

Henry of Winchester: Last of the Great Cluniacs

by

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B.A. (Hons.), University of Victoria, 2003

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the life of Henry of Winchester (c.1099-1171) and his relation to the development of the English church in the twelfth century. It presents the case for considering Henry's close association to Cluniac monasticism and speaks to some of the tensions which existed between Henry and St Bernard of Clairvaux. It focuses primarily on Henry's contribution to the ecclesiastical reform movement and his importance as a leading figure in ecclesiastical government during the crisis of King Stephen's reign (1135-1154). In addition, it considers Henry's role as one of the twelfth century's most prominent art patrons. By considering his activities as monk, bishop, statesman and art patron, this study shows how Henry of Winchester was a prominent force in religious and secular life during a period of political unrest and ecclesiastical change.

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Introduction

From its foundation in 910, the abbey of Cluny occupied a prominent place in monastic and European history. This is a result not only of its early efforts in the forefront of monastic reform and the unprecedented expansion of the Order itself, but also of the individual eminence of its members. The object of this study is to consider the life of Henry de Blois (c. 1099-1171), bishop of Winchester and last of the illustrious, medieval Cluniacs whose dominant personality is reflected in both the secular and ecclesiastical history of twelfth-century England.

In 1135, Henry enabled his brother, Stephen, to become king of England. In 1139, Henry himself was papal legate, the pre-eminent ecclesiastic in the country with precedence over even the archbishop of Canterbury. He was an abbot, bishop, kingmaker, brilliant administrator and patron of the arts. His career attracted both applause and criticism. As abbot, he was highly esteemed by the monks of Glastonbury. As bishop of Winchester, he inspired the enmity of the formidable St Bernard of Clairvaux. Yet, despite Henry's decisive role in the religious and political life of Anglo-Norman England, he has received only marginal attention from historians.¹ With respect to his lifelong devotion to the Cluniac Order, no work has been done. This study will focus on Henry's importance as a leading figure in ecclesiastical government during King Stephen's reign, 1135-54, and it will consider his contribution to the ecclesiastical reform movement in

¹ Lena Voss' *Heinrich von Blois, Bischof von Winchester 1129-1171* (Berlin: Ebering, 1931), remains the definitive work on the subject. Although laudable for its biographical detail, it does not picture Henry in the wider context of ecclesiastical reform. The established description of Henry's character is presented by Dom David Knowles in *The Episcopal Colleagues of Thomas Becket* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951) and *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). While sympathetic, Knowles' account is brief and primarily acts as a comparative study between Henry and the other ecclesiastics of his day.

England. It will also establish Henry in the context of his Cluniac heritage and examine how Cluniac monastic traditions consistently influenced his character and career.

It is important to understand at the outset of this study that a monastic education at the powerful Burgundian monastery of Cluny was not necessarily intended to prepare one for a wholly cenobitic life. In the eleventh century, Cluniac monks typically moved from a subordinate position at Cluny itself to take charge of an abbey or priory of which Cluny was the mother house. In the twelfth century, as the Order expanded its territory and influence throughout Europe, a growing number of Cluniacs became bishops, cardinals and papal legates. In the ranks of such renowned figures as pope Urban II, Alberic of Ostia, St Odilo, St Hugh and Peter the Venerable, one must include Henry of Winchester.²

Henry came to England at an early age and became abbot of Glastonbury in 1126. By 1129, he was also bishop of Winchester. In 1139, he was appointed papal legate, and held this position until the death of Pope Innocent II in 1143. He was the fourth and youngest son of Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror.³ His father participated in the first crusade and was killed at Ramleh, in the Holy Land, in 1102. It was Adela, therefore, who administered her husband's estates and made arrangements for the future success of her children.

² Henry's various spheres of influence provide him with various appellations. He is known as Bishop Henry, Legate Henry, Henry of Blois and Henry of Winchester. It is in keeping with his active interest in both secular and ecclesiastical affairs that he is generally called either by his family name, thus Henry de Blois, or his clerical title, which makes him Henry of Winchester. In this study, he will be addressed with respect to his ecclesiastical position.

³ There is some debate surrounding Henry's date of birth. M.J. Franklin, *English Episcopal Acta viii, Winchester, 1070-1204* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) xxxv and N.E. Stacy, "Henry of Blois and the Lordship of Glastonbury," *English Historical Review*, 144, no. 455. (1999) 4, suggest that Henry was born c. 1090. A more persuasive argument is forwarded by David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow: Longman Press, 2000) 13 note 5, which places Henry's date of birth as c. 1099, at the time of Count Stephen's return from the Holy Land.

An astute, forceful and capable woman, Adela was also devout. A friend of Bishop Ivo of Chartres and Peter the Venerable of Cluny, she maintained a lively interest in the ecclesiastical debates of her time.⁴ Sometime after 1122, she entered the Cluniac priory of Marcigny-sur-Loire.⁵ Her boldness and flare for administration are reflected in Henry's own abilities, and it is likely that her lifelong patronage of Cluny influenced her plans for Henry's education.

With his elder brothers involved in secular politics, it was fitting that Henry should be destined for a career in the church.⁶ Adela sent him to be educated at Cluny, where he soon distinguished himself as one of Peter the Venerable's most gifted students. He possessed remarkable administrative talents and was able to deal effectively with financial and tenurial disputes. H.A. Cronne suggests that he inherited a "generous portion of the masterfulness, determination and ability of his grandfather [William the Conqueror], qualities which were so lacking in his elder brother, Stephen."⁷ It will be seen whether this criticism of Stephen is justified, but it is certain that without his younger brother, he could not have succeeded Henry I as king of England.

Henry of Winchester certainly possessed all the energy and intelligence required to become a great bishop, but his great wealth, plurality of offices and political intriguing cause some modern scholars and several of his contemporary critics to characterize him

⁴For Adela's involvement in ecclesiastical debate and her friendship with Ivo of Chartres, see K.A. LoPrete, "Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres: piety, politics, and the peace in the diocese of Chartres," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xiv, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge, 1990).

⁵For Adela's entrance into the priory, see R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967) 5.

⁶For Adela's provisions regarding her children see Crouch, *Stephen*, 11-13. Before retiring to Marcigny-sur-Loire, Adela ensured that her children were all provided with promising careers. Deeming her eldest son, William, as somehow unsuitable to inherit his father's title, she denied him his patrimony and, instead, married him into the wealthy family of de Sully. Her second son, Theobald, then became count of Blois and Chartres. She sent her third son, Stephen, to the English court of her brother, King Henry I.

⁷H.A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135-54, Anarchy in England*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970) 119.

as an opportunist and a man “primarily interested in developing his own power which did not necessarily accord with the interests of the church.”⁸ St Bernard of Clairvaux was particularly blunt in his opinion of Henry’s shortcomings, referring to him as the “old wizard of Winchester.”⁹ By contrast, his supporters, such as William of Malmesbury, hailed him as a man of great eloquence and sagacity.¹⁰ The work of ecclesiastical scholar David Knowles calls attention to his generous religious patronage and irreproachable private life.¹¹ Even his detractors cannot deny that he fulfilled his administrative responsibilities with acumen, restored the failing fortunes of both Glastonbury Abbey and Winchester Cathedral, strengthened the relationship between the English church and Rome, and was largely responsible for introducing Early Gothic artistic innovations to England.

As a Cluniac, the bishop of England’s second wealthiest see, and a member of the royal family, Henry’s ambitions for himself and the English church were expansive. It is important to emphasize, as Knowles has rightly pointed out, that Henry’s Cluniac education disposed him towards active participation in secular government. It is not unreasonable to say that his efforts to prevent Henry I's daughter, the empress Maud, and her Angevin supporters from seizing power were motivated by both the dynastic interests of his family and an authentic desire to protect ecclesiastical liberties. Supporting Stephen's claim to the throne allowed Henry to satisfy both of these aspirations, for Stephen was a popular prince, a competent soldier and had been greatly favoured by his uncle, Henry I. He was a suitable choice as Henry I's successor and could, with the aid of

⁸ Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, (London: Athlone Press, 1956) 15.

⁹ St Bernard as quoted by Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 35.

¹⁰ Malmesbury, William of, *Early History of Glastonbury*, ed. John Scott, (Boydell Press, 1981) 167.

¹¹ Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 35-37.

the church, overcome any moral objections concerning the succession. It must have appeared to Henry that should his brother become king with the church's assistance, Stephen would undertake to guarantee ecclesiastical liberties.

To Henry, a collaboration between secular and ecclesiastical government would not have been unwelcome. In accordance with the Cluniac view, he likely envisioned a co-operative arrangement wherein the crown would provide the church with material protection and the church, in turn, would provide the crown with moral legitimacy. His Cluniac education had presented him with the models of St Odilo and St Hugh, both of whom had enhanced the honour and eminence of the abbey by means of their close association with secular magnates. Unlike St Bernard, whose vision for the church was founded in an adherence to strict ascetic discipline, Henry's vision was firmly based in Cluniac traditions of ecclesiastical government. This is not to say that Henry was devoid of the genuine, more devotional aspects of ecclesiastical life. However, it is the case that his Cluniac interpretation of monastic reform set him closer to the secular sphere than the new generation of reformers considered appropriate.

In the early part of Stephen's reign Henry was the most powerful prelate and political adviser in the kingdom. By recognizing and approving Stephen's claim to the throne, the church provided him with an invaluable weapon against the ambitions of Maud and Geoffrey of Anjou. Stephen had been consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury and was thereby recognized by Pope Innocent II. As no formal observance regarding the rules of succession had been enforced in England since the Norman Conquest, the church's ritual of consecration was highly significant. However, even

although the church was instrumental in winning him the crown, Stephen soon succumbed to the influence of his secular advisers and favourites at court.

Believing that the nobles, and not the church, were integral to the maintenance of his authority, Stephen became increasingly reliant on the advice of the powerful Beaumont twins, count Waleran of Meulan and Robert, earl of Leicester. Those clerics who had provided Stephen with the early support he had required to become king were consequently out of favour and Henry's ambitions for ecclesiastical reform were seriously compromised.

The development of ecclesiastical reform in England is marked equally by the great monastic revolution of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and by the emergence of canon law. The monastic revolution sought to establish unity and regulation in ecclesiastical life, and the codification of church laws brought order and organization to the dispersed mass of ecclesiastical rules, regulations and customs. The primary aims of the monastic revolution, particularly as practiced by the Cluniacs, were to liberate the church from secular control and to strengthen the ecclesiastical hierarchy by reinforcing both the authority of the bishop in his diocese and the precedence of the pope over the church as a whole.

Despite the spiritual link between Canterbury and the curia, bishops and archbishops were more prominent in English ecclesiastical affairs than was the pope in Rome. With the appointment of Lanfranc (1005-1089) as archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, canon law texts were introduced and a gradual distinction between spiritualities and temporalities was made.

Bede K. Lackner describes the twelfth century as a period of “spiritual hunger and enthusiasm,” when the structural changes so successfully implemented in matters of law and administration were no longer sufficient to satiate the popular need for piety and religious renewal.¹² While the early abbots of Cluny had advocated an austere asceticism, the more rigorous methods of purification, such as manual labour, were not considered essential tasks. Rather, there was an emphasis on re-organizing the liturgy, expanding and beautifying the abbey church, and promulgating the Cluniac interpretation of the Benedictine Rule in other monastic houses. While Cluny fought against simony, clerical marriage and lay investiture, it was not so strong an advocate of strict, ascetic monasticism as St Bernard and the Cistercian Order proved to be.

The monastic revival, especially as it was practiced by the Cistercians, was directed by a belief in apostolic poverty, simplicity and complete detachment from the world. One of the greatest champions of this way of life was St Peter Damian (1007-1072), whose disciplined adherence to the ascetic ideal influenced the reforms of St Bernard. Although the ascendance of Cistercian reform in England did not diminish Henry’s dominant position in church government, he was obliged to acknowledge and accommodate the changes which occurred during the latter half of his long episcopacy.

Henry remained closely involved with the evolution of ecclesiastical reform, even in the final years of his life. During King Henry II’s infamous dispute with the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, Henry of Winchester was a steadfast supporter of the archbishop.¹³ Although he was not as active in public affairs as he had been during Stephen’s reign, his opinions were still highly regarded. It would seem that in later life

¹² B. Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Citeaux*, (Washington: Consortium Press, 1972) xv.

¹³ For Henry of Winchester’s support of Thomas Becket, see Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 110.

Henry abandoned the ambition for which, as a young man, he had been chastised. As he gave away his wealth, his final years were characterized by a devout and rigorous adherence to his monastic vows.

Henry's place in the English reform movement is generally overshadowed by the martyrdom of Becket. It is unfortunate that while he prepared the way for the achievements of Becket and others, his own achievements go largely unrecognized. The following study places Henry in the context of twelfth-century monastic reform and explores his involvement with ecclesiastical politics and secular government. Furthermore, it speaks to the growing tension between Cluniac and Cistercian monasticism, illustrating how Henry responded to and participated in the ecclesiastical conflicts of his time.

During Henry's long episcopate, and particularly during the period when his personal influence as court was strong, the confidence of the English church was high. While England was in a state of civil war, the church had reached a formative point in its evolution. It is the aim of this study to present Henry of Winchester as an integral figure in that evolution and to show how his many talents – as financier, administrator, statesman and bishop – were all directed towards establishing a strong foundation for ecclesiastical government.

Chapter One: Monk and Abbot

Henry was appointed abbot of Glastonbury by his uncle, King Henry I of England, in 1126. Although his elevation to the see of Winchester in 1129 removed him from his monastic community, it would be a mistake to consider that this separation in any way diminished his affiliation with monasticism. The monks of Glastonbury evidently held him in high regard, and Henry was consistently attentive to the needs of his abbey despite his absenteeism. Unfortunately, considering Henry within the wider context of monastic reform is made difficult by the limited nature of sources pertaining to his early life and career. However, as his ecclesiastical policy and political involvement are best understood with reference to his Cluniac background, this chapter will examine how the fundamental aspects of Cluniac monasticism are reflected in Henry's ecclesiastical policy. His affiliation with English monastic culture will be considered primarily with reference to the evidence provided by his episcopal *acta* and charters, remembering that as Henry was at once bishop and abbot, the records from his episcopacy are equally pertinent to his abbatial responsibilities.

Henry and Cluniac Monasticism

The abbey of Cluny was a major European monastic institution. It was among the principal centers of tenth- and eleventh-century religious culture and was in the forefront of the ecclesiastical reform movement championed by Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) and St Peter Damian. So close were the ties between Cluny and the papacy, and so dedicated were the Cluniacs to St Peter, that the abbey came to be a popular destination for

pilgrims, both in its own right and as part of the larger pilgrimage to Rome itself.¹ Numerous religious, political, social and economic factors contributed to the rise of Cluny and Cluniac influence, although it may be observed that one of the factors in its decline was the loss of ascetic simplicity. This was largely due to the Cluniac propensity to become involved in worldly affairs.

From its inception in 910, Cluny enjoyed a unique sense of independence. The land on which the abbey stood had been donated by Duke William of Aquitaine (d. 918), and in the abbey's foundation charter, he declared that Cluny was to be free from any overlord save the pope, upon whom it depended for protection.² Thus, as the monks neither owed nor paid homage to any secular authority, Cluny was set to become the centre of a nearly autonomous monastic empire.³ This independence, combined with the abbey's increasing wealth due to the donations of the faithful, provided a solid financial and administrative base for the future success and promulgation of Cluniac ideas.⁴ That

¹ Cluny was also often considered a legitimate alternative to Rome. William de Warenne, cousin to King Henry I, for example, made a pilgrimage to Cluny rather than to Rome. Indeed, it was his stay at Cluny that prompted him to establish a Cluniac priory at Lewes upon his return to England. For further information of the foundation of Lewes, see David Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England*, (London: Athlone Press, 1939) 76. St Bernard's criticism of the pride and unseemly glory of Winchester is reflective of the notion that certain Cluniac establishments wantonly usurped the splendour and credit of the papal city. See *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans Bruno Scott James (Sutton, 1998) 275.

² "And, through God and all his saints, and by the awful day of judgment, I warn and abjure that no one of the secular princes, no count, no bishop whatever, not the pontiff of the aforesaid Roman see, shall invade the property of these servants of God, or alienate it, or diminish it, or exchange it, or give it as a benefice to any one, or constitute any prelate over them against their will." From the edition of A. Bruel, "Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny," (Paris, 1876) as it appears in Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1910), 329-333.

³ 'Paid' is to be taken here in the most literal sense. Cluny's exemption from secular taxes no doubt contributed to its increase. In 939 abbot Odo secured a charter of particular importance in this regard, which confirmed and listed Cluny's rights: "Let them pay no market tolls; let no man trouble their freemen or their serfs; let them own as lords and by seigneurial title the tithes intended for the upkeep of their hostel... let them enjoy possession of their churches and of the tithes attached to them...let no man without their consent collect the due terrage on any forests or lands which they hold entire." In Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny*, (London: Archon Books, 1968) 13.

⁴ Cluny enjoyed a substantial amount of material support in the form of large donations of land, churches and money. These were provided by laymen who hoped to receive spiritual rewards for their piety. Such donations enabled the Cluniacs to work for reform with even greater independence as they used the abbey's

the ideas themselves came to be influenced by these temporal considerations was a matter of concern for the twelfth-century reformers who viewed Cluny's prosperity and consequent secular connections as a deviation from the Benedictine Rule.

The Benedictine Rule combined the best cenobitic and eremitic ideals into a practicable guide for monastic life. St Benedict desired to establish, "a school of the Lord's service," and considered that participation in a regulated, communal life was the surest means of accomplishing this aim. He believed that a monastery should be "completely self-contained and self-sufficient, both economically and constitutionally," and that an abbot, who would be chosen for his superior qualities, was to preside over it.⁵ The abbot was therefore required to be judicious and prudent, and to "display the feeling of a severe yet devoted master" responsible for the well-being of his monastic community.⁶ It was acknowledged, however, that the Rule could not provide for all contingencies and in many matters the abbot was provided with discretionary latitude. Thus, interpretations and acceptance of the Rule could be influenced by the specific traditions of different monastic environments.⁷ The codification and, indeed, restoration

increased wealth and power to restore ecclesiastical control over those churches previously considered the private property of secular lords. Cluny gradually increased its temporal wealth through the donations of agricultural land in Burgundy, Provence and the Rhone Valley, but the responsibility of owning such vast amounts of property necessitated the involvement of monks in matters of feudal administration and law. This brought the abbey into contact with the secular courts and was contrary to the Benedictine notion that it was not appropriate for a monk to bring an action or appear in court except as a witness. More importantly, it brought an awareness of and participation in the feudal system into the monastery's daily life. For additional discussion of the monks' involvement in secular courts, see Evans, *Monastic Life*, 15 and Lackner, *Eleventh Century Background*, 73-75.

⁵ St Benedict, *The Rule of St Benedict*, David W. Cotter ed. (Liturgical Press, 2001) 12-15.

⁶ "In his teaching indeed the abbot ought always to observe that form laid down by the apostle when he says: 'reprove, rebuke, exhort.' That is, mixing seasons with seasons, blandishments with terrors, let him display the feeling of a severe yet devoted master. He should, namely, rebuke more severely the unruly and the turbulent. The obedient, moreover, and the gentle and the patient, he should exhort, that they may progress to higher things. But the negligent and scorners, we warn him to admonish and reprove." St Benedict, *Rule*, 24.

⁷ See L.M. Smith, 'Cluny and Gregory VII,' in *The English Historical Review* 26, no. 101 (January, 1911) 20-33, where the Cluniac Rule is described as Benedict of Aniane's modification of the Rule of St Benedict. This view is confirmed by Lackner, who contends that at its foundation, "Cluny had no other

of the Rule in Western Europe is largely due to Cluny's early efforts to define its own liturgical and communal discipline.

