

The Origins of Peter's Pence*

One of the most remarkable aspects of the special relationship which linked the English people with Rome in the early Middle Ages was the establishment of an annual payment to the papacy consisting of one penny collected from every household in England. Contemporaries applied various Latin and Old English terms to this payment, which would later be known as Peter's Pence: *pecunia romana* ('Roman money'), *Romgescot* ('Rome payment'), *Rompenincg* ('Rome penny'), *Romfeoh* ('Rome money') and others.¹ Its Anglo-Saxon origins are well known, and are duly acknowledged by the recently revamped Vatican web site for the promotion of the *Obolo di San Pietro*.² The pre-Conquest credentials of Peter's Pence were already well established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when historians such as William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris attributed its foundation to either King Ine (688–726) or Offa (757–96).³ The most recent modern

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¹ The evidence for the vernacular terminology is laid out in O. Timofeeva, 'Of ledenum bocum to engliscum gereorde: Bilingual Communities of Practice in Anglo-Saxon England', in J. Kopaczyk and A.H. Jucker, eds., *Communities of Practice in the History of English* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp. 201–23, at 216–17.

² 'Obolo di San Pietro', available at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/obolo_spietro/documents/history_it.html (accessed 15 June 2017).

³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum/The History of the English Kings*, II. 109, ed. and tr. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (2 vols., Oxford, 1998–9), i. 158–9; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia*

contribution to scholarship on the topic is a brief but elegant survey by Henry Loyn. In this, he wrote that, although there was a pre-existing tradition of individual agents making monetary gifts to Rome, it was the period *circa* 960–1030 that saw ‘the regularization of Peter’s Pence, an attempt to create a permanent administration to cope with it, and an attempt to extend it to newly converted territories’.⁴

This study takes Loyn’s analysis of Peter’s Pence as its point of departure, together with the burgeoning research into other aspects of early medieval Rome and its English connections which has flourished in recent decades.⁵ The latter has demonstrated the need to cast a wide net, and take into account not only law codes and narrative histories from both England and Rome, but also charters,

Anglorum/History of the English People, IV. 20, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 246–7; *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica, sive Flores historiarum*, ed. H.O. Coxe (4 vols., London, 1841–4), i. 216; *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series, lvii (7 vols., 1872–83), i. 360.

⁴ H. Loyn, ‘Peter’s Pence’, *Lambeth Palace Library Annual Report* (1989), pp. 10–20, repr. in and cited from his *Society and Peoples: Studies in the History of England and Wales, c.600–1200* (London, 1992), pp. 241–58, at 245. There is also extensive earlier literature: major contributions include W.E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England* (2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1939–62); O. Jensen, ‘The “Denarius Sancti Petri” in England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new ser., xv (1901), pp. 171–247, and xix (1905), pp. 209–77; and Paul Fabre, ‘Recherches sur le denier de Saint Pierre en Angleterre au moyen âge’, in *Mélanges G.B. De Rossi: Recueil de travaux en l’honneur de M. le Commandeur Giovanni Battista De Rossi* (Paris, 1892), pp. 159–82.

⁵ The literature on the subject is vast; relevant recent publications include V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 127–96; N. Brooks, ‘Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity’, in J.M.H. Smith, ed., *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 221–46; A. Thacker, ‘In Search of Saints: The English Church and the Cult of Roman Apostles and Martyrs in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries’, *ibid.*, pp. 247–77; F. Tinti, ‘England and the Papacy in the Tenth Century’, in D. Rollason, C. Leyser and H. Williams, eds., *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 163–84; F. Tinti, ed., *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics* (Turnhout, 2014); R. Naismith and F. Tinti, *The Forum Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Bollettino di Numismatica, 55–6; Rome, 2016).

homilies and coin-finds. All have a crucial part to play in elucidating the story of Peter's Pence, which can be traced back to the rising popularity of monetary gifts to Rome among the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh and eighth centuries. These gifts became regular donations during the reigns of individual kings in the late eighth and ninth centuries, and took on a national dimension in the time of Alfred the Great (871–99). This contribution shows that Peter's Pence is best understood as a systematised form of these earlier voluntary gifts to Rome, achieved thanks to strong governance and a sharpening sense of communal religious identity in the late Anglo-Saxon period. In the process, new insights into the emergence of the mature form of the render will be presented. Special attention is paid to a short Old English legal tract known as *Romgescot*, which is likely to represent the earliest attempt at regulating national payments for Rome in the tenth century, as well as a range of narrative and homiletic sources highlighting the importance of the episcopal hierarchy in gathering Peter's Pence from across the kingdom in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. It is argued that top-level systematisation was complemented by more diverse arrangements at the grass-roots level in Kent, Northumbria and East Anglia: the programmatic approach to Peter's Pence emerges as an ideal that was more varied in reality.

The significance of these efforts becomes apparent when the late Anglo-Saxon incarnation of Peter's Pence is set in a broader context. Comparison with its politicised development in England after 1066, and with more occasional offerings to Rome from other parts of Christendom before the eleventh century, demonstrates clearly that Peter's Pence was a remarkably ambitious, tenacious and distinctly Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. What unfolds is a very one-sided story, in which the popes fulfilled a highly regarded but largely passive role. Peter's Pence began as, and until the time of the reform papacy and the Norman Conquest remained, very much an English initiative grounded in reverence for Rome and its apostles and in the strong nexus between church and kingship. This sentiment had its roots in the earliest days of the Roman mission to the Anglo-Saxons, and was consciously and vigorously

cultivated in the tenth century, creating a bond that traversed the wide spaces of mountains and seas in the same way as, it was hoped, regular offerings would span the gulf between heaven and earth.

I

St Peter, as holder of the keys to heaven, held a special appeal for the English, who in the seventh and eighth centuries were still a freshly converted set of peoples.⁶ His authority was a clinching argument, if Bede is to be believed, for King Oswiu in his decision to follow the Roman reckoning of Easter at the synod of Whitby in 664.⁷ Furthermore, it was Peter's heir as bishop of Rome, Gregory the Great (590–604), who had organised and sent Augustine's mission to England in the 590s. Gregory in turn was remembered as the apostle of the English.⁸ This story, and its integral Roman element, was popular from a very early date, and while it undoubtedly strengthened the hand of certain constituencies (not least the see of Canterbury), it just as clearly fed off widespread devotion, manifested in church dedications and much else besides.⁹ The English as a whole thus had cause to hold these Roman saints

⁶ R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ, 2013), pp. 170–71.

⁷ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, III. 25, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (1969; rev. edn., Oxford, 1992), pp. 306–7.

⁸ P.L. Ward, 'An Early Version of the Anglo-Saxon Coronation Ceremony', *English Historical Review*, lvii (1942), pp. 345–61, at 356; *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series. Text*, ed. M. Godden (London, 1979), pp. 72–80; A. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: The Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *Early Medieval Europe*, vii (1998), pp. 59–84.

⁹ The literature is large; see, in particular, W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (London, 1949); P. Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, ed. S. Baxter (Oxford, 2006), pp. 106–34; C. Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe, eds., *Local*

in particular regard, viewing them as ‘intimate invisible friends’ who could act as special patrons and protectors.¹⁰ Roman saints were all the dearer because of their geographical separation from what Abbot Ceolfrith (d. 716), in the dedication verses of the Codex Amiatinus, called ‘the far-off lands of the Angles’ (‘Anglorum extremis ... finibus’).¹¹ Late antique and early medieval Christianity revelled in ‘the facts of distance and the joys of proximity’, placing a high premium on physical closeness, especially when achieving it was a challenge.¹² It was for this reason that English visitors, like other contemporary pilgrims, often stressed not just that they went to Rome, but to the ‘thresholds of the apostles’ (i.e. Peter and Paul, and potentially Gregory).

Gifts to these saints and their earthly servitors were a way of reinforcing the links that tied heaven to earth.¹³ The tradition of taking or sending donations from England to Rome can be traced back to high-status individuals in the seventh century. Kings figure prominently among the earliest donors, such as Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons (685–8), who (according to Bede) went to Rome to be baptised and died there shortly afterwards. He was buried in St Peter’s and the epitaph which Pope Sergius I (687–701) ordered to be placed on his tomb mentioned that he had gone to Rome ‘bearing sacred gifts’ (‘mystica dona gerens’).¹⁴ Other kings sent donations without physically going

Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West (Oxford, 2002), pp. 423–53; A. Thacker, ‘Rome: The Pilgrims’ City in the Seventh Century’, in Tinti, ed., *England and Rome*, pp. 89–139.

¹⁰ The term is from P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London, 1981), p. 50.

¹¹ *Vita Ceolfredi*, ch. 37, ed. and tr. C. Grocock and I.N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 118–19.

¹² Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 86–7.

¹³ H. Foxhall-Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 219–48.

¹⁴ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 7, ed. and tr. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 472–3. On Cædwalla’s epitaph, see R. Sharpe, ‘King Ceadwalla’s Roman Epitaph’, in K. O’Brien O’Keeffe and A. Orchard, eds., *Latin Learning and English Lore:*

to Rome, as when Oswiu, king of Northumbria sent gifts to Pope Vitalian via the priest Wigheard in the mid-660s.¹⁵ Alongside kings, Bede and other early sources also focus on the visits to Rome undertaken by prominent ecclesiastics, such as Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrith and Wilfrid. Accounts of their travels tended to lay more emphasis on what they brought back to England in the form of books, relics and church decorations with which to endow their respective foundations,¹⁶ but occasional reference is made to what they took to Rome as gifts.¹⁷ Most famously, the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith* says that in preparation for one of his trips to Rome, the abbot decided which gifts to offer to St Peter. These included one of the three famous Pandects that he had had copied. The one that he

Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge (2 vols., Toronto, ON, 2005), i. 171–93. Bede tells a similar story about Coenred, king of the Mercians (r. 704–9), who in the early years of the eighth century left his kingdom to go to Rome, became a monk there and spent the rest of his life in the Eternal City ‘occupied in prayer, almsgiving and fasting’: Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 19, ed. and tr. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 516–17. Cædwalla’s successor, Ine, also went to Rome (*ibid.*, V. 7, pp. 472–3), and although Bede does not specify any gifts, Ine was later held to be the founder of Peter’s Pence: see above, n. 3.

¹⁵ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III. 29, ed. and tr. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 318–23. Later in the same work (*ibid.*, IV. 1, pp. 328–9), Bede describes the nature of the gifts taken to Rome by Wigheard: ‘donariis et aureis atque argenteis uasis non paucis’ (‘presents and no small number of gold and silver vessels’).

¹⁶ E.g. Stephen of Ripon, *Vita sancti Wilfridi*, ch. 55, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 140–43; Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, ch. 6, ed. and tr. Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, pp. 34–5.

¹⁷ Such as Stephen of Ripon, *Vita sancti Wilfridi*, ch. 63, ed. and tr. Colgrave, pp. 136–7, which says that Wilfrid planned to take some of the gold, silver and precious stones he had assembled at Ripon to Rome, but died before he could do so. See E. Ó Carragáin and A. Thacker, ‘Wilfrid in Rome’, in N.J. Higham, ed., *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 212–30, at 220, 229.

took with him on his journey is the above-mentioned Codex Amiatinus, preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence.¹⁸

The implication in all these accounts is that donations for St Peter's and other churches in Rome formed a standard part of journeying to the Eternal City. Visits to Rome were, as Bede famously wrote, undertaken by many English people at this time, 'nobles and commons, layfolk and clergy, men and women'.¹⁹ The likelihood is that gifts, great and small, were brought by all of them. Indeed, references to such journeys and the financial efforts that they entailed can be gathered from a wide array of later sources, demonstrating that the practice continued from Bede's time until the Norman Conquest, and extended beyond the kings, bishops and abbots on whom the early histories and saints' lives concentrate.

