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**The Life and Career of Bishop Bernard of St. David's
(1100-1148)**

By

Edward Charles Knight B.A., (Hons)

Submitted to the University of Wales in fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Swansea University

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Summary

In this work, Bishop Bernard's role in, and contribution to, ecclesiastical and political developments – both within and without his own diocese- will be examined in detail and in a more holistic way than hitherto attempted. Such a study, it is argued, reveals his to have been a significant role at a critical time not only for Anglo-Welsh relations but also for Anglo-Norman high politics and Church-State co-operation in the first half of the twelfth century – a formative period in all these areas. Whilst not a biography *strictu sensu*, an attempt is made to collect and interpret whatever extant body of sources exist for his life and actions.

Bishop Bernard of St David's (b.c.1070 d. 22 April 1148) appears from total obscurity to a life and career amongst the governing elite of twelfth century Anglo-Norman Britain lasting nearly half a century. For much of his time, 1119x1144 he can himself be counted as a member of that governing elite. By 1102 Bernard was a chaplain to King Henry I and in that year was made custodian of the see of Hereford. On the 25 December 1102 Bernard became chancellor to Henry's wife Matilda. Over the next twelve years they formed what was apparently an effective and close working relationship during which Bernard came into contact with Matilda's brother David, with whom Bernard was to develop long-term relations. After the 'White Ship' disaster of 1120, Bernard appears regularly and for sustained period of time, to be amongst Henry's leading courtiers and advisers. A re-evaluation of charter attestations and other evidence has shown Bernard to be even more at the centre of the Anglo-Norman court than has been previously imagined. Bernard also played an important diplomatic role on Henry's behalf, particularly representing the king at the papal court as well as escorting papal legates.

Consecrated bishop of St. David's on 18 September 1115, the first Anglo-Norman to hold the bishopric, Bernard's appointment was intimately connected with the growing influence of the crown within the diocese - Henry I having acquired the lordships of Pembroke and Carmarthen, both of which lay within Bernard's diocese. Bernard was to have close connections with Carmarthen in particular, establishing there an archdeaconry and an Augustinian priory. The pipe roll of 1131 hints that he may also have had, at some point after his election, a measure of administrative responsibility for the lordship. Bernard created his diocese with an unmistakable Norman influence, though with distinctive features, ones with diplomatic sensitivity to Welsh political and cultural boundaries. With the support of King Henry he was able to resist encroachment on his diocese by Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, despite papal support for his rival. Bernard oversaw a large expansion of the regular orders within his diocese and was personally responsible for the introduction of the Augustinians there and the Cistercians into Wales. During his episcopate, the Tironian order and the Knights of St. John were also introduced for the first time.

After the death of Henry I the Welsh resurgence severely limited English royal power in Wales. Initially Bernard maintained his focus and place of influence at the court of the new king Stephen. When Stephen and the earl of Chester came up with a plan for limiting the power of the princes of Gwynedd by creating a new bishopric in Powys they

asked Bernard to perform the consecration, but by 1140 this idea collapsed. At this time there was an increasing continuity of interest between Bernard, the Welsh princes under whose influence St. David's increasing fell, and the Empress Matilda who had returned to challenge Stephen for the throne of England. The newly Angevin Bernard reached an agreement with the Welsh princes who recognised his metropolitan status; this brought him into conflict with the pro-Stephen, Theobald of Canterbury. After the failure of the empress to gain control of England, Bernard devoted his last years, after 1144, to gain metropolitan status for his diocese but died before Eugenius III could pronounce a final verdict in the case.

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Dedication

*To my parents Philip and Barbara Knight,
for dedication deserves dedication.*

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NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

Full bibliographical details of all sources are given in the bibliography. References throughout the footnotes are by abbreviated title, with authors' or editors' names where relevant.

The following abbreviations are also used to refer to sources:

- Arch.Camb.* *The Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association.*
- AHR* *The American Historical Review*
- AC* *Annales Cambriae*, ed., J. Williams ab Ithel, RS 20 (London, 1860)
- ASC* *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, New Edition. ed. & trans., M. Swanton (London, 2000)
- Brut* *Brut y Tywysogyon* or *The Chronicle of the Princes* (Red Book of Hergest Version), ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955)
- BLLD* *Book of Llan Dav.* ed., J. G. Evans (Oxford, 1893)
- CDF* *Calendar of Documents preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. H. Round. vol.I, 918-1206 (London, 1899)
- CHJ* *Church History Journal*
- Chron. Battle* *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980)
- CQR* *Church Quarterly Review*
- Eadmer, HN* *Eadmer. Historia Novorum in Anglia.* ed., M. Rule, RS 81 (London, 1884)
- EHR* *The English Historical Review*
- Ep.Acts* *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to the Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, vols.i-ii, ed., J. Conway Davies (HSCW, 1946, 1948)
- GC* Geraldus Cambrensis. Gerald of Wales
- GC, De Jure* Giraldus Cambrensis, 'De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae', *Opera Omnia*, vol.iii, ed. J. S. Brewer, RS (1863).
- GW, De Invect.* Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Invectionibus*, ed. W. S. Davies, *Y Cymmrodor*, 30 (1920), pp.1-247

