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HENRIK KLACKENBERG

COINS IN CHURCHES –  
25 YEARS AFTER *MONETA NOSTRA*

First of all, I am grateful for the invitation to present my work at a conference dedicated to the subject which was the focus of my PhD thesis in Medieval Archaeology at the University of Lund in 1992.<sup>1</sup> I am of course pleased that my 25-year old investigation is still considered interesting for those investigating coin finds from church floors and how such materials can be used in the analyses of coin use, liturgy and monetisation. I am especially honoured by another invitation to Switzerland; at the invitation of Benedict Zäch I was here already in 1993 and lectured on this topic. That paper<sup>2</sup> was later published in German in *Études de numismatique et d'histoire monétaire, volume 1*, edited by Olivier F. Dubuis and Suzanne Frey-Kupper in 1995. To my knowledge, until now this has been the only European conference and publication on this subject.

Other duties have unfortunately prevented me from developing my own numismatic research. It would have been exciting to present further results today, but I am encouraged to see others pursuing this field of research, as is clearly demonstrated through this conference. Today's paper is not intended to present all individual aspects of *Moneta nostra*, but is rather to give a summary followed by an evaluation of the progress of Nordic research in this field since 1992, and finally, I will offer some reflections on how to take research further.

But first, back to 1992: What did *Moneta nostra* contain, what was new in terms of research questions, theoretical frameworks, source materials, methods and not least results?

*Questions and theoretical contexts*

The overall question in my thesis concerned the monetisation of medieval Sweden, i.e. when, where and how the use of coins was introduced into the peasant economy. The reason for the focus on rural agrarian economy was that the majority of the medieval population lived off the produce of the land. In such an economy it is not until coins are in general use by peasants that one can refer to a monetised economy. In this case monetisation refers to when a state controlled currency of minted metal is beginning to circulate in the economy. The aim was

<sup>1</sup> KLACKENBERG 1992.

<sup>2</sup> H. KLACKENBERG, Fundmünzen aus Kirchengrabungen in Schweden. Voraussetzungen, quellenkritische Überlegungen und Ergebnisse, in: O. F. DUBUIS – S. FREY-KUPPER (eds.), Trouvailles monétaires d'églises. Actes du premier colloque international du Groupe Suisse pour l'étude des trouvailles monétaires (Lucerne, 19 novembre 1993). *Études de numismatique et d'histoire monétaire 1* (Lausanne 1995), pp. 27–40.

to chart such a development in time and space as well as to discuss its incentives. One initial important theoretical aspect was to – in the spirit of Jacques Le Goff – establish that the medieval attitude towards money differed from our modern market-economy one.<sup>3</sup> The ideas and concepts of modern economists are simply not applicable when analysing a medieval agrarian economy. On this point I was deeply inspired by the French Annales school, which was in turn inspired by the economic historian Karl Polanyi and his followers within the discipline of economic anthropology, who formulated alternative concepts for analysing pre-industrial economies.<sup>4</sup> The basis of medieval economic thought was fully embedded in the concepts of the Church, thus completely separate from our modern economic concepts based on market-economy principles.

This also reveals a need to reflect over the dualistic concept of *general purpose money* and *special purpose money*. When defining the concept of money in pre-industrial economies coinage and currency would be completely separated from or only have a slight association to market principles. Polanyi and his followers made the distinction between *general purpose money* and *special purpose money* to be able to describe the role of money in such economies. Modern money, on the other hand, represents *general purpose money*, which can simultaneously function as means of payment, measures and preservers of value. Medieval currency with limited association to markets would only pertain some or part of these roles and are therefore defined as *special purpose money*. Different currencies and denominations were used for different economic purposes, such as petty coins became a preferred choice for church offerings. In early economies, not dominated by market principles, neither unified coinages, nor universally accepted measures and units of weight or monetary standards were in place.

#### *Sources and methods*

The source material used in this investigation was the very same as the one forming the focus of this conference: coin finds from church floors, i.e. that which in numismatic literature is referred to as church finds. *Moneta nostra* was based on a large scale inventory of coin finds from church floor from the whole of medieval Sweden, i.e. including Finland but excluding the provinces in the south and west, which at the time were Danish or Norwegian. Coins have been retrieved from church floors and registered by antiquarians since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, although the bulk of the material comes from post-Second World War renovations of churches. Some, but far from all, such finds are well documented through archaeological investigations. The study was focused on rural churches as the coin use of peasants formed the core of the investigation and included coin finds from close

<sup>3</sup> J. LE GOFF, *La bourse ou la vie: économie et religion au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1986). For an up to date presentation of his view on medieval economy, see J. LE GOFF, *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent* (Paris 2010).

<sup>4</sup> K. POLANYI, *The livelihood of man* (New York – San Francisco – London 1977). For an up to date presentation of Karl Polanyi and his legacy in economic anthropology, see B. ISAAC, Karl Polanyi, in: J. CARRIER (ed.), *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology* (Cheltenham – Northampton 2012, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), pp. 14–25.

to 200 rural churches spread over the vast area forming the medieval kingdom of Sweden. 24,500 coins had been collected from these church floors before 1990, which was the last year of the inventory. 7,650 of these coins were minted in the Middle Ages, i.e. between *ca* 1150 and 1520, and formed the empirical base for the investigation. To corroborate the result of this analysis, a comparison with other find categories, among them hoards and church finds from towns and abbeys, were brought into the discussion.