A charter of 762 reveals that a *minister* of the late Kentish king Æthelberht II (725–62), named Dunwald, was about to travel to Rome, desiring to take money to the thresholds of the apostles for the salvation of Æthelberht's soul.²⁰ Also from Kent are two early ninth-century wills which shed further light on financing visits to Rome. In one case a reeve named Æthelnoth and his wife Gænborg arranged that if one of them should in future embark on a pilgrimage 'south' (i.e. to Rome), they would sell their

¹⁸ *Vita Ceolfredi*, chs. 20, 37, ed. and tr. Grocock and Wood, pp. 98–9 and 116–19. Cf. Bede, *Vita Abbatum*, ch. 15, ed. and tr. Grocock and Wood, pp. 56–9. On the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1), see J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th century* (London, 1978), no. 7.

¹⁹ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 7, ed. and tr. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 472–3.

²⁰ 'Pecuniam illius pro anime eius salute ad limina apostolorum Rome cum aliis perferre desiderans': P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) [hereafter S], 1182; *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanel*, ed. S.E. Kelly (Oxford, 1995), no. 12; cf. *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. N.P. Brooks and S.E. Kelly (Oxford, 2013), pt. 2, p. 815, where it is suggested that the *pecunia* mentioned in this charter was the wergild of King Æthelberht.

land at Eythorn to the bishop.²¹ Another Kentish reeve, Abba, stipulated in his will that if after his death his wife was willing to ‘journey south’, two of his kinsmen were to give her two thousand pence. He also stated that whoever succeeded to his property had to send to St Peter in Rome his wergild (i.e. his life-price) of two thousand pence.²² Similar financial arrangements relating to possible pilgrimages also appear in later ninth-century wills. Sometime between 871 and 889, Ælfred, ealdorman of Sussex, included the provision that if his wife made the journey to Rome after his death, she was to take to St Peter’s his two wergilds (amounting to 1200 shillings each for a man of Ælfred’s position).²³ In the later Anglo-Saxon period several other sources attest to the continuing efforts made to finance the trip to Rome among many different segments of society. Money for almsgiving on arrival was part and parcel of those expenses. Byrhtferth of Ramsey lavished praise on St Oswald of Worcester (d. 992) for the ‘many thousands of pennies’ he distributed while on a journey to Rome.²⁴ Sums of this order were not necessarily exceptional: a charter from the second or third decade of the tenth century, preserved in the Selsey (Sussex) archive, records that a man named Wiohstan, who desired to go on a pilgrimage to Rome with his wife, sold an estate at Up Marden in Sussex to the bishop of Selsey for two thousand

²¹ S 1500; *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. Brooks and Kelly, no. 39A.

²² S 1482; *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. Brooks and Kelly, no. 70.

²³ S 1508; *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. Brooks and Kelly, no. 96. According to a charter preserved in the Worcester archive, another late ninth-century woman named Werthryth sold a property at Marlcliff in Worcestershire when she wished to go on a pilgrimage to Rome: S 222; *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. Walter De Gray Birch (3 vols, London, 1885–99) [hereafter Birch], no. 537. The charter is dubious in various respects, though it is unlikely that many of the details it contains, including the reference to Werthryth, were entirely made up.

²⁴ ‘Multa milia denariorum’: Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, IV. 6, ed. and tr. M. Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 104–5. It is likely that Oswald’s trip was undertaken to collect the pallium, though this is not made explicit by Byrhtferth; see F. Tinti, ‘The Archiepiscopal Pallium in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in ead., ed., *England and Rome*, pp. 307–42, at 316.

pence and a horse.²⁵ People of more limited means were also gathering support for their journeys to Rome in the same period. The gild statutes from Exeter, also from the first half of the tenth century, reveal that each gild member had to provide five pence to help cover the expenses of any other member desiring to go on pilgrimage to Rome.²⁶

II

None of these donations or trips—royal or otherwise—appear to be related to the delivery of regular annual payments, as would be the case with the later Peter’s Pence. The first initiative that presented a degree of regularity and a clear monetary emphasis in the payments sent off to Rome, as opposed to the one-off ventures which characterised the gifts of earlier visitors, is that ascribed to Offa, king of the Mercians, in a letter written by Pope Leo III (795–816) to Coenwulf (796–821), Offa’s successor. The pope urged Coenwulf to maintain the pledge Offa had made at a legatine council in England in 786 to send 365 mancuses of gold to St Peter every year to be used as alms for the poor and to pay for lighting.²⁷ It is tempting to connect this promise with Offa’s political manoeuvrings of 786–7, which involved delicate negotiations with the pope regarding the archbishopric of Lichfield and the consecration of his son.²⁸ Leo stressed—in none too subtle terms—that Offa made good on his pledge

²⁵ S 1206; *Charters of Selsey*, ed. S.E. Kelly (Oxford, 1998), no. 16. Later on, in the mid-eleventh century, a certain Englishman named Ulf bequeathed in his will four marks of silver for St Peter’s in Rome: S 1532; *Charters of St Albans*, ed. J. Crick (Oxford, 2007), no. 13.

²⁶ P. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 168–9; for a translation, see *English Historical Documents*, I: c.500–1042, ed. D. Whitelock (2nd edn., London, 1979), no. 137, p. 605.

²⁷ ‘Pro alimoniis pauperum et luminariorum concinnationes’: ‘Alcuini epistolae’, ed. E. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi, tomus II*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica [hereafter MGH], Epistolae, IV (Berlin, 1895), no. 127, pp. 188–9. On the legatine councils of 786, see C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c.650–c.850* (London, 1995), pp. 153–90.

²⁸ T.F.X. Noble, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Archbishopric of Lichfield in English, Papal, and European Perspective’, in Tinti, ed., *England and Rome*, pp. 291–305, at 294–5.

(adding the words ‘and he did it, too’ [‘quod et fecit’]), but it is not known what Coenwulf’s response was, or whether the practice was maintained beyond Offa’s time.²⁹ A possible material witness to Offa’s payment may survive in the form of one of the most remarkable coins in Anglo-Saxon monetary history: the famous Offa dinar, imitating an ‘Abbasid original of AH 157/AD 773–4, on which the king’s name is inserted into the Arabic inscription.’³⁰ This coin, probably one of those known as a

²⁹ In his *Flores Historiarum*, Roger of Wendover told of a trip that King Offa supposedly made to Rome in connection with a request for privileges and liberties for the monastery of St Alban’s. The trip is extremely unlikely to have taken place, but it provided Wendover with the opportunity to mention Offa’s grant to the *schola Saxonum* in Rome of a penny from every English family that had landed possessions worth thirty pence or more: *Rogeri de Wendover ... Flores Historiarum*, ed. Coxe, pp. 256–7. The *schola Saxonum* was one of several early medieval *scholae peregrinorum* situated near the Vatican basilica. They seem to have been particularly active in the eighth and ninth centuries, as attested by the *Liber Pontificalis*. Their origin, nature and purposes cannot be identified with absolute certainty, but one of their main functions was to provide assistance and hospitality to visiting fellow countrymen. See W.J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (Fribourg, 1937) and, more recently, R. Santangeli Valenzani, ‘Hosting Foreigners in Early Medieval Rome: From *xenodochia* to *scholae peregrinorum*’, in Tinti, ed., *England and Rome*, pp. 69–88. See also F. Tinti, ‘The English Presence in Rome in the Late Anglo-Saxon Period: Change or Continuity?’, in S. DeGregorio and P. Kershaw, eds., *Cities, Saints and Communities in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, forthcoming).

³⁰ The coin (now in the British Museum, no. 1913,1213.1: R. Naismith, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, LXVII: *British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Coins II: Southern English Coinage from Offa to Alfred, c.760–880* [Oxford, 2016], no. 3) forms part of a wider imitative group from western Europe: L. Ilisch, ‘Die imitativen “solidi mancusi”: “Arabische” Goldmünzen der Karolingerzeit’, in A. Röpcke and R. Cunz, eds., *Fundamenta Historiae: Geschichte im Spiegel der Numismatik und ihrer Nachbarwissenschaften. Festschrift für Niklot Klüßendorf zum 60. Geburtstag am 10. Februar 2004* (Hanover, 2004), pp. 91–106.

mancus/mancosus in the eighth century,³¹ first surfaced in Rome in the mid-nineteenth century, and may have been found there or in the vicinity.³²

A generation later a ruler from a different kingdom, Æthelwulf, king of the West Saxons (839–58), revived the tradition of kings going to Rome—with the important difference that he had every intention of returning. His trip in 855 is attested by several sources,³³ among them the Life of Pope Benedict III in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which provides a detailed description of the king’s pious donations. These included gold and silver objects as well as precious vestments. Moreover, upon the pope’s request, the king also made a public distribution of money in the church of St Peter.³⁴ What brings Æthelwulf’s act closer to the later institution of Peter’s Pence is the information provided by Asser’s Life of Alfred, according to which Æthelwulf stipulated in his will that 300 mancuses should be taken to Rome every year and then divided in three parts: one each for lighting in St Peter’s and in S. Paolo fuori le mura, and a third part for the pope himself. Whether these exact instructions were carried out after Æthelwulf’s death is unclear, although they may have contributed to the evolution of gifts to Rome in the reign of his son Alfred the Great.

In some respects Alfred’s practice built on that of his father’s regular royal gift, and, looking further back, on the regular annual donations of Offa. The distinctive nature of Alfred’s payments emerges from the annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the 880s. In some versions the first reference

³¹ R. Naismith, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, VIII: *Britain and Ireland, c.400–1066* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 366 (with references to further literature).

³² M. Blackburn, ‘Gold in England during the “Age of Silver” (Eighth–Eleventh Centuries)’, in J. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams, eds., *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Walnut Creek, CA, 2007), pp. 55–98, at 61–2; R. Naismith, *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern English Kingdoms, 757–865* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 112–14.

³³ *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer (2 vols., Oxford, 1892–9), ii. 80–81.

³⁴ *Le Liber pontificalis*, Benedict III, ch. 34, ed. L. Duchesne (2 vols., Paris, 1886–92), ii. 148 (tr. R. Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes* [Liverpool, 1995], pp. 186–7).

appears in the year 883,³⁵ but it is from the year 887 that the Chronicle begins to include a more significant sequence of references to the conveyance of alms from England to Rome.³⁶ If up to this time sources normally referred to donations taken or sent by kings as personal pious gifts, sometimes connected with the decision to finish their days at the thresholds of the apostles, from this year the Chronicle starts to make explicit reference to both the king and the West Saxon people as senders of alms (‘Weastseaxna ælmeſsan 7 Ælfredes cyninges’).³⁷ The reference to the West Saxon people, which also appears in the entries provided for the years 888 and 890, represents a turning-point, demonstrating that in the eyes of the chronicler these payments now involved the whole nation of the West Saxons, rather than just their ruler. It is, moreover, striking in the climate of the 880s—immediately after Alfred had been acknowledged as overlord of the Mercians and, in effect, ‘king of the Anglo-Saxons’ at London in 886³⁸—that the offerings to Rome were credited to the West Saxons

³⁵ ‘Sigeheilm and Athelstan took to Rome ... the alms which King Alfred had vowed to send there when they besieged the raiding-army at London’: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, tr. M. Swanton (London, 1996), p. 79. This information is only preserved in MSS BCDE of the Chronicle. As it is also absent from Æthelweard’s Chronicle and Asser’s Life of Alfred, it is probably an addition to the common stock. See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, III: *MS A*, ed. J. Bately (Cambridge, 1986), p. cvii. Although it has generally been regarded as a misplaced piece of information referring to a campaign which immediately preceded Alfred’s occupation of London in 886, Simon Keynes has suggested that it may in fact belong where it sits, that is, to the year 883: S. Keynes, ‘King Alfred and the Mercians’, in M.A.S. Blackburn and D.N. Dumville, eds., *Kings, Currencies and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45, at 22–3.

³⁶ *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Plummer, i. 78–83; S. Irvine, ‘The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature’, in T. Reuter, ed., *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 63–77.

³⁷ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, VII: *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004), p. 53. The text also occurs in MSS ABCD.