- Gilbert Foliot* Gilbert Foliot, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Z. N. Brooke, A. Morey, C. N. L. Brooke, (Cambridge, 1967)
- HH HA Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: the History of the English People*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996).
- HC Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066-1127*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom (Cambridge, 1990)
- HSCW Historical Society of the Church in Wales
- JBAA *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
- JW *The Chronicle of John of Worcester* 3 vols. ed. and trans. R. R. Darlington & J. P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998)
- JEH *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JHSCW *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*
- JWEH *The Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*,
- Mon. Ang.* Dugdale, W., *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol.iv, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel (London, 1846)
- NLWJ *The National Library of Wales Journal*
- OV Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica/The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-1980)
- P.R 31, Henry 1* *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1929)
- Rhigyfarch, *St.D* Rhigyfarch. *Life of St David*, ed. and trans., J. W. James (Cardiff, 1967)
- RHS Royal Historical Society
- RRAN *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* 1066-1154, 4 vols; vol.1: *The Acta of William 1, 1066-1087*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998); vol.2: *Regesta Henrici Primi*, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne; vol.3: *Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum, 1135-1154*, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913-69)
- RS Rolls Series

- St.D.Ep.A.*, *St. David's Episcopal Acta 1085-1280*, 13, ed. J. Barrow (South Wales Record Society Cardiff, 1998)
- TRHS* *Transactions of The Royal Historical Society*
- WM *GR* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, vol.i, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors; completed by R. M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998)
- WM *HN* William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter, Nelson Medieval Texts (1955)
- WHR* *Welsh History Review*

Introduction:

The History of Bishop Bernard

‘Were it not for the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis... little would be known of his own activity in this question, and still less about the preceding equally serious claim raised by Bishop Bernard of St. David’s’.¹ This quote is representative of the current state of scholarship concerning Bishop Bernard. He has most frequently been seen as Gerald’s predecessor in putting forward the case for the metropolitan status of his Welsh bishopric of Menevia, to which the Normans gave the name of St. David’s.

The metropolitan claim came to dominate Bernard’s last years and the pens of modern historians. This work will attempt to demonstrate that this was the culmination of nearly half a century of public life during a period that saw the creation of what Professor Davies has called ‘the First English Empire’.² Bernard as a major figure within the royal and ecclesiastical establishment was a central participant in what has been seen as the expansion of Anglo-Norman influence within the British Isles.

Evidence for the life and career of Bishop Bernard of St David’s is not, by the standards of any historical inquiry of the early to mid twelfth century, lacking. This work will show a man whose career was wide ranging and his influence strong - a man whose public career lasted half a century, most of which was spent at the

¹ M. Richter, ‘Professions of Obedience and the Metropolitan Claim of St. David’s’, *NLWJ*, 15 (1967-68), p.197.

² Davies, R. R. *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000).

forefront of the issues of his day. This evidence will come from charters, both royal and episcopal, from the chronicles of Bernard's day and other mediaeval historians, as well as evidence from the research of modern historians. Bishop Bernard has not been left out of the modern historical record. There will be little in the way of new revelations from unpublished evidence, turning previous historical interpretation on its head. Rather, the originality of this research will be found in its focus and interpretation of the evidence which has never been holistically focused upon by historians, so that a unified picture of Bernard's life and actions, their motivations and importance, can be formed and interpreted. In a specifically Welsh context, historians have most often seen Bernard through the evidence of Gerald of Wales in relation to Bernard's wish to create a Metropolitan Church in Wales centred on St. David's. This has led to a distorted view of Bernard in the minds of many as 'the bishop that went native'. A full reading of this work will show that nothing could be further from the truth than this. When Bernard acted in Wales his motives for doing so lay not in a sentimental attachment to his diocese, but in the wider context of Anglo-Norman politics, which was his primary concern and the sphere of his actions throughout his career. In Bernard, we have to deal with hard-nosed *curialis*, churchman, and diplomat since the source of power lay not in his diocese but in his close and trusted relationships with Henry I, his family, his heirs and successors. These relationships allowed Bernard to move amongst the most powerful men and women of his day and eventually to become one of them himself. This introduction will show many of the elements that made Bernard one of the greatest men in the Anglo-Norman realm of his day. They have attracted comment from mediaeval chroniclers and modern historians. But nowhere have these disparate pieces of the

jigsaw been brought together, linked, extended and reinterpreted, to create a focused picture of a man whose historical significance has yet to be fully appreciated.

A royal *curialis* first appearing in the records in 1102 as custodian of the see of Hereford, Bernard went on to become chancellor to Queen Matilda from 1102-1115, and then bishop of St. David's from 1115-1148.³ It is from the range and number of his attestations to the charters of five royals - Henry I (1100-35), Queen Matilda (1101-1118), Queen Adeliza (1121-1151), Stephen (1135-53) and the Empress Matilda (1140-44) - that it is possible to see that Bernard maintained his connections with the court. Under Henry I he was a member of the pre-eminent political group, losing his influence with Stephen only because of his adherence to the cause of the empress. Bernard was also involved in some of the greatest religious controversies of his age, playing an active part in the sometimes vitriolic discussions surrounding the introduction of the feast that became that of the Immaculate Conception. He also became embroiled in a long running dispute with the diocese of Landaff over the boundaries of their respective dioceses, and all this before becoming embarking upon his own metropolitan dispute. Bernard had previously taken a leading role in prosecuting Canterbury's claim for primacy over the archbishopric of York - an action he later came to regret.

Bernard's place in Welsh history is no less significant. Bernard is vilified by the author of the *Brut* at the start of his episcopate, and lauded at its end.⁴ In between-

³ *CDF*, no.1138, pp.408-409. In this charter of William fitz Baderon to the abbey of St. Florent at Saumur, there is a specific reference to Bernard as custodian of the see of Hereford.

