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Abstract: Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023) stands as one of the most powerful churchmen of his age. His sermons, law-codes, and political tracts are carefully crafted pieces of rhetorical power, albeit often prone to *exergasia*, *anaphora*, and *epiphora*. They are excellent examples of the quality and power of episcopal prose in the eleventh century, and the very real concerns facing the Anglo-Saxon realm. Beyond the enduring appeal and colourful flavour of his writings, it is possible to see a very determined effort to demand from the lay population a large number of payments for the service of the church. Whilst this may appear a rather narrow-minded focus, certainly in the time of war and invasion, it will be argued here that for Wulfstan they offered a vehicle by which disaster could be averted, society could be aligned along proper Christian lines, and the nation itself could be saved.

Key Words: *Wulfstan, Church Payments, Anglo-Saxon England, Law, Tithe*

Archbishop Wulfstan and the Importance of Paying God his Dues

A. D. Smart

Wulfstan was a man of God; but he was also a man of the secular world as well. He travelled, we would imagine, extensively in his lifetime, serving at the witan, visiting the court, as well as between Worcester and York when holding both in plurality. He served as advisor to two kings, at crucial, defining moments in the history of late Anglo-Saxon England, and the posthumous relationship with Ely would hint at his visitation of this site too. His signature can be seen accompanying a number of late Anglo-Saxon charters, and he also wrote in his own inimitable way a learned treatise upon society, given the title in modern scholarly parlance the Institutes of Polity, but unnamed by the archbishop himself. He operated then in the very highest echelons of society, and his writings ring with his many observances upon societal structure, political theory, and, importantly, the role of the bishop as messenger of truth, mediator of God's plans, and corrector of societal wrongs. He is an archbishop who, much like the reformist figures before him in England and on the continent, looked both within and without, and was unafraid of demanding much from his episcopal contemporaries, and indeed from himself. His life and his writings reveal the almost unique manner in which he bridged both the secular and the ecclesiastical realms. His world is one of darkness, with the late Anglo-Saxon kingdom facing raids, invasion and conquest. In the minds of contemporaries this was a visible reflection, and judgment, upon the condition of Æthelred's kingdom, its failings and its faults.

In a world that was nearing its end, there was one route to salvation, to redemption. And that was, in the mind of Wulfstan, the creation of a holy society, focussed around the protection of the church, the strict hierarchical governance of society, and just Christian leadership. A crucial part of this, as will be argued here, lay in the correct and proper payment to the Anglo-Saxon church the dues owed to them. Across his impressive corpus of writings, Wulfstan repeatedly mentions church payments, demonstrating a sophisticated awareness both of the payments that the Anglo-Saxon church could draw upon, as well as their reflective importance to contemporary society. It will be argued in this paper that church payments should be viewed as essential building blocks in the construction of Wulfstan's holy society; in effect that they offer the very route by which Wulfstan sought alleviate God's anger, and refashion the state around him along true Christian lines. This will be demonstrated by looking at how Wulfstan's ideas on church payments change throughout his episcopal career, with a particular focus on his legislative writings. It shall be averred throughout that the growing importance given to church payments should be placed firmly within the penitential milieu that characterises the reign of Æthelred from 993 onwards. Throughout, it will be shown that these payments are crucial to the salvation of the Anglo-Saxon nation, and even once Cnut has assumed the throne, still provide the backbone for God's favour and support.

Background: Wulfstan, Æthelred and the Watchman

Before reaching the main body of the paper, it is important to set forth who Wulfstan was, the world in which he lived, and the intellectual currents that directed him. In recent years, there have been a number of excellent studies upon the archbishop that have allowed a much more nuanced and complete image of the man to emerge.[1] No longer should he be dichotomized as simply a homilist and a statesman, but instead viewed as a product of great learning, erudition, and rhetorical power. [2] The role of legislation and justice stand at the heart of his work, and he demonstrates an acute understanding of both secular and canon law. Thus, he views the world through a moralistic lens, placing it within a pre-existing theological framework, and assessing it through the parameters offered by the law.[3]

He appears first in the historical record as bishop of London (996-1002), and his name appears four times in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[4] From Bishop of London he then held the sees of both Worcester and York in plurality. Relinquishing the bishopric of Worcester in 1016, he was then archbishop of York until his death in 1023. If desperate times produce great men and women, then Wulfstan was certainly of the greatest in the dying embers of the Anglo-Saxon state. It is worth noting that no contemporary *vitae* survive, and the only documents dealing with Wulfstan's life before he emerged as Bishop of London are post-conquest.

The late Anglo-Saxon period has characteristically been perceived as one of turmoil and unrest, with treachery, Viking invasions, and weakened kingship[5]. In the classic study of Anglo Saxon England, Frank Stenton entitled his sixth chapter, covering the years 955-1016, 'The Decline of the Old English Monarchy'.[6] Stenton was not, and indeed is not alone in pinpointing the weakness of the head for the failings of the body. Fisher notes that the king's 'awareness of what needed to be done was more than cancelled by his lack of those personal qualities even more essential to a king in a time of crisis',[7] whilst Brooke simply bemoans his lack of good fortune, asserting that 'Ethelred was...unlucky: unlucky to have become king in the way he did; unlucky that the Danes should be ready for further attacks on the country within two years of his becoming king; even more unlucky in the strength and skill of the Danish leaders who attacked him'.[8] Whilst neither of these scholars present particularly

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[1] See Rabin, *The Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, & Lionarons, *The Homiletic Writing of Archbishop Wulfstan*.
[2] Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman'. See Wormald for a critique of this in his 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society'.
[3] On Wulfstan's life see Wormald, 'Wulfstan', and his 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-Builder'. See also Jost, *Wulfstan-studien*, Rabin, *Political Writings*, 1-54 & Lionarons, *Homiletic Writing*, 9-22.
[4] Bishopric of London in F 996; Consecration of Cnut's church at Ashingdon in D 1020; consecration of Æthelnoth as Archbishop of Canterbury in F1020 and his death is recorded in E 1023. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.
[5] There is substantial scholarship dedicated to the Late Anglo-Saxon state. See for instance Stafford, *Unification & Conquest*, Lawson, *Cnut, England's Viking King*,Wormald *et al*, *The Anglo-Saxons*, at 132-206; Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready'*, Williams, *Aethelred the Unready; The Ill counselled king*, & Lavelle, *Aethelred II, King of the English 978-1016*.
[6] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 364-393. His characterisation of Æthelred is notably acerbic: 'His ineffectiveness in war, which is very remarkable in a king of his line, his acts of spasmodic violence, and the air of mistrust which overhangs his relations with his nobles are signs of a trouble which lies deeper than mere incapacity for government.' Citation at p. 374.
[7] Fisher, *The Anglo-Saxon Age c.400-1042*, 303.
[8] Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman Kings*, 131.