³⁸ Keynes, ‘Alfred and the Mercians’, pp. 24–45; S. Keynes, ‘Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons’, in N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill, eds., *Edward the Elder, 899–924* (London, 2001), pp. 40–66.

alone. For this and many other purposes, the two main segments of Alfred's domain still cleaved to their own identities and traditions,³⁹ which Alfred could invoke in Wessex for donative purposes. Whatever mechanism Alfred called on did not extend to Mercia, which may or may not have had its own arrangements. Within Wessex, Alfred possibly had coins produced for such eleemosynary purposes: an exceptional coinage of large silver pieces was struck carrying the inscriptions +ÆL/FRED RE/X SAXO/NVM ('Alfred, king of the Saxons') and ELI/MO[sina] ('alms'), while several penny-size specimens of similar design carry the names of towns which hosted important religious foundations in Wessex, which might have been either recipients of or contributors to special forms of payment tied closely to the good of the West Saxons and their king.⁴⁰ Offerings to Rome, however they were raised, had evidently become a routine occurrence by Alfred's time. The Chronicle states in the annal for 889 that 'In this year there was no expedition to Rome, except that King Alfred sent two couriers with letters'.⁴¹ For a Chronicle which, as is typical of the genre, is not normally rich in detailed information to specify a non-payment is remarkable, and contributes to the impression that these donations to Rome were acquiring new connotations which set them apart from earlier initiatives. The Chronicle also begins at this point to spell out the names of those who were entrusted with the task of taking alms to

³⁹ G. Molyneux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 50–68.

⁴⁰ Naismith, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 172–3. The one whole specimen of the larger coinage weighs 10.46 grams, which may have been intended as either six pennies on the Carolingian standard (c.1.75 grams) (R.H.M. Dolley, 'The So-Called Piedforts of Alfred the Great', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th ser., xlv [1954], pp. 76–92, at 79) or—if intended for Rome—eight pennies on the prevailing papal standard of c.1.30 grams (P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* [Cambridge, 1986], p. 263).

⁴¹ S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources* (London, 1983), p. 113.

Rome; these were senior secular or ecclesiastic officers, with Ealdorman Æthelhelm going in 887, Ealdorman Beocca in 888 and Abbot Beornhelm of St Augustine's Canterbury in 890.⁴²

This evidently strong interest in Rome and the papacy may have stemmed from Alfred's trips to Rome as a boy in the 850s, during which he experienced a veritable grand tour of papal Rome and Carolingian west Francia.⁴³ As well as being invested by the pope (so Asser says) as a budding monarch, he would have witnessed his father's distribution of largesse (and his subsequent bequest of more regular donations)—and in the process learned the importance of the resting-place of St Peter. Whether Alfred's immediate heirs took the same lesson to heart is less clear. Kings of the West Saxons (and subsequently kings of the Anglo-Saxons and the English) between Edward the Elder (899–924) and Edgar (959–75) did not have such a well recorded relationship with Rome and the papacy. The only reference to money being taken from England to Rome on behalf of the king and people between 899 and 959 occurs in the chronicle of Æthelweard in the annal for 908. This states that Archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury (890–923) took to Rome alms donated by the *populus* and King Edward.⁴⁴

⁴² In the entry for 883 the Chronicle does not specify any title for Sigehelm or Athelstan (see above, n. 35), though, given the high status of those who took alms to Rome in the following years, it is tempting to associate this Sigehelm with the *minister regis* Sigehelm in the list of attestations for a charter issued in 875: S 1203; *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. Brooks and Kelly, no. 94. The name Athelstan was far more common: a *dux* by this name attested a Winchester episcopal lease issued between 871 and 877 (S 1275; Birch, no. 543); and at least two West Saxon *ministri* called Athelstan are known to have been flourishing in the late 870s and early 880s (S 352; Birch, no. 549). One of these was also the recipient of a diploma of Alfred of 882 granting land in Somerset in exchange for thirty mancuses (S 345; Birch, no. 550).

⁴³ S. Keynes, 'Alfred the Great and the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons', in N.G. Discenza and P. Szarmach, eds., *A Companion to Alfred the Great* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 13–46, at 27. See also S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the Liber Vitae of Brescia', in J. Roberts and J.L. Nelson with M. Godden, eds., *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 99–119.

⁴⁴ *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), pp. 51–2. For the significance of this annal in relation to tenth-century systems of collecting the English payment to Rome, see below, at n. 67.

Nonetheless, there is reason to believe that these intervening years constituted a formative period in the development of more regular and systematic payments from England to Rome. Two forms of evidence are crucial: a short and problematic piece of legislation known as *Romgescot*; and finds of English coins from Rome.

Romgescot is preserved in British Library, Cotton Nero A. I (fo. 48r), in which it—along with a short Old English tract on the unjust judge known as *Iudex*—is sandwiched between the *capitula* of the laws of Alfred and Ine and the beginning of the actual text of Alfred’s code. It runs as follows:

Romgescot sý agifen on sanctus petrus mæssedæg ær undern æfter middesumera; gif hit hwa forgumie, gylde .lx scill. 7 be twelffealdan agife þene rompenincg.⁴⁵

Rome-tribute shall be rendered early in the morning on St Peter’s Day after midsummer. If anyone neglects it, he is to pay 60 shillings and render 12 times the Rome-penny.

Although this section of Cotton Nero A. I dates to the third quarter of the eleventh century, the wording (including the sanction for failed payments) of *Romgescot* closely reflects that employed in a passage

⁴⁵ The text is here edited from the Cotton Nero manuscript. The language employed is late West Saxon, that is, contemporary with the date of the manuscript in which this version survives. But it is certainly possible—indeed, likely—that the text originates earlier and has been updated in some regards. The term *rom(ge)scot* is otherwise found mostly in texts of the mid-eleventh century and later (such as *Romscot de Eastekent*, discussed below), though philologically there is no barrier to its having been current already in the tenth century, and in the early eleventh century *-scot* was used with the sense of payment or due (for example, *leohtgescot* in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, I, pt i: 871–1066, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke [Oxford, 1981], p. 393, citing V Æthelred). It should be noted that in *Romgescot*, the payment is also referred to as *rompenincg*, which is more characteristic of the late tenth- and early eleventh-century material, suggesting that the passage was not concocted in the later eleventh century. The word *forgumie* is also of interest, as verbs in *-gumian* are rare and only attested in late Old English; however, it is perfectly possible that it is just a late scribe’s reworking of an earlier *forgyme* or *forgieme*: Richard Dance, personal communication with the authors.

of the laws of Ine regulating the payment of church-scot, the oldest form of ecclesiastical tribute exacted among the Anglo-Saxons.⁴⁶ Ine's text reads:

Ciricsceattas sin agifene be scē martines mæssan; gif hwa ðæt ne gelæste, sie he scyldig .lx. scill.
7 be .xii. fealdum agife þone ciricsceat.

Church-scots shall be rendered at Martinmas. If anyone fails to do so, he shall forfeit 60 shillings and render 12 times the church-scots.⁴⁷

Despite these similarities, *Romgescot* cannot date from as far back as the reign of Ine. As we have seen, sources from his time normally refer to voluntary pious donations taken to Rome rather than any form of regularised dues. The passage's actual origins probably lie at a significantly later point. Since Ine's laws appear only to have circulated in association with those of Alfred,⁴⁸ Patrick Wormald inferred that *Romgescot* was devised as a supplement to the collection in the time of Alfred or after, in an exemplar earlier than Nero A. I. It may have been created for insertion between the *capitula* and

⁴⁶ On church-scot, see J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 157–60 and 434–49, and F. Tinti, 'The "Costs" of Pastoral Care: Church Dues in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in ead., ed., *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 27–51.

⁴⁷ Text and translation adapted from *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. F.L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 36–7. The edition is based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, to which the law-code was added in the 930s. Ine's text on church-scot shows linguistic features in line with the date of the manuscript. It should be noted that Nero A. I only contains the *capitula* of Ine's law-code and not the main text itself, for which reason it is not possible to compare the exact wording of the two passages in this particular manuscript. The relationship of *-(ge)scot* and *-sceat* is complicated. The two were of similar meaning and indeed were sometimes used side by side (see *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, pp. 392–3, citing VIII Æthelred). Their background and development are unclear: Brittany Schorn, personal communication with the authors.

⁴⁸ Ine's code, *Early English Laws* (University of London, 2009–), available at <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/Ine/> (accessed 16 June 2017).

Alfred's law code, or copied from a different location in an earlier manuscript (perhaps in the margins).⁴⁹ *Romgescot* differs in several meaningful ways from later treatments of payment to Rome, as represented in the legislation of Edgar, Æthelred II and Cnut. A regular and broadly coherent new approach is applied to collections for Rome in these codes, far removed from that of *Romgescot*, which is rooted in the legal context of Ine and Alfred. Even the fine it stipulates is lifted from Ine's legislation on church-scot, and thus lays down a far lighter penalty than was exacted for non-payment in subsequent times.⁵⁰ It is difficult to imagine why a late Anglo-Saxon law-maker would have abandoned a thriving set of current practices and delved back into the seventh and ninth centuries, for which reason *Romgescot* is best placed in the period between the composition of Alfred's laws and the time of Edgar. By the 880s Alfred and the West Saxon people as a whole were regularly sending tribute to Rome. There must, therefore, have been mechanisms for collection of money by that stage. But neither Alfred's laws, nor those of his immediate successors from Edward the Elder to Edmund (939–46),⁵¹ make any reference to what these mechanisms may have been. *Romgescot* may have originated as an attempt to fill in that legislative gap.⁵² Its similarity to legislation on church-scot may imply that

⁴⁹ P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), p. 227. Cf. P. Wormald, 'Papers Preparatory to *The Making of English Law*, II: *From God's Law to Common Law*', ed. S. Baxter and J. Hudson (London, 2014), p. 52, available at <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/reference/wormald/> (accessed 16 June 2017).

⁵⁰ See below, at n. 57.

⁵¹ A code of King Edmund, often interpreted as containing the earliest dated reference to a tribute for Rome, in fact refers to a more general *ælmesfeoh* ('alms money'), modified to *Romfeoh 7 sulhælmessan* in one mid-eleventh-century manuscript (Corpus Christi College 201) which belongs to a group of texts associated with Archbishop Wulfstan. See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 309.

⁵² On the late West Saxon features of the language of *Romgescot* as a reflection of the date of the manuscript in which it has been preserved, see above n. 45.

contributions were collected in a similar way (i.e. through ‘mother-churches’ or minsters), but must have either been gathered in coin, or commuted to precious metal from offerings in kind.

Numismatic evidence can also help to fill this early tenth-century void. Coin-finds from Rome and its environs provide a quite distinct barometer of Anglo-Saxon monetary interests in the city. Finds from the period *circa* 900–70 include a total of four hoards consisting mostly or entirely of English coins, plus up to eight single finds (with more from the rest of Italy).⁵³ This is significantly more than from the preceding or subsequent century; moreover, coming at a relative low point in Italian monetary circulation, these Anglo-Saxon finds in fact make up the majority of what has been uncovered from Rome from the period.⁵⁴ They also date from a time when single finds in England are comparatively few, thus indicating that they are not simply a reflection of Anglo-Saxon monetary wealth.⁵⁵ Notable amounts of Anglo-Saxon currency were therefore finding their way south of the Alps, and they constitute powerful evidence for the continuing allure of monetary donations to Rome. The donative context is most explicit in the case of the so-called Forum hoard, the largest and best-recorded find of this period, which includes a pair of fasteners identifying the assemblage of some 830 coins as a gift for Pope Marinus II (942–6). Other aspects of the find indicate that it may have been brought to Rome by someone with connections to the London area—possibly Theodred, bishop of London (d. 951 ×

⁵³ C.E. Blunt, ‘Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Italy’, in M. Blackburn, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (Leicester, 1986), pp. 159–69; R. Naismith, ‘Peter’s Pence and Before: Numismatic Links between Anglo-Saxon England and Rome’, in Tinti, ed., *England and Rome*, pp. 217–53; Naismith and Tinti, *Forum Hoard*, p. 41.

⁵⁴ Naismith, ‘Peter’s Pence and Before’, p. 225.