⁴ *Brut*, p.83, 127.

times, he had remodelled the *clas* of St. David's into a continental style cathedral chapter, established its diocesan boundaries, and sensitively combined the traditions and practices of his Welsh diocese and clergy into the identity of the 'new' Anglo-Norman diocese. This allowed his successors as bishops of St. David's to use their traditional Welsh title of Menevia concurrently with that of St. David's, whereas during Bernard's episcopate there were clear demarcations between the two. The coming of the Normans brought about what amounted to a Norman re-foundation of Bernard's see. The struggle to unify Welsh and Norman visions constitutes one of Bernard's greatest achievements and will be looked at in some detail during this study.

Even a brief outline of the many and varied elements and issues which constitute the career of Bishop Bernard demonstrates that he is much more than merely the first campaigner for the metropolitan status of St. David's, and a historical source for Gerald's later unsuccessful campaign of 1198-1203. This study of Bernard will attempt to place him within the political and ecclesiastical worlds of the first half of the twelfth century. It is with this matter which has so dominated it that one may reflect upon the historiography of my subject matter.

Bernard's birth circa 1070, would make him around thirty when given custody of the see of Hereford, and in his late seventies at the time of his death. It can therefore be said that modern scholarship takes most notice of Bernard when he is already an old man. Bernard is most likely to be found in discussions surrounding the metropolitan claim of St. David's and on works concerning the life and writing of Gerald of Wales. Much of this work emanates from the revival of interest in Gerald

surrounding the seven hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death with notable contributions from Richter, Walker, and Bartlett.⁵ Of these it is Richter who has contributed most to our understanding of Bernard's metropolitan claim, particularly in his articles on professions of obedience and the first stage of Bernard's opposition to Canterbury's primacy over St. David's. The central place of professions of obedience in identifying the identity and status of St. David's, as distinct from the native Menevian tradition, is undeniable. Richter's work has been very useful, particularly in comparing the differing terminologies used by Bernard and his successors and in generating ideas concerning the multiple identities of Bernard's diocese.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Richter's original intention was to set up 'the situation on the eve of Giraldus Cambrensis election and the struggle for the see of St. David's'.⁶ The primary focus of this present work and that of Richter do not coincide, but a work designed to argue in one area can frequently throw light upon another. In this respect, Richter's work is valuable. Richter does focus more centrally on Bernard in his work 'Canterbury's Primacy and the First Stage of Bishop Bernard's Opposition'. This insightful piece concerns Bernard's role in the Canterbury/York dispute of 1123 and the subsequent events, including the chapter of St. David's letter to Honorius II (1124-1130), and some of the native Welsh ecclesiastical sources such as Rhigyfarch's *Life of St.*

⁵ Richter, 'Professions of Obedience'; M. Richter, 'Gerald of Wales: A Reassessment on the 750th Anniversary of his Death', *Traditio*, 29 (1973), pp.379-90; 'Canterbury's Primacy in Wales and the First Stage of Bishop Bernard's Opposition', *JEH*, 22 (1971), pp.177-189 and 'Giraldus Cambrensis, The Growth of the Welsh Nation', *NLWJ*, 16 (1969-70) pp.193-252, 17 (1971-1972), pp.1-50. D. Walker, 'Gerald of Wales: A review of Recent Work', *JHSCW*, 24 (1974), pp.13-26 and 'Gerald of Wales, archdeacon of Brecon', *Links with the Past, Swansea and Brecon Historical Essays*, (Llandybie, 1974), pp.67-87; R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982).

⁶ Richter, 'Professions of Obedience,' p.212

David. It is a welcome relief to find a work that primarily focuses on Bernard's claim rather than the later claim of Giraldus. Richter's work does not however fully explain Bernard's role in the Canterbury/York dispute, nor the genesis of Bernard's metropolitan claim. It is the intention of this work to examine the validity of Richter's argument in order to gain a better understanding of events which were vital to the amalgamation of Welsh tradition and the Norman church and Bernard's subsequent metropolitan claims.

It follows that the letter to Honorius II from the '*conventus*' of St. David's concerning their church's rights is a vital piece of evidence.⁷ It will therefore be necessary to examine its nature and validity very carefully. Brooke and Richter accept it as genuine. Barrow, in the introduction to her edition of the *St. David's Episcopal Acta 1085-1280* calls this into question. It has many parallels in a letter contained within Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, [iv.19] written 1136-8, to which she asserts - probably correctly - members of the St. David's chapter would have had access shortly after its completion. 'Geoffrey's writing spurred Welsh clerics to think about the possibility of an archbishopric for Wales and to draft a letter on the subject, probably as a literary exercise rather than a forgery'.⁸ If Barrow were correct it would significantly alter both the letter's context and significance. Her claims will therefore need to be thoroughly examined.

Walker has also examined Bernard within the context of Gerald's claim and there is a clear and concise exegesis of Bernard's claim in his article on Giraldus in *Links*

⁷ GW, *De Invect.* pp.143-146

⁸ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.4.

with the Past Swansea & Brecon Historical Essays.⁹ Walker also provides some thoughtful comments on Richter's work in his assessment of studies devoted to the archdeacon.¹⁰ He illustrates the limitation of current work on Bernard when he compliments Richter on being 'concerned with the structure of the whole iceberg of which Gerald is the tip'.¹¹ The present author, concerned with the study of Bernard's whole documented history, has to examine as far as is possible, the full dimensions of this iceberg. For as long as Bernard and his achievements remain inexorably linked to the claims of Giraldus Cambrensis, the history of the events of Bernard's life will be seen as an adjunct to the work of Gerald with inevitable distortion.