nuanced views, they reflect an almost overwhelming perception of Æthelred as a weak king, ill-prepared for the challenges he was to face. Keynes has provided a more considered and balanced perspective of Æthelred's leadership.[9] In his comparison of Æthelred and Alfred, Keynes notes that with the later Anglo-Saxon king we are 'not in a position to understand what traits of character may have lain behind his recorded actions'.[10] Indeed, he avers that the greatest weakness the king had may in fact have been as a poor judge of men, with Edric Streona being the case in point.[11]

A reading of the *Chronicle* for the years of Æthelred's reign (978-1016) reveals a catalogue of misdeeds, societal failings, and weak and often unpredictable leadership. The Viking menace appears throughout, beginning in 981 with the sacking of St. Petroc's monastery, and the ravaging of the coast.[12] In 992 we witness Æthelred drawing up a strong force to fight the sea raiders, only to be betrayed by one of his leading ealdormen.[13] We also have the heroic account offered in the *Battle of Maldon*, which reflects the concerns and issues the Viking attacks inflicted upon Anglo-Saxon England. In the *Chronicle*, we see also the stark portrayal of Æthelred as an unpredictable figure; in 986 laying waste to Rochester, the blinding of Aelfgar in 993, the St. Brice's Day Massacre in 1002, and in 1006 the blinding of Wulfheah and Ufgeat and the sentencing to death of ealdorman Aelfhelm.[14] We also witness the much maligned payment of tribute, commencing in 1002, with substantial sums being paid thereafter to the Viking kings. In 1005 there 'occurred the great famine throughout England', so great in fact that the Danish raiders returned to their own lands.[15] Certainly, it is no wonder after reading the *Chronicle* or the *Battle of Maldon*, why Wulfstan's early writings were ones preparing for the end of days.[16]

Against this backdrop, Wulfstan took the role of bishop very seriously indeed, and expected much of himself and all those called to the higher orders. Within a number of his writings he tackles the issue of his own role and how best a bishop should act.[17] In one of his homilies for instance he writes '*Biscopas scylan bocum and gebedum fylgean'*[18], and in I Cnut: '*Bisceopas synddan bydelas [ond] Godes lage lareowas, [ond] hi sceolan bodian [ond] bysnian georne godcunde þearfe, gyme se ðe wylle'*[19]. Wulfstan certainly followed his own precedents, by actively engaging with secular authority, whilst equally performing the studious requirements of his calling. An essential role of the bishop was to be the director of societal reform, as well

[9] Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready'.
[10] *Ibid*. at 211.
[11] *Ibid*, 213-217.
[12] *ASC*. C. 981. Similar events are recorded for 982, 991, 992, 993, 994, 997, 998, 999, 1001, 1002, 1003, , 1004,1006. Famine in 1006, then Vikings: 1007, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012,1013, 1016, 1017, 1018
[13] *ASC* C 992. Ealdorman Aelfric.
[14] *ASC*. For discussions of these actions see Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready'.
[15] *ASC*, 1005
[16] On this Apocalyptic theme see Lionarons, *The Homiletic Writing of Archbishop Wulfstan*, 43-74.
[17] In Wulfstan's writings see his *Institutes*, Bethurum XVII, Napier XXXVII, & I Cnut. For an astute discussion of this see J. Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds'.
[18] Wulfstan, XVIb**,** 'Bishops must attend to books and prayers'.
[19] I Cnut, §26, *Councils & Synods*, vol I, 485 (hereafter *C&S*). 'Bishops are the messengers and teachers of God's law, and they must preach and set an example well for the divine need, pay heed who will'. Translation by Wilcox in his 'The Wolf on Shepherds', at 406.

as the advisor of the powerful laity, including of course kings themselves. But Wulfstan was not working in a vacuum; his ideas flower from the wellspring of Christian history, and in particular the Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian past.

The bible, and in particular the Old Testament stand at the heart of intellectual enterprise and endeavour in the early Middle Ages.[20] Of all the sources and documents left to us, the greatest in number are those that engage with biblical interpretation and exegesis. The bible offered many things to the literate elements of early medieval society. It provided the Christian church with a deep sense of history, incorporating Jewish historical traditions within a new spiritual framework. It offered powerful parallels, discursive directions for their faith, and enigmatic symbolism.[21] Patrick Wormald writes that 'it is hard to exaggerate […]the impact of the Old Testament as a prescriptive mirror for early medieval societies'.[22] It provided a lens through which to measure society, and also to better it. In the Carolingian world it was 'the cornerstone of social reform', its ideas motivating change and transformation, and its lessons mediated through a vast variety of different writings.[23] It also offered strong episcopal precedent for admonition and exhortation. The example of Ezekiel,[24] was particularly prevalent: 'Son of man, I have made you a watchman for the house of Israel; so hear the word I speak and give them warning from me. When I say to the wicked, "O wicked man, you will surely die", and you do not speak out to dissuade him from his ways, that wicked man will die for his sin, and I will hold you accountable for his blood. But if you do warn the wicked man to turn from his ways and he does not do so, he will die for his sin, but you will be saved yourself'.[25] The house of Israel is both the wider nation and state, as well as the individual, and Ezekiel finds himself charged as the admonisher, the voice of truth, the guide on the path to salvation. He is not simply there to turn the people from sin; but to make the children of Israel instead aware that they themselves are to blame for the wrath of God. Tiemeyer surmises: '[i]n other words, the same God who ordains the doom also seeks to avert it by sending the watchman. This shows that neither the prophecy of doom nor God's death sentence of His rebellious people is final. On the contrary, by informing the wicked of the verdict, God reveals His true desire that the people should repent and live'.[26]

The model of Ezekiel can be found in the Carolingian *renovatio*, coupled with developing notions of admonition.[27] In a work of inspirational erudition, Mayke de Jong explores the ideas of exhortation in the Carolingian world, specifically the tumultuous reign of Louis the

[20] Chazelle & Van Name Edwards, 'Introduction': The Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture'.
[21] General overviews: Boynton & Reilly, *The Practice of the Bible In the Middle Ages, production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*; Marsden & Matter, *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, from 600-1450*, & F. van Liere, *An introduction to the Medieval Bible*.
[22] Wormald, *Making of English Law*, 122.
[23] Chazelle & Van Name Edwards, 'Introduction': The Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture', 3.
[24] Two papers are particularly useful: Tiemeyer, 'The Watchman metaphor in Isaiah LVI-LXVI', & Brownlee, 'Ezekiel's Parable of the Watchman and the Editing of Ezekiel'.
[25] Ezekiel 33:7-9, *NIV Study Bible*, 1251. See also Ezekiel 3:17.
[26] Tiemeyer, 'The Watchman metaphor in Isaiah LVI-LXVI', p. 383.
[27] On admonition see the excellent de Jong, *The Penitential State, Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, 112-148; Suchan, 'Monition and Advice as Elements of Politics', 39-50 & Booker, *Past Convictions, The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*.