⁵⁵ R. Naismith, ‘Prelude to Reform: Tenth-Century English Coinage in Perspective’, in R. Naismith, M.R. Allen and E.M. Screen, eds., *Early Medieval Monetary History in Memory of Mark Blackburn* (Aldershot, 2014), pp. 39–83.

953), who is known to have visited Italy during the period when the hoard was put together.⁵⁶ It is substantially smaller in scale than the payments that would become Peter's Pence, and more probably represents the offering of an individual, institution or region. But the Forum hoard, along with others like it, demonstrates a strong continuation of pious generosity towards the Eternal City in the era between Alfred and Edgar. These coin-finds form an essential part of the backdrop to the increasing systematisation of such payments in the subsequent period.

III

It is early in the reign of Edgar that the first clear reference to the Anglo-Saxon precursor of Peter's Pence appears in a securely dated law code. This text, known as II Edgar and probably issued between 959 and 962, stipulated that a *heorðpæning* ('hearth-penny', where 'hearth' is probably a metonym for a homestead) was to be paid by St Peter's Day. The code also specifies that those who did not pay by the appointed day had to take their penny to Rome, pay thirty pence in addition, bring back a document from Rome attesting the payment and, finally, pay 120 shillings to the king. The code goes on to add that 'if he again will not pay it, he is again to take it to Rome with another such compensation; and when he comes home he is to pay 200 shillings to the king'. Measures became even more draconian if the recalcitrant payer held back a third time, as in this case 'he is to forfeit all that he owns'.⁵⁷ As the first royal pronouncement on the common need to pay dues for Rome, II Edgar shows Roman tributes being incorporated into the ambitiously normative kingship of the later tenth century,⁵⁸ ushering in the firm and regulated approach that would characterise the period from around the 960s until the Norman Conquest. There was an expectation that the tribute should consist of a penny from each household,

⁵⁶ The hoard is now preserved in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo). For catalogue and discussion, see Naismith and Tinti, *Forum Hoard*.

⁵⁷ *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, pp. 100–101.

⁵⁸ A case made most strongly in Molyneaux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, esp. pp. 116–94.

and be collected across the king's domain—not just in Wessex. Two major themes stand out in the law codes, homilies and other texts which make up this tradition: fines for failing to pay what was due for Rome; and mechanisms for the collection of those dues.

Regulation of Peter's Pence in these terms appears especially prominent in the early decades of the eleventh century, mainly thanks to the copious legislative and homiletic production of Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023). The earliest of the texts he wrote to mention *Romfeoh*—Wulfstan's preferred term for money due to Rome, at least in a legislative context—is the tract known as the Laws of Edward and Guthrum, which, despite its name and the long-standing scholarly acceptance of its status as an authentic piece of early tenth-century Anglo-Saxon legislation, was demonstrated by Dorothy Whitelock to have been composed by the archbishop, probably shortly after he ascended to the York see in 1002.⁵⁹ The context of its composition and the reasons for presenting these laws as the fruit of an early tenth-century agreement are not clear, though it has been suggested that the text represents Wulfstan's reaction to the situation he found in the north of the country after his election to York. The section dealing with church dues is not particularly detailed; it does not specify when each of the dues covered had to be paid, and the penalty for failed payment, which is the only aspect of church dues fully addressed in this text, is described in every case (including in the passage on *Romfeoh*) in very generic terms: *lahslit* should be paid among the Danes and a fine among the English.⁶⁰ *Romfeoh* is also briefly discussed (together with other church dues) in the so-called Canons of Edgar, another text that Wulfstan may have sought to endow with the weight of earlier authority, even though the rubric referring to Edgar which appears in an early version was substituted

⁵⁹ D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the So-Called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', *English Historical Review*, lvi (1941), pp. 1–21. For text and translation, see *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, pp. 302–13.

⁶⁰ *Lahslit* is a term from Old Norse here used to indicate the Danish analogue to Old English compensation payments. See A. Rabin, *The Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York* (Manchester, 2015), p. 57 n. 8.

with a more generic one referring to synodical decrees in later versions of the same text.⁶¹ The Canons of Edgar instruct priests on when they should remind the faithful about their duty to pay church dues, and proceed to provide a list of ecclesiastical tributes and their respective due dates, with *Romfeoh* assigned to the traditional St Peter's Day.⁶² The Canons of Edgar may represent an ecclesiastical counterpart to the more secular matter covered in Edward and Guthrum, a hypothesis which would accord with the focus on fines which characterises the latter text, as distinct from the ecclesiastical context of the former, which was probably a code for secular priests.⁶³

Fuller treatment of *Romfeoh* reappears in Æthelred II's later legislation, which, as is well known, was also largely written by Archbishop Wulfstan. References to the payment for Rome appear on three occasions. The first of these (V Æthelred) occurs in a version of the legislation promulgated at Enham in 1008, in which a request is made for *Romfeoh* to be paid by St Peter's Day, in keeping with the style and vocabulary also used in the Canons of Edgar.⁶⁴ In the Latin paraphrase of VI Æthelred (VI Lat.), also related to the Enham legislation of 1008, however, there is an additional reference to the role of bishops in the collection of these renders:

Pecunia quoque romana erga beatorum sollempnitatem apostolorum Petri et Pauli pontificibus per singulos annos reddatur.⁶⁵

Roman money has to be rendered to the bishops on the feast of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul every year.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁶² *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, pp. 331–2.

⁶³ Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 85.

⁶⁴ Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 340.

⁶⁵ *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, p. 368.

It is striking that such detailed information should only be provided in VI Lat., the version of the 1008 Enham legislation which was probably meant for the higher ecclesiastics, in contrast to the Old English version which provides more relevant guidance for local priests.⁶⁶ The specific reference to *pontifices* is thus provided in the version of the code composed in Latin for the benefit of those who, according to the code itself, would have been responsible for the collection of the Roman money at diocesan level. Although only mentioned explicitly for the first time in the 1000s, there is reason to believe that a similar system had been in place for some time. Æthelweard, in adapting the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's annal for 887 during the 970s or 980s, introduced the word *diocesseos* in relation to the English offerings for Rome.⁶⁷ This reference to the role of ecclesiastical organisation in the payments was not in the Old English text, and is more likely to reflect the conditions of Æthelweard's own time, projected onto an earlier era. Earlier precedents for a system of this kind are not known from England. Bishops played an important part in the administration of tithes in the Carolingian Empire from the early ninth century, though this was more a matter of confirming proper use at baptismal churches than amassing the whole sum.⁶⁸ Something much closer to the late Anglo-Saxon mechanism for collecting Peter's Pence comes in the decrees of the synod of Erfurt in June 932, which included the command

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 342.

⁶⁷ *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. Campbell, pp. 47–8: 'Dux Eðelhelm diocesseos Anglorum pro populo accepta a rege pecuniæ non exigam partem adiit Romam'. Campbell translates this as 'Ealdorman Æthelhelm went to Rome on behalf of the people of the church of the English, having received a large sum of money from the king', which does not convey the significance of *diocesseos*. Compare the earlier translation by J.A. Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles* (London, 1848), p. 34: 'Duke Ethelhelm received no small part of the money paid from the diocese of the English by the king for the people and went to Rome'.

⁶⁸ J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950–1150* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. pp. 68–9. Cf. J. Semmler, 'Zehntgebot und Pfarrtermination im karolingischer Reich', in H. Mordek, ed., *Aus Kirche und Reich: Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 33–44.

that each man should give a penny to his priest, who would in turn pass them on to the bishop for whatever eleemosynary purposes he saw fit.⁶⁹ This provision has often been read as an adaptation of mechanisms instated to raise tribute for the Hungarians (which Henry the Fowler (919–36) had ceased paying that same year),⁷⁰ but also reflects close co-operation between king and people, and a relaxation of elite control over ecclesiastical affairs.⁷¹ Similar circumstances were taking shape in tenth-century England, and familiarity with East Frankish mechanisms such as those established at Erfurt may have influenced the handling of tributes for Rome.⁷²

It is only in the law code VIII Æthelred (dating to the year 1014), that fines for missed payments reappear. After establishing that *Romfeoh* was to be rendered every year by St Peter's Day, this legal code goes on to impose a fine similar to that required by II Edgar, except that it is not necessary to convey it to Rome and no harsher penalties are laid down for repeat offenders.⁷³ A similar pattern is repeated in Cnut's laws of the early 1020s (I Cnut), which are also the fruit of Archbishop Wulfstan's legislative activities. The tribute continued to be called *Romfeoh* and the penalty was the same as that established in VIII Æthelred, though in this case we find more explicit evidence of the role played by

⁶⁹ *Concilia aevi Saxonici DCCCCXVI–MI/Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens, 916–1001*, ed. E.-D. Hehl, MGH, Concilia, VI (2 vols., Hanover, 1987–2007), i. 112. A closely associated meeting was held at *Dingolfing* in Bavaria six weeks after that at Erfurt (*ibid.*, i. 124); it incorporates and modifies these provisions, specifying that the collection by the priest should be made on Palm Sunday (rather than the Monday before the Assumption, as stipulated at Erfurt) and handed over to the bishop on holy Thursday.

⁷⁰ For example, G. Caro, 'Der Ungartribut unter Heinrich I.', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, xx (1899), pp. 276–81.

⁷¹ G. Althoff, *Amicitiae und Pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1992), pp. 79–81.

⁷² See, in general, A. Bihrer, *Begegnungen zwischen dem ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich und England (850–1100)* (Ostfildern, 2012).

⁷³ *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, p. 392.

the diocesan organisation in collecting the tribute, as the withheld penny, together with thirty additional ones, must be given *þam bisceope*.⁷⁴

Wulfstan's homilies have much in common with the legal codes that he produced. Four homilies in particular deal with church dues.⁷⁵ Of these four, the earliest is probably Napier 22, in which the dues for Rome are called *Rompenegas* ('Rome pennies') and are simply listed together with other yearly church dues, such as plough-alms or church-scot, 'that our elders once before promised to God'.⁷⁶ In Napier 50, which Wormald dated to *circa* 1017–18, the treatment of *Romfeoh* and the fines for failed payment is identical to that provided only a few years earlier in VIII Æthelred, with the interesting addition of the words 'on Engla lage' ('according to English law'), which is probably a reference to that very law code. Napier 61 is the only one of these four homilies to have survived in a manuscript that Wulfstan used.⁷⁷ The render is once again called *Romfeoh*. In this case it is possible to recognise a closer indebtedness to Edgar's legislation, as, in reproducing the penalty there prescribed for missed payment of Peter's Pence, Napier 61 includes the need to go to Rome in person to deliver it together with an additional thirty-pence fine. Interestingly, however, Wulfstan himself glossed the requirement to go to Rome by adding the words 'uel sende', that is, send the payment instead of taking it there.⁷⁸ In other words, although the homily was clearly inspired by Edgar's legislation, Wulfstan

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 476.

⁷⁵ Cf. J.T. Lionarons, *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan: A Critical Study* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 168–70.

⁷⁶ For a recent discussion of the date of this homily, see Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 133.

⁷⁷ York Minster Library, Additional 1 (s. x^{ex}/xiⁱⁿ), probably Christ Church Canterbury).

⁷⁸ S. Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in J.N. Barker, ed., *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays* (London, 1986), pp. 81–99, at 94; G. Mann, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', in M. Townend, ed., *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004) pp. 235–78, at 265 n. 293; Tinti, 'Archiepiscopal Pallium', p. 335.

intervened to bring the rules regarding missed payment in line with the more recent legal codes which did not require recalcitrant payers to travel all the way to Rome.⁷⁹

The last of these four homilies—Napier 23—is especially interesting. It has survived in three different eleventh-century manuscripts, which show the variety of terms with which the render could be described. Although it would seem that Wulfstan’s favoured term in his legislative writing was *Romfeoh*, the three manuscripts in which Napier 23 is preserved employ *heorðpening*,⁸⁰ *Rompænig*⁸¹ and *Romfeo*.⁸² Moreover, they provide important additional information on the system behind the collection of the dues. In Corpus 419 the ‘hearth-penny’ must be paid ‘be Petres mæssedæg to ðam biscopstole’ (‘by St Peter’s day to the bishop’s seat’), reflecting the custom established in contemporary legislation.⁸³ Even more precise are the additions in Tiberius A. III. After establishing

⁷⁹ For the high probability that these homilies were composed at the end of Wulfstan’s life, see Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 164; see also P. Wormald, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-BUILDER’, in Townend, ed., *Wulfstan*, pp. 9–27, at 26–7.