One of the most distinctive traditions of Cluniac monasticism, outside of its liturgical customs, was the creation of a monastic Order.⁸ This was clearly different from the earlier Benedictine idea of monastic autonomy. Instead, the Cluniacs developed the concept of a multitude of monasteries all directed by a single abbey, the abbot of which controlled the government of each dependent house. The spread of the Cluniac Order throughout Europe increased the range of its influence in the monastic, papal and secular worlds. While the liturgical life of the abbey remained largely unchanged from the time of its founding, the power of Cluny's congregation of monasteries made it necessary for the Order to adapt accordingly. Although the gradual shift towards temporal involvement might have seemed out of keeping with cenobitic tradition, the Cluniacs' success in establishing and maintaining their right to self-governance was an integral part of the monastic reform movement. Cluny became a practical example of Gregory VII's theory of reform, wherein monasteries were not subject to secular or episcopal control. This, combined with Cluny's allegiance and affiliation with Rome, resulted in considerable papal support for Cluniac endeavors.⁹

norms to regulate its monastic life than the Rule of St Benedict and the eighty canons of the capitulary of Aachen (817). . . . the customs introduced by the monks of Baume at their new foundation (Cluny) were really the usages of Benedict of Aniane." See Lackner, *Eleventh-Century Background*, 43-44. For further discussion on Benedict of Aniane's modifications and his role in the establishment of Carolingian monasteries, see *ibid.*, 10-29.

⁸ The eleventh-century customaries of Bernard and Ulrich provide a good indication of liturgical procedure during the time of St Hugh (1049-1109). Changes and additions made by Peter the Venerable (1122-1156) are known only with reference to the mother house of Cluny itself. Information pertaining to his influence on liturgical customs in the ancillary houses is unavailable. For a discussion of Cluniac liturgy and Peter the Venerable's *Statutes*, see Giles Constable, "Monastic Legislation at Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," reprinted in *Cluniac Studies* (London: 1980). The liturgical practices of Cluny are not considered here, as their direct implications for Henry of Winchester cannot be measured from the sources.

⁹ Gregory VII's *Epistles*, as quoted by Evans, *Monastic Life*, 34: "Among all the abbeys beyond the alps there shines first and foremost that of Cluny, that is under the protection of the Holy See. Under its sainted

Under abbots such as St Odilo (662-994) and St Hugh (1024-1109), Cluny was at the forefront of the monastic revolution and played a significant part in secular undertakings such as the Burgundian crusades. However, as western monasticism began a new movement towards renewal and reform, during the abbacy of Peter the Venerable (1122-1156), Cluny began a gradual decline. The Cluniacs owed much of their early success to the size and scope of their Order, which was unique in the tenth century. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, new monastic Orders were founded. The Orders of Chartreux, Prémontré, Grandmont, and Cîteaux all benefited from the Cluniac model yet, importantly, they were also able to form their own distinct interpretations of the Benedictine Rule.

The Cistercians, founded in 1098, were the most powerful of these new orders and their most influential spokesman was St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). In 1124, he wrote the *Apologia*, in which he defended Benedictine monasticism as a whole from the popular criticism which was increasingly being directed against Cluny. Chastizing the Cluniacs for their failure to maintain a standard of Benedictine perfection, he condemned what he considered excesses of luxury and indulgence:

They who should have shown us the way of life have become in their pride the blind who lead the blind. Where is their humility when they walk proudly in the midst of an escort of many men, surrounded by a crowd of servants awaiting

abbots its has reached so high a stage of honour and religion that, because of the zeal wherewith God is there served, without doubt it surpasses all other monasteries, even the most ancient." Also, see Urban II's letter to St Hugh, from J.H. Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny depuis la fondation jusqu'à la mort de Pierre le Vénérable ii*, (Autun and Paris, 1886) as it is quoted by Evans, *Monastic Life*, 34: "Most holy, most venerable, most beloved father...the prerogative of our love is due to you in especial by reason of your long loyalty to the Holy See and of the respect that your own piety and that of your community inspires."

their orders? ...A man would take them not for fathers of monasteries, but for the lords of castles; not for the directors of souls, but for the princes of provinces.¹⁰

Peter the Venerable responded to these imputations by reminding St Bernard that the Benedictine Rule itself gave an abbot the freedom to make modifications appropriate to the abbey over which he presided. He asserted that the property, churches and material wealth which the Cluniacs had acquired were legitimate donations from the faithful. Further, he maintained that, due to its size and the scope of its influence, Cluny required modifications be made to allow for both the acceptance of the aforesaid donations and to accommodate the temporal obligations which accompanied them.¹¹

This was already a largely unconvincing argument in 1124, and by the time Henry of Winchester attempted something similar in the legate council of 1139 it had lost nearly all its credibility. The idea of a monastic empire such as Cluny possessed was no longer acceptable either in Western Europe or in Rome. The approbation and encouragement which the Cluniacs had enjoyed under Gregory VII, Urban II and Innocent II was failing. Instead, a succession of pro-Cistercian popes supported a return to the ascetic ideals of monasticism from which Cluny, with its opulence and grandeur, had become disassociated.

Cluny had been in the forefront of what, upon reflection, may be seen as the initial phase of the monastic revolution. Reforming monasteries by instituting a coherent conception of the Benedictine Rule and working towards the establishment of a more independent church by the centralization of ecclesiastical government were paramount to the early Cluniac ideal. However, a second wave of monastic reform overtook the

¹⁰ *Cistercians and Cluniacs: St Bernard's Apologia to Abbot William*, Michael Casey ed. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications: 1970) 37.

¹¹ For a discussion of Peter the Venerable's response to St Bernard's *Apologia*, see Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity, Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1996) 135-140.

Cluniacs as the Cistercian emphasis on a return to strict, ascetic principles began its ascendancy. Consequently, the Cluniac Order lost much of the power and influence which its greatest abbots had enjoyed.

As Cluniac power and influence declined, so too did the power and influence of Henry of Winchester. In many ways he may be considered emblematic of the rise and fall of Cluniac monasticism. His ideas for the church in England were in keeping with Cluniac tradition, yet his ambitions were ultimately frustrated by new ideas for church reform as advocated by the Cistercian movement. In the early part of his career, Henry had enjoyed a favourable relationship with the papacy. He had been appointed papal legate and was instrumental in establishing the regular process of ecclesiastical appeals from England to Rome.¹² Thus, he is seen to champion the reformist principle that the papacy was the ultimate authority in all ecclesiastical matters and that a distinct moral, if not wholly political, authority over secular rulers should be maintained.

M. J. Franklin describes Henry as “a force to be reckoned with in all aspects of secular and ecclesiastical politics between which he, a high Gregorian in temperament, saw no reason to differentiate.”¹³ The idea of a “high Gregorian” requires further explanation. What was the exact nature of Henry’s affiliation with so-called ‘Gregorian’ reform? Certainly, he did not consider it necessary to make a clear separation between his secular and ecclesiastical interests, however he was keen to end secular control of church

¹² It is likely that the appeals process was extant in England prior to Henry’s term as legate, despite Henry of Huntingdon’s assertion – couched as it is in unfavourable terms - that the process actually began with Henry of Winchester: “In Anglia namque appellations in usu non errant donec eas Henricus Wintoniensis dum legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intrusit...” See Huntingdon, Henry of, *Historia Anglorum*, D. Greenway ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 282. Nonetheless, Henry certainly made a more active use of his legation than his predecessor, William of Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury from 1123-36, and in his time a closer contact between English and continental legal developments was established. See also C. Duggan, *Twelfth Century Decretal Collections*, (London: Athlone Press, 1963) 106ff.

¹³ *EEAW*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

affairs. As a wealthy and powerful bishop, he did not act to curb episcopal authority, but neither was he a harsh or unremitting landlord. Nonetheless, his duality presents an inescapable problem: how, as a bishop, could he remain faithful to his vows as a monk? How, as a monk, could he entertain episcopal – and even archiepiscopal – ambitions? In answering these questions, it must first be remembered that Henry was a prince, and while it might be hoped that his monastic obligations would have outweighed his princely aspirations, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they did not. Clearly, Henry's interest and involvement in worldly affairs did not diminish, despite his vows, but it is necessary to understand, as Franklin observes, that he saw nothing incompatible or inappropriate in this view.

Indeed, there is no reason why he should have done, for Henry was a Cluniac monk who had received his education at a time when the abbey's influence was still esteemed and widespread. The Cluniac model did not despise secular involvement. On the contrary, involvement in temporal affairs was a necessary part of Cluniac life. It is easy to speculate on how Henry associated himself with the great Cluniac abbots of the past, St Odilo and St Hugh, both of whom were statesmen and administrators.

Joan Evans credits St Odilo with the initial spread of Cluniac reform throughout France and the establishment of the Order as a “mediator and arbitrator” in secular conflicts.¹⁴ St Hugh expanded on this idea and governed the Cluniacs as “a wise statesman governs a kingdom. . . [for] at every turn of contemporary history his figure is to be seen standing as a counselor beside King, Emperor, or Pope.”¹⁵ Under his direction,

¹⁴ Evans, *Monastic Life*, 21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25. For further discussion of the role of St Hugh and St Odilo in establishing Cluny as a feudal power, see Evans, *Monastic Life*, 18-27. See also Noreen Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109*, (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1967).

the Order became a force in secular politics. St Hugh also expanded the Order into England, Italy and Spain, and was a frequent adviser to Alonso VI of Castille.¹⁶ Henry would have seen that such work, although not part of what might be considered the traditional role of an abbot, contributed greatly to the rise of the monastery in terms of both its spiritual authority and temporal prosperity. With precedents such as these, it is natural that Henry would have crafted his ecclesiastical career in a similar manner. Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that Henry considered his monastic life to be both a career and a vocation, with his education specifically intending him for a life in the ordering and organization of ecclesiastical government.

With this in mind, it is more appropriate to consider Henry as a high Cluniac, rather than a “high Gregorian.” He was what Dom David Knowles describes as one of Cluny’s noble ecclesiastics, to whom the governance of dependent Cluniac houses was entrusted.¹⁷ This is an apt description of Henry and it explains his inclination towards administration rather than spiritual asceticism. It should not suggest, however, that he was oblivious to spiritual concerns. In addition to his promotion of Cluniac notions of government and administration, Henry also displayed a social consciousness very much in keeping with the Cluniac tradition. Cluny’s efforts on behalf of the poor, and its

¹⁶ St Hugh’s niece was married to Alonso VI and many of his kinsmen were nobles. A considerable number of Cluniacs numbered noblemen among their relations, which in part accounts for their efforts to gain temporal assistance for their ecclesiastical mission by encouraging a sense of piety in the nobility. The sons of noble families, including that of the Burgundian dukes, received their education at Cluny, and the abbey could thus expect to hold a close association with many secular magnates. Indeed, in the twelfth century alone, the younger brothers of dukes comprised four bishops of the Burgundian sees, two of Langres and two of Autun. These bishops frequently appear in the cartularies of Burgundian monasteries, and are instrumental in founding them, bestowing gifts, and confirming the gifts of others. See Constance B. Bouchard, “Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism: The Dukes of Burgundy in the Twelfth Century,” *Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism*, E. Rozanne Elder ed., (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981) 4.

¹⁷ David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950) 286. “The business of government...came to be entrusted more and more to a kind of *corps d’élite*, marked out for the purpose from their first entry into religion, young men of noble family and promise, *nobili ecclesiastici* destined for a career.”

consistent emphasis on maintaining peace in Europe by means of mediation and negotiation are reflected in Henry's policies and patronage. He established and ensured the protection of the hospitals of St Cross and Mary Magdalene in Winchester, and intended them to provide relief and care specifically for the poor and disadvantaged.¹⁸ Furthermore, the only peaceful negotiation which took place between Stephen and Maud during the civil war occurred at Henry's instigation.

Henry's very public career as a bishop and statesman during the various political crises of Stephen's reign overshadows his involvement in the more quotidian affairs of his diocese, yet it is here that one can observe his genuine concern for the well-being of English monks and monasteries.

Relations with Glastonbury

Henry was involved in all manner of monastic affairs, from confirming donations of land and money to ensuring that the monks of Glastonbury were provided with ten salmon every year.¹⁹ Of the one hundred and sixteen *acta* attributable to him at Winchester only one pertains to the taking of land to be held by the bishop, and this is for a rent of 40s.²⁰ The remaining *acta* relate to the confirmation or giving of gifts, land, or churches to monasteries and priories, to the various disputes over property or tithes which the bishop administered on behalf of others, and to the duties connected with his legatine activities. Appointed bishop of Winchester in 1129, his residency at Glastonbury lasted only three years. Of the *acta* issued during his abbacy only eleven survive, however Henry's own

¹⁸ *EEAW*, 99-100, no. 134.

¹⁹ *EEAW*, 23, no. 33.

²⁰ *EEAW*, 15, no. 24.

account of his activities at Glastonbury gives an indication of what he himself believed to be the most important contributions to his abbey.²¹

Upon his arrival at Glastonbury, Henry was immediately distressed by the dilapidated state of the abbey buildings. He then examined the abbey's finances and discovered that property loss due to abbatial mismanagement and the territorial aggression of secular lords had impoverished a once prosperous house. The abbey was embroiled in disputes concerning knights' fees and loss of service. The latter was primarily due to infringements on the demesne, which accounted for the misappropriation of twelve manors and five churches. Henry's first task was to deal with the abbey's felonious steward, Odo, who had himself appropriated three of the abbey's lost manors.²² After an attempt to verify his claim by producing a false chirograph, Odo appealed to Henry I. Although he was given the right to bring his case a second time, and in the presence of men whose purpose was to ensure the abbot acted fairly, Odo was obliged to forfeit his possessions.

When dealing with the abbey's dependents or local men such as the former abbot Thurstan's brother, Henry was able to settle matters in the abbey's honourial court. He recovered the manor of Mells, Soms, and twenty shillings-worth of additional land from Roger de Mara,²³ revoked the grant allowing Ralph de St Barbara continued possession

²¹ Some sources relating to Henry's abbacy are confused. Certain *acta* issued by Abbot Henry of Glastonbury may relate to Henry of Winchester or Henry de Sully, who was abbot from 1189-93. The origins of a list of charters entitled *Cartae contentae in libro terram Glastonie* is similarly disputed. The source cited here is a short account of Henry of Winchester's early activities at Glastonbury. It is the abbey's chronicler, Adam de Domerham, who attributes the account, *Scriptura Henrici episcopi Wintoniensis et abbatis Glastoniensis*, to Henry of Winchester and includes it in his history. Two manuscripts of Domerham's chronicle survive. The source cited here is a transcription from Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R.5.33 fos 21r-22v as it appears in M.J. Franklin ed., *English Episcopal Acta viii, Winchester, 1070-1204* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 205-211.

²² For the account of Henry's dealings with Odo, see *EEAW*, 205-6.

²³ For the account of Henry's dealings with Roger de Mara, see *EEAW*, 205.

of fertile abbey land which had been acquired duplicitously,²⁴ and secured the return of six hides of land from Moorlinch, Soms.²⁵ Henry's account deals with three instances of appropriation based on unsupported grants, of which the case against Odo was the most serious.

This energetic retrieval of ecclesiastical possessions was tempered by Henry's awareness that, as landlord, it was incumbent upon him to maintain the stability of his estate. He offered compensation to those whose land he had reclaimed, giving a life tenancy to a woman whose son had been obliged to return three and a half hides of land at Moorlinch, and allowing Roger de Mara to keep a manor and land worth £1 a year.²⁶ In another case, involving the prominent chancellor of England, Geoffrey Rufus, Henry was initially unwilling to compromise. During the interval between the appointment of Galstonbury's Abbot Seffrid to the episcopal see of Chichester in 1125 and Henry's arrival at the abbey in 1126, Geoffrey had appropriated five churches. Despite various efforts to persuade him otherwise, Henry affirmed the abbey's right to the churches and insisted that the Chancellor return them. Only upon the intervention of the king was Henry obliged to negotiate. Finally conceding three churches to Geoffrey, he nonetheless maintained the right to collect their respective tithes.²⁷

In a similar case, King Henry I's steward, Bishop Roger of Salisbury, acquired a knights' fee and a manor from Glastonbury.²⁸ Abbot Henry recovered the knight's fee by

²⁴For the account of Henry's dealings with Ralph St Barbara, see *EEAW*, 206-7.

²⁵For the account of Henry's actions regarding the return of land at Moorlinch, see *EEAW*, 206.

²⁶For an account of the tenancy at Moorlinch, see *EEAW*, 207.

²⁷For the account of Henry's dealings with Geoffrey Rufus, see *EEAW*, 207. For complete description of the king's involvement in this dispute, see N.E. Stacy, "Henry of Blois and the Lordship of Glastonbury," *English Historical Review* 144, no. 455 (February 1999): 7-8.

²⁸ For Henry's account of his dealings with Bishop Roger see *EEAW*, 209-10. See also Stacy, "Henry of Blois," 9-10. Stacy's sources for Roger of Salisbury's actions are currently unavailable. He cites Adam of Domesday, *Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, T. Hearne ed., vol ii, (London, 1727).

exerting pressure on the knight.²⁹ Interestingly, he hesitated to reclaim the manor until after Bishop Roger's death in 1139.³⁰ This is notable not only because it might suggest Henry's early awareness of Roger of Salisbury's value as a potential supporter of Stephen's cause, but also because it illustrates that Henry's administration of Glastonbury's affairs did not cease when he was appointed bishop.

An abbot's efforts to reclaim lost land were not unusual. Henry's predecessors at Glastonbury attempted much the same. However, not only did Henry attempt to restore the abbey's existing lands, he also attempted to expand the demesne into lands which were altogether separate. The protracted transaction regarding the estate of Siston, Soms, involved Henry in a legal dispute with another monastic house which claimed that the property had been promised to it. After a public hearing, and the issuing of a royal charter, Glastonbury was awarded proprietorship.³¹ This was deemed a success for the abbey, and provides an example of Henry's tenacity in the pursuit of his ambitions. In Cluniac fashion, he had argued his case before a secular court and thus secured an outcome which was favourable to his abbey.

With reference to his own account of his dealings with Geoffrey Rufus and Roger of Salisbury, Henry recounts a dispute over abbey land which exemplifies the Cluniac concern with issues of episcopal and secular appropriation. Here he struggles against Roger's gradual appropriation of Glastonbury's land and challenges a bishop's right to interfere with or subjugate monastic holdings. However, Henry's ideas seem to have altered somewhat when he himself was elected bishop of Winchester, perhaps as a result

²⁹ The exact nature of this 'pressure' is unknown, but it likely that Henry's familial relationship with the king was not inconsequential to the proceedings.

³⁰ For the account of Henry's dealings with Bishop Roger's manor, see *EEAW*, 209-10.

³¹ John of Glastonbury, *Chronica sive historia de rebus Glastoniensibu vol I*, T Hearne ed., (Oxford, 1726) as quoted in Stacy, "Henry of Blois," 23.

of the necessity to finance his household.³² Henry, not unlike Roger of Salisbury, was interested in acquiring monastic holdings. In 1129 he appropriated various churches and manors belonging to the monks of St Swithun's priory, Hants, but this is certainly not typical of his relations with the English monasteries.³³ On the contrary, Henry was consistently generous to the many religious institutions of his diocese.³⁴ In 1142, he restored the church of Wroughton, Hants, to St Swithun's, and desired that the profits be used in the writing of books, the repair of the organ, and to supplement the monastery's income wherever necessary.³⁵ He favoured Glastonbury in particular, which benefited from the building of a new bell-tower, chapter house, cloister, lavatory, refectory, dormitory, infirmary with an adjoining chapel, an outer gate, a brewery and stabling for many horses.³⁶ In addition, and with particular respect to the welfare of the monks, he commissioned the construction of a hostel for their use when visiting Winchester.³⁷ Finally, and as an example of Henry's spiritual piety, he gave the abbey all revenues from

³² See Everett Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 225-6. Crosby suggests that Henry's appropriation of monastic land was necessary to finance his episcopal household and to finance his luxurious style of living. However, he adds that the monks did not lack support and, indeed, that they "stood to profit from the increased affluence and notoriety of the cathedral see under Henry's administration."

³³ *Cartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, ed. and trans. A.W. Goodman (Hampshire County Council, 1929) 2.

³⁴ Henry's munificence is facilitated by the substantial revenue he collected from his see. The income from the bishopric of Winchester at the time of the Domesday Book in 1086 was estimated at £1000, and the income of the bishop himself was £920. These amounts are exceeded only by the income of the archbishop of Canterbury. This assessment is based on calculations made from the Domesday records as they appear in Crosby, 367ff. Actual income is difficult to measure, given the exigencies of personal expenses and the lack of fully-collated material on the subject of revenues from individual churches and tithes. Crosby posits, however, that the approximations he presents are likely to be lower than was actually the case.