Pious. She demonstrates the presence of Ezekiel in the capitularies,[28] and emphases its importance for the pastoral role of the episcopate: 'The passage from Ezekiel hit at the core of the bishops' pastoral identity: it was their duty to speak up against *iniquitas* and to combat it, lest they incur God's wrath'.[29] The purpose of exhortation is to speak out against sin; *iniquitas*, *negligentia*,[30] and it carries with overtures, and nods towards, penance.[31] Sin is against the nation, its king, but more importantly, against God and His church.[32] It is an act against the Lord, His teachings, and His laws. All are born with original sin (mentioned in the proems to some Aethelredian charters), and the capacity through their own actions, and failings, to enter into yet more sin. Ian McFarland notes that hamartiology is governed by two parallel issues: 'that things are not right in the world, and that human beings are deeply implicated in what has gone wrong'.[33] In his reading of Genesis 4:7, he develops the thought that sin is not simply an act, but rather a terrible power that clouds the human world. There is an agency to this miasma.[34] And this pall can act as a pollutant, defiling the nation, and disturbing the precarious balance of society.[35] One can fall in to sin not by defying God, but by failing to follow His teachings, and the tasks He has set for us all. The very ideas of sin carry terrible permanence in the early medieval world. For bishops, following the Carolingian model, their greatest sin would be to simply acquiesce and accept the moral failings of the world around them. Their utmost iniquity is omission, rather than a purposeful evil act. As guardians of the flock they are tasked with guiding the secular realm along the lines prescribed by God's teaching, and those of the great *Doctors* of the Church.

The example offered by Louis the Pious is well known, with his public penance in 822 and then again 833, and the role of the bishops so crucial in each encounter.[36] These ideas are given fullest expression on the continent in the Council of Paris (829).[37] The reign of Æthelred provides a parallel to that offered by Louis the Pious. Both have been seen by scholars, and contemporaries, in a pejorative light. They both struggled with the legacies offered by their fathers, over-mighty subjects and church figures, as well as seeing political discourse and governmental writings take on a penitential edge. Sin, and its many forms, became part of the civil dialogue in both reigns. Both Katy Cubitt and Levi Roach have in recent writings demonstrated how important penitence becomes during the reign of Æthelred.[38]

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[28] de Jong, *The Penitential State*, p. 114. See also the more concise discussion in her, '*Admonitio* and Criticisms of the Ruler at the Court of Louis the Pious'.
[29] M de Jong, *The Penitential State*, 115.
[30] *Ibid*, 121.
[31] See the impressive monograph by Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire*.
[32] See for instance the useful synthesis offered in Nelson, *Sin, A Guide for the Perplexed*, & Peters, *Sin, radical Evil in Soul and Society*. There also a more wide ranging discussion in Horne, *Imagining Evil*, at 46-61.
[33] McFarland, *In Adam's Fall, A Mediation on the Christian Doctrine of original Sin*, 3.
[34] *Ibid*, 8-9.
[35] Most famously Mary Douglas' work: *Purity and Danger*.
[36] See de Jong: 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society, the public penance of Louis the Pious', & C. M. Booker, *Past Convictions, The penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*.
[37] Concilium Parisiense, A. 829, *MGH*, at 606-680. This is discussed very well by de Jong in her *The Penitential State*, at 176-184 & Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, at 130-132.
[38] E.g. Cubitt, 'The politics of remorse: penance and royal piety in the reign of Æthelred the Unready'; Cubitt, 'Individual and Collective Sinning in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England: Penance, Piety and the Law';

The famed Winchester code of 993 stands out; for it here that Æthelred seeks to provide a new direction for his kingship, and distance himself from his many indiscretions and errors.[39] As Cubitt writes: 'Æthelred's penance of 993 was not therefore a one-off gesture but set the tone for the years following'.[40] In a charter restoring lands to Rochester in 998, there is a borrowing from Ezekiel, mirroring rather closely the Carolingian writings.[41] Roach has highlighted that the choice of Easter in both provides a further parallel with rituals surrounding Maundy Thursday. These charters belong to a wider programme of repentance; the acceptance of sin, and defence of the church. It is against this backdrop that both Wulfstan, and his focus upon church dues, must be measured.

Anglo-Saxon Church Payments

Anglo-Saxon England, and its ecclesiastical structure, owed much to the continent in its design and shape. The church was proud of its origins, and its historic links to Rome were always important. The system of church payments, however, is rather more complex than that found on the continent, or indeed that found in the post-conquest church The image gained from the contemporary documents are of a vast variety of dues that the church could call upon: *cyricsceat* (church-scot), *sāwlsceat* (soul-scot), *weaxgescot* (wax-scot) *lēohtgesceot* (light-scot), *sulhælmessan* (plough-alms) as well *Rōmfeoh* (Peter's pence) and *tēoðung* (tithe).[42] Church dues are first found in the legislation of the West Saxon King Ine (688-726).[43] It is not until the law-codes of Æthelstan (c.894-939) that the full range of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical payments is set forth,[44] and it is here that tithe payments are first mentioned.[45] These church dues are restated in the codes of Edmund (922-946), with the tithe being more prominently incorporated into the list of pre-existing Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical payments.[46] The same is true of King Edgar's (943-975) second code, where there is an even fuller catalogue and description of church dues, now including not only the tithe but also more substantive depiction of the payment required for Rome and the Holy See.[47] Each of these payments are different, reflecting different needs and concerns for the Anglo-Saxon church.

The *tēoðung* (tithe), Carolingian inspired and with strong biblical authorisation, is perhaps the easiest to understand, it is certainly the most familiar of the payments.[48] It indicated the tenth

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Roach, 'Penitential Discourse in the Diplomas of King Æthelred "the Unready"'; Roach, 'Public rites and public wrongs: ritual aspects of diplomas in tenth- and eleventh-century England', and his 'Apocalypse and Atonement in the Politics of Æthelredian England'.

[39] Discussed by Roach, 'Apocalypse and Atonement', 736-7; *idem*, 'Penitential Discourse', 260-1

[40] Cubitt, 'The politics of remorse: penance and royal piety in the reign of Æthelred the Unready', 187.

[41] S 893; discussed by Roach, 'Apocalypse and Atonement', 737.

[42] On these types of Anglo-Saxon church dues see Blair, *The Anglo-Saxon* Church, 428-439; Tinti 'The "costs" of pastoral care: church dues in late Anglo-Saxon England', & Chaney, 'Anglo-Saxon Church Dues: A Study in Histoical Continuity'.

[43] Ine, Law-Code, *English Historical Documents***,** 398-407. Reference to church-scot at 406.

[44] I Æthelstan, §4, *C&S*, I, 46.

[45] I Æthelstan, §3, *C&S*, I, 45-6.

[46] I Edmund, *C&S*, I, §2, 62.

[47] Edgar II, *C&S*, I, 97-102.