This does no justice to the extent of Bernard's achievements outside his metropolitan ambitions. Nor does a concentration on Gerald allow us to examine objectively Bernard's reasons for prosecuting his metropolitan claim. For Gerald, Bernard's reasons for advancing his metropolitan claims mirror his own quest for independence from Canterbury and royal control, and his attempt to improve the status of the diocese in order to make it sufficiently dignified. Historians are legitimately interested in the work of Gerald but have for too long broadly accepted these reasons. One of the primary purposes of this work is to remove Bernard from his historical position as context for Gerald and to place him where he should be a figure of significant historical interest in his own right. Gerald remains an important historical source for the life of Bernard but the similarities, which their careers display in one respect, should not dominate historical work on either cleric.

⁹ Walker 'Gerald of Wales, Archdeacon of Brecon', pp.77-8.

¹⁰ Walker, 'Gerald of Wales: A Review of Recent Work', pp.16-22

¹¹ *ibid.* p.16.

Sir John Edward Lloyd was really the first modern historian to pay any significant attention to the actions of Bishop Bernard. Having said this, any twelfth-century Norman bishop would be far from central to Lloyd's academic concerns. His work stemmed from the late nineteenth-century revival in Welsh national identity and culture. This is reflected in his concentration on native Welsh dynastic politics, and resistance to Norman and later English domination along with his interest in the assimilation of the Norman infiltrators into the scene of Welsh politics and culture. It was perhaps inevitable then that Lloyd's focus should lie at the high point of Welsh self-government and power under the princes of Wales in the thirteenth century. It is also no surprise that when he mentions Bishop Bernard, it is in the Geraldine context of the bishop that went native and pursued the pallium of the independent Welsh church. This focus is entirely understandable, given that it both readily fits in with the intellectual drive of Lloyd's work, and the empirical emphasis of the historical-critical methodology of his day.

If Lloyd is helpful, he is foundational in highlighting the significance and necessity of studying the mediaeval history of Wales; the respect, even reverence this has rightly inspired in his successors, has been unhelpful in perpetuating a vision of Bernard as the bishop persuaded in his time by the same unified vision of national culture and spiritual unity that inspired him. Therefore further study of Bernard's contribution to history has continued to be seen through a Geraldine prism. Lloyd in his classic *History of Wales* comments on the following subjects: Bernard's origins as chancellor of Queen Matilda, Bernard's involvement with the papal legate in 1121, his accompanying Archbishop William de Corbeil to Rome in 1123, his involvement in the Llandaff dispute, and his allegiance to the empress in the Civil

War. All of these issues Lloyd follows up in no great detail and certainly does not recognise the full significance of Bernard's role in the court of Henry I, nor the links between Bernard's allegiance to the empress and his metropolitan dispute, but at least there is some mention of Bernard's political significance outside Wales for others to follow up.¹² *A History of Carmarthenshire*, also covers Bernard's foundation of the Augustinian priory at Carmarthen in some detail.¹³

Some of the most important work on Bernard was that of W. S. Davies early in the twentieth century.¹⁴ The 'Materials for the life of Bishop Bernard of St. David's', should more accurately be called 'Gerald of Wales on Bishop Bernard of St. David's'. The focus of this article is therefore unsurprisingly the metropolitan dispute. By this consequence it misses out huge chunks of Bernard's life and career, which are necessary to create an accurate picture of both. In itself it is not a very useful source for our purposes here, as what is useful within it is treated at greater length in the same author's vital translation of *De Invectionibus*. It does however deserve credit as the first genuine attempt at a modern academic exegesis of Bernard's life and significance to historians of mediaeval Wales and the Church in the twelfth century, however limited, inaccurate and single-sourced the picture presented is. This in turn provides more detailed evidence concerning the metropolitan claim of Bernard, which only appears in Gerald's' work. For this reason, Davies' version of *De Invectionibus* is the version that is used here. In both

¹² J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian conquest*, 2 vols, 3rd edn., (London, 1939), vol.i. p.207; vol.ii. pp.432, 453-4, 478, 480-482, 485, 593.

¹³ *A History of Carmarthenshire*, ed. J. E. Lloyd 2 vols (Cardiff, 1935, 39), vol.1, pp.137, 138

¹⁴ 'Materials for the Life of Bishop Bernard of St. David's', *Arch. Camb.*, 19, 6th Series (1919), pp.299-322; 'De Invectionibus', *Y Cymmrodor*. Vol.30 (1920), pp.1-247

the 1919 article and the introduction to *De Invectionibus* he criticises the Rolls Series edition of Gerald's works.¹⁵ He asserts that, 'our knowledge of the chief events of Bernard's life rests mainly upon allusions in the writing of Giraldus Cambrensis and upon these letters connected with the St. David's controversy which Giraldus has preserved'.¹⁶ Granted, Davies did not have the advantage of the many editions and collections of material which scholarship in the intervening eighty years has provided for the use of historians and which will form the bedrock of the interpretations contained in this work. However there were sufficient manuscripts and other evidence published (notably in the Rolls Series) to have prevented any historian of Davies' period wishing to pursue an holistic investigation into the life and activities of Bernard forming this dislocated conclusion. This study has never been fully undertaken. It is the defining purpose of this work to undertake such research. Historians justifiably regard much of the Rolls Series as having been superseded, but at the time Davies was writing it provided versions of authors such as William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Eadmer, sources which will prove central to the argument advanced here.