One of the fundamental questions was why so many coins were regularly found in rural church floors. In order to provide an answer mapping of the spatial distribution of coin finds in churches was conducted. The pattern that emerged, through an analysis of the archaeological documentation, was that the medieval coin finds were concentrated to the chancel and in the eastern part of the nave, by high and side altars, as well as in front of the chancel arch, and by the entrances.

These observations, combined with liturgical historical records describing the importance of offerings in the medieval church, led to the conclusion that the coins should primarily be seen as offertory wastage. The purpose was to make offerings at the altar, or in offering trunks by depictions of saints, but, involuntarily, some coins ended up in the church floors. It may seem odd that so many coins were lost without being retrieved, however it is worth bearing in mind that these assemblages grew over periods several hundred years long. In such a context it is enough if one person in the congregation loses one coin per year for a collection of several hundred coins to develop. The few cases where comparisons between church records of incomes from offerings and the number of coins found are possible, it becomes clear that the coin finds do not even constitute one percent of all coins handled in medieval churches.

#### *The results of the investigation*

An analysis of the composition of the coin finds from the *ca* 200 churches spread across the kingdom, formed an excellent basis for tracing when and where coins were first introduced into the agrarian economy. This statement is based on a conviction that the peasants' use of coins in churches reflected the fact that they had access to coins that were also used in other contexts. At least in the Nordic countries rural church finds provide knowledge regarding the coin use of peasants in ways which would be impossible to retrieve through written sources.

The coins in medieval church floors provide evidence for an ongoing monetisation process. In brief the composite picture that grew out of this vast empirical material can be sketched as follows: Coins were introduced in the central parts of the kingdom as early as the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, although it was not until the late 13<sup>th</sup> century that the development gained momentum, which is indicated by both an increase in the number of sites where coins are found and a radical increase in the number of coin finds. By 1300 the use of coins had spread even to more peripheral parts of the realm, although the most remote areas of the north and east were not included until the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The monetisation was so widespread that it can be said that coins were in general use amongst peasants in the kingdom. This is

corroborated both by church finds and the few extant written sources. Although coins were in circulation, and were used for certain transactions, trading and payment in kind were still the most prominent forms of economic transactions in rural economies. Hence it is possible to refer to a monetisation process, but hardly to a coin-based economy.

When the domestic minting started in the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Kingdom of Sweden had a federative structure. This is mirrored in the minting, which started without coordination almost simultaneously in several places. As a result, the country had three different monetary regions between *ca* 1150 and 1300. The coins differed in weight and value in different areas. It was not until *ca* 1300 that a unified coinage was introduced for the entire country. The developments of the various monetary regions are visible in the composition of the church finds. As a consequence, it was possible to distinguish not only chronological differences in the monetisation process but also patterns with which the coins circulated. One example is the dominance of coins from Gotland in eastern Sweden, on Åland islands and in southern Finland. Another result corroborated the importance of Norwegian coins in the western border provinces during the same period. Contacts with the Danish towns of Skåne (Scania) during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were visible in the church finds from the southern border areas of the realm. In the church finds from southern Finland coins from Reval (Tallinn) and other Baltic towns indicated similar contacts across the Bay of Finland. In sum, the church finds provide important insight into the administration of monetary regions in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Sweden.

*Moneta nostra* ends with a discussion of the incentives for the medieval monetisation. Based on Georges Duby's and Peter Spufford's descriptions<sup>5</sup> of the European economy during the «long 13<sup>th</sup> century» (*ca* 1160–1330) a hypothesis was formulated for the development in Sweden, which ties in well with developments in Europe. According to this hypothesis, it was royal and large landowner demands for, and ability to acquire income in, cash that was the primary incentive for monetisation. Coins were a superior medium for transmitting value. For landowners and aristocracy this new form of value transmission – or expressed differently: exploitation – presented a completely new way of using and transforming their income, more efficient than the old system based on incomes in form of labour and agricultural produce. The requirement for monetary income could not be realised without contacts with long-distance trade, which demanded Swedish produce. This contact with foreign traders, in most cases German, provided the silver necessary for domestic minting. Such requirements could not be realised without an urbanising process and royal power having reached an organisational level that could uphold the regal rights of a monetary monopoly, custom and excise as well as fines, with violence. In other words, this is a hypothesis emphasising the fiscal incentives for monetisation rather than the commercial ones.