[48] On the tithe see Lawders, *La dîme, l'Eglise et la société Féodale*. See also more generally the impressive Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West.*

of goods produced by the laity.[49] S*āwlsceat*, *weaxgescot* and *lēohtgesceot*, can also be identified. S*āwlsceat* was a payment for burial, *weaxgescot* as the name would suggest recompense for wax, and *lēohtgesceot* to provide lights for one's local church. *Cyricsceat*, the earliest and the most frequent Anglo-Saxon church payment is one which is still not fully understood by scholars. There are some assumptions made, but none of them truly convincing.[50] We know it was normally due at Martinmas; but the contemporary documents are rather vague on what actually it consisted of. The payments to Rome can be found not only in Anglo-Saxon England but across the early medieval west.[51] *Sulhælmessan* despite being mentioned in a number of law codes and homilies, and closely associated with Wulfstan, are nowhere described in any Anglo-Saxon legislation or extant manuscripts.[52] We simply do not know what this actually signified, as a specific type of payment to the church.

The uncertainty over *Sulhælmessan* leads into concern over what exactly constituted a church payment, and more precisely the separation between payments *demanded* by the church, and those *offered* by the laity. Olson struggled with the same unease in her disucssion on almsgiving in Anglo-Saxon England. She notes the semantic similarity between *Sulhælmessan* and *ælmessylen* (almsgiving), and argues succinctly that *Sulhælmessan* might in fact represent a 'type of almsgiving'.[53] The confusion over whether alms should be viewed as a type of church payment rest upon the extent to which, contrary to *circisceatt* and the rest, they were voluntary as oppose to obligatory payments. The Anglo-Saxon legislation offers a slightly puzzling image. Despite ostensibly being a different type of payment, *ælmess* often appear in close verbal proximity to church dues; or are presented as of consequence of church payments.[54] Wulfstan's generic term for church dues, *Godes gerihta*, is another case in point. This phrase appears throughout the archbishop's writings,[55] and whilst it seems merely to represent a generic terminology for depicting and discussing payments for the church, Stanley has urged caution in delineating it so. As he writes: '[church payments are not] merely the payment of a debt to God, or the payment of an imposition levied by God, *gelæstan* means more than "to pay" as it is rendered *simpliciter* by Wulfstan scholars. *Godes gerihta* are not divine exactions, in money or goods, but are the rightful service owed to God because of his supreme place in the eternal scheme of justice.'[56] Stanley is urging us to consider that the terms employed by Anglo-Saxon writers often lose something in their translation. It is important to recognise that to Wulfstan, church dues are never just

[49] See Constable, *Monastic Tithes, From Their Origins To The Twelfth Century*, 31-56 & Taylor, 'Continuity and Change: Anglo-Saxon and Norman Methods of Tithe-Payment Before and After the Conquest'.
[50] For instance H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, (Longman, London, 1962), 254-257.
[51] For an Anglo-Saxon example see II Edgar, *C&S*, §4.1, 100.
[52] In Wulfstan's writing they can be found: *Æthelred V*, §11.1 & *Æthelred VIII*, §12. *I Cnut*, §8.1. *Bethurum*, XIII & Napier XIII. On the difficulties in understanding just what they were see the impressive analysis by Olson, 'Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England' at 146-196. Her discussion of 'plough-alms' is at 177.
[53] A. Olson, 'Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England', 178.
[54] *Bethurum XIII*, *The laws of Edward and Guthrum*, §6.3, *Canons of Edgar*, §49, §55 & §57. *VIIa Æthelred*, §5. *Napier XXIII*.
[55] *Æthelred V*, §11 & §12.2. *Æthelred VIII*, §14. *I Cnut*, §8 & §14. *II Cnut*, §48. *Bethurum XIII*, *Napier L*, & *Napier LXI*.
[56] Stanley, 'Wulfstan and Ælfric: "the true Difference between the Law and the Gospel', 430.

ecclesiastical payments. Instead church payments are enmeshed within the keeping of *Godes lage* (God's law) and respecting *Godes riht* (divine right).

Wulfstan's legal writing provides a large number of references to church payments, and allows us to see how his position and mind changes to reflect the shifting concerns facing the Anglo-Saxon church and state. Wulfstan's *Laws of Edward and Guthrum* provide the archbishop's earliest legislative writing.[57] This text is of interest for a number of reasons. First, it is Wulfstan's spurious response to the Alfred-Guthram laws.[58] The very action of writing it reflects not only Wulfstan's concerns early in his tenure as archbishop, but also an ambition to echo earlier Anglo-Saxon legislation as an exemplar for the present. The church dues mentioned are first the tithe, then *Romefeoh*, before light-scot, plough alms, and a general reference to Gods dues.[59] None of the payments are described in any great detail. This is not a total list of all possible church payments, and indeed it is somewhat bereft of discursive discussion. It equally does not offer any payment dates, instead stressing that '*ealle Godes gerihto forðige man georne be Godes mildse [ond] be þam witan þe witan to ledan.*'[60]

It is a law-code which appears to reflect a genuine concern over a lack of payment to the church. Wulfstan in the prologue presents the importance of secular sanction for prompt and regular payment.[61] In the five references to church dues within the text Wulfstan then provides an accompanying phrase '*gyde lahslit mid Denum, wite mid Englum*'.[62] The nature or severity of the fine is not set forth, but simply is presented as a secular punishment, with no religious ramifications. This speaks of a church reliant upon the secular realm to support and uphold its demands. It must be noted that the power and authority of secular force here is rather muted. Whilst the king is mentioned in the prologue, no figures of secular power are named in close relation to church dues. When he is mentioned in the prologue, the king is employed merely to symbolize the secular counterpoint of the church: '*gemæne Cristen [ond] cunge*'.[63] The other offences discussed in the code place the authority and power of the king in a much more forthright way.[64] The *wite* and *lahsilt* are not restricted to those failing to pay church dues. Wulfstan writes of them a number of times (§7.1-§9) in relation to the breaking of fasts, as well as performing ordeals and oaths during a feast day.[65]

Wulfstan's next piece of legislative writing is his first law code for Æthelred, issued at Enham in 1008. In contrast to his spurious *Laws of Edward and Guthrum*, *Æthelred V* is a law code issued in the name of the king, during the fierce Viking assaults upon Anglo-Saxon

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[57] P. Wormald, *The Making of English* Law, 391. See also Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the So-Called Laws of Edward and Guthrum'.
[58] See D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the So-Called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', 1.
[59] *Laws of Edward & Guthrum, teoþunge* at §6, *Romefeoh* at §6.1, *leohtgesceaot* at §6.2, *sulhælmyssan* at §6.3, *godcundra gerihto* at §6.4.
[60] *Ibid*, p. 308. 'And all God's dues are to be furthered zealously, on pain of (losing) God's mercy and of the fines which the counsellors prescribed'.
[61] *Laws of Edward and Guthrum, C&*S, I, 302-312, at 304-5.
[62] *Ibid*. Translation: 'he is to pay *lahslit* among the Danes, fine among the English'.
[63] *Laws of Edward and Guthrum, C&*S, I, p. 305
[64] *Ibid*, §4, p. 307, §6.7, p. 309 & §12 at p. 312.
[65] *Ibid*, §7.1-§9, pp. 310-311.