³⁵ *EEAW*, 88-89, no 126. To the monks of St Swithun he also assigned 30 marks a year from the proceeds of St Giles fair (*EEAW*, 90, no. 128). He also restored the manors of Burghclere and Chilcombe in 1154 (*EEAW*, 91, no. 129), before restoring all lost lands in their entirety in 1171 (*EEAW*, 93-4 nos. 131-132).

³⁶ See Domerham's *Chronicle* (Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R.5.33) as quoted in *EEAW*, pxxxix: "... quoddam regale palaciam quod vocabatur castellum, item campanarium, capitulum, claustrum, lotorium, refectorium, dormitorium, infirmitorium cum capella, portam exteriorem speciosam ex lapidibus quadric, brachinum magnum et stabula equorum multa. . . ."

³⁷ *EEAW*, 30, nos. 43-44. Bishop Henry evidently purchased the land used for this purpose from one Conan the Moneylender, whom he provided with a billet at St Cross hospital.

the church of Pucklechurch, Hants, which he intended to finance a light placed before the image of the Virgin Mary in the old church.³⁸

In his chronicle of the early history of Glastonbury, William of Malmesbury speaks very highly of Henry and remarks that his achievements were of “great advantage” to the monks who enjoyed the benefits of lavish rebuilding, expensive gifts and well-organized finances.³⁹ His absenteeism does not seem to have diminished his interest in the affairs of his abbey, and it is clear that while in residence he was guided by a desire to elevate Glastonbury from impoverishment to a grandeur in keeping with the fashion of Cluny.

Relations with Other Monasteries

Henry’s relations with other monasteries are evident primarily from his time as bishop. His choice of monastic patronage may be considered reflective his enthusiasm for various liturgical or ideological practices, and in this respect one might expect him primarily to favour Cluniac houses. However, Henry demonstrated considerable variety in this regard, and he is credited with the protection of a Cistercian nunnery at Wintney, Yorks, the foundation of England’s first chantry at Marwell, Hants, and the establishment of the hospitals of St Mary Magdalene and St Cross in Winchester.⁴⁰ Henry also supported the

³⁸ *EEAW*, 29, no. 42. This may also be reflective of Henry’s Cluniac piety, as the worship of the Virgin Mary was particularly strong in the abbey church of Cluny. For further discussion of the Cult of the Virgin at Cluny, see Lackner, *Eleventh-Century Background*, 56-57.

³⁹ Malmesbury, William of, *The Early History of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. John Scott (Boydell, 1981) 166.

⁴⁰ See *EEAW*, 101, 55, 100-1, 100 (nos. 137, 80, 136 and 135) respectively. The establishment of Marwell as a chantry is somewhat debatable, although the express wording of the foundation charter intends that the priests pray for the souls of the kings of England and the bishops of Winchester. See also K.L. Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 4. It is also worthwhile noting how Henry intended to pay for Marwell. He provided £13 from his rents in Twyford to pay for the priests and the maintenance of the church. This is an interesting example of how Henry disposed of some part of his income, especially as it is devoted to a matter of personal piety.

foundation of an Augustinian priory at Beamore, Hants, which occasioned his involvement at a legatine level.

Breamore priory was founded for the Augustinian canons by Baldwin de Redvers and his uncle, Hugh, in the latter years of the reign of Henry I, who granted various endowments including a church and pasture land.⁴¹ All further grants, including churches, chapels, lands, tithes, meadows, mills and fishponds were confirmed by Bishop Henry's legatine authority in 1139.⁴² He also confirmed the Augustinians' entitlement to the church of Rockbourne, Hants, with the consent of the patron, Manasser Biset, and of the priest Crispin, to whom he assigned an annuity of 2s.⁴³ Further, he transferred ownership of the church of Sopley, Hants, from the college of Twynham, Hants, to Breamore priory.⁴⁴ Henry's actions in this matter might foreshadow his direct involvement in the affairs of Twynham, which he converted into a house of regular canons, replacing the parish chaplains with resident vicars. M.J. Franklin suggests that this was done with a view to reforming the practice of hereditary tenure which had degraded Twynham into a "very rich living for a single clerk."⁴⁵ If so, this is evidence of Henry's work as a reformer, and it provides an example of his working without reference to any personal interest.

Monastic houses with which Henry was not directly affiliated benefited from his patronage in a similar way. To the Benedictine abbey of St Alban's in London, Henry is

⁴¹ H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page eds., "Houses of Austin canons: Priory of Breamore," in *A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight ii*, (London: Victoria County History, 1973) 168.

⁴² *EEAW*, 19, no. 27.

⁴³ *EEAW*, 19, no. 28.

⁴⁴ *EEAW*, 18, no 26. However, the church of Sopley was later transferred to Christ Church priory, Hants, as the bishop of Chichister obtained a judgment from the diocesan synod requiring its return. See *EEAW*, 85, no. 121.

⁴⁵ M.J. Franklin, "Bishops of Winchester and Monastic Reform," *Anglo Norman Studies XII*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, (1990) 55.

reported to have given many rich gifts including a magnificent sapphire.⁴⁶ In terms of land and property grants, he was particularly generous to the Benedictine abbey of Jumièges in Normandy, where he went so far as to concede the ownership of Hayling Island, Hants. This island was also claimed by the monks of St Swithun's, and Henry's charter regarding the concession is careful to state that it was agreeable to him and the entire convent of Winchester on account of their devotion to Innocent II and the general poverty of Jumièges itself.⁴⁷

Henry's patronage of those religious houses which had a personal claim on him is particularly striking. Aside from his own abbey of Glastonbury, Henry was closely affiliated with the cathedral priory of St Swithun's at Winchester and the college of St Martin-le-Grand in London, of which he became dean in 1139. To St Martin-le-Grand he was especially generous, using his legatine mandate to ensure the payment of tithes and the return of appropriated property.⁴⁸ On one such occasion, he went so far as to threaten the citizens of London with the penalty of anathema should restoration of the college's land in Cripplegate not be made. He also aided in the formation of a new constitution for the college, issued in 1158.⁴⁹ It might also be said that the Benedictine abbey of Hyde, Hants, had some claim upon Henry, morally if not politically, as he was allegedly responsible for burning it down in 1141, during the siege of Winchester.⁵⁰ At the synod at Winchester in 1148, Henry ruled in a dispute between Hyde Abbey and Waverly

⁴⁶ George Henry Crook, *Portrait of St Alban's Cathedral*, (London: Pheonix House, 1951) 20.

⁴⁷ *EEAW*, 39, no. 58.

⁴⁸ *EEAW*, 46-54, nos.67-78.

⁴⁹ *EEAW*, 54, no. 78.

⁵⁰ Henry is supposed to have directed fireballs to be launched at Maude's attacking army. Their efficacy on the troops is unknown, but the effect on Hyde Abbey is recorded in *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), ii. 52, as quoted in H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page "Houses of Benedictine monks: New Minster, or the Abbey of Hyde," *A History of the County of Hampshire ii*, (London: Victoria County History, 1973). 116-22.

Abbey, Surrey, concerning the payment of tithes. Henry judged that Waverly would pay Hyde 40s annually, on the condition that Hyde provide the monks of Waverly with a chaplain.⁵¹ This particular ruling is of special importance given that the probable basis for Waverly's claim to exemption was due to the papal privilege accorded Cistercian institutions. Clearly Henry was not minded to heed this concession, although whether this is as a result of any feelings of responsibility towards the monks of Hyde remains a matter of speculation.

Summary

Henry demonstrated a fair and judicious approach to his episcopal responsibilities towards the English monasteries. An examination of his patronage shows that he did not neglect any Order or religious house on the basis of political or personal concerns. Still, while he was generous to both Cistercian monks and Augustinian canons, he seems to have especially preferred his own abbey of Glastonbury and the priory of St Swithun's at Winchester. His efforts to reclaim abbey land from both intrusive bishops and secular lords is certainly in keeping with the principles of monastic reform, and his desire to expand and beautify Glastonbury Abbey is especially reflective of his Cluniac sensibilities regarding church buildings. While it is true that Henry annexed property belonging to St Swithun's, he returned it of his own accord and made provision against its being similarly appropriated in the future.

Henry maintained an active interest in the affairs of Glastonbury and, despite holding the abbacy in plurality with the bishopric of Winchester, he worked hard to establish a sound financial and administrative future for his abbey. He instituted the

⁵¹ *EEAW* 37, no. 54.

building of new and luxuriant premises at Glastonbury, and demonstrated an interest in the monks' spiritual welfare. However, the extent to which he was involved in the more devotional or liturgical aspects of abbey life is unknown. It is difficult to say whether his absenteeism precluded him from displaying the attitude of a "severe yet devoted master." Clearly, Henry's skill as an administrator is more apparent than his skill in filling the role of spiritual leader. Still, his attitude towards the devotional image of the Virgin Mary suggests that he was not insensitive to the spiritual aspects of his office.

Chapter Two: Bishop and Statesman

Upon the death of Henry I in 1135, Henry of Winchester took full advantage of his dual role as bishop of Winchester and nephew to the late king. The speed and ease with which Stephen ascended the throne speaks to Henry's astute management of the succession crisis. Stephen's coronation, and the two years which followed, mark the high point of Henry's unlimited influence over secular policy. Nonetheless, he remained a prominent ecclesiastic until his death in 1171. It is probable that Henry expected King Stephen to give him primary authority over the English church. At the same time, it is likely that he expected to remain his brother's principal political adviser. Certainly it was not impossible for a cleric to be both an ecclesiastical and secular power. Roger of Salisbury had been both bishop and regent from 1101 to 1135. Perhaps Henry saw himself in a similar position, although he aspired to wield greater control over ecclesiastical affairs than Roger had done. In this respect one may indeed consider Henry to be bold and ambitious – but was he at fault for so being? As a powerful twelfth-century bishop in a country unsettled by civil war, what sort of power could Henry legitimately hope to wield? Was his position as bishop incompatible with that of royal adviser? This chapter will explore these questions by considering Bishop Henry in relation his episcopal colleagues and the wider framework of ecclesiastical reform.

Twelfth-century ecclesiastical reform had a distinct effect on the English episcopacy. Its practical results are evident in the increased establishment of monastic houses rather than secular colleges, in the more aggressive attitude on the part of the bishops in defense of their judicial and jurisdictional rights, and in the demand for new

church buildings and new church ornamentation. In addition, the reformist views on lay investiture, clerical marriage and simony were being addressed, and although the enforcement of decrees with connection to these issues often met with general resistance from both ecclesiastical and secular rulers, the widespread controversy generated by the debate surrounding them forced clerics to become conversant with canon law. Further, despite reformers' efforts to limit secular control over ecclesiastical affairs, a considerable number of twelfth-century English ecclesiastics were promoted from positions in the royal court. Consequently, bishops often remained more responsive to secular affairs rather than to spiritual matters. One could say this was the case with Henry of Winchester. His place at Glastonbury and swift advancement to the episcopal see owed as much to his familial relationship with King Henry I as it did to his personal abilities. In addition, while Bishop Henry possessed considerable administrative skill and was actively involved in church government, there is little evidence to show that he was equally engaged in the spiritual life of the church.

As a Cluniac monk with aristocratic antecedents, Henry was not unusual. Many sons of noble families, including those of the Burgundian dukes, received their education at Cluny.¹ Nonetheless, Henry's position as abbot did place him in a compromising situation. A community of monks or a chapter of canons could be ruled either by a secular bishop or by a bishop who had a monastic education. In general, a monastic bishop in a cathedral priory could be expected to enjoy friendly relations with the clergy, while a secular bishop in a cathedral priory might encounter some difficulties.² This was partly due to the feeling that monks should not be subject to a secular episcopacy which

¹ See above, p17, note 16.

² A priory was itself a monastic house, and therefore the monks were likely to well-disposed towards the rule of a bishop who had served as an abbot and was conversant with monastic customs.

was likely to compromise monastic rules or appropriate monastic land. Nonetheless, while there were practical advantages to the episcopal appointment of monks, especially as they promoted the spread of monastic reform, there was also an inherent risk of promoting ecclesiastical pluralism.

The widespread popularity of both Cluniacs and the Cistercians resulted in an increased number of monastic bishops, many of whom were successful.³ With respect to his duties as arbitrator and administrator, the responsibilities of a bishop were not entirely dissimilar to those of an abbot in a large house like Glastonbury. While it is not uncommon to find an abbot becoming bishop, Henry of Winchester was unique in maintaining the plurality. By contrast, both Gilbert Foliot (d. 1186), who was the abbot of Gloucester before becoming bishop of Hereford, and Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury (d. 1161), who had been elevated from his place as abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bec in Normandy, resigned their abbacies upon election to the episcopacy. Henry's critics consider that his failure to do the same exemplifies his overreaching ambition and his neglect of the spiritual concerns of his office.⁴ However, although the Anglo-Norman

³It is not surprising that St Benedict and Peter the Venerable were not against the idea of monastic bishops, as the episcopacy was in a position to promote the foundation of new monastic houses according to their own sympathies. The same principle applied to monastic popes. Urban II and Paschal II had both passed their novitiate at Cluny and were favourable to Cluniac monasticism. By contrast, Eugenius III had a Cistercian background. See Robert Somerville's *The Councils of Urban II* (Amsterdam, 1972) as quoted in Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 225 for its discussion of the manuscripts relating to this subject.

⁴Henry's primary contemporary critic was St Bernard, whose dislike is clearly articulated in his letters (see below, p 47, note 33.). The opinions of modern critics are largely based in their comparison of Henry's conduct to the conduct of others. Of these, the harshest is W.H.C. Davis. In his article concerning the correspondence between Henry and Brian Fitzcount he states that Henry was a man who "swung rapidly round from one opinion to another as the feelings of his class or wounded vanity suggested." Contrasting comments such as these with a strong depiction of Fitzcount's staunch support of Maud certainly does not picture Henry in a very favourable light. However, Davis neglects to mention that the *Gesta Stephani*, a chronicle not always sympathetic towards Henry's actions, suggests that the bishop's support of Maud was merely a device intended to provide Stephen with an opportunity to reorganize his forces (*Gesta Stephani*, 78: ". . .disposuit ad tempus pacis et amicitiae foedus cum inimicis pacisci, dum sic sibi et suis pacis securitate indulta, et quo se regnum uel quomodo uergeret, tacitus obseruaret, et ad subueniendum fratri, si oportunitas daretur promptius et liberius assurgeret."). See W.H.C. Davis, "Henry of Blois and Brian FitzCount," *English Historical Review* 25 (April, 1910) 298.

episcopacy was greatly influenced by the reform movement and in many respects began to distance itself from secular society, it was, at the same time, obliged to assume more responsibilities in the secular sphere. The movement toward a secular priesthood which was self-governing and largely independent of lay interference, especially in such matters as simony and investiture, was hindered by bishops who conducted themselves as feudal lords.⁵ Indeed, in England, this is exactly what many of the bishops appointed by Henry I actually were. Under Stephen, although certainly not because of him, the nature of the English episcopacy was to change as the number of monastic bishops increased. Nonetheless, despite the reform movement occurring inside the church, the difficulties of secular intervention still remained. In England, this problem was complicated by Henry's dual interest in both secular and ecclesiastical government. Although he was committed to securing the church's liberties, he was not averse to using the king's regalian rights to his own advantage.

Henry was assured of greater autonomy than his episcopal colleagues, given that the royal approval he received from his brother was, in the early years of Stephen's reign, generously forthcoming. This is particularly true with respect to the allocation of episcopal property and the assets of individual churches, where the king's influence was particularly strong when a see was left vacant. The king's ability to dispose of the revenues of vacant sees appears to have taken hold during the Anglo-Norman period, and the threat of appropriation by royal agents was not an important factor in the allocation of

⁵ Everett Crosby makes this point with reference to the role of the bishop in the community, however it is made here with respect to the interaction between ecclesiastical and secular government. See Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 363ff.

estates before the Conquest.⁶ Under subsequent Norman rule, however, cathedral chapters were increasingly obliged to allow for the possibility of a considerable loss of revenue due to royal interference. Crosby advances this as a possible reason for the practice of dividing assets between bishop and chapter, contending that it was deemed an acceptable, if not wholly desirable means of minimizing this loss.⁷ The mensal separation was no guarantee that capitular privileges would be respected, however, but despite the potential financial losses connected with such divisions of property, the desire for jurisdictional and financial independence on the part of the cathedral chapters encouraged this practice.

In the twelfth-century, the king was entitled only to the bishop's revenues, not the revenues of religious houses within the see itself. Therefore, in order to avoid the risk of having their property appropriated by the king, chapters were willing to accept both the division and dispensation of land according to the bishop's discretion, and the diminishment of their own wealth as a result. The king, on the other hand, was eager to maintain the integrity of their bishoprics in order that they might draw upon the collective wealth. Naturally, the royal response to an episcopal vacancy varied according to the temperament of the king in question. However, the usual response in the case of both Henry I and Henry II was to ignore whatever mensal separations had been made and, after making some provision for the general welfare of the clergy, to appropriate whatever assets remained. Norman kings could seek to justify such action by arguing that by exercising their feudal right of wardship on ecclesiastical property they could claim

⁶ For a complete discussion of the regalian right in ecclesiastical affairs, see M. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England*, (London: Athlone Press, 1962).

⁷ See Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 364.

control of vacant sees.⁸ Henry I and Henry II went still further, and often kept the vacant sees open specifically in order to collect the revenues. While both considered such actions to have been subject to the requirements of the kingdom, some part of Henry II's motivation appears to have been that it was far better to use the money for the good of the kingdom than for the idle pleasures of indolent bishops.⁹

Despite feelings such as these, the prolonged vacancy of a see was not always the result of royal rapacity. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sees could be left open due to the difficulty of finding a candidate upon whom the king, archbishop, chapter and pope could all agree. Such problems can be illustrated by the delays at Canterbury on the death of Lanfranc in 1089, at Winchester on the death of Walkelin in 1098, at London on the death of Gilbert in 1134 and again at Canterbury on the death of William of Corbeil in 1136.¹⁰ Perhaps because of the promise made by Stephen in the Oxford Charter of 1136, in which he undertook to commit the possessions of a vacant see into the hands of the clergy, or perhaps because of the unchallenged influence of his brother at that time, the king was content to leave the administration of both London and Canterbury to Henry.

While the existence of the Oxford Charter would theoretically place Stephen's reign as the sole interruption in the royal practice of administering the temporalities of vacant sees, it is important to note that the king was not wholly precluded from taking

⁸ In secular terms, the right of wardship allowed a feudal lord to control the income of a fief during the minority of its heir. The lord was responsible for maintaining the land and wealth of the fief until its heir came of age, at which time he was required to return them. Similarly, if the king exercised his right of wardship over a vacant episcopal see, he was required to provide for the material needs of the chapter and administrate ecclesiastical matters in place of the bishop.

⁹ See Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, (London: Athlone Press 1979) 7.

¹⁰ For dates of vacancies, see *English Episcopal Acta VIII, Winchester 1070-1204* M.J. Franklin ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) and *English Episcopal Acta XXVIII, Canterbury 1070-1136* Martin Brett and Joseph Gribbin eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

control.¹¹ When Stephen undertook to commit the churches and their possessions to the appropriate clerical custodians, it must be understood that he was renouncing his regalian right only insofar as it constituted as a source of revenue. He was not renouncing the right as a source of authority over the church.¹² In this respect the king may have been mistaken to allow his brother control over two such prominent vacant bishoprics, especially considering that the combined income of London and Canterbury amounted to approximately £1 600.¹³ This, combined with Henry's own income from Winchester and Glastonbury, made him the wealthiest cleric in England. Consequently, he was able to establish and maintain his own castles and men-at-arms. These additions to his ecclesiastical authority might have made him seem, as Knowles suggests, an "overmighty subject"¹⁴ whose power could undermine Stephen's own.