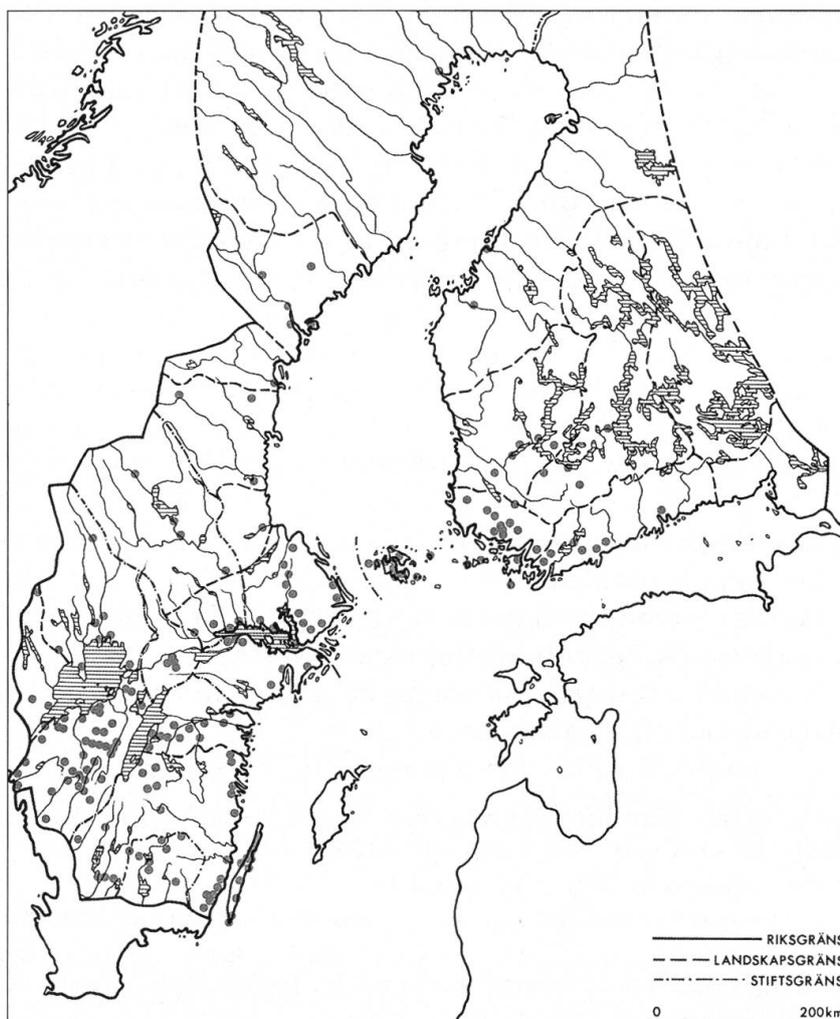
<sup>5</sup> G. DUBY, *Guerriers et paysans, VII<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: premier essor de l'économie européenne* (Paris 1973); P. SPUFFORD, *Money and its use in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1988).

*Nordic research regarding church finds and monetisation in the last 25 years*

Two new topics were central to *Moneta nostra*: the church finds as source material and questions dealing with monetisation. Not entirely new of course, since it was long known that coins are regularly found in church floors, although previously this material had not been used to such a large extent and above all, not for questions of this type.

Let us examine how this research has developed in the last 25 years. I will limit this review to what has been published in the Nordic countries, mostly in the local languages, which possibly increases the interest for such a review in English.

With regards to the church find research in **Sweden** (*Fig. 1*) it is obvious that after *Moneta nostra* no updated major investigation of the coin finds in church has appeared, although special studies have appeared for a number of individual



*Fig. 1* Church finds in medieval rural Sweden: 198 churches, 24,500 coins, 7,650 medieval rural (KLACKENBERG 1992).

churches and regional discussions<sup>6</sup> together with a large number of numismatic undergraduate essays from the University of Stockholm. These essays are based on the church find catalogue published in *Moneta nostra*, and aim to establish the areas of circulation for various medieval coin types, made available open access through the web based periodical *Myntstudier*, published by Numismatiska forskningsgruppen (*The Numismatic Research Group*). Using this catalogue, editor Kenneth Jonsson has published a summary of medieval coin finds in rural churches, where he provides a critical discussion of how church finds have been used as sources, both in archaeological and historical contexts.<sup>7</sup> Jonsson has also published a discussion of the dating of medieval chapels on the island Öland in the Baltic Sea.<sup>8</sup> The coin finds there show that the chapels should be considered significantly younger than art historical research has previously suggested.

Under the auspice of the *Religion and Money*-project a series of in-depth studies of coin finds in individual churches have been published or are in press:<sup>9</sup> Eeva Jonsson has given a presentation of the coin finds from the excavation of Jomala church on Åland. Christoph Kilger has produced an extensive discussion of the rich coin finds in Bunge church on Gotland, 12<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nanouschka Myrberg Burström examines the coin finds in the churches Gränna and Arby in Småland, and my own contribution focus on the finds in the round church in Klåstad in Östergötland. In sum, these contributions contain discussions of a broad range of questions related to coin finds in Swedish churches, many questions that have universal significance for coin finds in churches also in other regions.

New material appears now and then, around a dozen new church finds have been discovered during this period, and have been continuously published as short articles in SNT (*Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*) and subsequently more extensively in NNÅ (*Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*). In the latter, the finds from all the Nordic countries are published, although subject to certain delays. NNUM (*Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*) fills the role of SNT for the entire Nordic area with its speedier and less extensive coverage of current finds.