land.[66] The most notable development is regarding the amount of information provided. Wulfstan paints much more lucid descriptions of the specific church dues. Here he sets out that the laity should pay plough-alms fifteen days after Easter, the tithe of animals by Pentecost, and tithe of fruits by All-Saint's day. *Romfeoh* is to be paid by St. Peter's day and '*leohtgescot þriwa on geare*'.[67] He also gives a clear instruction regarding soul-scot to '*þæt man symle gelæste æt openum græfe*'.[68]

This development speaks of a change in Wulfstan's approach, as well as the nascent shift in Æthelred's legislation. At a basic level, Wulfstan offers much greater clarity on what to pay and when to do so. There is also a much greater effort to not only regulate ecclesiastical finances but also to provide some tangible protection and provision for the church. Before discussing the dues which are to be paid, Wulfstan stresses that '*sy ælce cyrice on Godes griðe [ond] ðæs cynges [ond] on ealles Cristenes folces*'.[69] He writes further that '*ænig man heonanforð cyrican ne ðoewige*'.[70] Whilst the rhetoric here is strong, and the list of dues more expansive and more detailed, there are still no ecclesiastical or secular sanctions mentioned. Indeed there are only two written in the entire code, the first stipulating 120 shillings for desertion of the army, and the last a rather general admonition against resistance to the laws, setting forth that '*gylde swa wer swa wite swa lahslite, aa be ðam þe seo dæd sy*'.[71] Although presenting a more exhaustive list of payments, there is a notable lack of direct secular support, and particularly the absence of punitive measures. The sheer fact that the payments are now enshrined in state law denotes that it falls under the power and authority of the king. It represents a step forward in Wulfstan's understanding and presentation of ecclesiastical payments.

Æthelred VIIa, written when the Viking attacks assumed a new decisive threat across Æthelred's kingdom, represents a substantive transition both regarding church dues and Wulfstan's legislative approach more generally. This law-code is part of a greater shift within the kingdom to penance and penitence in the face of the Viking threat. Whilst specific church dues for the moment disappear, Wulfstan writes instead that '*sceote man æghwilce hide pænig oððe pæniges weorð*',[72] and '*swa haer swa þæt feoh up arise, dæle man on Godes est æghwilcne pænig*'.[73] This church due, undefined, but to be split in the tripartite division carried with it substantial sanctions, which blur and distort the line between the ecclesiastical and the secular.[74] Thus, '*gif hwa þis ne gelæste, ðonne gebete he þæt, swa swa hit gelagod is:*

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[66] A. Olson, 'Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England', 190-191.
[67] Wulfstan, *Æthelred V, C&S*, I, 338-362. On this see P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, 330-345. References to church dues at §11-§12.2, 351-2. Translation: 'and light-dues three times a year.'
[68] *Ibid*. §12, 352. Translation: 'be always paid at the open grave.'
[69] *Æthelred V*, §10.1, 351. 'And every church is to be under the protection of God and of the king and of all Christian people'.
[70] *Ibid*, §10.2. 'no man henceforth is to bring a church under subjugation'.
[71] *Ibid*, §28.1, p. 358 (desertion) & §31, 360. Translation: 'he is to pay either wergild or fine of *lahsilt*, ever in proportion to the deed'.
[72] *Æthelred VIIa, C&S*, I, 379-382, §2.2, 380. 'And one penny or the value of one penny is to be paid from each hide'.
[73] *Ibid*, §4, 380. 'And wherever that money has to be paid, every penny is to be distributed for God's sake'.
[74] *Ibid*, 380. 'And it is then to be brought to church and then divided into three with the witness of the confessor and the reeve of the village'.

bunda mid XXX p, prœl mid his hide, þegn mid XXX scill'.[75] On top of this monetary imposition, the person unwilling to pay would also have their food given as alms.[76] This is nowhere else repeated in Wulfstan's legislation, and confuses the separation and distinction between alms and dues. Indeed here the alms, whilst serving those in need, are retributive and punitive in nature. This is further seen in Wulfstan's next statement, focused upon almsgiving but also including a reference to the tithe, '*hiredmanna gehwilc sille pænig to ælmessan, oððe his hlaford sille for hine, buton he silf hæbbe; [ond] heafodmen teoðian*'.[77] Whilst everyone is expected to pay a penny as alms or dues, *heafodmen* (men of rank) are instead expected to pay the tithe.[78] The uncertainty stands as to whether this tithe is the standard payment, mentioned by Wulfstan in *Æthelred V* above, or *another tithe*, to then be given in alms.

Taken either way, it reflects a new view on church dues and almsgiving as practices which now offer redemptive qualities. In this instance, in a code subsumed with penance, it appears to suggest these payments will benefit the nation – a nation under grievous threat from Viking incursion. This becomes even more transparent in the closing statements of this law-code, where Wulfstan writes, '*[ond] æghwilce geare heononforð gelæste man gerihta huru rigtlice, wið ðam þe us God ælmihtig gemilsige [ond] us geunne þæt we ure fynd ofercum motan*'.[79] The correlation here between the Viking menace and an absence of payment or incorrect payment of dues is distinct. The connection is deliberate and well-formulated. The answer to the woes of society, to stop the punishment delivered by God, was to stop abusing the rights of His church, and uphold it.

We now turn to *Æthelred VIII*, the great precursor of *I Cnut*, and given after Æthelred had returned to the English throne following Swein's death. The first feature to note is that this code is saturated with references to church dues. There is now the tithe, *Romfeoh*, plough-alms, light-scot, soul-scot as well as church-scot as well.[80] Not only does Wulfstan now offer an extensive list of ecclesiastical payments, but much more information of *what* they constitute and *when* they need to be paid. Wulfstan writes '*sy ælc geoguðe teoðung gelæst be Pentecosten be wite...and eorðwestma be emnihte oððe huru be ealra halgena mæssan* .[81] Wulfstan further clarifies thoughts on the tithe:

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[75] *Ibid*, §3, 380. 'And if anyone does not perform this, then he s to compensate for it as it is legally ordained: the freeman with thirty pence, the slave with a flogging and the thegn with thirty shillings'.
[76] *Ibid*, §4.1, 380-1.
[77] *Ibid*, 381, 'And each member of a household is to pay a penny as alms, or his lord is to pay it for him, if he has not got it himself; and men of rank shall pay a tithe.'
[78] The Old English is unclear and could constitute these pennies as church dues or instead alms. If they are alms it is interesting to note that Wulfstan is removing the sense it is an optional payment.
[79] *Æthelred VIIa,*, §8, 382. 'And every year henceforth God's dues are to be paid at any rate correctly, to the end that Almighty God may have mercy on us and grant that we may overcome our enemies'**.**
[80] Wulfstan, *Æthelred VIII, C&S*, Vol. I, 386-402. On this code see Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, Vol. I, pp. 330-345. References to church dues at §6-§15, 390-393.
[81] *Ibid*, §9 & §9.1, at 392. 'And the tithe of all young stock is to be rendered by Pentecost under pain of the fine'; 'And the fruits of the earth by the equinox or at least by All Saints day.'