⁸⁰ Corpus Christi College, 419 (s. xi¹, southeast England [Canterbury?]), p. 242.

⁸¹ Corpus Christi College, 201 (s. xi^{1/med}, New Minster Winchester [?]), p. 24; and British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. III (s. xi^{med}, Christ Church Canterbury), fo. 91r.

⁸² BL, Cotton Tiberius A. III, fo. 91v.

⁸³ The origin of this manuscript (and the closely related Corpus Christi College 421, by the same scribe) is unclear, and identification depends on linguistic features of its Old English contents. South-eastern dialectal features have long been noted (*Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. J.C. Pope [2 vols., London, 1967–8], i. 82–3). In some cases these have been used as the basis for a tentative Canterbury attribution (*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, ed. M. Godden [Oxford, 1997], p. 47; cf. D.G. Scragg, ‘The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints’ Lives before Ælfric’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, viii [1979], pp. 223–77, at 253), though significant differences between Corpus Christi College 419 (and 421) and more firmly attributed Canterbury homiliaries point towards another source somewhere in southeast England (J. Wilcox, ‘The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Corpus Christi College, 419 and 421’ [Univ. of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1988], pp. 238–42). The version of the early eleventh-century Sunday Letter known as ‘E’, preserved in Corpus Christi College 419, pp. 38–73, incorporates an addition on church dues which is remarkably

early in the text that each *Rompenig* had to be paid by St Peter's day (fo. 91r), a later passage (fo. 91v) returns to the arrangements for collection of the payment:⁸⁴

... and wite ælc b[iscop] be þam, þe he wille beon wiþ god geborgen, and wiþ sce peter, þ[æt] ælc penig cume forþ of þam romfeo on his b[iscop]scire and siþþan þam ærceb[iscope] to handa on Cristes cyrcean; and, locahwa hit gewanie, þ[æt] hit forþ na cume þam arceb[iscope] to handa, si he Judas gefera, þe Crist belæwde. Amen.

... and let each bishop know this: that he will be saved from God[’s anger], and St Peter’s, if every penny comes forth as part of Rome-payment in his bishopric, and afterwards [is sent] into the hands of the archbishop at Christchurch; and if anyone withholds it, so that it does not come forth into the hands of the archbishop, let him be a companion of Judas (who betrayed Christ). Amen.

The aim of this passage is probably to encourage clergy to give the full amount and not keep any of it for themselves. In the process, however, it reveals that above the level of the diocese *Romfeo* was expected to be passed on to the metropolitan at Canterbury. As the manuscript was very probably written at Christ Church itself,⁸⁵ it is no surprise that Tiberius A. III provides the fullest description of

similar to the version of Napier 23 contained in the same manuscript at pp. 242–6. The two texts must have shared a common source; see D. Haines, *Sunday Observance and the Sunday Letter in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 91–2 and references there cited.

⁸⁴ *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. Arthur Napier (Berlin, 1883), p. 118 (in the apparatus).

⁸⁵ H. Gneuss, ‘Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: The Case of Cotton Tiberius A.III’, in P.R. Robinson and R. Zim, eds., *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers. Essays Presented to M.B. Parkes* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 13–48; T.A. Cooper, ‘Reconstructing a Deconstructed Manuscript, Community and Culture: London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius A.III’ (Boston College Ph.D. thesis, 2005) (who argues that Tiberius A. III was an

this procedure, but there is no reason to doubt that, by the time this copy of the homily was produced in the mid-eleventh century, the archbishop had become the apex of the system.⁸⁶

IV

Even though collection of money for Rome came to depend on the episcopal hierarchy from the later tenth century onwards, there must have been more localised mechanisms in place within each diocese. The little evidence that survives suggests differences from case to case. At the lowest level the tract on estate management known as *Rectitudines singularum personarum* reiterated the command of II Edgar that each household was to pay a *heorðpænig*, in this instance associating the duty with the ‘cottager’ (*kotsetla*) and adding that all free men should do so (‘ealswa ælcan frigean men gebyreð’).⁸⁷ The inclusion of Peter’s Pence in the *Rectitudines* is especially striking, since the text is overwhelmingly

‘archiepiscopal handbook’); F. Tinti, ‘Benedictine Reform and Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, *Early Medieval Europe*, xxiii (2015), pp. 229–51, at 242–3.

⁸⁶ No evidence refers to an analogous role ever being played by the archbishop of York. Canterbury’s traditionally close links to Rome (Brooks, ‘Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity’; and N. Brooks, ‘Canterbury and Rome: The Limits and Myth of *Romanitas*’, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo*, xlix [2002], pp. 797–830) may have led to it taking the lead for both provinces in the collection and transmission of Peter’s Pence.

⁸⁷ *Rectitudines singularum personarum*, 3.4, ed. F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (3 vols., Halle, 1903–16), i. 446; *English Historical Documents*, II: 1042–1189, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway (2nd edn., London, 1981), p. 876. It has generally been dated to the eleventh century, but, for an argument in favour of the tenth, see P.D.A. Harvey, ‘*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* and *Gerefa*’, *English Historical Review*, cviii (1993), pp. 1–22. A difficulty with this text is that payment of the *heorðpænig* is required by ‘holy Thursday’, a date never otherwise associated with Peter’s Pence (though cf. the payment of a penny from each household—or on behalf of the unfree and paupers, who did not pay themselves—to the local bishop on holy Thursday at the Bavarian synod of *Dingolfing* in 932: above, n. 69). This was an important factor in leading Liebermann (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ii. 506; see also *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, p. 100) and others (for example, Wormald, ‘Papers Preparatory to *The Making of English Law*’, ed. Baxter and Hudson, p. 53 n. 115) to query the identification of the *heorðpænig* in this text with Peter’s Pence.

concerned with manorial rights and obligations. The appearance of the *heorðpænig* here speaks volumes about its associations: Peter's Pence—if that is what *heorðpænig* indeed refers to here—had become a general expectation. This picture is reinforced by other texts from various parts of England which reveal the ways in which Peter's Pence was collected from the bulk of the population. A letter sent back to England by Cnut from his visit to Rome in 1027 commanded the bishops and reeves ('episcopus et regni prepositos') to maintain all of God's dues, including plough-almes and tithes as well as 'the pence which we owe to St Peter at Rome, whether from the towns or the villages' ('denarii quos Rome ad Sanctum Petrum debemus siue ex urbibus siue ex uillis').⁸⁸ If the last point is not simply a rhetorical flourish, there could be a hint here of separate collection mechanisms for urban and rural areas.

More detail on arrangements in northern England is provided in the mid-eleventh-century *Northumbrian Priests' Law*, which lays down that two 'trustworthy' (*triwe*) thegns and a priest should be nominated to gather Peter's Pence from every wapentake. Like the version of Napier 23 preserved in Corpus 419, this text employed the term *Rompæni* and stipulated that payment be given by the three nominees 'be Petres mæssan to ðam bisceopstole' ('by St Peter's day to the bishop's seat').⁸⁹ Arrangements in east Kent were based on individual churches rather than larger administrative units, and emerge, albeit in less transparent form, in a collection of Canterbury documents generally known as *Domesday Monachorum*, put together at Canterbury cathedral around 1100.⁹⁰ Only a portion of this

⁸⁸ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Liebermann, i. 277 (tr. E. Treharne, *Living Through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020–1220* [Oxford, 2012], p. 32).

⁸⁹ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Liebermann, i. 384 (tr. Rabin, *Political Writings*, p. 205). Rabin also effectively summarises scholarship on the attribution of this text (p. 197), which Patrick Wormald has argued dates from the generation after Archbishop Wulfstan (*Making of English Law*, pp. 396–7).

⁹⁰ Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archives, Lit. E.28; *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1944). See also T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Churches of Canterbury Diocese in the 11th Century', in

dossier constitutes *Domesday Monachorum* proper: a survey of ecclesiastical estates in Kent which relates to the Domesday survey of the mid-1080s.⁹¹ Preceding this is a series of four shorter documents concerned with ecclesiastical dues from east Kent in and before the time of Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–89), the last of which is a list headed *Romscot de Eastekent*. It gives the names of forty-five places and the sum of money due from each, ranging from 50s for St Augustine’s, Canterbury, to just 8d from *Earles Boctun* (probably Boughton Aluph). Altogether, the forty-five places in this list raised £15 13s 5d. It should probably be assumed that the locations named here are churches, though they were apparently structured around property divisions. Such is precisely what one would expect in the eleventh century as small churches sprang up within the framework of tenurial geography.⁹² Two place-names in the list incorporate references to estate holders from the time of Edward the Confessor, indicating that the antecedents of the list go back to before the Norman Conquest.⁹³ But these names could have ossified and persisted beyond the life-spans of the two men in question; certainly the list remained a live document after the Conquest, for one entry refers simply to Hugh de Montfort (d. 1088 or after), presumably denoting one or more churches on the extensive lands he held in south-east Kent

J. Blair, ed., *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 105–18, at 116.

⁹¹ Most scholarship concerning *Domesday Monachorum* has focused strongly on this portion of it: for major studies, see V.H. Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 78–84; S. Harvey, ‘Domesday Book and its Predecessors’, *English Historical Review*, lxxxvi (1971), pp. 753–73, at 754–60; P. Taylor, ‘The Episcopal Returns in Domesday’, in D. Roffe and K. Keats-Rohan, eds., *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 197–218, at 211–12.

⁹² Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 368–504.

⁹³ *Godwinesburne* and *Godricesburne* probably refer to Fairbourne and Brabourne, the former held by Earl Godwin before his death in 1053, the latter (according to Domesday Book) by Godric *de Burnes* in 1066: *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, p. 15.

after 1066.⁹⁴ Most of the churches listed in *Romscot de Eastekent* recur in the preceding *Domesday Monachorum* lists of Kentish churches paying other kinds of render, though a few of them (eight) do not; equally, there are about 170 churches mentioned in the other lists prefacing *Domesday Monachorum* which do not appear in *Romscot* (see Map 1). Some entries in *Romscot de Eastekent* refer instead to major churches or towns: in addition to St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury (assuming this was the place referred to simply as *de ciuitate*) and Dover (probably meaning Dover priory) paid 20s and 10s respectively.