During this 25-year period after *Moneta nostra* monetisation as a concept has become a part of the academic discourse and now forms part of doctoral theses and text books covering the medieval period. Among the theses where monetisation has played a particularly big role in the treatment of coin finds I would like to mention Peter Carelli's research on medieval Lund, where an unusually large archaeological coin material exists.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> E.g. H. KLACKENBERG, Penningar i Rytterne: mynt och monetarisering i medeltidens Västmanland, in: O. FERM – A. PAULSSON – K. STRÖM (eds.), *Nya anteckningar om Rytterns socken* (Västerås 2002), pp. 185–193.

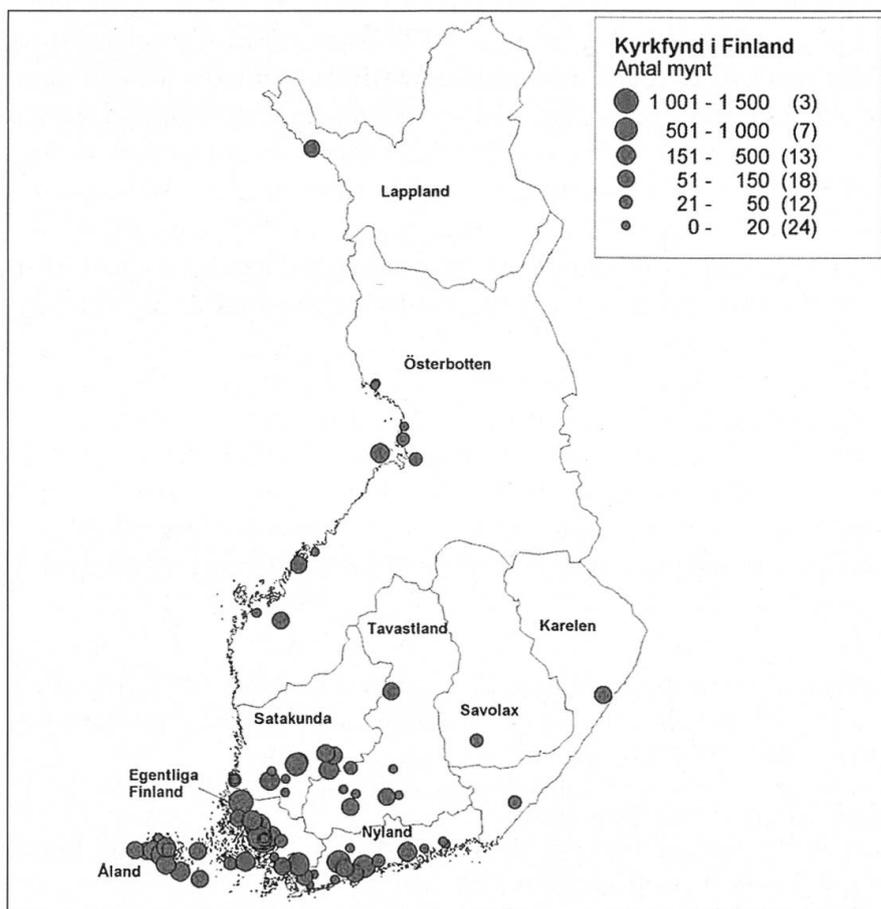
<sup>7</sup> K. JONSSON, Myntfynden i landsortskyrkor i det medeltida Sverige, *Myntstudier* 1, 2011, pp. 1–16.

<sup>8</sup> K. JONSSON, Myntfynden från de öländska kapellen. Myntcirkulationen på Öland under medeltiden, in: R. BOSTRÖM, *Ölands medeltida kapell. Sveriges Kyrkor 233* (Stockholm 2011), pp. 97–105.

<sup>9</sup> GULLBEKK *et al.*, forthcoming.

<sup>10</sup> P. CARELLI, *En kapitalistisk anda. Kulturella förändringar i 1100-talets Danmark* (Lund 2001).

In **Finland**, an important contribution is without a doubt Frida Ehrnsten's excellent summary of all Finnish church finds, published in *NNÅ* 2014.<sup>11</sup> Apart from a few finds added since 1992, the author has chosen to include and treat all coins regardless of time period in her analysis. Today the material consists of 77 church finds totalling 13,646 coins which have been grouped into eight time periods, from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to our time (*Fig. 2*). The author elaborates on the subject by including the extensive post-Reformation material which demands its own discussion, in which she emphasises that apart from offertory wastage during the church collection there were also unofficial coin offerings in church. This would explain the large numbers of coins from times of strife during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in Finnish churches. In the recently published doctoral thesis Ehrnsten makes a larger study of the use of coins and monetisation in medieval Finland. Again, the church finds are one of the important source categories.<sup>12</sup>



*Fig. 2* Church finds in Finland: 77 churches, 13,646 coins, 1,747 medieval (EHRNSTEN 2014).

<sup>11</sup> EHRNSTEN 2014, pp. 153–200.

<sup>12</sup> F. EHRNSTEN, *Pengar för gemene man. Det medeltida myntbruket i Finland* (Helsinki 2019).