'And be teoþunge se cyng [ond] his witan habbaƀ gecoren [ond] gecweden, ealswa hit riht is, þæt ƀridda dæl þare teoþunge þe to circan gebyrge ga to cirichote [ond] oƀer dæl þam Godes þoewum, þridde Godes þearfum [ond] earman þeowetlingan'.[82]

The tripartite division, between church building, its clergy, and alms for the poor, not only reflects a blurring between *Godes gerihta* and *ælmessylen*, but also provides us with much greater clarification and information, much more than any of Wulfstan's preceding law-codes. *Æthelred VIII* presents a clearer and well defined structure of church dues; which the laity was expected to pay. There can be no ignorance pleaded here by anyone who has heard this law.

This law-code is also different in the way in which it provides secular sanctions for a resistance to ecclesiastical taxes. Non-payment of *Romfeoh* or church-scot now carries with it a strong fine, for *Romfeoh* '*se þe þæt nelle gelæstan, sille þartoeacan XXX p [ond] gilde þam cyninge CXX scill'*,[83]and for church-scot '*se þe þæt ne gelæste, forgilde hine mid twelffealdan, [ond] þam cyninge CXX scill'*. [84]Again, however, it is the tithe that receives the most attention by Wulfstan. As the archbishop writes, '*And wite Cristenra manna gehwilc þæt he his Drihtene his teoþunge, a swa seo sulh þæt teoƀan æcer gega, rihtlice gelæste be Godes miltse [ond] be þam fullan wite þe Eadgar cyningc gelagode*'.[85] Wulfstan continues, with increasing fervour:

'Ðæt is: Gif hwa teþunge rihtlice gelæstan nelle, þonne fare to þæs cyninges gerefa [ond] þæs mynstres mæssepreost - oƀƀe þæs landrican [ond] þæs bioscopes gerefa – [ond] niman unþances ƀon teoþan dæl to ƀam mynstre þe hit to gebirige, [ond] tæcan him to ƀam nigoƀan dæle; [ond] todæle man ƀa eahta dælas on twa [ond] fo se landhlaford to healfum, to healfum se biscop, si hit cyninges man, sy hit þegnes'.[86]

This is dramatically different to Wulfstan's previous legislation, and now carries with it the full backing and force of secular authority. The fines are not just mentioned vaguely, or with an assumption of knowledge on the part of the audience, but instead very clearly set forth the details needed. *Romfeoh* and church-scot also now carry a fine worth 30 pence to the church (and 12 times the original church-scot amount), as well as 120 shillings for the king. These are substantial amounts. Within this code there are no secular crimes denoting fines and certainly none of this magnitude. The lack of payment to the tithe is notably unforgiving. The

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[82] *Ibid*, §6, 390-91. 'And concerning tithes the king and his councillors have approved and agreed, just as is right, that a third part of the tithes which belong to the church is to go for the repair of the church and the second part for the servants of God, the third for God's poor and poor slaves.'
[83] *Ibid*. §10.1, at 392, 'And he who will not render it is to give 30 pence in addition and pay 120 shillings to the king.'
[84] *Ibid*, §11.1, 'And he who does not render it shall pay it twelve-fold, and 120 shillings to the king.'
[85] *Ibid*, §7, at 391 'And every Christian man is to take care that he pays rightly to his Lord his tithes, ever as the plough traverses the tenth acre, on the pain of (forfeiting) God's mercy and the full fine which King Edgar ordained'.
[86] *Ibid*, §8, at 391-2. 'Namely: If anyone will not render the tithes rightly, then the king's reeve is to go there and the mass-priest of the minster – or the reeve of the lord of the estate and the bishop's reeve – and they are to seize without his consent the tenth part for the minster to which it belongs, and to assign to him the next tenth; and the (remaining) eight parts are to be divided into two and the lord of the estate is to succeed to half and the bishop to half, whether it is to be a king's man or a thegn's.'

church obtains what it should originally have received as well as an extra tenth, whilst the remaining eight parts are divided into two, and shared between the bishop and the local lord. This new direction in Wulfstan's law-codes reveals a much closer interaction between the secular realm and the church. The punishment for the tithe depicts, in a dramatic example, how the whole of society can work together. The focus on secular punishments presents not just the importance of taxes to the church, but rather, the fundamental importance of church dues to society as a whole. By amplifying the details of all these church payments within the law-code of Æthelred, Wulfstan is invoking the words and authority of the king. Thus anyone who would transgress against church payments, now does not answer solely to irate bishops and clergy, but the full strength and authority of a king.

I Cnut, written c.1022 is closely modelled on *Æthelred VIII*, and is often regarded as the pinnacle of Wulfstan's legislative career.[87] Much of its references to church dues are the same or are very closely related to the archbishop's final code for Æthelred. Thus we can see the same church dues mentioned, the strong secular sanctions for failing to pay (often verbatim) as well the element of interaction between the state and the church. However, there are certain slight differences. For instance light-scot receives fuller treatment, '*leohtgesceaot priwa on geare: ærest on Easteræfen healfpenigwurð wexes æt ælcere hide [ond] eft on ealra halgena mæssan eallswa mycel'*.[88] Soul-scot is discussed at greater length, perhaps clarifying some issues or abuses that *Æthelred VIII* had failed to arrest. As Wulfstan writes, '*gyf man ænig lic of rihtscriftscire elles hwær lecge, gelæste man þone sawlscat swa þeah into þam mynstre þe hit to hyrde*'.[89] Substantially, however, *I Cnut* is a revision of *Æthelred VIII*. It reinforces and strengthens those ideas and concerns put forward by its great predecessor, and reinforces the strength of secular backing, and the importance of, ecclesiastical payments.

Wulfstan's legislative writing provides ample ground to study church dues, and the development of his ideas concerning them. Those written for Æthelred and Cnut reflect their enshrinement in the great law-codes of the age. It is possible also to witness the development of Wulfstan's thoughts on church dues, and how they grow in importance in his mind as a tool to counter the failings of society around him. If we were to look in depth at the sources for Wulfstan's laws here, a useful point to note would be the derivative nature of the codes. Wulfstan incorporates earlier Anglo-Saxon legislation wholesale into his own legislative writings. In the earlier codes this appears somewhat haphazard and ill-disciplined, but from *Æthelred VIIa* we would note that Wulfstan begins to focus upon the reign of King Edgar (959-975).[90] This was perceived by late tenth- and eleventh-century writers as golden age of peace and prosperity. By turning to Edgar's law codes Wulfstan is not only evoking the golden age of the past; but seeking from it answers for the present.