Bernard's importance as a historical figure in his own right has been emphasised by his appearance in a number of significant general works concerning the history of Wales and the church. These works provide the wider context within which a full-length study of Bernard can be placed. Two significant examples of this type of work are Brett's *The English Church under Henry I* and R. R. Davies' *The Age of Conquest*. Brett's work has fifteen separate entries concerning Bernard ranging

¹⁵ *ibid.* pp.2, 3 and in Davies, 'Materials', pp.304-5.

¹⁶ *ibid.* p.305.

from the metropolitan claim in the reign of Henry I, royal patronage, to Bernard's frequent trips to Rome - both in connection with his case with Llandaff and with the Canterbury-York dispute. Bernard's political role as both a royal ambassador and executor is also mentioned.¹⁷ Of the seventy-nine bishops mentioned in this seminal work, Bernard ranks sixteenth, in terms of the number of entries and page-base in which Bernard forms part of the narrative, which is within the top quartile. This places Bernard within the group that can be regarded as the most significant bishops of his era. He is, for example, only two places below Lanfranc, and amongst bishops with historically much more important dioceses for the history of the church in England as a whole, such as Canterbury, York, and Winchester. It is also significant to note that Bernard has as many entries as Gerald. From this, two conclusions can be drawn. The first, that Bernard was a significant enough figure to be of interest to those studying or researching the church and state of Henry I. Second, that there is sufficient evidence of his activities to allow historians to form an opinion as to his activities and importance, although Brett's work ends in 1135 and therefore Bernard's activities under Stephen are not covered.

For historians of twelfth-century Wales, Bernard is also seen as an illustrative and important figure. Davies's consummate exegesis on medieval Welsh history, *The Age of Conquest*, provides ample illustration of this fact. Amongst the thirty-two bishops commented upon, Bernard ranks second, behind only John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury (1279-1292).¹⁸ The issues covered within these entries are,

¹⁷ M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), pp.30, 41, 50, 52, 55, 62, 81, 107, 120, 131, 160, 225, 239-41, 243, 245.

¹⁸ R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987), pp.15, 41, 174, 179-180, 182-185, 190-191, 192-196.

again, wide-ranging. Bernard is quoted regarding the distinctness of the Welsh, mentioned in connection with Henry I, actions concerning the expansion of the Normans, and others, into Wales, his role as bishop of St. David's, as well as the metropolitan claim.

These two historians are able to see beyond the scope of the writings of Gerald of Wales, when assessing the role and significance of Bernard, and the breadth of issues with which he was involved. Bernard has also appeared in studies of other contemporary bishops, such as Roger of Salisbury and Thurstan of York, as Bernard at times played a notable part in the lives of these two bishops especially in the Canterbury – York dispute with regard to Thurstan and appearing alongside Salisbury in the 1129 Westminster dispute as well as co-attestors in many charters.¹⁹ From their different perspectives the work of scholars such as Davies and Brett has provided, in outline, a picture of Bernard as a figure with greater historical significance than has previously been recognised. Before embarking upon this study, it may be useful for the reader, if some of the other source material, which will form the backbone of this work, is examined.

SOURCES

The largest single collection of sources concerning the medieval diocese of St. David's is contained within *Episcopal Acts*, edited by J. Conway Davies.²⁰ The two published volumes, the first of which contains material for St. David's, are so useful that it is a matter of regret that the expected third volume (Bangor and St. Asaph)

¹⁹ D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 1114-1140* (York, 1964); E. J. Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury, Viceroy of England* (Los Angeles, 1972)

²⁰ *Ep. Acts*

was never published. The age of the work means that for many of the documentary extracts, there are newer editions, but the scholarship is still of sufficient quality to allow frequent use. *Episcopal Acts* was a vital and invaluable asset in the construction of this work. There are many references to this collection contained within it. It was also the springboard for further research, and pointed out the need to obtain the original sources quoted in this collection, or when needed more modern additions of these sources. As a starting point for the historical context of the surviving documents it is second to none. The introduction to the work also proved invaluable, contextualising the sources contained within the collection and offering considered, if not always accurate, opinions as to their historical significance. It put many of the building blocks in the wall of my historical argument. When it came to putting the cement in to hold the wall up to historical scrutiny its conclusions are lacking. Used in conjunction with the newer versions of the text, it remains a most indispensable source.

Of Anglo-Norman chronicles, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, John of Worcester, Hugh the Cantor, Eadmer, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, all contain valuable insights into Bernard's life and career – though in varying degrees of usefulness. The versions used in this work are nearly all where possible recent editions. As a whole, the number of direct references to Bernard in these works is few, but they are of contextual value.

William of Malmesbury has two direct references to Bernard, first concerning his search for the body of St. David, the second as a witness to the charter of King Henry concerning the monks of Gloucester. Malmesbury's value lies in his effective setting

of the context of Henry's reign. He is especially useful, in his comments about Queen Matilda [1100-1118], in whose service Bernard had spent many years. Indeed, Matilda was a patron of William of Malmesbury and encouraged him in the writing of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.²¹

Henry of Huntingdon contains one of the most intriguing references to Bernard, which suggests he may have succeeded for a short time in his archiepiscopal claims.²² Bernard also appears in Henry's comments concerning the council of London 1132-1133. John of Worcester passes a number of useful comments, concerning the early period of Bernard's period as bishop of St. David's. Although, as with any source, he is best used in conjunction with others, as there is often a lack of detail in his commentary. For example, in 1123, John states that William de Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury, travelled to Rome to receive the pallium. It is also there that Thurstan's claim of independence for York is resolved. Thurstan and Bernard, we are told, accompanied William to Rome, yet Hugh the Cantor states that Bernard was the only bishop to accompany William and that 'our archbishop [Thurstan] arrived in Rome three days before him (William)'.²³

Hugh himself is a very valuable source, especially concerning Bernard's role in the Canterbury-York dispute, which may well have been what led to the germination in Bernard's mind of the possibility of metropolitan status for his own diocese. The

²¹ L. L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Mediaeval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), p.3; *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, 2 vols, ed. and trans., R. A. B. Mynors; completed by R. M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), also *WM HN*.