In 2007 Tukka Talvio published a summary in English of the medieval coins circulated in Finland, where church finds were included as an important source material.<sup>13</sup> Eeva Jonsson has made an in-depth analysis of the coin finds in Jomala church, the oldest Finnish ecclesiastical building discussing the finds in relation to devotional practice and times of crisis.<sup>14</sup>

Already in the 1950s there was a strong interest in church finds in **Denmark**, and the material grew enormously due to the foresight of antiquarian legislation, although the growth tapered off during the 1980s. By 1994 11,400 coins found in church floors had been registered in Denmark, of which more than half were of medieval origin. Keld Grinder-Hansen made good use of this vast material for his doctoral thesis on the money-based economy of Denmark 1241–1340 (*Fig. 3*).<sup>15</sup>

Jörgen Steen Jensen and others published several summaries where they discussed various aspects of this material already during the 1970s and 80s, although during the last decades the focus has shifted to metal detector finds as a new and important source material for investigating medieval monetisation and coin circulation.<sup>16</sup> Keld Grinder-Hansen and Jens Christian Moesgaard have in multiple articles in the last few decades shown how these metal-detector finds may be used to complement and correlate the church finds in the discussion about rural monetisation and coin circulation.<sup>17</sup> This type of analysis is impossible in Sweden where public use of metal detectors is banned, which makes these investigations interesting from a methodological perspective, even outside Denmark.

Already in the 1980s Björn Poulsen investigated the monetisation of Denmark using both written sources and coin finds. Several times in the last few decades he has returned to the issues of monetisation and coin circulation in various publications, *e.g.* in the extensive book *The Danish Resources ca 1000–1550*, published in 2007.<sup>18</sup> In 2010 the same subject matter was addressed by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson who focused on Sjælland (Zealand) between 1020 and 1240 using

<sup>13</sup> T. TALVIO, Coins and coin circulation in medieval Finland, in: S. SUCHODOLSKI – M. A. BOGUCKI (eds.), *Money circulation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and modern times: Time, Range, Intensity* (Warsaw 2007).

<sup>14</sup> E. JONSSON, Skatten i himlen. En grundläggningsskatt från 1200-talet i Jomala kyrka på Åland, *Myntstudier* 1, 2017, pp. 1–8.

<sup>15</sup> GRINDER-HANSEN 1994, pp. 101–133; K. GRINDER-HANSEN, *Kongemaktens krise. Det danske møntvæsen 1241–1340* (Copenhagen 2000).

<sup>16</sup> JENSEN 1977; J. S. JENSEN, Senmiddelalderlige mønters brug-barhed som daterings-underlag ved kirkefund, *Hikuin* 17, 1990, pp. 79–84; J. CHR. MOESGAARD, Single finds as evidence for coin circulation in the Middle Ages – status and perspectives, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 2000–2002, pp. 228–275.

<sup>17</sup> GRINDER-HANSEN 2000 (note 15); J. CHR. MOESGAARD, Bønders møntbrug i middelalderen – Hvad detektorfundne mønter fortæller, *META, medeltidsarkeologisk tidsskrift* 3, 2005, pp. 53–67.

<sup>18</sup> B. POULSEN, *Bondens penge. Studier i sønderjyske regnskaber 1400–1650* (Odense 1990); N. HYBEL – B. POULSEN, *Danish resources ca 1000–1550: Growth and Recession* (Leiden 2007).