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[87] Wulfstan, *Cnut I*, *C&S*, I, 471-486. On the similarities this shares with Wulfstan's legislation for Æthelred see Wormald, *The Making of English* Law, 345-366; M. K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut'& P. Stafford, 'The laws of Cnut and the history of Anglo-Saxon royal promises'.

[88] Wulfstan, *I Cnut*, *C&S*, I, 471-486, §12 at 477. 'And light-dues three times a year: first on Easter Eve a halfpennyworth of wax for each hide and again on All Saints' day the same amount'.

[89] *Ibid*, §13.1, at 477-8. 'And if any body is buried elsewhere, outside the proper parish, the payment for the soul is nevertheless to be paid to the minster to which it belonged.'

[90] *Introduction to an early draft of Cnut's laws*, *C&*S, I, 434, §1, 'zealously observe Edgar's laws'.

Beyond the law-codes, we can witness the permanence and focus on church payments in his other writings. Wulfstan's reputation rests largely upon the verbal veracity and dynamic prose style that characterise his homiletic writings. Often exhortatory, they reflect some of the burning concerns of the archbishop, and how he sought to rectify them. Whilst not all are so zealously written as his *Sermo Lupi*, they reflect an important aspect of Wulfstan as a writer and orator. The homilies are home to a number of notes and passages regarding church dues. The majority of these discuss church dues in an analogous manner. Thus, we come across lists often denoting the full variety of church dues in all of them; church-scot, light-scot, soul-scot, the tithe and *Romfeoh.* Greater effort is made to provide the dates the church dues are expected to be paid, and just what they would constitute.[91] Thus, the predominant theme in the homilies is one of providing clarity. The similarity with Wulfstan's law-codes, and in some instances verbal borrowings, has been noted and discussed by a number of scholars. Wulfstan's *Be Cristendome,* for instance not only gives a full account of the dues payable to the church, but also the fines (from *Æthelred VIII*) for non-payment. Much akin to in the legislation, Wulfstan denotes the severe fines, from thirty pennies, a trip to Rome and 120 shillings to the king for faulting on *Romfeoh*, to 120 shillings for failure to pay the church-scot.[92] In truth, this homily reads like a law-code.

We also see the incorporation of almsgiving alongside church dues. This is not all that surprising as homilies, by their nature, are ostensibly directed to a wide audience. The encouragement toward proper Christian behaviour is a recurrent element in Wulfstan's homilies.[93] Within them, almsgiving and the payment of church dues are incorporated closely with admonitions to good behaviour, following biblical examples, and protecting oneself from sin. At his exhortative best in the *Sermo Lupi* Wulfstan writes of a people more fulsome with their service to heathen gods, than offering the church and God his rightful dues.[94] Here the failings of the nation are directly coupled with the failure to pay churches. His comparison with those who follow the heathen gods is particularly drastic, and leaves little doubt that *Godes gerihta* are an important and integral part of a well-functioning society. This is hinted at in Wulfstan's reuse of the writings of Caesarius of Arles in *De decimis dandis*.[95] Its focus, as the name suggests, is upon the giving of a tenth to God, the *teoþunge*. This entire sermon appears to reflect the tithe as being part of an exchange. Throughout it stresses the benefit not to the church or God; but rather the givers themselves.[96] Wulfstan states that those unwilling to pay could lose their remaining nine tenths and the entirety of their livelihood. It also highlights the role of the Lord in providing the means for those crops to grow. It also suggests the importance of giving more generally, as a Christian trait, both to God and to others: '*Quicquid enim nobis Deus et plusquam opus est dederit, non nobis*

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[91] See for instance *Homily LXI Be cristendome*, 310-311, at 311 & Wulfstan, *De Cristianitate*,194-99,at 196.
[92] *Homily LXI Be cristendome*, 311.
[93] Wulfstan, *De Cristianitate*,194-99 & *Her ongynđ be cristendome*, 200-210.
[94] *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, 49. 'And the necessity is great for every man henceforth to observe God's law diligently and pay God's dues properly. Among heathen peoples one dare not withhold little or much of what is appointed for the worship of false gods, and we everywhere withhold god's dues all too frequently.' Translation by Swanton in *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, 117.
[95] *De decimis dandis* in T. Hall, 'Wulfstan's Latin Sermons', pp. 115-120; Caesarius of Arles, Sermo XXXIII, 162-164.
[96] *De decimis dandis* in T. Hall, 'Wulfstan's Latin Sermons', 116.

specialiter dedit, set per nos aliis erogando transmisit. Si non dederimus res alienas inuasimus. Si autem damus, retributionem perpetuam sperare possumus ipso largiente qui repromisit bona largire pro bonis et mala econtrario pro malis'.[97]

There are a number of ways to read this. First, it highlights the essential role of giving for Christian men and women, as well as depicting God as a figure who gives to those who deserve it. It also highlights that what God gives beyond what is needed should then be given to others, and that failure to do so is in turn depriving and stealing from those other parties. It is setting forth the original point of origin of these dues and payments as God himself. Those providing the church with the *teoþunge* are not only not givers in the first place, they are instead returners, giving back to God what is already his. The goods never truly belonged to them in the first place. As Wulfstan surmises in another demanding question, '*Nosti quad Domini sunt cuncta que precipis et sua non adcomodas rerum omnium creatori?*'[98]. This idea that the tithe (and possibly the whole spectrum of church dues) belong to God, realigns how Wulfstan perceives this, and indicates why they assume such great importance across his writings. In refusing to provide the Lord with what is His, or not then distributing it in alms or donating it to the church, the society of late Anglo-Saxon England is failing to uphold their end of the bargain. The relationship is not then simply between layman and cleric, but between God and the entirety of Anglo-Saxon society. It is the Lord who provides the bounties of English soil, the weather, and also the church itself, and who asks only that one tenth of what he provides be returned to him. For Wulfstan, it does not appear that the Lord would be wrong to take it all – for it all originally and rightly belongs to him. It is only His virtue and compassion which allows the prospering of earthly fruits. To decry or disbar the obligation of returning to God what is His, is to lose the favour of the Lord.