Knowles has described Stephen's reign as a period when the prestige and courage of the church was high.¹⁵ The consolidation of that courage during the early years of Stephen's rule when Henry was almost as powerful as the king himself strained the relationship between royal and ecclesiastical authority. The church had a strong and articulate policy on the matter of vacancy issues but it was in direct conflict with the practice of Henry I. According to the ecclesiastical reformers, the administration of a vacancy was the exclusive province of the church. Indeed, any appropriation by the king

¹¹ Howell, *Regalian Right*, 29.

¹² The only vacancies occurring during Stephen's reign were administered by Henry of Winchester. It is notable that, when the king did repossess clerical property, he specifically sought the secular holdings, not the ecclesiastical possessions. On the other hand he attempted, unsuccessfully, to fill the vacancy at Salisbury with a candidate of his choosing. His efforts were blocked by Henry, but it is clear that Stephen felt a degree of authority over the question of investiture. For a discussion of the Salisbury dispute see below, p 50-1 and Saltman, *Theobald*, 97.

¹³ This approximation is based on both Crosby and Howell's estimate of the annual average income of late twelfth-century English bishoprics. See Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, table 11, 370.

¹⁴ Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 36.

¹⁵ Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 8.

could be considered sacrilegious. Regalian right, therefore, became a useful bargaining tool which both Stephen and Henry used to gain political advantage.

The Oxford Charter, then, may be seen as a bargain struck between church and king. In exchange for ecclesiastical support in the crucial, initial phase of his campaign to seize the throne, Stephen was willing to renounce the lucrative source of revenue provided by the vacant sees. Furthermore, he had guaranteed this new policy in a very public general charter.¹⁶ Nonetheless, he could still withhold or grant the temporalities to an incoming bishop, as he did in 1143 in the case of his nephew, William Fitzherbert.¹⁷ William's contested election to the metropolitan see of York was sponsored by Henry and drew significant criticism from within the church itself. Royal rather than episcopal support was required in order to confirm the appointment and, despite the opposition of English ecclesiastics and even such prominent churchmen as Bernard of Clairvaux, Stephen was able and willing to exercise his regalian right in favour of his nephew. Evidently, his promise not to interfere in ecclesiastical business was subject to change. As king, Stephen became increasingly unwilling to abide by both the provisions of the charter and the advice of his brother. Henry's wealth, the control he exerted over the English church, his ideas regarding the implementation of ecclesiastical liberties and his

¹⁶ The Oxford Charter was issued at Stephen's court at Oxford in 1136. H.A. Cronne describes it as "the terms upon which Stephen's succession is secured." It consists of concessions and promises made to the church which were unprecedented in England. Of particular importance was the king's concession granting the clergy complete authority over their own property and investitures. The list of witnesses is long, including both bishops and secular magnates. Cronne suggests that this is indicative of the composition of the king's court during a "great state occasion." For a discussion and transcription of the Oxford Charter, see Cronne, *Reign of King Stephen*, 125-126. Sufficient scholarship exists on this subject to make a detailed examination here redundant. See Crouch, *Reign of Stephen*, 46-7, Davis, *King Stephen*, 19, and Howell, *Regalian Right*, 29-32.

¹⁷ See Dom David Knowles, "The Case of Saint William of York," in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 5 no. 2 (1963), 171.

probable expectation of complete royal approbation must have made him somewhat irksome to a king anxious to assert his own authority in a not wholly-unified kingdom.

Upon the death of Henry I, Henry of Winchester had convinced both the late king's regent, bishop Roger of Salisbury, and his treasurer, William Pontdelarche, to support Stephen's accession. Thus, when Stephen landed in England to claim the throne, he was assured of ecclesiastical and financial backing. The *Gesta Stephani* reports that Stephen's enterprise wholly depended upon his brother, and it is likely that in recognition of this service Henry expected special consideration for the church and himself.¹⁸ Initially, this was forthcoming, as Henry administered the vacant sees and, in the absence of an archbishop at Canterbury, controlled appointments to bishoprics and abbeys, and performed the metropolitan duties of consecration and examination. However, it is possible that the king felt threatened by Henry's influence and thus took steps to curb both his brother's power and the church's claim to independent governance of which Henry was a champion.

Stephen's changing attitude towards his brother is first evident in the matter of the Canterbury election. Since the death of William of Corbeil in 1136, Henry had successfully administered the vacant see and expected to be made archbishop himself. Indeed, Oderic Vitalis asserts that Henry was even elected to the position and awaited only the confirmation dependent on his translation from Winchester. To obtain this translation, Oderic reports, Henry applied to Innocent II, secure in the knowledge that his would not be the first such request made by an English bishop.¹⁹ Oderic does not speak

¹⁸ For Stephen's dependence on Henry, see *Gesta Stephani*, 5 and Davis, *King Stephen*, 18. For Henry's expectations regarding the see of Canterbury, see Cronne, *Reign of Stephen*, 128.

¹⁹ Bishop Ralph of Rochester was made archbishop in 1114, following the six year vacancy after the death of Anselm. The translation was approved by Paschal II. See Cronne, *Reign of Stephen*, 129.

further about either Henry's petition or Innocent II's intentions; however it is clear that, when in 1138 Theobald of Bec was appointed archbishop, Henry was taken by surprise.²⁰ During the two years in which Henry administered the see of Canterbury, he was held in high esteem by the monks of St Augustine's but not by those of the cathedral church of Christ Church itself, who were discouraged by his rejection of a proposed priory at Dover.²¹ This being so, it would have been necessary for the king to support his brother's aspirations by means of persuasion or pressure, and either such action would be contrary to the promises made in the Oxford Charter. The choice for Stephen, therefore, was either to assist in the fulfillment of Henry's ambitions in the same way that Henry had assisted him, or to abide by a promise which Henry himself had obliged the king to make.

Stephen's decision might have been influenced by the presence of the papal legate, Alberic of Ostia, who had been sent to England primarily to deal with the appointment to Canterbury. Alberic's presence may have reminded Stephen that a papal review of the legitimacy of his accession was soon to be made.²² However, it is unlikely that Stephen would have had a great deal to fear from such a review. He had received papal approval from Innocent II at the time of the succession and, with Henry still presiding over the church in England, he was not in danger of suddenly losing ecclesiastical support at home. He acceded to the legate's wish that the vacancy at Canterbury be filled, but subsequently did nothing to influence the decision. In accordance with the terms of the Oxford Charter, he allowed the monks to confirm the candidate of their choice. It is improbable, however, that Stephen had either the good of

²⁰ For Oderic Vitalis' account of Henry's election and subsequent reaction see Saltman, *Theobald*, 7ff.

²¹ Canterbury, Gervase of, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, W. Stubbs ed. (New York, 1965) 109.

²² *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, M. Chibnall ed. (Oxford, 1986) 108-9.

the church or the maintenance of his pledge in mind. It is more likely that the king used the appointment to Canterbury as an opportunity to restrain his brother's influence and power.

Stephen may have considered the relatively unknown abbot Theobald of Bec to be a benign choice for archbishop. Having one overmighty prelate in his kingdom was sufficient for a king who was facing the threat of civil war. Theobald was not renowned for his ingenuity or boldness. Indeed, he is described as having a simple nature, which contrasted sharply with Henry's dynamic, charismatic character.²³ Certainly Stephen had nothing against Theobald, although he might have reflected upon his rival Maud's munificent patronage of the abbey at Bec with some reservation. Theobald was unquestionably part of a successful tradition of abbots from Bec who had, after Anselm, gained a formidable reputation as sagacious leaders, and the abbey's interests in Normandy and England required that the abbot possess considerable administrative skill. Still, it is acknowledged that Theobald was not an obvious choice for archbishop. Even his biographer, A. Saltman, candidly states that, "the election of Theobald to fill the vacant see of Canterbury has a flavour of the mysterious which cannot easily, if at all, be explained."²⁴

The day of the election was certainly organized with a degree of intrigue. The chronicles of Gervase of Canterbury and Ralph de Diceto agree that the event did not take place until Henry had departed Alberic's council in order to preside over the ordination of Richard de Belmeis at St Paul's in London. The king, however, was present. According to Henry of Huntingdon, Stephen's support of Theobald was manifested by

²³ Saltman, *Theobald*, 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

his gracious conduct.²⁵ Gervase records that the king summoned the monks, the legate and various nobles and bishops to hear the prior of Christ Church announce the election of Theobald, who was fortuitously present in England on abbey business.²⁶

One can speculate about Henry's reaction to Theobald's election. It is known that when word was brought to him at St Paul's he left the ordination in disgust.²⁷ His subsequent opposition to his brother and to the archbishop suggest that a significant amount of ill-feeling existed between them for some time afterwards. One may suppose that Henry felt betrayed by Stephen and his episcopal colleagues who, without his knowledge, had been present at Theobald's election. In typical fashion, however, Henry did not remain idle. Instead, he petitioned the pope to make him legate and, when Theobald returned from his obligatory journey to Rome in January 1139, the new archbishop of Canterbury found that even as primate of all England as he was still subject to Henry of Winchester.

It was as legate that Henry mounted his most serious opposition to the crown and took his most outspoken stand for ecclesiastical liberties. In this latter ambition he was supported by archbishop Theobald, although he was adamantly blocked by Stephen. Saltman suggests that any gains made by the church during Henry's time as legate from 1139-1143 had more to do with the breakdown in secular government than the efficacy of Henry in this position. This perspective fails to account for Stephen's strong stand against the powerful bishop Roger of Salisbury, however, of whose support the king had previously been appreciative. Far from substantiating a breakdown in secular control, the controversy surrounding Roger and his allies shows that Stephen was in the process of

²⁵ Huntingdon, Henry of, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996) 61.

²⁶ Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, 111.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

asserting his hold on royal authority and his independence from the church. In 1139, the king arrested Roger of Salisbury and his nephews, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln and Bishop Nigel of Ely, on the pretext that men of their household had fought openly with the king's men.²⁸ The disturbance had been organized by the king's new favourites at court, the Beaumont twin brothers Count Waleran of Meulan and Robert, earl of Leicester.

The Beaumont twins were Stephen's most prominent secular advisers, and in 1139 no other noble could oppose their influence with the king.²⁹ Roger of Salisbury, however, was still largely in control of the administration as he had been during Henry I's reign and Henry of Winchester was closely allied with him. Removing this powerful ecclesiastical presence from Stephen's government was paramount to the ambitious Beaumonts and cannot have been disagreeable to Stephen, who might have felt that Roger and his group of clerical civil servants were usurping much of the king's authority. The *Gesta Stephani* and *Historia Novella* agree that the rumours of treachery which came to surround Roger and his party were the result of the Beaumonts' intrigue at court. The *Gesta Stephani* reports that the Count of Meulan, and other of the king's councilors who were on intimate terms with him, were "inflamed against [the bishops] with a furious blaze of envy and...made many shameful and slanderous accusations against them."³⁰ Accepting Waleran's reasoning that by challenging the bishops on account of their wealth and estates the king was pursuing a land ownership case which did not violate clerical sanctity, Stephen assented to their arrest. Henry acted immediately. Summoning Stephen

²⁸ Malmesbury, William of, *Historia Novella*, ed. E. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 64.

²⁹ For a full discussion of the influence of the Beaumont twins during Stephen's reign, see David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

³⁰ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K.R. Potter (Edinburgh, 1955) 49.

to appear before a legatine council, he declared that the king was interfering with a right of clergy. William of Malmesbury gives a comprehensive account of the proceedings, and his relation of Henry's opening speech is as follows:

It was a lamentable crime, [Henry] said, that the king had been so led astray by those who instigated him to this as to order hands to be laid on his men, especially when they were bishops, in the peace of his court. To the king's disgrace had been added a wrong to heaven, in that, under the pretence of the bishops' being at fault, churches were robbed of their property. The king's outrage upon divine law had caused him so much grief that he would sooner suffer damage to his [own] person and possessions than that the dignity of the bishops should be lowered by such a humiliation.³¹

Stephen did not attend the council himself, and in response to his enquiry as to why he had been summoned, Henry entreated him to acknowledge the wrongfulness of arresting a bishop and to abide by the dictates of canon law. Rather than do either, Stephen allowed his case to be presented by his chamberlain, Aubrey de Vere, and sent a petition to Rome appealing against any sentence which the council might impose on him. The papal response to this appeal is unknown but the arrival of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen settled the matter in favour of the king. Although Hugh declared that the ownership of castles could not be defended by canon law, he conceded that it was not improper for the bishops to maintain such fortifications. Given the volatile times, however, it was deemed suitable for Stephen to repossess the castles as it was his duty to defend the kingdom.³² Henry's argument for the ecclesiastical right to consider that castles and arms were ecclesiastical property was therefore defeated, and Roger's party handed their castles, weapons and the greater portion of their wealth over to Stephen. This was undoubtedly a great blow to Henry's cause and confidence. While he himself had not been accused of the treachery which had so devastated the powerful bishop Roger

³¹Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, 52-3.

³²*Ibid.*, 56-8.

of Salisbury, the indirect challenge to Henry's right to possess castles and arms independent of royal authority had been made. Stephen did not seek to strip his brother of these possessions, but he did succeed in raising the question of their legitimacy. The power that Henry had hoped to gain as papal legate therefore suffered an early set back.

After his failure to win either a personal victory against his brother or an ecclesiastical victory for the rights of bishops to maintain their temporal holdings, Henry's attention was occupied by the arrival of the Empress Maud in October 1139. During this initial phase of the civil war he was joined by Theobald in an attempt to negotiate a peace upon which neither side could ultimately agree. After Stephen was defeated and captured at Lincoln 1141, Henry agreed to accept Maud as queen provided she affirm and secure his right to make clerical appointments.³³ It is here that Henry incurs particularly vehement criticism and is accused of attending to his own ambitions at the expense of his obligations to the church and the king.

In response to such accusations, it must be admitted that Henry did undoubtedly take a great deal upon himself in assuming that his vision for the future of the English Church was the most appropriate one. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that as legate he was justified in believing that he was invested with a special measure of papal confidence and approval. On the other hand, a papal pronouncement had been made in favour of Stephen's claim to the throne, and thus Henry's independent acceptance of Maud's regime places him in contravention of the Pope Innocent II's resolution.³⁴ It is ironic that, in acting contrary to the papal decision regarding Stephen, Henry is taking a stand against something which, in former years, he himself had worked

³³ Ibid., 50-1.

³⁴ John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, 87.

to bring about. This is especially marked when one considers how Theobald insisted upon securing Stephen's goodwill before making any pledge of allegiance to Maud. Henry's conduct does not reflect well on him, especially when compared to that of the archbishop, and his credibility suffers from this shifting loyalty. However, it should be noted that prior to his *volte face* in support of the empress, Henry had organized a conference between Stephen's queen Matilda and Maud's primary ally and half-brother, Robert, earl of Gloucester. He even went so far as to seek assistance from his elder brother, Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne. When, in 1140, he returned from Normandy with a settlement that Maud accepted but Stephen did not, he withdrew from the negotiations entirely.³⁵ In 1141, Stephen's army was defeated at the battle of Lincoln and the king himself was taken prisoner. It is interesting that among Maud's first actions in establishing control, was her meeting with Henry at Wherwell, Hants, where she issued a charter confirming the ancient rights and privileges of Glastonbury abbey.³⁶ The following day, she was formally received and accepted at Winchester. Clearly, the need to secure Henry's allegiance was a primary concern for Maud, and her procession into Winchester is comparable to Stephen's entrance into the city in 1135. Henry was, therefore, still in the position of ensuring the legitimacy of English monarch.

After convening another legatine council for the express purpose of establishing Maud as the rightful queen of England, Henry might have hoped that he would be able to re-establish himself in the position of power which Stephen was keen to reduce. He welcomed Maud into Winchester and, as he had done for Stephen, obtained ecclesiastical

³⁵ See Davis, *King Stephen*, 45-6. It is also probable that the disputed episcopal election at Salisbury impacted Henry's decision to withdraw at this time. Stephen's continued support and advancement of the Beaumont twins was a likely factor in Henry's unwillingness to continue any effort for peace on his brother's behalf.

³⁶ *EEAW*, xlv.

support for her reign. However, the ecclesiastical situation had changed since 1135, and this was largely due to Henry's influence. He was himself the most powerful prelate in England, and obtaining the church's support was little more than ensuring that the abbots and bishops followed his lead. When Maud failed to acknowledge her promise to Henry it was as easy for him to reverse the church's recognition of her authority as it was for him to establish it. Maud was once more obliged to go to war, but the capture of Robert of Gloucester resulted in a complex negotiation between the Angevins and the royalists, in which Henry again played a principal part.

If Henry's motives for supporting Maud were based in the bitterness he felt over Stephen's actions in the matter of the Canterbury election, he was at least willing to secure the king's release by allowing himself to be imprisoned until the royalists again set Robert at liberty. In December, 1141, he held a third legatine council which reinstated Stephen as the rightful king of England. After two years of antagonism and rivalry, it seemed that Henry had once again allied himself to his brother's cause. Withdrawing the greater part of his involvement in secular affairs, his political ambitions became wholly centered on ecclesiastical government. From 1135 to 1141 he had played a dual role as bishop and secular statesman but his hopes had been continuously frustrated. His attempts to compensate for the loss of Canterbury were ultimately injurious to his own reputation, and his political maneuvering which occurred during his legation is considered emblematic of his alleged opportunism and selfishness.³⁷ Certainly, as a

³⁷ Although Henry's legation was dominated by the events of the civil war, it is important to remember that he did not neglect his office. He was diligent in the matter of collecting the yearly tax levied by the papacy on English religious houses, and administered various disputes such that which occurred between St Augustine's priory and the archbishop of Canterbury surrounding the payment of tithes. Henry exercised his legatine powers more forcefully and effectively than did William of Corbeil, who had been papal legate for a brief period during the primacy dispute between Canterbury and York (c. 1072), and he may be considered the first long-standing resident legate in England. Of the one hundred and sixteen *acta* ascribed

clergyman he ought not to have allowed such personal ambitions to affect his judgment, however, it must be remembered that Henry was in a unique and, during the civil war, unenviable position. Despite the dispute between them, Henry was still the king's brother and the most powerful man in the kingdom after Stephen himself. Indeed, especially during Stephen's imprisonment, he was the dominant personality. He was a statesman by necessity in such circumstances, especially since no one else in Stephen's government seemed willing to act decisively. When Stephen resumed the throne, Henry returned his attention to the sphere of ecclesiastical statesmanship for which his Cluniac education had so admirably prepared him.

Henry's attention to ecclesiastical government and his return to Stephen's cause are demonstrated in his dealings with Bishop Nigel of Ely in 1143.³⁸ In the aftermath of Stephen's defeat, imprisonment and eventual return to power, it was necessary for him to re-establish his authority. Although he failed to make significant progress in reclaiming the land he had lost in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, he was able, with Henry's assistance, to challenge the defiant bishop of Ely. After Bishop Nigel's arrest and the subsequent, failed attempt to resist Stephen in 1139, he had become increasingly rebellious. Indeed, he went so far as to re-fortify Alrehede Castle in the Isle of Ely, where he was besieged by Stephen's forces in 1140. When the king broke the siege, Nigel escaped to the protection Robert of Gloucester. At a legatine council in 1143, Henry accused Bishop Nigel with various ecclesiastical offenses which obliged him to appear before the pope. Nigel did not

to Henry in the episcopal acts, twenty-five bear his legatine style. He is involved with the confirmation of ecclesiastical rights, land and possessions, the administration of disputes between religious houses, the occasional excommunication, the settlement of a matrimonial dispute and a judgment in the matter of how to transport and bury the body of a knight. While the preceding analysis focuses on Henry's legatine commission as it pertains to his political activities, it is clear that his involvement in the wider political conflicts of his time did not preclude his attention to matters at a more local level. For these examples of his legatine activities, see *EEAW*, 22-3, 44-5 and 60.

³⁸ For chronological account of Stephen's conflict with Nigel of Ely, see *Gesta Stephani*, 65ff.

return to England until 1145, when Stephen's position was more secure. It would appear, therefore, that Henry was willing once again to oblige his brother. Both he and Stephen must have realized that their fraternal feud had succeeded only in compromising Bishop Henry's reputation and the king's authority. Their alliance of former days was revived, therefore, although one can only speculate to what degree their mutual trust and confidence remained. Furthermore, while Henry was content to relinquish the greater part of his secular activities, he had by no means abandoned his ambitions. Although he had reconciled with his brother, the pursuit of his goals now brought him increasingly into conflict with archbishop Theobald.