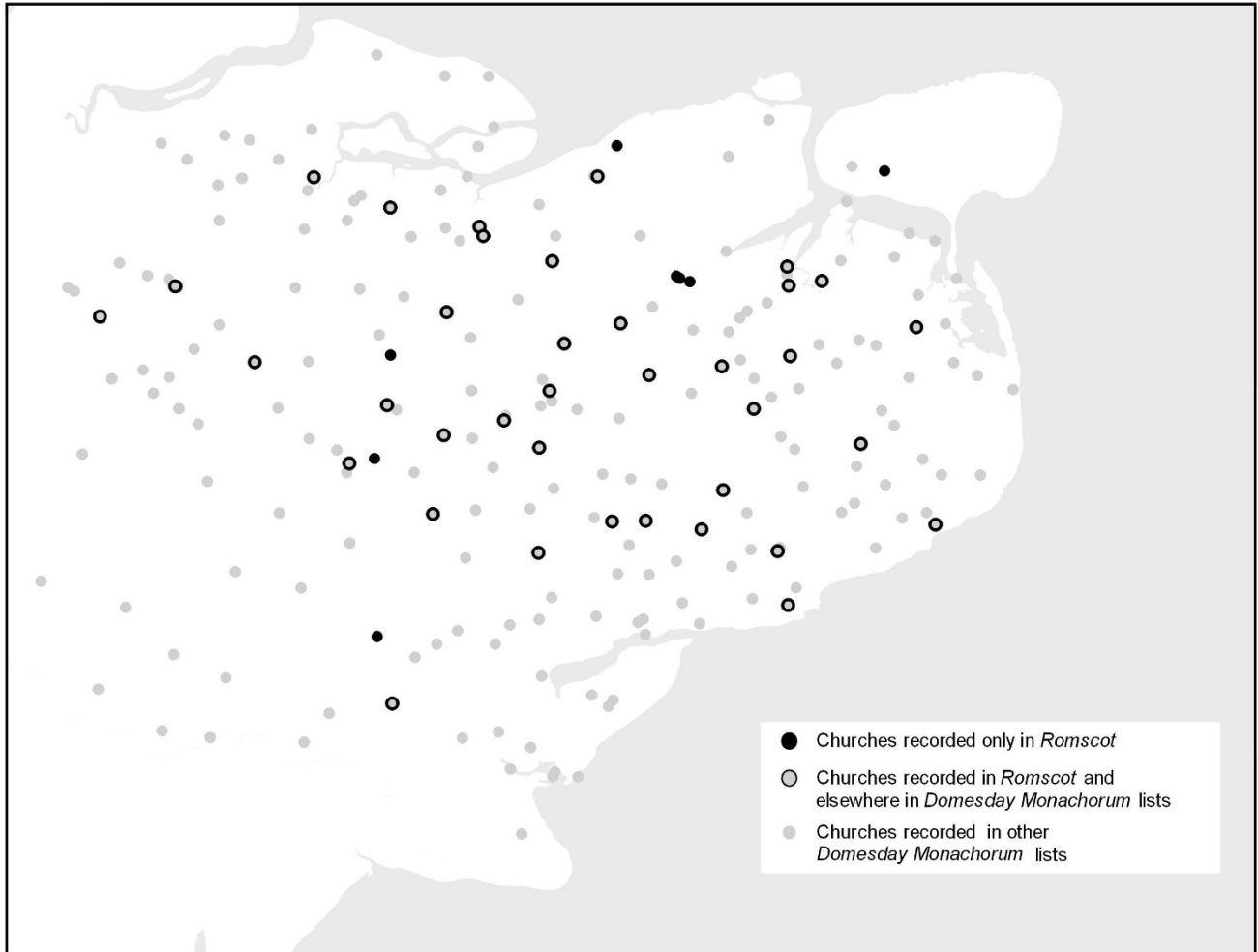
This list, and the documents which accompany it, clearly warrant more extended analysis than is possible here. But what is clear is that the archbishop collected *Romscot* on a highly localised basis across east Kent. The items in the list probably reflect different forms of territorial organisation. The strikingly high sum due from St Augustine's is likely to have incorporated the dues from local churches dependent on it in north-east Kent (which is poorly represented in this list); a later document in the White Book of St Augustine's indicates that 101s was being gathered for Peter's Pence around 1200.⁹⁵ There is also a tendency for 'mother' churches which had several other churches dependent on them to appear in the list contributing larger sums for Peter's Pence, usually more than 5s. Only a few of their dependent churches paid separately (such as Stowting, dependent on Lyminge). Hence it is likely that many *Romscot* entries represent larger areas in one lump payment,⁹⁶ usually combined on the basis of ecclesiastical organisation and occasionally on the basis of the landholder; but it also seems probable that the list includes some other churches (such as Stalisfield) which cannot be assigned to a larger

⁹⁴ Hugh held Saltwood Castle of the archbishop in 1086 (*Domesday Book*, ed. J. Morris [35 vols., Chichester, 1973–86], i. 4v), as well as other estates in Kent as a tenant-in-chief himself (i. 13r–14r). It is not possible to determine to which place or places the *Romscot* list refers.

⁹⁵ The National Archives, E 164/ 27, fo. 19v. See M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (London, 1975), p. 172.

⁹⁶ Pace F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066* (2nd edn., London, 1979), p. 296, who argues for organisation on a hundredal basis.

grouping and which tended to pay small amounts both in *Romscot* and in the first list in the *Domesday Monachorum* documents (the latter thought to relate to payments for wine, chrism and other dues).⁹⁷



Map 1: Churches in the *Romscot* list of *Domesday Monachorum*. Drawn by the authors, with a base-map kindly supplied by UCL Landscapes of Governance. Identifications follow *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas; Tatton-Brown, ‘Churches’; G. Ward, ‘The Lists of Saxon Churches in the Domesday Monachorum, and White Book of St. Augustine’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xlv (1933), pp. 60–89, supplemented with C. Flight, *The Survey of Kent: Documents Relating to the Survey of the County Conducted in 1086* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 225–44.

⁹⁷ *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, pp. 5–14; Barlow, *English Church*, pp. 180–82.

By the later eleventh century in Kent, therefore, Peter's Pence was being collected through several mechanisms: from 'mother churches' and their dependants, as a lump sum from landowners or towns, or through individual local churches. Another of the diverse local ways of collecting Peter's Pence emerges in a vernacular note from Bury St Edmunds, supposedly dating from the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66).⁹⁸ This reports an agreement between a cellarer named Ordric and the people of the town by which each householder would pay a penny on St Peter's Day 'at the beginning of harvest' ('on ginninge heruest'), while those who rented property would pay a halfpenny 'because all of them ought to cut the saint's corn' ('for þat he aalle scolden sceren þe halegenes corn').⁹⁹ These details signal an important shift in the date when Peter's Pence was collected. In *Romgescot*, the legal text which (as suggested above) may represent the earliest written evidence on the Anglo-Saxon precursor of Peter's Pence, the day on which the due had to be paid was described as 'St Peter's Day after midsummer'. This clearly refers to 29 June, the date under which all surviving Anglo-Saxon calendars record the feast of St Peter.¹⁰⁰ A date in late June would, however, be too early for the beginning of harvest in Anglo-Saxon England, when the Bury document expected payment to be rendered.¹⁰¹ This text would thus attest to a change that is more evident after the Conquest, when Peter's Pence began to be collected on 1 August instead of 29 June.¹⁰² The feast of St Peter's Chains had begun to appear in calendars from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries,¹⁰³ but its association

⁹⁸ The text survives in three manuscripts from Bury St Edmunds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Cambridge University Library, Add. 6006 (s. xiii^{3/3}), fo. 51r (headed *carta s[an]c[t]i Ædwardi*); Cambridge University Library, Gg. 4. 4 (s. xv^{1/4}), fo. 220r; Cambridge University Library, Ee. 3. 60 (s. xiv), fo. 161r.

⁹⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A.J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 220–21.

¹⁰⁰ R. Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (London, 2008). Moreover, as mentioned above at nn. 65–6, VI Æthelred (Lat.) refers to *beatorum sollempnitatem apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, that is, 29 June.

¹⁰¹ Debby Banham, personal communication with the authors.

¹⁰² *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, p. 100 n. 2.

¹⁰³ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*, table VIII.

with payment of Peter's Pence was seemingly a development of the eleventh century. As noted by Dorothy Whitelock, the *Quadripartitus* version of the laws of Cnut, dating to *circa* 1100, recognised this shift by adding the words *ad Vincula* to its Latin rendering of Cnut's instructions on *Romfeoh*, thus clearly referring to 1 August, the feast of St Peter's Chains, instead of 29 June.¹⁰⁴ In the Bury text, this feast takes precedence over the older Anglo-Saxon designation of 1 August as *hlafmæs* (Lammas), the feast which marked the first harvest.¹⁰⁵ The language of the document in its received form certainly belongs much later than the eleventh century, and includes some pieces of vocabulary more characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;¹⁰⁶ however, the Old English name Ordric would have been unusual in twelfth-century East Anglia (even more so a century later),¹⁰⁷ and may relate to a known monk of eleventh-century Bury.¹⁰⁸ A claim by the abbey to Peter's Pence from the men of the town is entirely credible in either a pre- or post-Conquest setting. Given the extensive freedoms from episcopal jurisdiction which Bury asserted in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest and claimed

¹⁰⁴ For further examples of later legal codes referring to 1 August, see *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, p. 100 n. 2.

¹⁰⁵ See *Dictionary of Old English: A to I* (University of Toronto, 2018), s.v. 'hlafmæsse', available at <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/> (accessed 19 Feb. 2019).

¹⁰⁶ K. Lowe, 'From Memorandum to Written Record: Function and Formality in Old English Non-Literary Texts', in R. Gallagher, E. Roberts and F. Tinti, eds., *The Languages of Early Medieval Charters: Latin, Germanic Vernaculars and the Written Word* (Leiden, forthcoming).

¹⁰⁷ B. Seltén, *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia, 1100–1399* (2 vols., Lund, 1972–9), i. 38–43, shows that names of Old English origin constituted only 10–20 per cent of those recorded in East Anglia during the twelfth century, about 2 per cent in the later thirteenth, and less in the fourteenth. Ordric specifically (*ibid.*, ii. 125–6) is rare even among Old English names, and is only known as a patronymic in East Anglia after the late twelfth century.

¹⁰⁸ T. Licence, 'The Origins of the Monastic Communities of St Benedict at Holme and Bury St Edmunds', *Revue bénédictine*, cxvi (2006), pp. 42–61, at 57–8.

to have possessed before 1066,¹⁰⁹ its collection of Peter's Pence may well have bypassed the local bishop and been sent directly to Canterbury. Other churches claimed to be exempt from paying Peter's Pence altogether, as St Alban's did by the early twelfth century.¹¹⁰

While a measure of uniformity had been imposed in annual delivery to Rome and at the top level of collection from English dioceses, Peter's Pence was still far from standardised in the eleventh century. The plethora of local arrangements for handling its collection opened the door to peculation. Several English churches in the early twelfth century openly reallocated income from Peter's Pence,¹¹¹ and there can be little doubt that money was also being creamed off in the Anglo-Saxon period: a fear already expressed in the mid-eleventh-century version of Wulfstan's homily Napier 23 preserved in Cotton Tiberius A. III. This combination of complexity and probable venality means that the total value of Anglo-Saxon payments of Peter's Pence is impossible to determine. Details on the overall sum only gradually come into focus in the twelfth century. Correspondence between Pope Honorius II and the abbot of Reading shows that the king had agreed on an unspecified annual sum by 1129, arrears of which by then amounted to 600 marks.¹¹² This would be compatible with the fixed rate of Peter's Pence that emerges more clearly in the mid-twelfth century and persisted down to the Reformation. Letters of Gilbert Foliot (d. 1187) in the mid-1160s noted that £200 or 300 marks was by then the customary annual render,¹¹³ and the papal *Liber censuum* of the late twelfth century laid out how almost the same sum (299 marks) was divided unevenly between dioceses.¹¹⁴ This would amount to

¹⁰⁹ R. Sharpe, 'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, xxxii (2003), pp. 247–92, at 255.

¹¹⁰ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, IX.2, ed. Greenway, pp. 624–5. See also *Charters of St Albans*, ed. Crick, pp. 11–12 and 31–2.

¹¹¹ Brett, *English Church*, pp. 168–73; Loyn, 'Peter's Pence', pp. 243–4.

¹¹² Brett, *English Church*, pp. 168–9.

¹¹³ *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 207 and 251.