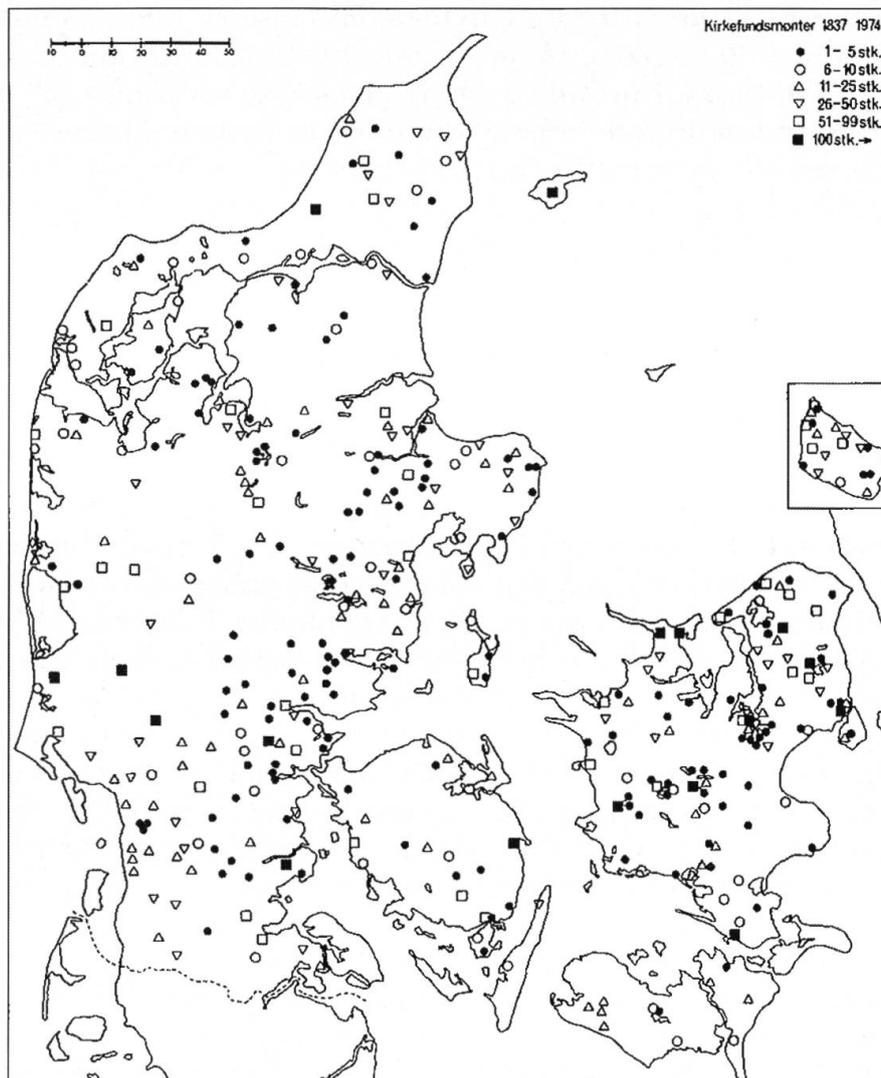


Fig. 3 Church finds in Denmark: > 370 churches, 11,400 coins, > 5,700 medieval (JENSEN 1997; GRINDER-HANSEN 1994).

solitary coin finds as source material.<sup>19</sup> Expressed in simple terms it was during the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century that the monetisation of the Danish economy was triggered, which is *ca* 100 years earlier than in the more northern kingdom of Sweden. As in all Nordic countries there has been a few new church finds in the last decades. As previously mentioned these are published continuously in *NNÅ*, but between 1985 and 2001 also in *Arkeologiske udgravninger i Danmark*. A relevant addition to the Danish church finds came from Hedensted church in Jylland (Jutland), excavated in 2007–2008, and with results published in 2016. The well-documented coin finds have provided Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson with an opportunity for an exciting analysis. In an interesting article she has shown

<sup>19</sup> G. TARNOW INGVARSDON, *Møntbrug. Fra vikingetid til vendertogterne* (Aarhus 2010).

how coins can be used in analyses of architectural history, the furnishings of the church's interior, and the coin use of its congregation.<sup>20</sup> Henriette Rensbro and Jens Christian Moesgaard provide a thorough investigation into the coin finds from Aggersborg church from Jutland where one issue that is discussed at length is related to disturbances of the landscape beneath the church floors during the Middle Ages. Questions and issues relevant for all church excavations and excavators.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, it is obvious that **Norway** provides the best academic environment for the study of church finds and their potential of all the Nordic countries during this period (*Fig. 4*). Also there the interest began in the 1950s, displaying an awareness of church floors containing large quantities of coins, with summaries published by Hans Holst and Kolbjörn Skaare.<sup>22</sup> On one point the Norwegian research stance differs radically from the other Nordic countries, that of how the coins ended up in the church floors. In all other countries the consensus is that medieval coin finds should primarily be interpreted as offertory wastage, i.e. that they were accidentally lost in the church floors. In Norway, however, the alternative theory, that the coins in church floors were deliberate sacrifices, still exists. This is the interpretation displayed in Herleik Baklid's 1993 master thesis about the coin finds from four Norwegian inland churches, and also in his later articles.<sup>23</sup> The theory is also present in Svanhild Sortland's master thesis about the coin finds of Maere church from 2006.<sup>24</sup> This interpretation of the origin of the church finds is however no longer the predominant one as is made clear in recent studies on coin finds in particular Norwegian churches.

In his doctoral thesis from 2003 Svein H. Gullbekk, one of the promoters of this conference, carried out a complete review of all church finds from Norway.<sup>25</sup> This work has been expanded into a catalogue of all Norwegian coin finds from the period *ca* 1050–1319 that contains 128 church finds from the whole country with a total of *ca* 20,000 coins of which 10,286 predate 1319.<sup>26</sup> Although the focus of

<sup>20</sup> G. TARNOW INGVARSDON, Sjælsfrelse eller lommespild – møntfundene fra Hedensted kirke, in: M. ANDERSEN – H. MIKKELSEN (eds.), Hedensted Kirke. Undersøgelser og restaureringer (Copenhagen 2016), pp. 79–97.

<sup>21</sup> H. RENSBRO – J. CHR. MOESGAARD, The Archaeological Landscape under Church Floors. Coins and layers – a case study of Aggersborg Church, in: GULLBEKK *et al.*, forthcoming.

<sup>22</sup> H. HOLST, Numismatiske kirkefund i Norge, mønter fra 12. århundre til nyere tid, funnet i norske kirker og kirketufter, Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 1953, pp. 1–31; K. SKAARE, Om myntfunn i kirker, in: A. BERG *et al.*, Kirkearkeologi og kirkekunst, tilegnet Håkon og Sigrid Undset (Øvre Ervik 1993), pp. 81–92.

<sup>23</sup> H. BAKLID, «nær folkje kaller på Gud». Myntfunn under kirkegolv i socialhistorisk perspektiv, master thesis in history, University of Oslo (Oslo 1993).

<sup>24</sup> S. SORTLAND, Myntene fra Mære kirke. Analyse av dokumentasjonsmaterialet fra utgravingene i 1966–1967 i et forskningshistorisk perspektiv, master thesis in archaeology (Trondheim 2006).