In 1143, the death of Innocent II was a decided blow to Henry's ambition of regaining the authority he had enjoyed in the early years of Stephen's reign. The new pope, Celestine II, was openly opposed to Stephen's cause and ended Henry's legation almost immediately. This antipathy towards his rival prompted Theobald to travel to Rome himself in an attempt either to secure the legation for himself or to ensure that it not be granted to anyone else. Although Henry had also started for Rome with a similar aim in view, he seems to have encountered some doubt as to the success of approaching Celestine II directly and halted his journey to pass the winter at Cluny.³⁹ Theobald, however, did not enjoy the success he had hoped for. On arriving in Rome he discovered that Celestine II had died and that his successor, Lucius II, was well disposed towards the bishop of Winchester. The favourable reception which Henry enjoyed at the curia must have rehabilitated his weakened hopes for a return to dominance. However, Henry was well aware of the transitory nature of favouritism and sought a more permanent solution to the problem of the archbishop's right to supercede his episcopal authority. Thus, Henry

³⁹*EEAW*, 218. See also Saltman, *Theobald*, 20.

conceived the idea of making Winchester an archbishopric. The sheer size of Canterbury, with seventeen suffragan dioceses, was unusual by European standards.⁴⁰ Henry hoped to convince the pope to make Winchester a see with seven suffragans, although it is not clear how he intended to overrule the traditional supremacy of Canterbury. Henry succeeded in gaining a provisional acceptance to his request, and the pope went so far as to dispatch a legate to England in order to finalize the arrangement. However, before the matter could be made official, Lucius II died. This news was a decided blow to Henry's hopes especially since the new pope, Eugenius III, advocated Cistercian reform and thus offered no encouragement for Henry's plan.⁴¹

It is probable that Eugenius III wished to establish the Cistercian model in England and it is likely that he shared some of Bernard's reservations regarding Henry's character.⁴² By contrast, Bernard's opinion of Theobald was considerably more favourable, and he had gone so far as to commend the archbishop's conduct to the pope, contrasting Henry's wickedness with Theobald's piety and goodness.⁴³ The archbishop, therefore, had good cause to hope that Eugenius III would grant him a legatine commission. As legate, Theobald would be sufficiently powerful to prevail over Henry and, finally, gain more than a simply nominal authority over the English church. It is

⁴⁰ Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 56.

⁴¹ For an account of the tension between Henry and Theobald at the time of Innocent II's death, see Saltman, *Theobald*, 19-23, 30-32.

⁴² Bernard describes Henry as, "that deceiver of Winchester," and "the son of perdition, the man who disrupts all rights and laws." *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*,. Bruno Scott James ed. and trans. (London: Sutton, 1998) 276.

⁴³ "The bishop of Winchester and the archbishop of York are not of one mind with the Archbishop of Canterbury... What can I say of his Lordship of Winchester? His deeds speak of themselves. But the archbishop of Canterbury to whom [the bishop of Winchester and the archbishop of York] are opposed is a devout man with a fair reputation. On his behalf I beg that his goodness may answer for him and that their evil may be upon the others, as it is written: 'Good will befall the good, evil the evil.'" St Bernard, *Letters*, 279.

probable, then, that he welcomed the summons to the pope's Council of Rheims⁴⁴ as an opportunity to advance himself. Stephen, however, was now in a position to assert his own authority over the church, and did so by expelling the pope's representatives and denying Theobald permission to leave the country. He appointed the bishops of Chichester, Hereford and Norwich to appear on behalf of the English church and took up residence in Canterbury in order to ensure that the archbishop did not attempt to disobey him.⁴⁵ Despite such measures, however, Theobald managed to evade the king and crossed to France where he was received with enthusiasm.⁴⁶ Eugenius issued a general suspension of all English bishops who had refused to attend the Council, but of these only Henry was specifically named. In addition, while Theobald was granted the right of absolution in every other case, the pope insisted that Henry seek absolution from him personally.⁴⁷ The archbishop was more successful in gaining a reprieve for Stephen, whom Eugenius was preparing to excommunicate. Nonetheless, the king stubbornly refused to restore the property of the see of Canterbury, which he had seized, and continued to bar Theobald's return to England. Eugenius placed the country under interdict, which had no tangible effect anywhere but in certain areas within the diocese of Canterbury.⁴⁸

Henry's response to these proceedings is unknown. Indeed, he seems unusually quiet during this period. It is notable, however, that the English bishops resisted

⁴⁴ To be conducted over Lent, 1148. See Saltman, *Theobald*, 25.

⁴⁵ *Historia Pontificalis*, 140.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ John of Salisbury as quoted in Saltman, *Theobald*, 27. Saltman suggests that the pope agreed to this course of action only at the behest of Henry's eldest brother, Count Theobald de Blois. The pope's favourable inclination towards Count Theobald is unexplained, but it may pertain to the establishment of some Cistercian foundations the count's estates in France.

⁴⁸ This account of Archbishop Theobald's actions is drawn from Saltman's biography. For the discussion of Theobald's involvement in the Council of Rheims, see Saltman, *Theobald*, 25ff.

Eugenius' appeal for assistance in bringing Stephen to order, and the archdeacon of London even went so far as to lodge a formal complaint about the interdict. Stephen allowed the archbishop to return to Canterbury in 1149, and was no doubt satisfied that he had successfully contested papal influence in England. Indeed, the importance of the Rheims incident resides principally in Stephen's strong stance against the papacy. Stephen's dealings with the papacy are similar to his dealings with the church in England. In 1135 he required papal approbation of his claim to the throne. However, by 1149 he was sufficiently confident in his own authority to challenge any unwanted interference from Rome. This had been managed partially by his defeat of Maud in 1141, but also by the defeat of Henry's ambitions.

Relations with the English Episcopate

Unlike his relations with the English monasteries, in which Henry is seen to be involved in domestic matters, his relations with the English episcopate are closely associated with his political activities. His influence is particularly marked during the disputed episcopal elections at Salisbury, Durham and York.

Henry adopted the reformist view of episcopal elections which insisted that the cathedral chapter be allowed to render its own decision, and that the choice be informed only by the counsel of ecclesiastics within the diocese. However, while bringing pressure to bear upon the electors was unacceptable in theory, it was often the case that candidates benefited from either royal or episcopal patronage, and elections were an important means of furthering the political ambitions of both Stephen and Henry.

Salisbury

The episcopal election at Salisbury reflects the uneasy and uncompromising situation which existed between Stephen and Henry in the aftermath of the king's stand against the bishops in 1139. When Roger died in December of that year, Henry proposed his nephew, Henry de Sully, as a suitable successor.⁴⁹ De Sully was a fellow Cluniac and the son of Henry's eldest brother, the disinherited William of Blois.⁵⁰ Stephen disapproved of Henry's choice and, probably on the advice of Waleran of Meulan, nominated his own royal chancellor, Philip de Harcourt.⁵¹ Waleran was still Henry's primary political rival, and it is reasonable to assume that Henry would not have looked favourably upon his further encroachment into matters of ecclesiastical government. Furthermore, if considered from a purely personal perspective, it is likely that Henry was loathe to have one of the Beaumonts' favourites fill the position of Bishop Roger, the man whom

⁴⁹William of Malmesbury attributed Roger's demise to the great strain placed upon him by his imprisonment and trial: "Tertio idus Decembris Rogerius episcopus Salesberiae febrem quartanam, qua iam dudum quassabatur, beneficio mortis euasit. Dolores animi a iunioribus contraxisse ualitudinem, utpote tantis et tam crebris a rege Stephano pulsatum incommodis." *Historia Novella*, 64. It is worth noting that the author of the *Gesta Stephani* does not entirely agree with this assessment. While he concurs with the opinion that Roger's death occurred as a result of his conflict with the king, the one sordid act which undermined the entirety of his virtue, he states that the bishop was ultimately undone by his luxuriant style of living. See *Gesta Stephani*, 63-65: ". . . ita a luxuria fractus et prorsus eneruatus, quicquid in se uirtutis continuity sola sordid immunditia."

⁵⁰ Henry de Sully, later abbot of Fécamp, should not be confused with Henry de Sully, abbot of Glastonbury from 1189-93. Henry, abbot of Fécamp, was also proposed by his uncle, Henry of Winchester, as a candidate during the York dispute. It is likely that de Sully would have been confirmed in this position had he not been unwilling to resign his place as abbot (see Knowles, "Saint William," 165). Perhaps he hoped to emulate his uncle, who was himself both abbot and bishop. While Henry of Winchester could not legitimately criticize his nephew, pope Innocent II refused to sanction the plurality. This is particularly interesting as it illustrates how the new movement towards reform was influential enough to cause the pope to prohibit for Henry de Sully what had been acceptable for Henry of Winchester only twelve years earlier.

⁵¹ Philip of Harcourt was also dean of Lincoln, dean of Beaumont-le-Roger, Lincs, and archdeacon of Evreux in Normandy. See: *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: 1066-1300*, vo. 4 (*Salisbury*) D.E. Greenway ed., (London: 1991) 5. His father, Robert fitz Ansethil, was friend and advisor to Waleran's father, Count Robert I of Meulan. Under Waleran's patronage, Philip was made dean of Beaumont sometime before 1131, and the deanery of Lincoln followed sometime during the final years of Henry I's reign. Further, Oderic Vitalis reports that Philip was made chancellor of England at Waleran's behest. Considering the political influence of Waleran during and immediately after the downfall of Bishop Roger, it is highly probable that Stephen appointed Philip to the bishopric of Salisbury also upon his advice. For further discussion of Philip of Harcourt's career and antecedents, see Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 45, 120ff.

Waleran had helped to ruin. Henry used his legatine powers to refuse Philip, who promptly appealed to Rome. The appeal was unsuccessful, and the dispute between Henry and Stephen reached an impasse.⁵² Salisbury, therefore, remained a vacant see which Henry administered until 1142.

After the battle of Lincoln in 1141, Stephen was captured and imprisoned. During the brief interval when Henry supported Maude's cause, he returned to the question of the Salisbury election. His new candidate was Jocelin of Bohun, the archdeacon of Winchester. Jocelin also was patronized by Maud's highly-esteemed half-brother, Robert of Gloucester.⁵³ Stephen's reaction to the appointment of Jocelin in 1142 is unknown, although he appears to have raised no further objections. This is not surprising when one considers that, upon his release from prison, Stephen found many of those magnates who had supported him before his defeat at Lincoln to be unreliable in their allegiance. Even Waleran of Meulan and Robert of Leicester had submitted to the empress, and by the time Henry successfully routed Maud's army at Winchester in 1143, Waleran had fled the country to seek a place at the Angevin court in Normandy. With the Beaumont influence gone, and as Stephen and Henry had resumed their old alliance, it is to be assumed that the king no longer had any reason to oppose his brother's candidate.

⁵² Interestingly, it was during this dispute that Stephen restored independence to the monasteries of Malmesbury and Abbotsford, which had been annexed by Bishop Roger early in his episcopacy (see *HN*, pp 67-71). Stephen had restored church land prior to this, in 1137, however it is notable that these estates, at Meones and Weresgrave, Hants, had been appropriated originally by the secular authority of William the Conqueror (see *Cartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, ed. A.W. Goodman, (Hampshire Records Society, 1927) 2) Also, given that evidence of this restoration exists in a confirmation charter from Pope Innocent II to Henry at Winchester, it seems likely that the estates were restored either at Henry's behest or, at the very least, under Henry's supervision.

⁵³ Jocelin de Bohun's antecedents are not specifically known, although it is surmised that he was related in some way to the earl of Gloucester himself. His election to Salisbury in 1142 was not unanimous, however the support he received from both the political and ecclesiastical spheres was sufficient to overcome all objections. It should not be inferred, however, that he was unfit for the position. In a letter to pope Lucius II, Gilbert Foliot attests to Jocelin's worthiness. See Saltman, *Theobald*, 98. For further discussion of Jocelin's career, see Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 17-20.

Durham

The disputed election at Durham occurred during the period of Henry's allegiance to the Empress Maud. Upon the death of Bishop Geoffrey in 1141, the bishopric was seized by then bishop-elect, William Cumin. As archdeacon of Worcester and chancellor to King David of Scotland, who was a strong supporter of the Angevin cause, Cumin was assisted and sponsored by Maud.⁵⁴ Seemingly forgetful of the oath she had sworn to Henry at Wherwell, Maud showed herself to be no less intrusive in the matter of investitures than Stephen had been. William Cumin continued to hold the see of Durham, although Henry refused to accept him, and was supported in this usurpation by both the empress and David of Scotland. Asserting his legatine powers, Henry had the case referred to Rome. In March of 1143, Cumin was excommunicated by Innocent II and deprived of all benefices. A free and fair election was held, and Henry consecrated the new bishop of Durham, William St Barbara, in June of the same year. The Durham election is an important example of how Henry used his legatine powers to ensure the integrity of the canonical process. Also, it illustrates the growing importance of English appeals to Rome.

Henry of Huntingdon credits Henry with the introduction of appeals from the English church to the pope. Modern scholars suggest that such was not the case, however, and assert that papal intervention in English ecclesiastical causes did not begin in Henry's time.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, irrespective of Henry's role in the initiation of the appeals process, it is clear that only under Henry did it become normal procedure. In his capacity as legate, it was to be expected that he would gain a particular advantage by encouraging a close

⁵⁴ Saltman, *Theobald*, 92.

⁵⁵ See above, p15, note 12.

association with the papacy, which was in itself a distinctly Cluniac approach to church government. It is also significant that the promotion of appeals to Rome had a palpable, deleterious effect on the judicial authority of the archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁶ Of particular importance, however is the degree of self-governance which Henry gained for the English Church by means of the appeals process.

The various legatine councils of 1139-43 demonstrate Henry's willingness to apply his legatine authority. This, in combination with the flourishing appeals process, strengthened his influence over church government in England. The disputed election at Durham illustrates how he used this influence in its most beneficial sense, ensuring an outcome which was free, fair, and in accordance with the principles of ecclesiastical reform.⁵⁷

York

The disputed archiepiscopal election of York began in 1141 and continued until 1147.⁵⁸

William Fitzherbert, treasurer of York and nephew to Stephen and Henry, was the

⁵⁶ Formerly, if either party in a dispute were dissatisfied with a judgment, their appeal would travel from the archdeacon to the bishop and then to the archbishop. As appeals to Rome became more common, however, litigants could refer their case to the pope at any point in the proceedings. The eminence of both the archbishop's court and the archbishop himself was consequently undermined, for, as Saltman remarks, ". . . the pope could delegate the settlement of these appeal cases to English judges, not necessarily the archbishop, thus reducing archbishops and bishops to a common level." See Saltman, *Theobald*, 143.

⁵⁷ It is also worth noting that the intruder, William Cumin, was later shielded and promoted by Archbishop Theobald, who not only succeeded in having Cumin's excommunication revoked, but restored to him many of the benefices he had lost. Indeed, Theobald persisted in his support of Cumin despite Eugenius III's express directive to the contrary (for further discussion of William Cumin's career, see Saltman, *Theobald*, 144-146). In addition, it is interesting that William St Barbara, in his capacity as dean of York and before his election to the see of Durham, was considered a primary witness in the disputed election of York. It is likely, therefore, that political ambitions and rivalries were not excluded from the electoral process at Durham. As with Salisbury, the opposing candidates were affiliated with conflicting factions.

⁵⁸ See Knowles, "Saint William," 162. Knowles asserts that the dispute lasted "in its ramifications, for some twenty years." For Henry of Winchester, particularly, the dispute had far-reaching consequences in terms of his own reputation and his relations with the papacy. These consequences did last well beyond the dates given above, which refer only to the specific period between William Fitzherbert's election in 1141 and the election of his rival, Henry Murdac, in 1147.

bishop's candidate.⁵⁹ It is likely that Henry would have favoured and supported William's cause on the basis of their familial relationship alone, however it is possible that his family feeling was augmented by a desire to ensure that the new archbishop of York was not a patron of the Cistercian movement. St Bernard was keen to promote the expansion of the Order in England, as is shown by his vigorous support of William's rival, the Cistercian abbot of Fountains Abbey, Yorks, Henry Murdac. While Henry shows an admirable liberality in his support of Cistercian monastic houses, one may suppose that he would not have welcomed a pro-Cisterian archbishop at York, especially considering that Murdac surely would have allied himself with Theobald of Canterbury.⁶⁰

Cistercian opposition to William Fitzherbert was the primary obstacle to his election. The opposition itself was not without foundation, nor was it directed wholly at Fitzherbert. Rather, it may be seen as a reaction to previous episcopal elections wherein

⁵⁹The view advanced by Reginald Poole, which has been generally accepted, is that William was a son of Emma, illegitimate daughter of Count Stephen of Blois, and William the Chamberlain, who was himself an illegitimate son of Count Herbert II of Maine. Thus, William Fitzherbert was nephew to Stephen of England and Henry of Winchester. Henry, it would seem, was also his godfather. The familial connection is worthwhile noting, as it illustrates the continuing practice of nepotism in episcopal elections which was also observable during the election at Salisbury and with which Henry was particularly free. For a complete discussion of Fitzherbert's antecedents, see Reginald L. Poole, "Appointment and Deprivation of St. William, Archbishop of York," *English Historical Review* 45, no. 178. (1930), 273-276.

⁶⁰ For Henry's support of the Cistercians at Wintey, see above, p 23. To the monks at Waverly (Surrey) he gave a virgate of land at Waneford, Surrey, and confirmed the gifts of his predecessor, Bishop William Giffard. These included a meadow in Helested, the right of pannage for the abbey's pigs and the right to gather wood for fires and construction purposes in the forests of Farnham. See *EEAW*, 86. In terms of Theobald's relationship with the Cistercians, one does well to consult Saltman. Dom David Knowles and R.L. Poole provide detailed accounts of the York election, the intricacies of which were protracted. Saltman adds little to the discussion, although he responds to Knowles' assertion that Archbishop Theobald purposefully remained inactive during the dispute by suggesting that, had the archbishop involved himself in the consecration of William Fitzherbert, "he would have become an abomination in the eyes of St Bernard and his Cistercians, who contained in their ranks the man who as pope awarded him the legation in 1150." See Saltman, *Theobald*, 91. Interestingly, Saltman goes on to say that it would not be unreasonable to consider that the archbishop "was allied to St Bernard on the principle of 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend,' as we know far more of Theobald's opposition to Henry of Winchester than of any intervention of Theobald in the York dispute." *Ibid.*, 100

the political interests of both secular government and the bishop of Winchester had been served, and as part of the Cistercian program of ecclesiastical reform.

When the election dispute began in 1141, the Cistercians had not been long established in England. Nonetheless, their ideology was popular and had spread quickly, particularly in the north, where the great abbey of Rievaulx had been founded in 1132.⁶¹ Abbot William of Rievaulx (1132-45) led the group of English Cistercians and Augustinian canons who opposed Henry and Stephen not only in their choice of archbishop, but also in their entire approach to episcopal elections in England. Abbot William and his followers were supported in their endeavors by St Bernard, whose ideology was a principal influence. Knowles states:

As they had absorbed undiluted the ideals of Clairvaux, they naturally held the most extreme opinions not only upon the canonical freedom of elections as part of the high policy of the Church, but also upon the exalted spiritual qualifications needed in its pastors; they were thus by no means prepared to co-operate with Henry of Winchester, who was willing to make concessions not only to expediency, but also to the needs of secular policy, and whose plurality of offices and military adventures must have been a standing scandal to the reformers.⁶²

It is clear that the York dispute was as much a clash of personalities as it was a clash of ecclesiastical policies. The new reforms as envisioned by St Bernard and, in large part, adopted by the pope in the Second Lateran Council of 1139, challenged the more liberal and accommodating aspects of Cluniac monasticism. Henry, as a representative of the Cluniac view, was emblematic of all that the Cistercians were striving to change. The

⁶¹ The first Cistercian monastery in the British Isles was the abbey of the Blessed Virgin at Waverley Surrey, founded in 1128 by Henry's predecessor at Winchester, Bishop William Giffard. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 230.

⁶² Knowles, "Saint William", 164.