This also highlights two other important issues: the failing of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and Wulfstan's ambition to create a holy society. For him, the latter was without doubt the answer to former. In regards the failing of the kingdom, the most obvious point to be made is in the extent to which Wulfstan in his legislation and homilies describes and clarifies the various dues payable to the church. The intensification of detail, coupled with the strong secular sanctions of *Æthelred VIII*, *I Cnut* and *Napier LXI*, must certainly suggest a populace hitherto unwilling to pay the correct dues to the church. For Wulfstan, the payment of church dues, which then leads to a stable and ordered church, is a fundamental aspect in steadying a society under increasing attacks from Viking forces. The letter Wulfstan composed for Cnut (1020), recorded in the York Gospels, reinforces this notion further:

'*Nu bidde ic mine arcebisceopas [ond] ealle mine leodbisceopas, þæt hy ealle neodfulle beon ymbe Godes gerihta, ælc on his ende, þe heom betæt is; [ond] eac minum ealdormannum ic*

[97] *Ibid*, 116. Translation at 119: 'For whatever God gives us beyond what we need, he does not give it to us as individuals, but he transmits it through to us to be distributed to others. If we do not give, we rob others of their possessions. If we give, on the other hand, then we have cause to hope for a perpetual reimbursement from the benefactor who has promised to give good things abundantly for good deeds and bad things by contrast for wicked deeds'.

[98] *Ibid* p. 115. Translation at 118. 'You know that everything you receive belongs to the Lord, and yet you will not accommodate the creator of all things by returning to him what belongs to him?'.

beode þæt hy fylstan þam biscopum to Godes gerihtum [ond] to minum kynescype [ond] to ealles folces þearfe'.[99]

This, written after the Scandinavian conquest of England, and towards the end of Wulfstan's career and life, still reflects the importance of church dues to the nation as a whole. For the stability of the kingdom *all* of God's dues must maintained at *all* times. This of course heightens Wulfstan's probable belief that during the reign of Æthelred church dues most probably were not being paid; and thus in his mind damaging society and social order. Church dues, then, provide an illuminating glance into the failing of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and Wulfstan's perception of their importance within it.

This leads onto the archbishop's theories on a holy society. A number of Wulfstan's writings merge the concepts of church dues with almsgiving. The deliberate confusion between paying the church and entering into almsgiving at the same time creates the potential for redemption.[100] The prologue Wulfstan writes for *Æthelred VIIa* sets the scene: *'Ðis man gerædde ða se micelle here com to lande. Ealle we beþurfan þæt we geornlice earnian þæt we Godes miltse [ond] his mildheortnesse habban moton [ond] þæt we þurh his fultum magon feondum wiðstandan.'*[101] This creates a demonstrable allusion of penance and heightens the redemptive qualities offered by almsgiving. The redemptive quality offered by alms and dues was quite simply for Wulfstan *the answer*, or certainly *an answer*, to the Viking incursions. They were also the first step in the creation of a true holy society. As the closing statement of *Æthelred VIIa* remarks, '*æghwilce geare heononforð gelæste man gerihta huru rigtlice, wið ðam þe us God ælmihtig gemilsige [ond] us geunne þæt we ure fynd ofercum motan*'.[102] Wulfstan saw church dues and alms as intermittent and bilateral forms of payment, with the ultimate aim of redeeming the sins of the nation. Only through the creation of his holy society, a realm turned from sin and willing to repent before God, could the kingdom be saved.

Church dues draw attention to the interaction of church and state, and the role of the king. In his *Institutes* Wulfstan sets out very clearly the responsibilities of the Christian king.[103] The emphasis for Wulfstan is on the king's role as protector of the rights of the church, and his upholding of *rihtre lage* (just law). The archbishop's notes on church dues provide an illustration of this. Whilst his earliest legislation simply references a fine, his later work closely enmeshes the rights of the church with the protection and possible retribution of the king. It is the king who is now mentioned as the receiver of 120 shillings for lack of payment to the church. This reflects church dues becoming an integral aspect of the king's law, and

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[99] *Letter from Cnut to the People of England*, *C&S*, vol. I, 435-441, at 437-438. 'Now I pray my archbishops and all my diocesan bishops, that they all may be zealous about God's dues, each in the district which is entrusted to him; and also I charge my ealdormen that they help the bishops in furthering God's rights and my royal dignity and the benefit of all the people'.

[100] See A. Olson, 'Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England', 146-193.

[101] *Æthelred VIIa*, *C&S*, vol. I, Prologue, 379. 'This was decreed when the great army came to the country. All of us need eagerly to merit that we may obtain God's mercy and his compassion and that we may be able through his help to withstand our enemies'.

[102] *Ibid*, p. 382. 'And every year henceforth God's dues are to be paid at any rate correctly, to the end that Almighty God may have mercy on us and grant that we may overcome our enemies.'

[103] Wulfstan, *Institutes of Polity*, §4-§7, 41.

thus, privy to a king's fine and punishment. Each of these ideas belong to the wider sphere of redemption and penance that dominate the archbishop's writings from 1009 onwards. It was a common-held belief amongst ecclesiastical writers, Carolingians and Anglo-Saxon, that the behaviour of a king had actual ramifications upon the condition of the realm. Responsible for the spiritual health of his kingdom, if the king instead abused the church or did not protect it, then the kingdom would fall. Æthelred, in the early years of his kingship, could at the very least be accused of not protecting the church; at the most of abusing it. Yet with Wulfstan's legislative and ecclesiastical writing, the king is again seen as the figure in charge of his nation's spiritual welfare, and in truth appears to be leading by example. If anyone challenges church dues, they do not have to answer to irate mass-priests or blustering bishops, or simply pay a fine. Instead they have to answer to the laws and authority of the king. Church dues permit us to see the idealised concept of kingship at the head of Wulfstan's holy society, and perhaps also it functioning in reality.

Closing Thoughts

To close, church dues permeate and pervade the writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York. We can see them in all aspects of his work, from the official legislation drafted on behalf of Æthelred and Cnut, to his eloquent and exhortatory homilies. It is possible to witness a development in Wulfstan's thoughts and ideas regarding church dues, and much greater clarification and details are given in his writings. We can also see their growing importance, not just in the mind of the archbishop, but within the Anglo-Saxon state around him. Their lack of payment directly constituted punishment by God in the form of the Viking raids. To arrest the decline of the state Wulfstan placed greater emphasis, with full secular authority, upon church payments. Equally, however, he seemed to deliberately merge the payments with concepts of *almsgiving*, bestowing upon them redemptive qualities. This redemption, and repentance, through the correct paying of church dues, and the correct teaching and guidance offered by the clergy, can be seen as an integral aspect of Wulfstan's vision for the holy society. What must surely be seen in light of this analysis is the importance of church payments not principally as a source of fiscal revenue, but as a reflection on a well-ordered Christian state. One in which the church provided spiritual guidance for the laity, and one protected by the king's power. It was just and right to return to God what was already His. It was Wulfstan's burden as a representative of the Anglo-Saxon episcopacy to exhort the people around him of the dangers of sin, to preserve the spiritual health of the nation, and to defend the church. The final thought must be that for Wulfstan, these payments carried with them great importance and great power. Ecclesiastical payments offered a path of salvation. They are foundation stones in Wulfstan's construction of a holy society.

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