¹¹⁴ *Le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine*, ed. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne (3 vols., Paris, 1905–52), ii. 226.

either 47,840 or 48,000 pence—a large sum of money, though probably a lot smaller than payments received in the tenth and eleventh centuries: Canterbury’s contribution to the twelfth-century total recorded in the *Liber censuum* (£7 18*d*) was less than half the sum collected in *Romscot de Eastekent*. Moreover, both sums were probably just a small fraction of what a penny from each household in England should have brought in. Some impression of the scale of peculation can be inferred from Domesday Book. Although this is a far from complete or reliable account of land or population in England, still less of conditions in the twelfth century, its total of over 70,000 assessed hides or carucates in 1086 would nonetheless have yielded significantly more than 299/300 marks even if only every hide (rather than every household) paid a penny.¹¹⁵

V

The climate in which 299/300 marks came to be fixed as the benchmark for Peter’s Pence was quite different from that in which the payment had first come into being. In the late tenth and eleventh centuries, Peter’s Pence strongly reflected the engaged—one might say aggressive—governance and piety of English rulers, who harnessed the kingdom’s considerable wealth in support of a unique relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and the heirs of St Peter. Tellingly, there is no evidence from before the 1060s that Peter’s Pence was anything other than an English initiative. Indeed, one of the earliest signals that the papacy was beginning to expect Peter’s Pence comes not from England but from Denmark, albeit probably because of its association with England under the dynasty of Cnut. Around 1062/3, Alexander II (1061–73) sent a letter urging Sven Estridsson (1047–76), king of the Danes, to continue paying census to the Holy See, just as his predecessors (*antecessores*) had done.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ The Domesday figures are taken from H.C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 336. Darby gives a total rural population of 268,984, most of whom would represent householders; cf. J.S. Moore, “‘Quot homines?’ The Population of Domesday England’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xix [1997], pp. 307–34.

¹¹⁶ *Diplomatarium Danicum*, ed. A. Afzelius (7 vols., Copenhagen, 1958–90), ii. 14–15, no. 7.

Who these predecessors were is not made clear, although Cnut is the most likely candidate; if so, Peter's Pence may have been introduced to Denmark as an extension of the obligation of his English domain.¹¹⁷ The crucial point is that in the two and a half centuries between Leo III and Alexander II, there is no known Roman text which refers to the solicitation of English money.¹¹⁸ Only thereafter did popes of the 'reform' period begin to pursue it more widely and systematically.¹¹⁹ The character of Peter's Pence as a formalised, regularised show of devotion on the part of the Anglo-Saxons is effectively illuminated by casting two final glances forwards and sideways. Doing so gives a sense of how the institution changed in the decades after 1066, and how it differed from other gifts and payments to Rome made by rulers and kingdoms elsewhere in Western Europe.

In the period from 1066 to the early twelfth century, payment to Rome continued to flourish, but took on a different complexion as two new forces clashed: a more assertive papacy eager to follow through on the symbolic significance that the popes thought renders like Peter's Pence should carry;¹²⁰ and an equally assertive dynasty in England which guarded its territories and powers jealously,

¹¹⁷ C. Strandberg, 'Peterspenge', in A. Karker et al., eds., *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder* (22 vols., Copenhagen, 1956–78), xiii, cols. 249–53, at col. 251; B. Poulsen, 'The Church and Monetisation in Early Medieval Denmark, c.1060–1160', in G.E.M. Gasper and S.H. Gullbekk, eds., *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200: Practice, Morality and Thought* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 141–58, at 149.

¹¹⁸ Though Otto of Freising, writing in the early twelfth century on unknown authority, noted that the ousted Benedict IX in 1045 retired from the papacy to live off the *reditibus Angliae*: see below, n. 132.

¹¹⁹ The archiepiscopal pallium provides an important parallel, with Alexander II being especially vigorous at enforcing personal receipt of it on the part of archbishops. See S.A. Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2016), pp. 287 and 330.

¹²⁰ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i. 30–41. Papal income was irregular and depended heavily on demand across Europe for privileges: the papacy's legitimacy and prestige were thus key to its finances. For how this system operated in the twelfth century, see B.G.E. Wiedemann, 'The Character of Papal Finance at the Turn of the Twelfth Century', *English Historical Review*, cxxxiii (2018), pp. 503–32, esp. 524–5.

including against the papacy. A series of letters from the time of William I (1066–87) sets the tone.¹²¹ Alexander II wrote to William at some time after the Norman Conquest, reminding him that England had for a long time been ‘under the hand and protection of the prince of the apostles’ (‘sub apostolorum Principis manu et tutela’), and that as such he should restore the annual payment offered out of devotion to Rome. According to Alexander, the proceeds by this time were divided between the pope and the *Schola Anglorum*.¹²² How William responded is not known, although a later letter from him to Gregory VII (1073–85) took a hard line in response to a message from the pope which does not survive, but which must have concerned the payment and ramifications of Peter’s Pence. In this letter, probably written in 1080, the king tersely separated two fundamental issues: the raising of Peter’s Pence (payment of which had temporarily fallen off, but was now being resumed); and ‘obedience’ (*fidelitas*) to the pope. The latter—as William spelled out—did not follow from the former.¹²³

What had seemingly been a regular and freely given payment before the Norman Conquest instead became a political pawn in negotiations between successive kings and popes.¹²⁴ The latter laid emphasis on the connotations of supremacy that they thought Peter’s Pence conveyed—the same connotations that William I had been so anxious to disavow. The payment gradually came to be known

¹²¹ P.A. Maccarini, ‘William the Conqueror and the Church of Rome (from the Epistolae)’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vi (1984), pp. 172–87.

¹²² Alexander II, *Epistulae*, 139, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series (Latina) prima* (221 vols., Paris, 1844–64) [hereafter *PL*], vol. cxlvi, cols. 1413C–D. On the English quarter in Rome in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Tinti, ‘English Presence’.

¹²³ *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and tr. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979), pp. 131–2, no. 39. See also Z.N. Brooke, ‘Pope Gregory VII’s Demand for Fealty from William the Conqueror’, *English Historical Review*, xxvi (1911), pp. 225–38.

¹²⁴ Wiedemann, ‘Character of Papal Finance’, pp. 519–20, stresses that Peter’s Pence was one of many sources of income that remained discretionary even though it was in principle ‘owed’ to the papacy.

in Rome as a *census*, which in papal finances carried implications of dependency.¹²⁵ For their part, English kings used payment of Peter's Pence as a hostage to good relations with the papacy. Several times it was temporarily withheld, and at one point in 1103 Henry I (1100–1135) even threatened to end the tribute altogether if Paschal II (1099–1118) did not grant him the rights Henry's father had enjoyed and resolve a dispute over royal investiture of bishops.¹²⁶ These were the circumstances in which William of Malmesbury (d. c.1143) claimed that Earl Tostig (d. 1066) had also proposed stopping Peter's Pence after he and his fellow English travellers were snubbed and robbed during a trip to Rome in 1061:¹²⁷ none of the several sources written closer to the events clearly refer to Peter's Pence being a factor at all,¹²⁸ and William's representation of this episode smacks much more of early twelfth-century conditions. By this time, the initiative in paying Peter's Pence did not always lie with

¹²⁵ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i. 42–7. See also I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 275–81; F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154* (London, 1979), pp. 105–6.

¹²⁶ *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule, Rolls Series, lxxxi (1884), p. 132 (tr. G. Bosanquet, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England* [London, 1964], pp. 138–9).

¹²⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, II.10.3, in *William of Malmesbury. Saints' Lives*, ed. and tr. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), pp. 42–3; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, III.115, in *William of Malmesbury. Gesta pontificum Anglorum/The History of the English Bishops*, ed. and tr. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (2 vols., Oxford, 2007), i. 382–3. For William's critical view of Rome, see R.M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (2nd edn., Woodbridge, 2003), p. 32.

¹²⁸ The privilege which Ealdred obtained from Nicholas II does say that the pope's decision to grant the pallium was not prompted by any prayers or payments ('nullis ... precibus uel pretiis'): this could be an oblique reference to Peter's Pence, but given the concerns of the mid-eleventh-century papacy is more likely to be a defence against accusations of simony. Nonetheless, it is possible that William of Malmesbury drew on this text as well as his principal source, the *Life of Edward the Confessor*. For an edition and translation of the pallium grant, see F. Tinti, 'The Pallium Privilege of Pope Nicholas II for Archbishop Ealdred of York (AD 1061)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (in press). On the pallium as an occasion for possible 'simoniacal exchanges', see Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool*, pp. 288–93.

the English: papal legates were now being sent to collect the money directly.¹²⁹ The Anglo-Norman kings feared that these agents would undermine royal authority by venturing beyond their official remit. Hence William II (1087–1100) and Henry I frequently withheld the tribute by preventing legates from entering the kingdom. In the course of Henry's reign, ten legates were assigned to England, of whom two never made it into the kingdom at all, while three others did but never managed to accomplish anything.¹³⁰

Across Western Europe, the English had by the eleventh and twelfth centuries gained a reputation as long-established and generous givers to Rome. Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018),¹³¹ Otto of Freising (d. 1158)¹³² and even the *Chanson de Roland* all allude to Anglo-Saxon payments to St

¹²⁹ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, i. 47–8. An eleventh-century walrus ivory seal, of English workmanship but apparently belonging to a papal legate, was found at Lincoln in 1985: S. Heslop, 'A Walrus Ivory Seal Matrix from Lincoln', *Antiquaries Journal*, lxvi (1986), pp. 371–2.

¹³⁰ I.J. Sprey, 'Henry of Winchester and the Expansion of Legatine Political Authority in England', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xci (1996), pp. 785–804, at 786–9. The evidence is gathered in Brett, *English Church*, pp. 234–46, and H. Tillmann, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in England bis zur Beendigung der Legation Gualas, 1218* (Bonn, 1926). See also Brett, *English Church*, pp. 34–50; Z.N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy: From the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 164–74.

¹³¹ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, VII .36, ed. R. Holtzmann, *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova ser.*, IX (Berlin, 1935), p. 442 (tr. D.A. Warner, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Theitmar of Merseburg* [Manchester, 2001], pp. 332–3).

¹³² Otto of Freising, *Chronicon*, VI. 32, ed. A. Hofmeister, *Chronica, sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, XLV (Hanover, 1912), p. 299. For Otto's contacts and experiences in Rome, see J. Ehlers, *Otto von Freising: ein Intellektueller im Mittelalter. Eine Biographie* (Munich, 2013), pp. 227–9.

Peter.¹³³ What stood out for them was the strongly institutionalised, national nature of England's offering. Gifts to the pope in Rome were obviously not unusual. Some could serve as a subtle power play, such as the pair of clapped-out horses sent by Charlemagne to Hadrian I as a form of calculated insult in (probably) 787,¹³⁴ but more often every indication is that gifts were given to secure or maintain the goodwill of successive popes; in the ninth century alone, gifts of this kind are recorded from Charles the Bald,¹³⁵ Emperor Louis II (855–75),¹³⁶ the Byzantine emperor Michael III (842–67),¹³⁷ Horic, king of the Danes,¹³⁸ and Boris I, ruler of the Bulgars (852–89),¹³⁹ to name but a few, and comparable lists could be compiled from any other period covered here. It needs to be stressed that

¹³³ *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 372–3, ed. I. Short et al., *La chanson de Roland—the Song of Roland: The French Corpus* (3 vols., Turnhout, 2005), i. 125.

¹³⁴ ‘Codex Carolinus’, ed. W. Gundlach, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I*, MGH, Epistolae, III (Berlin, 1892), p. 614. This letter has prompted extensive discussion: J. Hannig, ‘Ars donandi: Zur Ökonomie des Schenkens im früheren Mittelalter’, in R. Van Dülmen, ed., *Armut, Leibe, Ehre: Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), pp. 11–37; J.L. Nelson, ‘The Settings of the Gift in the Reign of Charlemagne’, in Davies and Fouracre, eds., *Languages*, pp. 116–48, at 134–40; J.L. Nelson, ‘Losing the Plot? “Filthy Assertions” and “Unheard-of Deceit” in Codex Carolinus 92’, in R. Naismith and D. Woodman, eds., *Writing, Kingship, and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 122–35.

¹³⁵ A rich cloth in *Liber pontificalis*, Nicholas I, ch. 52, ed. Duchesne, ii. 161 (tr. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. 232); some cloth for St Peter's altar and two crowns in *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 870, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, V (Hanover, 1883) (tr. J.L. Nelson, *The Annals of St Bertin* [Manchester, 1991], p. 171).

¹³⁶ *Liber pontificalis*, Nicholas I, ch. 9, ed. Duchesne, ii. 152 (tr. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. 208).