York election was pivotal for both Henry and the Cistercians, therefore, as each side sought either to maintain or establish control over ecclesiastical government in England.⁶³

At first, the Cistercians were confounded in their endeavors. Their appeal to Rome in 1142 charged William Fitzherbert with unchaste living, simony and intrusion into the see of York. These allegations were accompanied by various vigorous letters from St Bernard which castigated William and Henry alike. It was to be hoped that the pope would disallow the election of William and act in accordance with the canons of Lateran II which strongly condemned simonically obtained promotions.⁶⁴ The Cistercian case depended primarily upon proving that the election had not been free, and that William had secured his success by means of his considerable wealth. The principal witness in the case was the dean of York, William St Barbara. The pope dictated that should William confirm the election as free and fair, it would be allowed to stand. Innocent II then abstained from making the final judgment. Instead, he referred the case back to Henry as a papal judge-delegate.⁶⁵

When William Fitzherbert returned to England, he possessed both the pope's pronouncement and a second document, allegedly issued by Innocent II, which

⁶³ St Bernard criticized Henry's involvement in church government as being uncanonical, yet he was himself a formidable force in the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. Although a primary aim of the Cistercian reformers was to detach themselves from the temporal conflicts and controversies with which the Cluniacs had become involved, this soon proved to be impracticable. In large part, this was due to St Bernard's dominant personality. His energy and forcefulness made the abbey of Clairvaux a model – not only for monastic life, but also for a disciplined administration which initiated various movements of reform throughout England and Europe. However, unlike Henry, who emphasized the legal and political aspects of reform and administration, St Bernard's policy of reform was concerned more with monastic purity.

⁶⁴ See H.J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, (St Louis: 1937) 195-213 for complete edition of the canons. Illicitly-obtained benefices and ecclesiastical offices are addressed specifically in canons 1 and 2. Lateran II also reasserted the right of neighbouring ecclesiastics to assist and advise the chapter in its electoral choice. Knowles suggests that an awareness of this right spurred the energetic involvement of the Yorkshire Cistercians and Augustinian Canons under William of Rievaulx (see Knowles, "Saint William," 163).

⁶⁵ See Knowles, "Saint William," 170.

authorized the substitution of another witness in place of the dean of York. As has been discussed above, William St Barbara was consecrated bishop of Durham in 1143. In the view advanced by R.L. Poole, Innocent II's awareness that the monks of Durham wished to elect William prompted him to provide an alternate arrangement for the taking of the oath.⁶⁶ However, Poole's assessment is based on the acceptance of this second document as genuine. Knowles contends that it is not, thereby affirming St Bernard's assertion that the document was either forged or issued informally.⁶⁷ Henry convened his court as judge-delegate in September of that year. William Fitzherbert was well received in York and attended the legate's court supported by the abbots of York and Whitby. Any further opposition by the Cistercians was rendered futile, and any question as to the validity of the pope's controversial second decree failed in consequence of the death of Innocent II two days prior to William's consecration.⁶⁸

The second phase of the York election began in 1145, with the election of Pope Eugenius III. This saw a reverse in the fortunes of William Fitzherbert, as St Bernard's influence with the new pope was considerable. Henry was no longer legate, yet both he and his nephew retained friends in the College of Cardinals. Perhaps it was with this in mind that William traveled to Rome to request his pallium, which he still had not received.⁶⁹ Upon his arrival, the controversy surrounding his election was re-opened.

⁶⁶See Poole, "Appointment and Deprivation," 278. Ultimately, William St Barbara did not attend the trial of William Fitzherbert. The intruder, William Cumin, still occupied the see of Durham, and the new bishop was obliged to force his way in by strength of arms in 1144.

⁶⁷For a full discussion on the legitimacy of this letter, see Knowles, "Saint William," 168-170.

⁶⁸It is important to remember that Henry was not present in Rome during the initial deliberations or the issuing, in whatever form, of the authorization for a substitution of witnesses. While Knowles acknowledges that Henry might have "allowed himself more latitude than was permitted even by this second letter," he does not suggest, nor should it be implied, that Henry was complicit in the falsification of a papal decree. Knowles, "Saint William," 170.

⁶⁹The pallium had been dispatched by Lucius II in the care of Imar of Tusculum, a Cluniac monk who had been named as temporary legate to England. By the time Imar reached England, however, Lucius II had

With both the prompting and support of St Bernard, Eugenius III declared the controversial decree to be illicit and required the bishop of Durham, William St Barbara, to swear the oath that Innocent II had originally requested. William Fitzherbert was immediately suspended, whereupon he withdrew to Sicily.⁷⁰ He was finally deposed in 1147, whereupon a second election was called. Stephen and Henry supported Hilary, a former clerk in Henry's household who was, at the time of the dispute, an advocate for cases heard in the papal curia. It is interesting to note that opposition to Hilary came from a group which included William of Durham.⁷¹ The litigants again referred their respective cases to the pope, who consoled Hilary by appointing him to the vacant see of Chichester. The Cistercian abbot Henry Murdac was confirmed and consecrated archbishop of York by Eugenius III in December, 1147.

The election of Henry Murdac seems to constitute a victory for the Cistercian cause. However, after his death in 1153, William Fitzherbert was restored to the archbishopric. William died in mysterious circumstances in 1154, his death popularly believed to have been caused by poisoning.⁷² The death of William may be considered to conclude the dispute over York. It is all the more conclusive when one considers how, later that same year, King Stephen also died.

died. He was therefore required to return to Rome with the pallium still undelivered. See Knowles, "Saint William," 172.

⁷⁰ It is interesting to speculate why William withdrew in such a fashion. His seeming unwillingness to have William of Durham deliver his oath in the matter of the free election lends credence to St Bernard's contention that the "thief and robber" of York was well aware that his claim was uncanonical.

⁷¹ See Knowles, "Saint William," 173.

⁷² For further discussion of Archbishop Willam's alleged poisoning, see Saltman, *Theobald*, 124-5 and Knowles, "Saint William," 175.

Summary

Stephen's death marked the decline of Henry's active involvement in ecclesiastical government. Henry retired to Cluny upon the arrival of Henry II in England and remained there, in self-imposed exile, until 1158.⁷³ The disputes between Bishop Henry and Archbishop Theobald appear to have ceased, and Theobald urged Henry to return to Winchester with the assurance that the king was no longer rancorous.⁷⁴ Knowles asserts that Henry was a supporter of Thomas Becket, and this is certainly not surprising. Although Henry is seen to have worked with and against King Stephen, it is important to note that at no time did he allow Stephen to dictate ecclesiastical policy. For Henry, the separation of ecclesiastical and secular authority was to be taken seriously – at least insofar as it involved the more intrusive qualities of regalian right. Henry was frequently willing to involve himself in secular matters. In this respect, his position as statesman did infringe upon the integrity of his role as bishop. Although he believed himself to be working for the good of the church, he was guilty of imposing his own will. Nonetheless, Henry was more than once required to be decisive as a politician in the absence of any other strong and stable leadership.

⁷³ It is worth noting Emile Amt's assessment of Henry's departure for Cluny. "Here then was one churchman who did not want to submit to Henry II's will – even although this bishop had been one of the key negotiators of the 1153 settlement . . . A king who could intimidate Henry of Blois was indeed a ruler to be reckoned with." Emile Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored, 1149-1159*, (Boydell, 1993) 25. This statement speaks equally to Bishop Henry's reputation and his formidable presence in English ecclesiastical life. His decision to leave England at the accession of Henry II is interesting, and not entirely explained. Certainly, Henry II had no reason to look favourably upon the man who had, in large part, prevented Maud from seizing power. Nonetheless, Knowles asserts that Bishop Henry and Henry II were on amicable terms in previous times (Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, 36). Although Henry of Winchester seems to have led a mostly retired life after his return from Cluny in 1158, he was still considered an eminent figure. Indeed, as M.J. Franklin reports, "Henry II, no man of sentiment, still felt it important to see [Henry of Winchester] in [the bishop's] last hours." Franklin, *EEAW*, xlix.

⁷⁴ See Saltman, *Theobald*, 42.

Chapter Three: Patron of the Arts

With the destruction of so many monastic buildings and with the ruin of the greater part of the episcopal residence of Wolvesey Palace in Winchester, to which Henry made considerable renovations, it is difficult to appreciate the wide range of Henry's art patronage. He is known to have given magnificent gifts to churches and monasteries throughout England, as well as to the Abbey of Cluny. He commissioned manuscripts and, during his episcopate, the Winchester School of manuscript illumination gained particular prestige. He was responsible for the construction of numerous ecclesiastical and secular buildings, from parish churches to castles, and he organized the construction of a cathedral treasury meant to house the bishop's gifts.¹ At the end of his often turbulent life, however, he gave away all his splendid possessions, withdrew from public life, and devoted himself to prayer.

Surviving works commissioned by Henry are scarce. While there are records pertaining to the many gifts he presented to various religious houses including Winchester cathedral and Cluny, the majority of these treasures have been lost. Some capitals from the columns in the bishop's palace of Wolvesey are preserved in the Winchester City Museum, but the palace itself was abandoned in the seventeenth century and subsequently fell into a ruinous state. Of the manuscripts produced at Winchester during Henry's episcopate, the Winchester Bible and the Winchester Psalter are

¹ The majority of Henry's castles were destroyed in later years as a result of various different military conflicts. Excavations at the castle at Bishop's Waltham have revealed that a kitchen, hall, tower and chapel were built during the episcopacy of Henry of Winchester.

principally connected to him, although the bible remains unfinished.² Two enamel plaques, one of which depicts Henry himself, are also extant.³ Art-historical scholarship focuses primarily on the surviving sculptural fragments, and particularly on the type of stone which Henry appears to have favoured. His use of Belgian Tournai and English Purbeck marble has occasioned comment from George Zarnecki and Yoshio Kusaba, both of whom contend that Henry was responsible for the introduction of these marbles to England. Further, both scholars suggest that Henry's patronage was strongly influenced by his travels to France and Italy.⁴

Both Kusaba and Zarnecki attempt to locate Henry's art patronage within a wider, European context.⁵ Kusaba describes Henry's fondness for classical antiques. Zarnecki insists that Henry must have visited and been influenced by the early Gothic monuments at St Denis in Paris.⁶ Williband Sauerländer, on the other hand, is adamant that Henry's patronage is part of a distinctly English style which can be found in sculpture, architecture and manuscript illumination. Rejecting Zarnecki's theory, he states that any correlation between Henry's efforts at Winchester and Abbot Suger's (1081-1151) work

² It is estimated that the illumination of the manuscript was ongoing for at least fifteen years. While the text is complete, the illumination is not. See Clare Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 17.

³ For a discussion of the Enamels, see Kristine Haney, "Some Mosan Sources for the Henry of Winchester Enamels," *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 949. (April, 1982) 220-230.

⁴ Henry visited Cluny and his family estate at Blois several times. His visits to Rome are commented upon in chapter two.

⁵ For Zarnecki's attempts to establish links between Henry's patronage and the architectural innovations at St Denis, see George Zarnecki et al (eds.), *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200 : Hayward Gallery, London, 5 April-8 July 1984*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984) 148. For Kusaba's theory concerning Henry's classical influences, see Yoshio Kusaba, "Henry of Blois and the 12th-Century Renaissance," in *Winchester Cathedral: 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook, (Winchester, 1993) 69-81.

⁶ For a discussion of the origins and spread of Early Gothic art and architecture, see Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Art Treasures of St Denis*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946). Panofsky explains how the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius present a theology which combines Christian doctrine with the metaphysical qualities of light and illumination. For Suger, the idea of divine light is transformed into the physical light present in architectural space – particularly in the choir and ambulatory of his abbey church at St Denis. In addition to the sacred qualities of light, Suger emphasizes the harmonious integration of forms and figures. This harmonious blending of architectural shapes was not unusual in Romanesque art, and its appearance on the façade of St Denis in 1140 marks the beginning of Early Gothic style.

at St Denis is unsound. Rather than create a link between Winchester and St Denis, Sauerländer prefers to suggest a connection between English sculptural art and manuscript illumination. He contends that, “the amusing head from Winchester is quite convincingly compared with the earliest parts of the Winchester Bible. This is an excellent local explanation and one wonders why this piece had to be further ennobled by an unconvincing reference to St Denis?”⁷ While Kusaba does not directly take issue with Zarnecki’s theory, he confirms Sauerländer’s assessment that the use of Tournai and Purbeck marble was evidently intended to “emulate the polished material used for the decoration of classical buildings and sculptures.”⁸

Much of the finest surviving Romanesque sculpture is to be found on architectural features such as capitals or corbels, door-jambes, lintels and tympana. As has been mentioned above, surviving sculpture from Henry’s time is mostly in the form of capitals, although various, unattributable fragments also exist. The stone head examined by Zarnecki and Sauerländer, is an example of one such fragment (fig. 1). Like Zarnecki, Phillip Lindley considers this an example of Henry’s knowledge of the sculpted portals at St Denis, but he adds that while the capitals and door-jambes of Wolvesey are comparable to the façade decoration at St Denis, they may also be considered part of the distinctive, local style of manuscript illumination and ivory carving known as the ‘Winchester School.’⁹ In this he would seem to agree with Sauerländer, and suggests a similar attribution should be made for various capitals which still remain in the gallery of

⁷ Williband Sauerländer, “English Romanesque at the Hayward, London,” *The Burlington Magazine*, 126, no. 977, August 1984, 515.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 515. For Kusaba’s endorsement of this assessment, see Kusaba, “Henry of Blois and the 12th-Century Renaissance,” 71.

⁹ The Winchester School of manuscript illumination has its origins in the reign of King Alfred (871-899). It is typified by the depiction of elongated figures clothed in a style utilizing damp-fold, or fitted, drapery augmented by foliate borders. These were painted in vibrant colours and enriched with gold leaf. An early and much admired achievement of the school is the Benedictional of St Athelwold (c. 970).

Winchester cathedral. In particular, Lindley remarks upon several capitals which he believes are typical of an adherence to the Winchester School and, by association with it, provide “convincing evidence of stylistic continuity from Winchester’s great Anglo-Saxon past.”¹⁰ The capital depicting the battle between centaurs, basilisks and other mythological beasts (fig. 2) is a notable example of this stylistic amalgamation, as is the capital showing two acrobats and an upturned, impish face dated to c. 1150 (fig. 3).

Unlike the Winchester capitals, establishing a reliable date for the door-jambs at Wolvesey palace is problematic (fig. 4). They have been alternatively dated c. 1135 and c. 1140, by Martin Biddle and J. Tourquet respectively,¹¹ and Zarnecki contends that, given their stylistic similarity to English manuscript and ivory design, a more appropriate reckoning would be closer to 1150.¹² Not surprisingly, he is keen to consider similarities with St Denis decoration when establishing a date for these objects. Their decoration consists of mythical figures, such as mermaids and harpies, set in roundels and surrounded by foliate borders which produce a wide variety of leaves. The variations in leaf design are certainly reminiscent of the colonnette at St Denis which Zarnecki provides as a touchstone for comparison (fig. 5), but so too are they similar to the foliate border of the Winchester Psalter (fig. 6).

Zarnecki argues that Abbot Suger’s architectural and sculptural innovation “changed the course of artistic development in Europe.”¹³ By consistently associating Henry with Suger, he means to refute any idea that English art was insular and

¹⁰ Phillip Lindley, “The Medieval Sculpture of Winchester Cathedral,” in *Winchester Cathedral, 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook, (Winchester: 1993) 99.

¹¹ Zarnecki provides the dates given by Biddle and Tourquet. See Zarnecki, “Patron of the 12th-Century Renaissance,” 160.

¹² Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Art*, 147.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 147.

unresponsive to change.¹⁴ One might consider this a positive development, as it illustrates England's participation in European culture, and it is certainly in accord with the recent re-assessment of the Norman Conquest, which stresses a greater degree of assent and co-operation than was proposed by previous scholarship.¹⁵ However, one must also remember that William the Conqueror used art and architecture in the furtherance of his dynastic ambitions for England. For example, the building of Winchester Cathedral exactly over the razed remains of the original Anglo-Saxon church presents a forceful example of the Norman desire to express political and cultural dominance in a visual way.

No definitive determination can be made, therefore, regarding the moral value of Henry's European affiliations insofar as they relate to English culture. There is insufficient evidence to place Henry within a movement which sought to unite Anglo-Saxon and Norman cultures through an artistic medium. It is more likely that Henry's patronage is purely a matter of personal taste. It has been shown in previous chapters how Henry often conducted himself as a princely lord, and this attitude is detectable in his artistic patronage.

Unlike his patronage of monasteries and churches, Henry's artistic patronage has no evident political affiliations. Zarnecki, Kusaba and Lindley believe that Henry was interested in emulating the splendour of the classical past, and it is known that Henry showed great interest in the classical sculpture and architecture of Rome whenever he visited the city. Indeed, John of Salisbury recounts how on one occasion, probably in 1148 when he was summoned to appear before Eugenius III, Henry purchased numerous

¹⁴ See Zarnecki's comments in "Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture," *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, (London, 1986) 161.

¹⁵ There are several works relating to this subject. See particularly Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135*, (Boydell Press, 1998) and Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, (London: Blackwell Press, 1986).

antique statues which he shipped to England for the adornment of Wolvesey palace.¹⁶ Unfortunately, these statues do not survive, but the record of their purchase suggests that Henry was indeed partial to classical styles, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that his extensive use of Tournai stone in Wolvesey contributed to a classical theme throughout the building.

While Henry would not be unique in his emulation of classical Rome, his inclination towards the most contemporary decorative styles is distinctive. While Zarnecki's evidence for a substantial link between Winchester and St Denis seems strained at times, Henry certainly would have been interested in new, European stylistic trends. His early education at Cluny had taken place during a period of energetic and lavish reconstruction. As has been suggested earlier, Henry had before him the models of the great Cluniac abbots, Odilo and St Hugh, whose ambitious building programs greatly increased the abbey's size and majesty. It is surprising, therefore, that neither Zarnecki nor Kusaba consider the possible influence of Cluniac architecture and iconography on Henry's art patronage.

Cluniac Influences

Abbot Hugh's architectural program for the mother house of Cluny culminated with the building of a magnificent church, begun c. 1088 and completed c. 1131.¹⁷ An ambulatory with five apsidial chapels surrounded the apse itself. The nave had eleven bays and was 92 ft. high. From the apse to the door it measured approximately 415 ft., and was 118 ft. wide. The abbey church of Cluny, known as Cluny III, represents an unprecedented

¹⁶ John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, 79.

¹⁷ For further discussion of the dimensions and foundation of the third abbey church at Cluny, see Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950) 22-23.

architectural advance with respect to its size and decorative program. All the capitals were uniquely sculpted, the pointed arches were defined by sculpted moulding and the double clerestory was adorned with carved foliate designs. Much of the sculpture was painted, and the apse itself featured a depiction of the enthroned Christ and apocalyptic beasts. Below this were arcaded windows flanked with wall paintings of the apostles. These continued into ambulatory arcade, where eight large capitals depicted tones of the liturgical chant (fig 7).

A comparison of the few surviving capitals from Cluny itself with the capitals from Winchester show that those of the mother-church are by far more elaborate. However, a comparison of Cluniac decoration in various ancillary houses with the architectural examples from Winchester reveals some interesting similarities. As has been mentioned above, Zarnecki considers that the similarities between a colonnette from St Denis and a door-jamb from Wolvesey palace are evidence of a stylistic link. While the beaded border and foliate designs are certainly comparable, it is interesting to note that circular beads on the St Denis colonette are hollowed out, whereas the beaded pattern at Wolvesey is whole. By contrast, a capital from Brout, a Cluniac house at Puy-de-Dôme, bears an identical pattern to the Wolvesey door-jamb, as does an impost block from Lewes, the Cluniac priory in Sussex founded by William de Warenne, c. 1078 (figs. 8 and 9).¹⁸ Also, an integral aspect of Zarnecki's theory is based in the idea that the "crisp, almost metallic handling of the foliage design"¹⁹ on the Wolvesey door-jamb is inspired by similar workmanship at St Denis. This crisp design, however, can also be found in a

¹⁸ While the exact date for the capital at Brout is unknown, it is certainly no later than c. 1140, which would make it, at the least, contemporary with Zarnecki's proposed date for the St Denis colonette. The impost block from Lewes, on the other hand, is considered to be c. 1131.