²² *HH HA*, p.19.

²³ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 3 vols, ed. and trans., R. R. Darlington & J. P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998), pp.152-155; *HC*, p.189.

differences in translation between the extracts of Hugh the Cantor contained in J. Conway Davies, and in the Oxford version of the text will be discussed with regard to Bernard's legal role in the Canterbury-York dispute in this work.²⁴ It serves as a reminder that the translation of a text can lead to differing interpretations of the event, which the source is designed to illustrate. Any conclusions about the events of Bernard's life must, wherever possible, not be drawn from a single source, further demonstrating the shortcomings of drawing conclusions solely from Gerald of Wales.

Eadmer is a particularly useful source on Bernard and his actions during the early years of his episcopate between 1115 and 1121. This is a period we know relatively little about Bernard's actions and responsibilities. Bernard's absence from available sources between 1116 and 1119 is most probably explained by the likelihood that he was in his diocese away from the notice of the chroniclers and not attesting royal charters. The only evidence for this is that it is plausible that the earliest of Bernard's Episcopal acta occur during this period.²⁵ The years following 1121 Bernard appears far more frequently in a wide variety of historical sources. Eadmer is the only source to comment in detail on Bernard's consecration. He also relays the presence of the queen at the ceremony. He writes favourably of Bernard's character and also relates at some depth the dispute that Bernard's consecration occasioned between King Henry I and Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury. Other incidences where Eadmer includes Bernard in his writings are equally notable such as Bernard's attendance at four episcopal consecrations between 26 December 1115 and 13 March

²⁴ See below, Chapter 4, pp.174-192; HC, pp.188-189; HC, vol.ii, pp.201-204 in *Ep.Acts*, D.57.

²⁵ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.17, pp.46-47

1121. This shows Bernard acting perfectly happily as a suffragan of Canterbury. Eadmer's last mention of Bernard records the beginning of latter's long association with the papal curia, when in 1121 he heads the delegation sent to France to accompany the papal legate Peter to England.²⁶

Versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle provide some useful, if incidental, information surrounding Bernard's role in the election of William de Corbeil and to the consecration of the new Minster at Canterbury in 1130.²⁷ The Chronicle provides general insights into the traditions of England and Wales before the coming of the Normans, upon which the claims of both the Anglo-Norman kings and church were based, as well as material for the Norman period. Swanton's recent translation has two advantages; first, its modernity, and second, it contains and specifies translations from the many different manuscript versions.

Of the Welsh sources, independent of Gerald of Wales, three works stand out as essential for an understanding of the context and events of Bishop Bernard's career and achievements. Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*, which can legitimately be seen as not just a hagiography, is a work which scripted a large part of the tradition which formed Bishop Bernard's claim for metropolitan status. It is an important work for understanding the traditions of the native Welsh diocese of Menevia which underpinned the frequently formal and legalistic arguments surrounding the metropolitan claim. In order to get as close as is possible to the text which Bernard would have known, the edition by James will be used: 'our earliest texts date from

²⁶ Eadmer, *HN*, pp.235-237, 255, 291, 293-295.

²⁷ *ASC*, pp.252, 260

1150, derived from two copies of the text owned by Bernard'.²⁸ Given the centrality of this text to Bernard's ambitions, the closer we can get to its original version, the better.

The *Brut y Tywysgyon*, or 'Chronicle of the Princes', is the main narrative source of evidence available which covers pre-Conquest Wales. It covers the period from 683 to 1282 and was probably begun at St David's around the ninth century. The lost Latin chronicle that lies behind the Welsh translations clearly has some relationship to the *Annales* and to the *Chronica de Wallia*. Thomas Jones proposed, quite reasonably, that the author of the (lost) Latin chronicle wrote at the end of the thirteenth century and that it was probably intended as a continuation to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* of 1136 which took the story up to the death of Cadwaladr. It may be that the chronicle in its later stages was composed at Strata Florida but that the earliest annals were written up at St. David's. Jones edited and translated the representative texts of the three main recensions. These differ little in their content, but it may be necessary to consult more than one version for the purposes of comparison. The text most frequently referred to here will be the Red Book of Hergest version which is cited throughout and any deviances will be cited in footnotes.

The third source is the *Annales Cambriae*.²⁹ This compilation provides information from AD 444 to 1288, although its entries before the coming of the Normans are generally brief. The *Annales*, nevertheless, provide some useful information on the

²⁸ Rhigyfarch, *St.D.*, p.vii.