<sup>25</sup> S. H. GULLBEKK, Pengevesenets fremvekst og fall i Norge i middelalderen (Copenhagen 2009).

<sup>26</sup> GULLBEKK – SÆTTEM 2019.

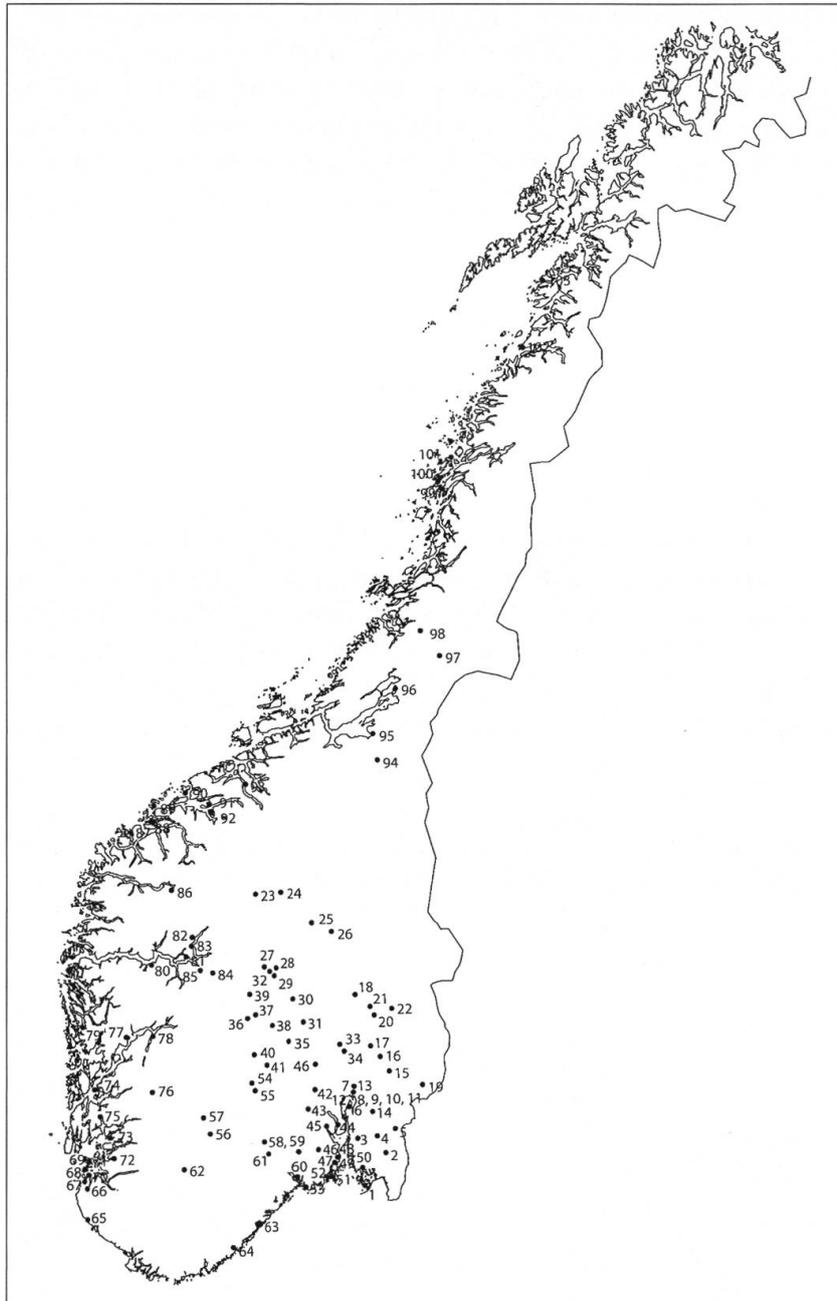


Fig. 4 Church finds in Norway: 128 churches, *ca* 20,000 coins, 10,286 medieval (predating 1319) (GULLBEKK – SÆTTEM 2019).

the thesis is not on church finds the material is often used to establish the origin of various coins and their circulation areas. Jon Anders Risvaag used the church find source material in similar ways in his doctoral thesis in 2006, dealing with the coin use of the city of Trondheim between 1000 and 1630.<sup>27</sup> Linn Eikje Ramberg

<sup>27</sup> J. A. RISVAAG, *Mynt og by. Myntens rolle i Trondheim by i perioden ca 1000–1630, belyst gjennom myntfunn og utmyntning* (Trondheim 2006).

used the church finds in the same way in her doctoral thesis from 2017, which was focused on 12<sup>th</sup> century Norwegian coinage.<sup>28</sup> These researchers have also shown interest for monetisation in their work, both theoretically and empirically. In several articles, Svein H. Gullbekk argues that coins were widely used in Norway during the Middle Ages, using the church finds as a basis. This has caused a prolonged debate with historians who have held a contrary opinion for a long time.<sup>29</sup>