¹⁹ Zarnecki, "Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture," 161.

capital from Souvigny (fig. 10), which shows the same turned leaf as is evident at Wolvesey. Similarly, a capital from the cloister of Sainte-Marie-la-Daurade in Toulouse displays the same scalloped leaf edges as those found on the door-jamb (fig. 11).²⁰

A capital from the cloister of Glastonbury provides some sense of Henry's lavish renovations at the abbey, which continued throughout his episcopate (fig. 12). The capital is carved from dark limestone which, when polished, closely resembles the Tournai marble of which Henry was so fond. Zarnecki remarks upon the similarities between the Glastonbury sculpture and its counterparts at Winchester and reasons that, by this association, the abbey can also be connected with St Denis. However, it is worth noting that a capital from Moissac (fig. 13), dated to approximately 1100, shows animal heads of a similar nature to those on the Glastonbury capital, as does a capital from Reading abbey, which is assigned a date of 1125 (fig. 14).

With reference to various other stylistic elements in the capital designs, Kusaba has pointed out numerous motifs such as scallops, figures, beasts, geometric patterns and scrolls, which are abundantly evident on examples from Cluniac houses.²¹ In particular, he remarks upon the Centaur motif, which might be attributable to a "classical influence not only as part of the 12th-century Renaissance, but more specifically linked to Henry's purchase of antique statuary in Rome."²² It is interesting to note that a centaur of similar

²⁰ The Souvigny capital, c. 1064, certainly pre-dates the St Denis colonette as does the Sainte-Marie-la-Daurade capital, which is c. 1115.

²¹ For scallops, see capitals from the cloister at Moissac, Tarn-et-Garonne, c. 1100, which also include examples of griffins and basilisks. For geometric patterns and scrolls, see a capital in the nave of Vézelay, Yonne, c. 1096-1110 and a capital from the nave of Souvigny, Allier c. 1064. Also, it worth noting that the unembellished scroll pattern found in numerous marble capitals at Wolvesey are comparable to scrolls which appear as background elements in capitals from the ambulatory of the abbey church of Cluny itself, c. 1088-1100.

²² Kusaba, "Henry of Blois and the 12th-Century Renaissance," 74. Additionally, it is important to note that Kusaba does not speculate on Henry's motives in his emulation of classical styles. A popular theory connected with reproducing classical art and architecture is that a patron wishes to partake of the power and

stance to that depicted on the capital at Wolvesey is depicted on a capital from the cloister at Sainte-Marie-la-Daurade (fig 15).

While it is unlikely that Henry paid personal visits to each of these houses, it is clear that a particular type of Cluniac art and iconography had spread throughout France and England.²³ This is possibly due to the proliferation of Cluniac manuscripts, the images of which provided a basis for sculpture and wall paintings. As Joan Evans asserts, "Cluniac sculpture is Cluniac painting turned into stone. There are few types, whether of tympanum, capital or frieze that have not a prototype in Cluniac illuminated manuscripts."²⁴

The Manuscripts

The manuscripts associated with Henry's patronage are the Winchester Bible (Winchester, Cathedral Lib.) and the Winchester Psalter, which is also known as the Psalter of Henry of Blois (London, B.L., MS Cotton Nero C. IV). Of these, the latter is of particular importance as it was intended for Henry's own use and, therefore, may be considered reflective of his personal devotion.²⁵ It is interesting, then, that the Psalter's illustrations

authority of the Roman Empire. While St Bernard did consider that Henry had made a second Rome out of Winchester, it is unlikely that he was referring to the architectural design at the bishop's palace. Rather, St Bernard was referring to Henry's almost single-handed management of the English Church. Kusaba here hints at a separation between the influences of the twelfth-century renaissance from those more personal matters of individual taste. Presumably Henry purchased Roman statuary because he was partial to it. Further investigation into this particular artistic preference would be highly speculative. For St Bernard's criticism of Henry and Winchester, see St Bernard, *Letters*, 276.

²³ However, it is known that he attended the consecration of the new church at Lewes which, as the mother house of English Cluniacs, would have been of particular interest to Henry. In addition, the cartulary of Reading Abbey frequently places his name in the list of witnesses.

²⁴ Evans, *Cluniac Art*, 120.

²⁵ Much has written concerning the Winchester Bible. Claire Donovan and Larry M. Ayres have produced detailed studies of the illuminations, miniatures and the craftsmen involved. With reference to Henry, one can say only that he commissioned the work and, especially towards the end of his life, provided large sums of money to aid in its completion (See Donovan, *Winchester Bible*, 24). Comparisons have been made

contain many stylistic similarities to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Kristine Edmondson Haney describes how miniatures throughout the Psalter possess features which are “highly characteristic of Anglo-Saxon art,” and suggests that the Winchester artist often reproduced stylistic and iconographic elements from pre-Conquest manuscripts with little or no change.²⁶ Haney also provides examples of how the artist re-interpreted Anglo-Saxon imagery, comparing various miniatures with scenes from calendar illustrations and the Bayeux Tapestry. According to Haney, this demonstrates both the artist’s awareness of stylistic tradition and his willingness to modify that tradition in order to create an original work. While she acknowledges the existence of various European influences, Haney maintains that the Winchester artist’s profound awareness of Anglo-Saxon art and culture was his principle source of inspiration.²⁷ Haney goes on to say that the Last Judgment cycle, which she considers unparalleled in twelfth-century manuscript illumination on account of its length and complexity, displays the “preoccupation with the Doom that gripped the English imagination for generations before the Conquest.”²⁸

It is certainly not unreasonable to assume that the Winchester artist was influenced by existing English manuscript tradition, but it is also likely that he was aware of certain stylistic trends occurring in Normandy. It is known that Henry established a workshop in Winchester which employed Belgian stonemasons and it is probable, therefore, that he also employed Continental artists in the production of manuscripts.²⁹

by both authors concerning the similarity between the wall paintings of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel in Winchester Cathedral and the manuscript illumination, and a detailed account here would be superfluous.

²⁶ Kristine Edmondson Haney, *The Winchester Psalter, an Iconographic Study* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986) 21. Haney provides several examples of these similarities, drawing particular attention to the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges, (Rouen, B.M., MS Y. 6, fol. 32v) and the Benedictional of St Athelwold (London, B.L., MS Add. 49598, fol. 15v).

²⁷ See Haney, *Psalter*, 22.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁹ See Kusaba, “Henry of Blois and the 12th-Century Renaissance,” 74.

Furthermore, while the apocalyptic theme is strong in Anglo-Saxon culture, it is just as likely that the artist was reacting to the chaotic events of the civil war. At the very least, the anarchy would have provided a contemporary context through which to view the miniature. Indeed, the Psalter's depiction of damned in hell has been used to illustrate the conflict as it is recounted in the Peterborough Chronicle (fig. 16).³⁰ For example, Carl Nordenfalk remarks how English art was "more imaginative than that of other countries when depicting the torments of Hell," and acknowledges that the anarchy of Stephen's reign would have presented a "grim, realistic background" for the Psalter's imagery.³¹

In emphasizing the affiliation between the Winchester artist and Anglo-Saxon tradition, Haney implies that the artist alone was responsible for the Psalter's stylistic elements. This raises the question of how closely Henry, as patron, was involved in the production of his Psalter. He was certainly responsible for the content of the Calendar (fols. 40r – 45v) and the Litany (fol. 132), as both reflect his Cluniac background. The calendar lists various English saints, in particular those associated with Winchester cathedral and Hyde abbey. In addition, the feast days of Abbot Mariolus (11 May) and St Hugh (29 April) are included. These are Cluniac saints, and were likely to have been incorporated at Henry's request. It clear that St Hugh, in particular, had some special significance, as his name is written in green. In the Litany, the saints included among the

³⁰ The Peterborough Chronicle recounts various unhappy events of Stephen's reign, and the author's depictions are frequently colourful: "One [man] they hung by his feet and filled his lungs with smoke. One was hung up by the thumbs and another by the head and had coats of mail hung on his feet. One they put a knotted cord about his head and twisted it so that it went into the brains... I neither can nor may recount all the atrocities nor all the tortures that they did on the wretched men of this land." For a transcription of the Peterborough Chronicle, see J.A.W. Bennett and G.V. Smithers, eds. *Early Middle English Verse and Prose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

³¹ See Carl Nordenfalk, "Recent publications on Illuminated Manuscripts," in *The Burlington Magazine*, 117, no. 870 (1975) 609. Similarly, H.A. Cronne writes, "Which came first, the pictures of hell or the monkish literary descriptions of atrocities? Perhaps both owed their origin to the horrors of contemporary life." Cronne, *Anarchy*, 13.

Virgins are the same as those which appear in the litany from the Cluniac priory of St Pancras at Lewes.³² Despite this evidence of his involvement in the manuscript's production, however, it is still impossible to tell to what degree he presided over the stylistic elements of the decoration.

Cathedral Decoration

One of the finest examples of Henry's interest in Tournai marble is the font which he commissioned for Winchester Cathedral (figs. 17 and 18). Dated approximately to the middle of Henry's episcopacy (c. 1150-60), the font was imported, pre-fabricated and decorated, from Tournai, in Belgium. Of the ten Tournai marble fonts in England, those within Hampshire, at East Meon (fig. 19), St Mary Bourne (fig. 20), and Southampton (fig. 21), are all thought to have been commissioned and presented by Henry. The Winchester font (c. 1150-1160) depicts scenes from the life of St Nicholas on the southern and western sides. The south side shows the saint dispensing dowries to the daughters of an impoverished nobleman. The west side shows the nobleman offering a gold cup to the saint, and depicts the miracle of St Nicholas reviving three dead children.³³ The northern and eastern sides are decorated with allegorical beasts. On the north side are carved doves and a salamander. The east side depicts pairs of doves and bunches of grapes.³⁴ This combination of narrative, figural images with symbolic beasts

³² See Francis Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter*, (London: Harvey Muller and Metcalf, 1973) 107, 123.

³³ It is interesting to note that origins of this miracle may be based on misinterpretation. It has been suggested that artistic representations of St Nicholas providing the nobleman's three daughters with purses of gold were misread, and the purses were taken for the heads of children whom St Nicholas was supposed to have revived. See Meredith Marks, *Early Medieval Hagiography*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 74.

³⁴ Interpretation of the font's imagery is not considered here in detail. The bunches of grapes might allude to John 15.1-5, "I am the vine, you are the branches. Those who abide in me and I in them bear much

and foliage is shared by the East Meon font, which depicts the expulsion from paradise on the northern and eastern sides and various mythical animals on the southern and western sides. The St Mary Bourne font is much more simply decorated with architectural and vegetal patterns, as is the Southampton font, which shows twelve roundels containing mythical beasts. To what extent Henry was personally involved in the decorative program of these fonts is unknown, although it is probable that he has some influence over the design for the Winchester font.³⁵

Other sculptural fragments from the cathedral which have not been commented upon include a capital showing entwining, beaded foliage, a capital depicting eight seated figures set beneath Norman arches (fig. 22), and a capital set with a sunken trefoil and raised moulding (fig. 23). In addition, there is an architectural frieze from an unknown location. This has been assigned a date of c. 1150-75.

In addition to the cathedral furniture and sculpture, a series of wall paintings in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel may be attributable to Henry's episcopate (fig. 24). It has been suggested that the artists involved in the illumination of the Psalter may have been responsible for the chapel decoration,³⁶ although an alternative school of thought suggests that the paintings are more closely connected to the Winchester Bible, and dates them c. 1175.³⁷

fruit. . ." The doves and salamander are traditional emblems of the Holy Spirit and the human soul. (See St Augustine, *City of God*, Book XXI).

³⁵ Kusaba remarks upon the Byzantine elements present in the Winchester Psalter, and it is possible that the depiction of St Nicholas is similarly reflective of an interest in Byzantine art. The image of St Nicholas is frequently found on Byzantine seals, and his popularity as a saint was high in Eastern Europe.

³⁶ See Frank Bussby, *Winchester Cathedral 1079-1979* (Southampton, 1979) 24 and Larry M. Ayres, "The Work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English Painting of the Early Gothic Period," *The Art Bulletin* 56, no. 2, (1974) 218ff.

³⁷ See Park, D. "The Wall Paintings of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel," in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral, British Archaeological Associations Conference transactions of 1980*. (Winchester, 1980).

The Treasury

The final aspect of Henry's patronage which must be considered is his contribution to the Cathedral's treasury. Originally located in the south transept of Winchester Cathedral, the treasury housed numerous valuable articles including the Domesday Book of 1086. Henry's gifts included a processional cross, made entirely of gold and adorned with 56 sapphires, 10 topaz, 7 pomegranates, 10 emeralds and 257 oriental pearls. In addition, there were two golden candelabra, two mitres, two stoles, a corona adorned in gold, silver and brass, a silver vessel and a golden cope.³⁸ Frank Bussby reports that these treasures remained in the cathedral until 1538, at which time they were removed by order of Henry VIII.³⁹

Summary

Zarnecki's desire to link Henry's plans for Winchester and Glastonbury with Suger's innovations at St Denis is not without foundation. Indeed, Henry and Suger shared the ambition to rebuild their respective religious houses and return them to their former glory. Henry's desire to adorn his cathedral in the most magnificent manner possible resulted in the production of lavish manuscripts and the introduction of new sculptural techniques to England. While he does not seem to have promoted a particular program of decorative imagery, it is likely that his exposure to Cluniac art and architecture -- in Cluny itself and in the dependent English houses of Reading and Lewes -- provided him with a stylistic and decorative template. His partiality for Tournai marble was emulated by the bishops

³⁸ The complete list of Henry's donations is unavailable. The items mentioned are representative of the richness of Henry's gifts. For further discussion, see also Yoshio Kusaba, 'The Function, Date and Stylistic Sources of the Treasury of Henry of Blois in the South Transept of Winchester Cathedral', *WCR* 57 (1988) 38-49

³⁹ Bussby, *Winchester Cathedral*, 28.

of Ely and Lincoln, and the use of Purbeck marble was relatively unknown before Henry's time. It is unfortunate that so many of Henry's treasures were lost, as it is difficult to gain a complete understanding of the range and richness of his patronage.

Conclusions

William of Malmesbury considered Henry of Winchester a man “distinguished in his knowledge of letters, kind and friendly in his address and noble in the kindness of his heart.”¹ St Bernard, on the other hand, referred to him as the “old whore of Winchester.”² The most fitting description is forwarded by David Knowles who identifies him as an “ecclesiastical statesman.” One wonders, however, if Henry would have been less controversial had he been a wholly secular statesman. Given that his talents were inclined towards politics and administration, would he have suffered fewer disappointments had he been prince rather than bishop? Clearly he perceived no conflict of interest between the two, although after the various political disasters of 1141, he committed his statecraft specifically to those issues which were important to the English church.

Henry’s interests were primarily ecclesiological, and his influence over the organization and leadership of the church cannot be disputed. He did seek to further his own ambitions, and did not disassociate these with the overall objectives of the church, nor did he curb the considerable powers of the episcopacy. However, he vigorously opposed royal control over ecclesiastical government and established the regular use of papal appeals in England. This remained an important aspect of English ecclesiastical life until Parliament forbade all appeals to Rome as part of Henry VIII’s break with the papacy in 1533.

Henry wished to make the church autonomous, envisioning it as a highly centralized institution. In the legatine council of 1139, and again during the disputed

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Early History of Glastonbury*, 167.

² St Bernard, *Letters*, 276.

elections at Salisbury and Durham, he championed the church's right to direct and manage its own affairs. In England, he attempted to order the church around his own leadership. At the same time, he supported and promoted the idea of a supreme papal authority over the church as a whole. He opposed his brother, King Stephen, and successfully resisted the unilateral enforcement of regalian right.

Despite Henry's efforts on behalf of church autonomy, he remains a controversial figure. His political intriguing, resistance to St Bernard's vision of monastic asceticism, and willingness to direct the church with reference to what he personally thought appropriate are sources of criticism for contemporary and modern scholars alike. Perhaps the most troublesome aspect of Henry's career is that he conflated his personal ambitions with the general program of ecclesiastical governance. As a result, he has been burdened with a perception that he represents all manner of episcopal excess and ecclesiastical luxury. This is an unfair assessment. To an awareness of his wealth must be added the knowledge that Henry was a generous patron who used his administrative talents to increase the stature and stability of the English church. Furthermore, his boldness in the promotion of papal authority allowed subsequent ecclesiastics, such as Thomas Becket, to appeal to Rome with facility and ease.³

Certainly Henry's ideas concerning church reform were not indicative of the reform movement as it was envisioned by the Cistercians. However, if one contends that the Cistercians were the second phase of a reform movement begun by the Cluniacs, one can see that Henry was indeed a reformer by Cluniac standards. While it is true that he did appropriate some monastic land, it must be remembered that he was not rapacious,

³ For a discussion Beckett and the importance of appeals to Rome, see Z.N. Brooke, "The Effect of Becket's Murder on Papal Authority in England," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 2, no. 3 (1928) 4-7.

nor did he seek to annex for himself vast quantities of land in the style of Roger of Salisbury. His principal links to Cluniac reform are threefold, therefore: he worked against royal control and regalian right, he worked for the increased participation of the papacy, and he worked for the centralization of English ecclesiastical government. This, especially when considered alongside Henry's artistic and architectural patronage, places him amongst the great Cluniacs who distinguished and elevated the Order by means of their statesmanship and architectural programs.

What place does Henry occupy, then, in the wider context of ecclesiastical reform? Can he be considered alongside such English ecclesiastics as Ailred of Rievaulx, Gilbert Foliot, or even his own rival St Bernard? Because little is known about his personal devotion, one cannot produce a complete portrait of Henry. Thus, he must be described in terms of his ecclesiology, rather than his theology. The distinction is important. As abbot, bishop and legate his administrative skills are impressive, yet his success in the spiritual leadership of his monastic community and episcopal chapter cannot be assessed. Did he attempt to raise the moral tone of the clergy? Did he improve their efficiency? Did he encourage monks and friars in an adherence to their vows? Certainly the *acta* pertaining to the quotidian life of the monks reveals both his personal concern for their well-being and the great variety of his involvement in the diocese. Unfortunately, a lack of personal writings prevents us from knowing his thoughts on theological controversies and doctrine. One is confined, therefore, to locating him in the context of his times primarily with reference to his actions. Most frequently documented are those concerned with the large, political upheavals of his time, namely the civil war and the various tensions between ecclesiastical and secular authority.

Unlike other ecclesiastical reformers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Henry did not voice his opinions from a protected position within the church. Rather, he persisted in taking an active role in secular affairs. This lack of detachment speaks to his energy, courage and enthusiasm, and also to his more aristocratic ambitions for the church as he saw it. Henry was a prince which, though seemingly incongruous with the eremitic perceptions generally associated with monasticism, would surely have provided him with an awareness of his personal authority.

Henry was willing to use this authority to ensure that ecclesiastical government was ordered according to his own design. The disputed election at York illustrates both his willingness to defend his actions at the highest level and his determination not to be gainsaid, even by so formidable a figure as St Bernard of Clairvaux. Clearly he wanted to maintain his own power and possessions, and part of doing so involved him in the promotion of his nephews to positions of authority. Was this done wholly with a view to gaining supporters for himself and his ambitions, or was it encouraged by his favourable disposition towards Cluniacs, such as Henry de Sully, and other family members? Whatever the cause, Henry clearly allowed himself to be influenced by personal considerations. It must be acknowledged that this is not in keeping with an ascetic ideal of reform, nor does it comply with the monastic reformers' efforts to contest nepotism.

Henry's way of life was similarly incompatible with the strict principles of reform. His palace at Wolvesey was luxuriously appointed. He was fond of expensive ornamentation. His Cluniac sensibilities with respect to architecture are especially apparent when one considers the richness of the surviving decoration from Wolvesey and Winchester Cathedral. In this respect it must be remembered that it was a Cluniac custom

to work for the church in a very public manner, through the beautification of sacred objects and sacred places, and through efforts to promote peace and the spread of monastic principles by working alongside secular governments. By contrast, the pursuit of one's own spiritual well-being was undertaken in a more private manner, through a strict adherence to the liturgy, and through the care and protection of the poor.⁴ These aspects of Cluniac monasticism have not been discussed in detail, as this study has been more concerned with the administrative aspects of Cluniac influence. One of the primary achievements of Cluniac administration was the codification of the Benedictine Rule. This directly contributed to the establishment of the new monastic Orders, including the Cistercians, and thus laid the foundation for continued ecclesiastical reform.