²⁹ ed. J. Williams ab Ithel, RS 20 (London, 1860)

pre-Norman church of Menevia, for example deaths of bishops and the numerous attacks on St. David's by Norse raiders. It also brings us closer to the historical tradition within the church of St. David's, given that the *Annales* were at least in part written there, and had a bias towards events in the diocese. Hughes provided a useful commentary on this source in her published British Academy Lecture of 1973.³⁰

One of the main sources of information regarding the life and activities of Bernard are the many extant documents, i.e. charters, letters, and grants which have been normally preserved in the archives of their recipients, chief among these are the royal acta. Bernard witnessed the charters of King Henry I and Queen Matilda, King Stephen, and the Empress Matilda. For these the major source is *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normanorum* particularly volumes II and III, which deal with the reigns of Henry I and Stephen.³¹ These will form the foundation of much of the work on charters contained in this work. The information contained within the *Regesta* has, at times, proved to be inaccurate or limited. An example of this is an attestation made by Bernard to a charter of Queen Matilda to Aldgate priory. The version in the *Regesta* did not include Bernard's signature.³² However the Cartulary of Aldgate, contains a version of the text which does include Bernard's attestation.³³

A major help to the completion of this work is the collection of the surviving acta of Bernard, within the *St. David's Episcopal Acta, 1085-1280*. This, along with the

³⁰ K. Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and Related Texts', Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 59 (Oxford, 1973).

³¹ *RRAN*

³² *RRAN*, 2, no.906

³³ *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. G. A. J. Hodgett (London Record Society, 7; 1971), D4, p.1, pp.224-225

English Episcopal Acta Series, provides a modern and easily accessible reference point to the surviving episcopal records, without which, access to some important research material would have proved difficult. Particularly useful has been Barrow's guidance on the authenticity or otherwise of particular documents. On the whole, the collections have made scholarship in this area more feasible, and have been a major reason why this current work was begun.

An accurate understanding of charters that relate to Bernard is of great importance. Surviving charters can provide information about Bernard's movements, his associates, provide dating evidence for the major changes in his career; they are a guide to the extent of his political influence, his actions as bishop, and his relationships with other major institutions and figures. They also provides the starting point for further research as in the discussions surrounding Bernard's use of '*antistes*' in some of his episcopal charters. It is important to state that only one of Bernard's known/extant charters is original [No.11].³⁴

Information on Bernard's early life has proved surprisingly elusive. His date of birth must remain an estimation, based on the date of the earliest reference available, namely his attestation to a charter of the lord of Monmouth whose contents were summarised by Round in his *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*.³⁵ Little substantial work has been done on Bernard in the period before he became bishop of

³⁴ *St.D.Ep.A.*, pp.19-20. Barrow states that of the 123 surviving texts included in her Acta between 1085 and 1280 only a small proportion, 28 out of 123 surviving texts are original. Of these, 8 are professions of obedience. As a comparison, in the corresponding volume for Llandaff, 55 out of 118 are original. The 'Bernard original' is the only survivor from the eleventh and twelfth centuries from St. David's Acta excluding professions of obedience.

³⁵ *CDF*, pp.408-409.

St. David's. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the conclusions presented here spark more of an interest in this area of Bernard's life, in which he formed many of the abilities and opinions which were to inform his actions as a bishop.

The format of this study will be six themed chapters, covering the major issues within Bernard's life and career, arranged in broad chronological order. This structure is designed to give a view of the life and career of Bernard, Bishop of St. David's which does not stem from one incident of his time as bishop. This will be achieved by examining Bernard in the context of both his career as a whole and the people, ideas, and identities that shaped his career, both within his own lifetime, and those traditions which both preceded his time as bishop, as well as the context in which Bernard was placed by writers, notably Gerald of Wales, after Bernard's death. The final aim of the work is to produce a view of Bernard's life, career, and historical importance that is more complete, and rounded, than any that it has been possible to previously produce.

In chapter one the following issues will be examined. The changing ideas within the English church and the church as a whole. The position of the accommodation between the royal control of the church and ecclesiastical independence, the governmental and ecclesiastical consequences of Norman expansion into Wales, and the reasons why this led to Bernard becoming bishop of St David's. Also included will be Bernard's work as chancellor to Queen Matilda and a comparison of Bernard's career to that of some of his fellow royal clerks who became bishops, such as Roger of Salisbury, Thurstan of York, and Waldric of Laon. Chapter two will examine the identity of Bernard's bishopric on his arrival and why Bernard was sent

to Wales, the political situation then appertaining in Wales at the time of Bernard's appointment and how this affected Bernard and evidence that Bernard's high favour with the king led him to be trusted with the king's honour of Carmarthen. There will also be a re-examination of the evidence surrounding Bernard's boundary dispute with the Bishop of Llandaff to discover whether this favour was the deciding factor in making sure that Bernard won the dispute. Chapter three examines Bernard's actions as bishop, his reform of the Church of St. David's and his relations with the native Welsh, his grants to English monasteries and his role as a monastic patron within Wales. There will be an investigation into some of the charges levelled against Bernard as bishop; nepotism, alienation of church property, and always seeking to leave his welsh diocese and also how Bernard and others use nomenclature such as '*antistes*' to define and amalgamate the traditions of his diocese.

Chapter Four deals with Bernard's continuing political role as a royal servant, his attestation to royal charters and participation in legal cases, his role within the Canterbury-York dispute, his position as a royal ambassador to Rome, and his attendance at papal councils. Bernard's part in the 'Westminster dispute' of 1129 will be used to demonstrate his central role as a familiar of Henry I. Chapter five discusses Bernard's role in the civil war between Stephen and Matilda and finally chapter six will examine the traditions surrounding the metropolitan claim of St. David's and the evidence of the litigation between Bernard and Theobald.

