted with their place within the built environment, and of the mingling of power and politics. The importance of coin deposit within medieval churches is addressed in the final two chapters, by Travaini and Gullbekk. Deposit with or, as is more often the case, without corroborating documentary evidence, involves appreciation of, and acts as a window onto, the ritual practice of countless individuals throughout the period. Both chapters take up the evidential challenges posed by source material which is not only plentiful (and found in some surprising venues, including a cow buried with a coin within the nave of a church, as well as in areas of the church where coin deposit might be expected), but also tactile, and, as a result, beguiling in its proximity to individuals of the past. This is particularly the case in Gullbekk's material, the coins dropped between floorboards in Norwegian stave churches, but set in and related to the wider changes within Norwegian ecclesiastical and secular history. In this way the Norwegian experience may be compared fruitfully with the situation in Denmark discussed by Poulsen. The management and manipulation of money by church authorities, especially episcopal, which is revealed, is given additional and tantalising form in the extraordinary stave-church coin finds.

The period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed, in the regions under scrutiny, profound change and significance in terms of social bonds and dynamics, military organisation, political life, the church, intellectual matters and economic life, in towns and in the countryside. That these aspects are too often considered within separate historiographical arenas, and rarely used fully to inform each other, is a state of affairs this book seeks to begin to counteract. To examine money and the church in this period is to gain insight into the interconnections between different areas of society at a period of substantial change. Reconstructing and tracing the practical uses of money allows the underpinnings of intellectual exchange, or ecclesiastical politics, to be shown. How building and trade was paid for reveals much about money on the one hand, and about the mechanisms by which society ran on the other. This is not to suggest a materialist over idealist interpretation of the past, or to claim priority for one mode of interpretation. It is merely to recognise that financial transaction of whatever sort (monetary or otherwise) reveals the workings of human society in ways that allow connections to be made between ideologies, institutions and personnel. Money is not constituted of merely coins, as static entities. Money is for transaction; by its nature it is communitarian and interconnected.

The extent to which the church changed its thinking under the influence of an increasingly monetised economy, or how its thinking affected the way in which monetisation was understood and debated, is fertile ground for inquiry. The proper use of money was clearly an on-going concern to various clergy within this period, from parish priests to scholastic thinkers. The relationship of doctrinal change and social behaviour is another problematic question, but there are sources and subjects which can be used to suggest the mutual influence of one on the other. While the ramifications of a full-blown doctrine of purgatory would not be realised fully until the thirteenth century, the economy of the afterlife, built on a concern about the consequence of sin certainly prominent in the period in question, serves to link temporal and spiritual practice, and theory.[14] Money and the church are subjects more than inter-twined, for to study one is to encounter the other, as metaphor, as physical entity, as practical mode and communication of exchange – temporal or spiritual, as the generator of institutions, and as agent with the capacity to bind individuals into communities, and, at the same time, to empower individual experience.

[14] J. Le Goff, *La naissance du purgatoire* (Paris, 1981), translated into English as, *The Birth of Purgatory*, A. Goldhammer (trans.) (Chicago, 1986). See more recently, G. Dameron, 'Purgatory and Modernity', in *Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divide: Medieval Themes in the World of the Reformation*, James Muldoon and Paul Monod (eds) (Farnham, 2013), pp. 87–106.

Plate 1 Coin issued from the Danish Slagelse mint, 1020s. Photo courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.