In later years Gullbekk and others have embraced the spiritual dimension of the church finds, which is also shown by this conference. The focus has shifted towards questions regarding the perception of money and monetary offerings and spiritual use of money and attitudes to money in the medieval Church.<sup>30</sup> These questions have played an important role in the Nordic research project *Religion and Money*, which so far has published two volumes: *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200* (2015) and *Divina Moneta: coins in Religion and Ritual* (2018). Further publications are expected in the next few years, among them an anthology of church finds from all over the Nordic sphere, *Money and Religious Devotion in Medieval Northern Europe*.<sup>31</sup> In this volume Jon Anders Risvaag provides discussions of the finds in Høre stavechurch, Valdres valley in Oppland county with some extraordinary finds related to the crucifix that might be related to the collections of crusader tax in Norway in the 1270s and 1280s. Håkon Roland examine the finds from Eidsskog church on the border to Sweden in Hedmark county. Alf Tøre Hommedal revisit the coin finds from the only church in Bergen that has produced such finds: the monasterial church Nonneseter that was excavated already in the 1880s.

<sup>28</sup> L. EIKJE RAMBERG, *Mynt er hva mynt gjør. En analyse av norske mynter fra 1100-tallet: produksjon, sirkulasjon og bruk* (Stockholm 2017).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. S. H. GULLBEKK, *Natural and money economy in medieval Norway*, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 30, 2005, pp. 3–19; K. LUNDEN, *Mynt, andre pengar og politisk-økonomisk system i mellomalderen*, *Historisk Tidsskrift* 86, 2007, pp. 7–34.

<sup>30</sup> S. H. GULLBEKK, *Salvation and small change: Medieval coins in Scandinavian churches*, in: G. DETHLEFS – A. POL – S. WITTENBRINK (eds.), *Nummi Docent! Münzen – Schätze – Funde* (Osnabrück 2012), pp. 227–233; S. H. GULLBEKK, *The church and Money in Norway ca 1050–1250: Salvation and Monetisation*, in: GASPER – GULLBEKK 2015, pp. 223–244; S. H. GULLBEKK, *Medieval Scandinavian women in search of Salvation*, in: MYRBERG BURSTRÖM – TARNOW INGWARDSON 2018, pp. 209–227.

<sup>31</sup> GASPER – GULLBEKK 2015; MYRBERG BURSTRÖM – TARNOW INGWARDSON 2018 and GULLBEKK *et al.*, forthcoming.

*Reflecting over the future of this research field*

After this review of the last 25 years of coin find research let me present a few thoughts and reflect on the future.

1. The large scale surveys of the Nordic church finds have been very important for statistical comparisons of the material. It would be desirable if similar surveys were made in other regions and parts of Europe. Such publications would enable comparative studies of coin use and circulation as well as mapping changes over the entire continent.
2. The archaeological documentation of the coin finds is of crucial importance for how church finds may be used and the type of analyses possible. It would be desirable if – as far as possible – archaeological contexts were included in the publication of the coins. In order to enable interpretation, it is essential that the exact location and context for the coin find is recorded.
- 3 The medieval monetisation and coin circulation, based on the church finds, has been a rewarding subject matter. It certainly deserves further research, especially through the development of comparisons between various European regions. The post-Reformation phase has so far not attracted much interest among current church-find researchers, but has a great development potential.
4. The potential for church finds as a source of knowledge regarding medieval church rituals and popular perceptions of money is presently being developed within the Nordic project, *Religion and Money*, and not least through this conference. The developing research on the spiritual dimension of church finds may prove very rewarding and I will follow it with great interest.

*Abstract*

*Moneta nostra* is a doctoral thesis in medieval archaeology at Lund university published in 1992. The thesis is focused on the question of monetization of the rural economy in medieval Sweden and the prime source material is coin finds in rural churches. The thesis has since then inspired many scholars within numismatics and medieval archaeology in Scandinavia. In this paper a short presentation of the thesis will be provided together with a survey of the last 25 years of Scandinavian research within this field. Finally, some ideas for future research will be presented.

*Résumé*

*Moneta nostra* est une thèse de doctorat en archéologie médiévale de l'université de Lund publiée en 1992. Cette thèse se concentre sur la question de la monétisation de l'économie rurale à l'époque médiévale en Suède. Les monnaies découvertes dans les églises rurales constituent la principale source de matériel. Cette étude a depuis lors inspiré de nombreux chercheurs dans le domaine de la numismatique et de l'archéologie médiévale en Scandinavie. Dans cet article, la thèse est brièvement présentée, ainsi qu'un aperçu des 25 dernières années de recherche scandinave dans ce même domaine. Enfin, quelques pistes de recherches futures sont énoncées.

*Zusammenfassung*

*Moneta nostra* wurde als Doktorarbeit in Mittelalterarchäologie an der Universität Lund 1992 publiziert. Hauptfokus war die Untersuchung der Monetarisierung der ländlichen Wirtschaft des mittelalterlichen Schweden, Hauptquelle bildeten die Münzfunde aus ländlichen Kirchen. Seither hat diese Arbeit viele Forscher in den Bereichen Numismatik wie auch Mittelalterarchäologie inspiriert. Dieser Aufsatz fasst die damaligen Forschungsergebnisse kurz zusammen und kombiniert sie mit der relevanten neuen Forschung der letzten 25 Jahre. Schliesslich werden auch einige weiterführende Gedanken präsentiert.

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