Ecclesiastical reform as it was espoused by the Cistercians emphasized spiritual renewal through strict ascetic discipline. This would have been impossible to achieve, however, had the structure of ecclesiastical government – the authority of the bishop and pre-eminence of the pope – not been supported and sustained by the Cluniacs. Austere eremiticism was not part of the Cluniac model, and Henry was not behaving contrary to his Cluniac training when he took his place at the forefront of ecclesiastical politics. While his extreme wealth and secular intriguing might seem incongruous with this position as a reformer, he was nonetheless committed to establishing a unified ecclesiastical government which submitted to papal authority alone.

H.A. Cronne points out that, since the Norman Conquest of 1066, the English crown had claimed authority over the church's recognition of papal authority, the admission of papal legates into the country, and the administration of episcopal synods.⁵

⁴See Lackner, *Eleventh-Century Background*, 83ff.

⁵ Cronne, *Reign of Stephen*, 117.

Although Henry I had granted the church a nominal right to freedom of election, the immense influence of the crown made it difficult for the English church to organize its own leadership. Under Henry of Winchester, the church was assured that any attempt at royal interference was met with formidable opposition. The church was also able to recognize and seek assistance from the pope in Rome. Perhaps the most definitive sign of Henry's success in securing these ecclesiastical liberties was Henry II's subsequent effort to re-establish a sense of royal control over the English church.⁶

Under the direct influence of Henry of Winchester, the English church attained an unprecedented degree of confidence and authority. In this respect, one can say that Henry was, indeed, a great ecclesiastic. His Cluniac education prepared him for an active career in church government, and he was undoubtedly one of the most influential prelates in twelfth-century England. Although he might not occupy a place as one of the English church's most ascetic reformers, his contribution to the liberty and autonomy of ecclesiastical government is profound.

⁶ For further discussion, see Amt, *Accession of Henry II*, 25-6.

Illustrations

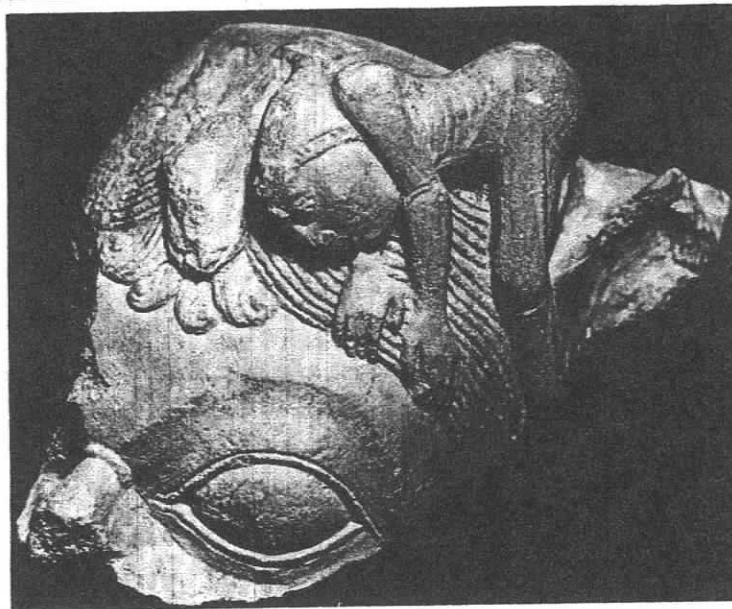


Fig. 1 Wolvesey Palace, Winchester, sculptural fragment



Fig. 2 Winchester Cathedral, Winchester, column capital showing centaurs and basilisks c. 1150-55



Fig. 3 Winchester Cathedral, column capital showing acrobats c. 1130-40



Fig. 4 Wolvesey Palace, fragment of door-jamb, c. 1140-50



Fig. 5 Abbey Church of St Denis, Paris, façade, fragment of colonette, c. 1140



Fig. 6 London, B.L. MS Cotton Nero C. IV, fol. 34, detail showing foliate border

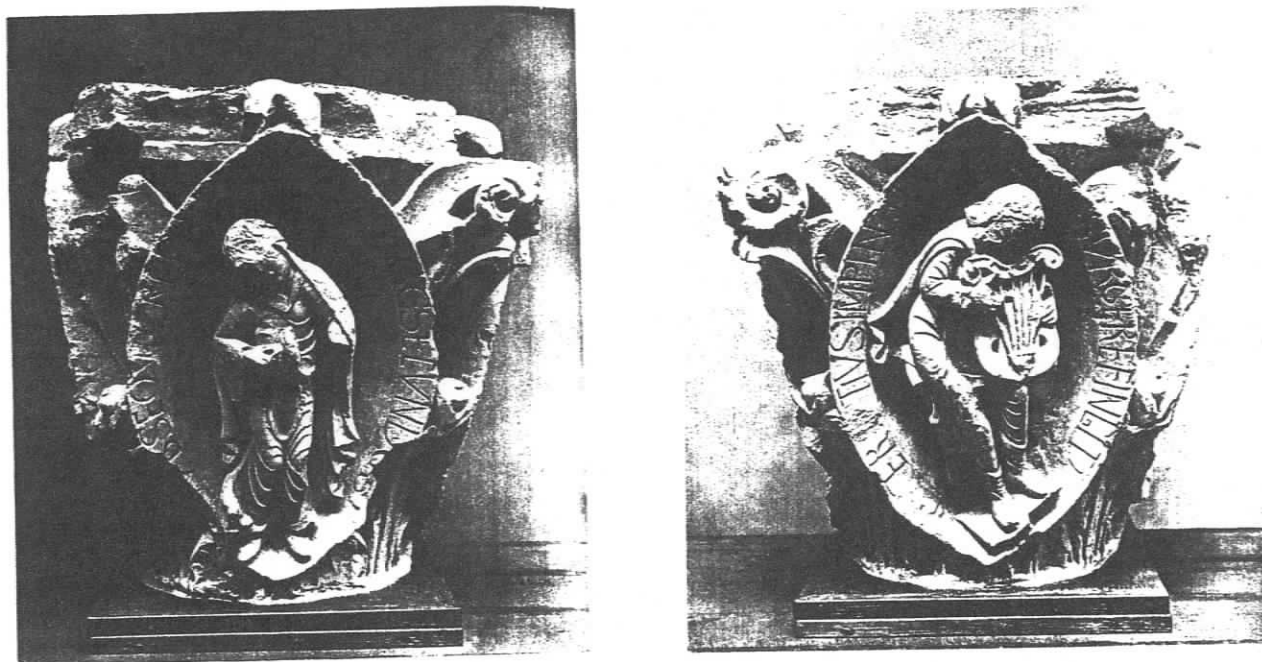


Fig. 7 Abbey Church of Cluny, Burgundy, ambulatory, column capitals depicting the plainsong



Fig. 8 Brout, Puy-de-Dôme, column capital



Fig. 9 Lewes Priory, Sussex, impost block, c. 1131

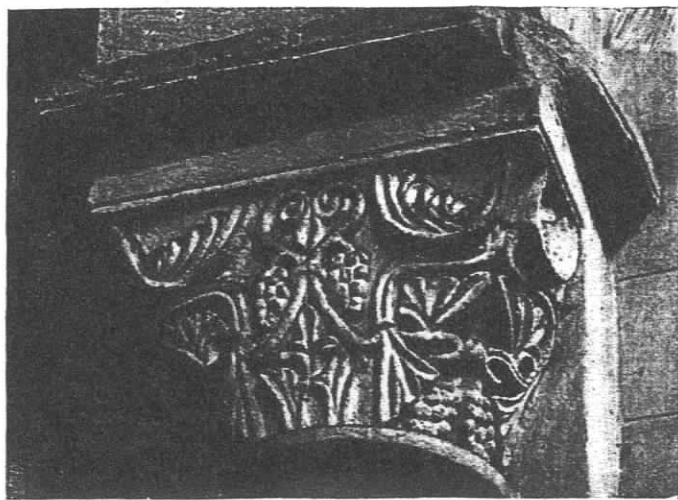


Fig. 10 Souvigny, Allier, column capital, c. 1064

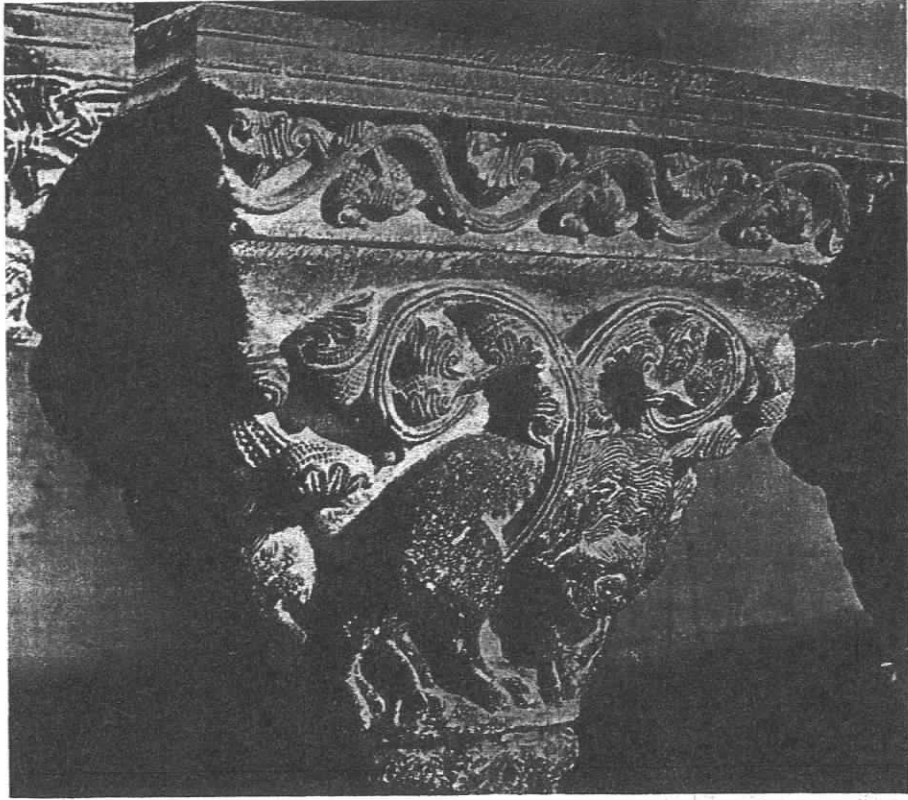


Fig. 11 Sainte-Marie-la-Daurade, Toulouse, cloister, column capital. c. 1130



Fig. 12 Glastonbury Abbey, Salisbury, cloister, column capital

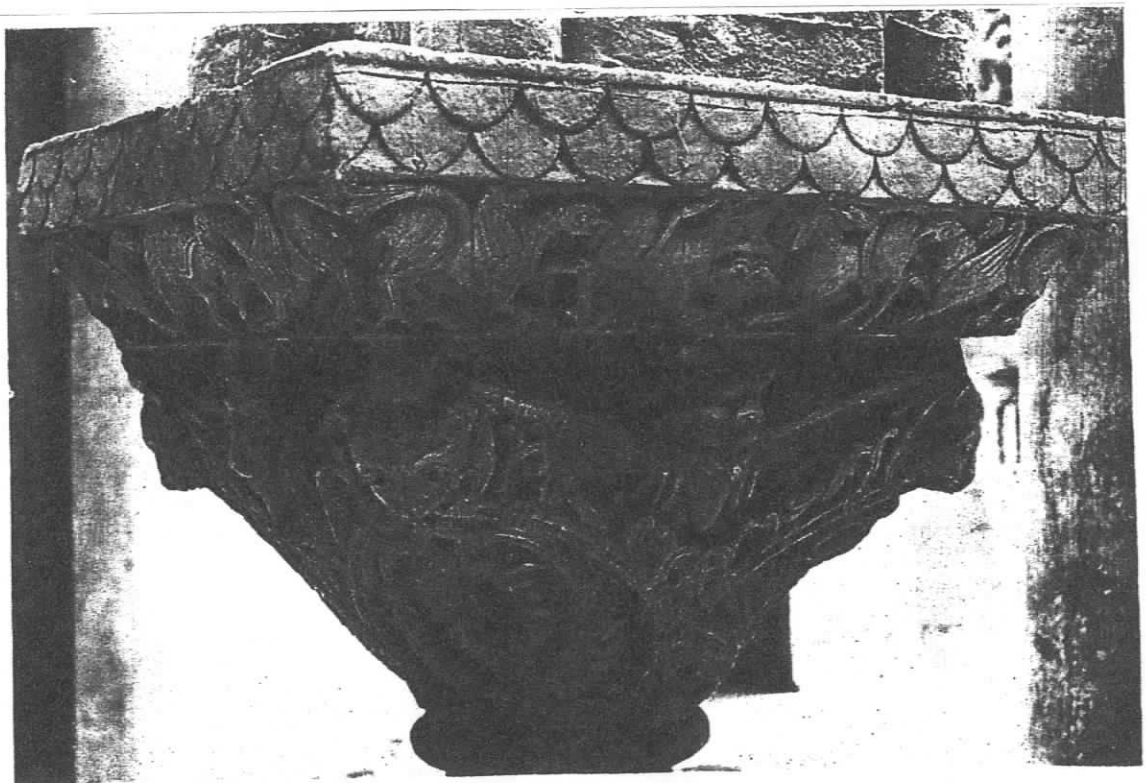
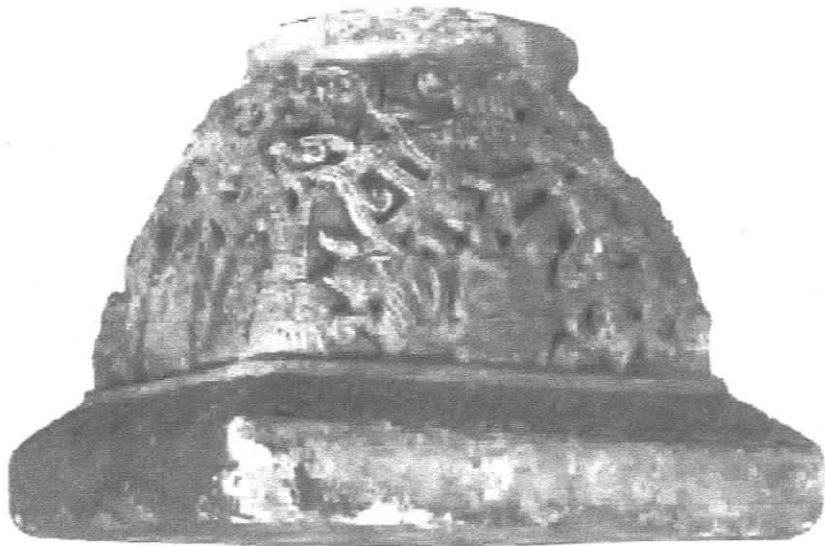


Fig. 13 Moissac, Tarn-et-Garonne, cloister, column capital, 1100

Fig. 15 Sainte-Marie-la-Daurade, cloister, column capital showing centaurs



Fig. 14 Reading Abbey, Berkshire, cloister, column capital, c. 1125



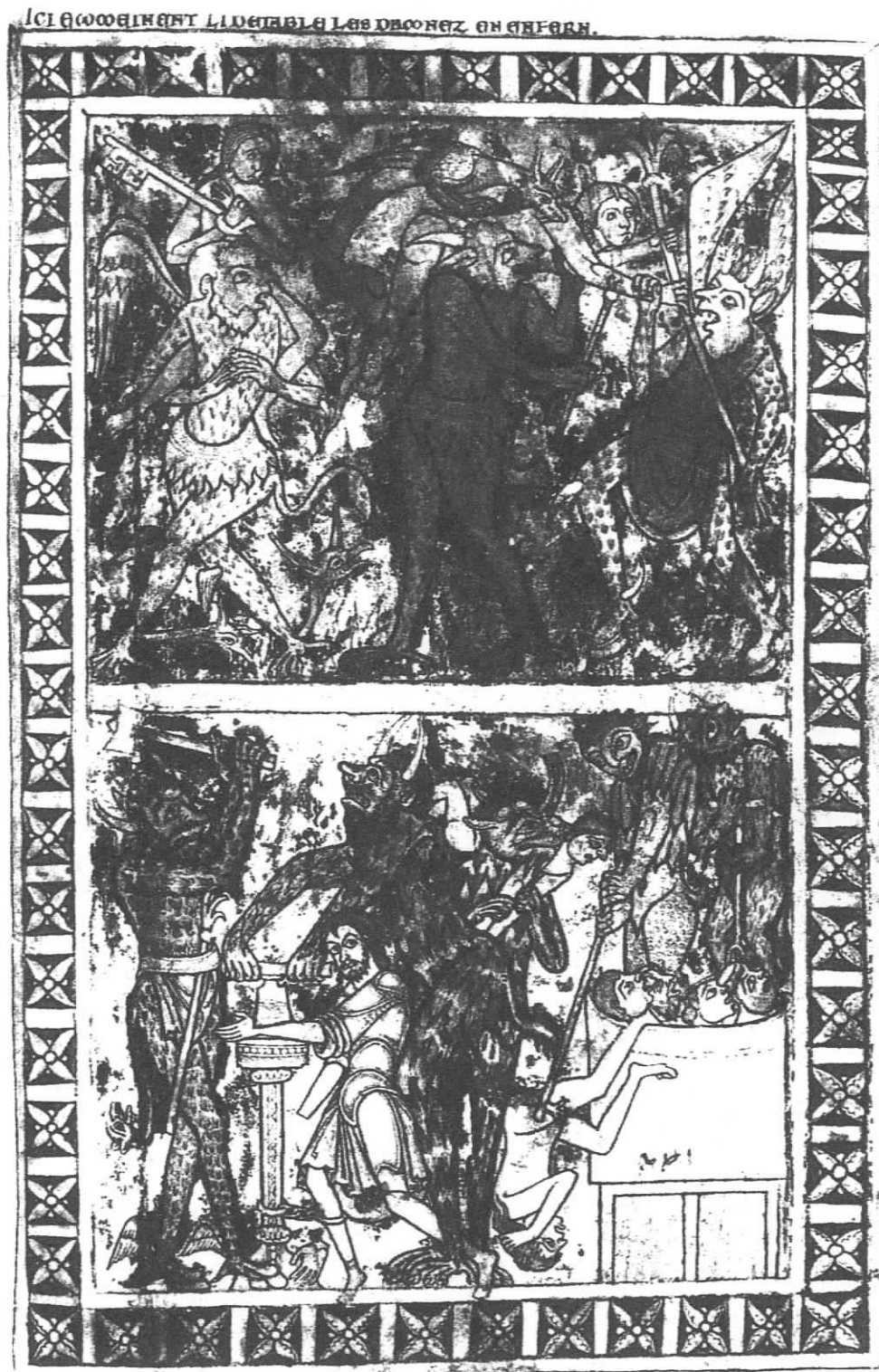


Fig. 16 London, B.L. MS Cotton Nero C. IV, fol. 38, Last Judgement Cycle depicting the Damned in Hell



Fig. 17 Winchester Cathedral, nave, Tournai marble font, c. 1150-60



Fig. 18 Winchester Cathedral, nave, Tournai marble font, detail of southern aspect, c. 1150-60



Fig. 19 East Meon Church, Hants, nave, Tournai marble font, c. 1150-60



Fig. 20 St Marybourne Church, Hants, nave, Tournai marble font, c. 1150-60



Fig. 21 St Michael's Church, Southampton. Tournai marble font. c. 1150-60



Fig. 22 Winchester Cathedral. column capitals showing seated figures. c. 1150



Fig. 23 Winchester Cathedral, triforium gallery, column capital showing sunken trefoil, c. 1150



Fig. 24 Winchester Cathedral, Holy Sepulchre Chapel, wall painting showing Christ in Majesty

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