¹³⁷ *Liber pontificalis*, Benedict III, ch. 33, ed. Duchesne, ii. 147–8 (tr. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, pp. 185–6).

¹³⁸ Nicholas I, *Epistolae*, 27, ed. E. Perels, *Epistolae Karolini aevi IV*, MGH, Epistolae, VI (Berlin, 1925), pp. 293–4.

¹³⁹ *Liber pontificalis*, Nicholas I, ch. 68 and Hadrian II, ch. 61, ed. Duchesne, ii. 164 and 185 (tr. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, pp. 239–41 and 289).

none of these offerings imply any expectation of regularity, or anything beyond a connection between the individuals in question: they did not stand for the people or kingdom as a whole in the same way as *Romfeoh* did.

The late Anglo-Saxon payments to Rome also stand out for consisting of money. It was highly unusual for a large cash offering to be sent to Rome from a distant land on a regular basis. Few parallels can be found. St Gerald of Aurillac (d. c.909) was said by Odo of Cluny (d. 942) to have instituted an annual offering to Rome from his new foundation at Aurillac, while Gerald himself every second year would bring 10s to the tomb of St Peter in Rome, ‘hanging from his own neck’ (‘ad proprium collum dependentes’).¹⁴⁰ Odo’s own monastery of Cluny followed a similar practice of giving 10s every five years in recognition of its privileged relationship with Rome.¹⁴¹ These relatively small and symbolic payments gave rise to more widespread imitation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but in the context of the tenth century they resemble, and perhaps stem from, the token offerings made in France by individual monastic dependants to their saintly masters.¹⁴² It has sometimes been argued that Poland paid a form of Peter’s Pence to the papacy from the end of the tenth century.¹⁴³ There is indeed evidence to suggest that Mieszko I (c.960–92) and Bolesław Chrobry (992–1025) conferred part of

¹⁴⁰ Odo of Cluny, *Vita sancti Geraldii*, II. 4 and 17, ed. and tr. A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen, *Odon de Cluny. Vita sancti Geraldii Auriliacensis* (Brussels, 2009), pp. 202–3 and 220–21.

¹⁴¹ This is recorded in a papal privilege of 931: *Papsturkunden, 896–1046*, ed. H. Zimmermann (3 vols., Vienna, 1984–9), i, 107–8 (no. 64).

¹⁴² Odo of Cluny, *Vita sancti Geraldii*, ed. Bultot-Verleysen, pp. 60–62; D. Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, tr. G.R. Edwards (Ithaca, NY, 2009), pp. 95–6 and 104–11.

¹⁴³ E. Maschke, *Der Peterspfennig in Polen und dem deutschen Osten* (Sigmaringen, 1979), pp. 1–23.

their kingdom on St Peter,¹⁴⁴ and in addition pledged to send money to Rome,¹⁴⁵ but whether these conveyances ever took place or became regular is far from clear.¹⁴⁶ The only other well-known example of a large-scale payment to the papacy was an exceptional, one-off venture. The sack of St Peter's by Saracens in August 846 prompted an outcry not only in Rome but across the Carolingian Empire. All three kings ruling segments of the empire sent money to Rome to help fund the swift construction of what would become known as the Leonine wall,¹⁴⁷ which by 852 enclosed Old St Peter's and its environs.¹⁴⁸ A capitulary issued by Lothar I (843–55) in 846 illustrates how these financial contributions formed part of a general effort to address the moral failings thought to have driven God to allow such a disaster.¹⁴⁹ Although the result was a large-scale remission of wealth from northern Europe to the papacy, the circumstances in Rome and the moral panic that ensued were not to be repeated.

VI

¹⁴⁴ This donation is attested in the short letter extract known as *Dagome iudex* (*Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, I: *Die Kanonessammlung selbst*, ed. V. Wolf von Glanvell [Paderborn, 1905], p. 359), dated to the time of John XV (985–96).

¹⁴⁵ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, VI.92, ed. Holtzmann, p. 384 (tr. Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p. 299). See also a letter of Bruno of Querfurt: Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geshichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (4th edn., 5 vols., Brunswick, 1873–80), ii. 689–92.

¹⁴⁶ D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce za Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego* (Poznan, 2013), pp. 272–4.

¹⁴⁷ *Liber pontificalis*, Leo IV, chs. 38–40 and 68–70, ed. Duchesne, ii. 115 and 123 (tr. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, pp. 126–7 and 139–40).

¹⁴⁸ S. Gibson and B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Surviving Remains of the Leonine Wall', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xlvii (1979), pp. 30–57, at 31–3, for the background to and construction of the walls.

¹⁴⁹ 'Hlotarii capitulare de expeditione contra Sarracenos facienda', esp. chs. 7–8, ed. Alfredus Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum* II (Hanover, 1897), pp. 65–8.

Peter's Pence was just one way to build relations with St Peter and the papacy. At the same time as the payment was taking form in England in the tenth century, the Ottonian dynasty was pursuing a more direct policy of intervention in the city, as Otto I (936–73) and his heirs went in force to Rome repeatedly from 962 onwards.¹⁵⁰ A sense of closeness and involvement was difficult to achieve at almost a thousand miles' remove, meaning that the Anglo-Saxons naturally inclined towards long-distance forms of homage: pilgrimage, and the sending of gifts. A long journey was an inherent part of the appeal in pilgrimage, and the drive to leave a part of oneself at the destination, in proximity to the saints, was deeply rooted in medieval Christianity.¹⁵¹ Rome in particular exerted an ever greater attraction in tenth-century England. It was at this time that English archbishops started journeying to Rome to collect their pallium at a time when the papacy was not yet demanding personal reception as a rule.¹⁵² The impetus behind this effort, along with Peter's Pence and other individual donations, came largely from the English. Anglo-Saxon devotion to Rome and the papacy flourished not out of special veneration for the current institution as such, but out of a strengthening conception of English identity under Alfred and subsequent rulers; a conception which drew on aspects of shared earlier history, including veneration of Rome and St Peter, and which was articulated with a higher degree of both impact and fervour by English kings and bishops from the later tenth century onwards.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ H. Zielinski, 'Der Weg nach Rom: Otto der Große und die Anfänge der ottonischen Italienpolitik', in W. Hartmann and K. Herbers, eds., *Die Faszination der Papstgeschichte: Neue Zugänge zum frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Cologne, 2008), pp. 97–108.

¹⁵¹ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 421–5.

¹⁵² Tinti, 'Archiepiscopal Pallium'; Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool*, pp. 243–8.

¹⁵³ The richest period of these assertions, from the time of Edgar onwards, has attracted less attention than their formation in the ninth and earlier tenth centuries: S. Foot, 'The Making of Angelcynn: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., vi (1996), pp. 25–49, at 46–9; Molyneux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, pp. 199–233; though see P. Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 359–82; S. Keynes, 'Apocalypse Then: England, A.D. 1000', in P. Urbańczyk, ed., *Europe*

The transformation from a tradition of individual and spontaneous gifts to the late Anglo-Saxon institution of Peter's Pence hinged on three long-running and interconnected developments: a focus on monetary gifts; the routinisation of offerings; and a national, public dimension to them. There were no qualms in the early Middle Ages about handing over gold or silver coins as a gift.¹⁵⁴ But by offering cash so often from at least the 780s, the Anglo-Saxons may have been picking up on the taste for gold and silver that prevailed in ecclesiastical circles at Rome.¹⁵⁵ Finds of English coin in Italy and Rome become numerous at precisely this time; they constitute a major element of finds from the peninsula, and Rome in particular, suggesting that there was indeed a healthy flow of Anglo-Saxon precious metal.¹⁵⁶ At first these Anglo-Saxon presentations reflected the piety of individual rulers. A fundamental change came in the reign of Alfred the Great, as what had been a specifically royal gift became the gift of the West Saxon people too. This paved the way for Peter's Pence to be incorporated into the ambitious administrative infrastructure that took shape across all England over the tenth century. It is not known how the Alfredian-period offerings from the West Saxons were actually gathered, and the only hint from the sixty years after Alfred's death is the enigmatic text *Romgescot*. Under Edgar and his heirs, Peter's Pence moved more clearly into the purview of royal legislation, in which it was laid down as a requirement for all English households alongside tithes and other religious dues that were seen as a spiritual benefit for all society—a responsibility that a good king should

around the Year 1000 (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 247–70, at 251–2; S. Keynes, 'Re-reading King Æthelred the Unready', in D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton, eds., *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 77–98, at 85.

¹⁵⁴ R. Naismith, 'The Forum Hoard and Beyond: Money, Gift, and Religion in the Early Middle Ages', *Viator*, xlvii (2016), pp. 35–56.

¹⁵⁵ P. Delogu, 'The Rebirth of Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in R. Hodges and B. Hoblely, eds., *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700–1050* (London, 1988), pp. 32–42; P. Delogu, 'Oro e argento in Roma tra il VII ed il IX secolo', *Cultura e società nell'Italia medievale: studi per Paolo Brezzi* (2 vols., Rome, 1988), i. 273–93.

¹⁵⁶ Naismith, 'Peter's Pence and Before', pp. 220–21.

uphold, and that a good subject should gladly pay. It belonged to a world in which good governance was synonymous with zealous religious observance; one in which measures against the viking threat of 1009–12, for example, could include both a new nation-wide land tax (the *heregeld*) and co-opting the currency as part of a bid for divine support.¹⁵⁷ In the eyes of Æthelred II, the king at this time, these were two sides of the same coin, and indeed both revolved around coins, a resource which England possessed in relative abundance.¹⁵⁸

Peter's Pence was not, therefore, unusual for being a gift to Rome, or even a financial gift. All of its individual features can be paralleled in earlier times, either in England or its neighbours. The mechanism of gathering money on a diocesan basis through local churches or minsters had many precedents, perhaps most pertinently in the decrees of Erfurt and *Dingolfing* in East Francia in the 930s, according to which a lump sum would be rendered to the bishop from his diocese for whatever purpose he saw fit. This payment was probably an adaptation of tributes previously rendered to the king for the fight against the Magyars, so was emphatically not optional; similarly, tithes in the Frankish world, and church-scot in England, had long been an obligation demanded by kings as well as clergy, as part of the observance a God-fearing society owed its deity.¹⁵⁹ Peter's Pence was remarkable above all for its far-off recipient, and for the staying power that it achieved.

These qualities reflect the strengths of late Anglo-Saxon government: ambitious, kingdom-wide policies, ideological and administrative alike, were committed to with firm determination, as well

¹⁵⁷ S. Keynes and R. Naismith, 'The *Agnus Dei* Pennies of King Æthelred the Unready', *Anglo-Saxon England*, xl (2011), pp. 175–223; S. Keynes, 'The Historical Context of the Battle of Maldon', in D. Scragg, ed., *The Battle of Maldon AD 991* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 81–113, esp. 100–102.

¹⁵⁸ P. Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013).

¹⁵⁹ Tinti, "'Costs' of Pastoral Care', esp. pp. 28–32; Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 433–51; Eldevik, *Episcopal Power*, pp. 34–61; E. Shuler, 'Caesarius of Arles and the Development of the Ecclesiastical Tithe: From a Theology of Almsgiving to Practical Obligations', *Traditio*, lxxvii (2012), pp. 43–69, for donation becoming obligation in sixth-century Gaul.

as allowance for local idiosyncrasies in how such policies were implemented. These patterns were a product of the confident yet strongly self-critical climate that prevailed under Edgar and his son Æthelred II in particular, though they also had a firm basis in existing practices.¹⁶⁰ In the case of Peter's Pence, elements of English tradition mingled with Carolingian and post-Carolingian customs to create something distinctly new and influential. It set a model, and even a designation, for similar payments from other sources in subsequent times, and also established a valuable precedent for the papacy as its incumbents sought to shore up their financial position in the mid-eleventh century and after. It was one of the most important and longest-lasting contributions the late Anglo-Saxon kingdom made to medieval Europe.

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¹⁶⁰ S.D. Keynes, 'Edgar, "rex admirabilis"', in D. Scragg, ed., *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 3–59, at 10; Molyneaux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, pp. 187–94.