Learning To Play With Fire:

From Court Clerk to King's Bishop, 1100-1115

‘A king is like a fire - if you are too close, you burn; if you are too far away, you freeze’.¹ Petrus Alfonsi, Henry I’s doctor, was clearly in good position to evaluate the nature of twelfth-century kingship. Bernard the royal clerk, who was to become bishop of St. David’s in 1115, is an example of a man who, at least while Henry I’s fire of patronage and protection burnt bright, established his position on the royal hearth, just about perfectly. The simile is all the more vivid because in the twelfth century, the fire would have been source of heat, food, much industrial activity, indeed the centre of life and work for rich and poor alike. Henry I and his first queen, Matilda were, in the early years of the twelfth century to their court the personification of fire: their patronage meant position and income. This was especially true of the section of society from which Bernard sprang, which has been characterised as representing Henry’s ‘new men’. They were not aristocrats with established land and title, but useful men, able men, men whose suffixes reflected entirely upon the king’s patronage rather than their own birth. The most discussed example of this system of patronage was Roger of Salisbury, Henry’s ‘foremost administrator’ for much of the reign.² Such a man, too, was Bernard of St. David’s, one of the types of men that the aristocratic chronicler Orderic Vitalis probably had in mind when he stated that Henry had such men ‘raised from the dust and placed

¹ R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), p.28, quoting Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina Clericalis* 26, ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm, (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 38/iv; Helsinki 1911) p.36.

² C. W. Hollister, *Henry I* (Yale, 2001), p.365.

over earls and castellans in power and wealth'.³ Bernard was one of the most successful of this group and also one of the most long-serving. He appears in the historical record from circa 1100 to his death in April 1148.⁴ During this time he held the following positions: royal clerk and custodian of the see of Hereford 1100-1102, queen's chancellor 1102-1115 and bishop of St. David's 1115-1148.⁵ We know nothing about Bernard's early life. Bernard and men like him, whose place in history stems from patronage rather than birth, leave historians with an interesting problem, for 'the first roads obscure men take to greatness are frequently hidden paths'.⁶ But what calibre of men did Henry choose to be his chancery clerks? 'Chancery', though anachronistic, is here deployed in the sense of the aggregate of clerks and scribes used by the king to service his chapel and to act as a secretariat. Can an examination of some of the clerics Henry raised from his court to the episcopal bench tell us more about Bernard's world? Along with Bernard we will be examining three other of Henry's appointees, each from Bernard's generation: Roger of Salisbury, Waldric of Leon and Thurstan of York. All of these four appear in the records at approximately the same time, 1100-1102. Each man has come down to us through a veil of reputation, acquired through his career. A comparison between

³ OV, vol.6, p.16. Orderic is not the happiest chronicler of the reign of Henry I. Crouch has recently described him as 'disgusted of St-Evrault', in relation to his views on Henry I, *The Normans, The History of a Dynasty* (Hambledon & London, 2002), p.168. It is also important to state that the men Henry 'raised from the dust' were not by any means from the lower classes, but were highly educated middlemen capable of running an administration, often more highly educated than the baronial classes who considered themselves above them.

⁴ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.2. Barrow dates Bernard's first appearance in historical record, as coming from his period as custodian of the see of Hereford during the vacancy of 1100-1102. The political sensitivity and ability needed for such an appointment indicates that Bernard was already a trusted clerk of Henry's by this point. His death, possibly on 22 April 1148 would therefore suggest that Bernard was in his 70s at that time.

⁵ Whilst custodian of the see of Hereford Bernard witnesses a charter of William fitz Baderon of a grant of St. Mary's church, on the banks of the Monnow to the Abbey of St. Florent (Saumur), *CDF*, D.1138, pp.408-409. His first appearance as queen's chancellor is circa December 1102, *RRAN*, 2, no.624. He was consecrated bishop of St. David's 19 September 1115, Eadmer *HN*, p.235.

⁶ Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury*, p.3.

these men may provide a means of cutting through individual successes and failures to provide a balanced picture of the professionals the new king trusted to run his administration and his church. There are excellent studies by Kealey and Nicholl concerning Roger and Thurstan respectively. Material concerning Waldric is a little thinner, but there is sufficient evidence for his life and career, provided in short studies by Davies (1911) and Johnson (1936).⁷

All four were French and probably Norman. Bernard like the other future bishops enters the historical record already in Henry's service, before or around the time of his succession to the English throne. The relatively humble origins of the four give weight to the view of Henry as a creator and a good judge of men, for all four were to quickly achieve positions of responsibility. Roger's first recorded attestation to a charter as chancellor is 3 September 1101⁸ (before he was raised to the bishopric of Salisbury in April 1102).⁹ Roger remained, in Keeley's phrase, 'second only to the king' for the rest of Henry's reign. Waldric, who first appears in the same charter, succeeded Roger as chancellor, first appearing as such on May 24 1103.¹⁰ The date of his elevation to the bishopric of Laon is uncertain though Davies places this as being later than October 1106, as Waldric was seeking papal confirmation in February/March of 1107.¹¹ Thurstan first appears in the royal records on 1 September 1103.¹² He was present at the Exchequer at Winchester in 1111.¹³ He

⁷ *ibid*; Nicholl, *Thurstan*; H. W. C. Davis, 'Waldric, The Chancellor of Henry I', *EHR*, 26 (1911); C. Johnson, 'Waldric, the Chancellor of Henry I', *ibid*, 51 (1936).

⁸ *RRAN*, 2, no.544.

⁹ Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury*, p.14.

¹⁰ *RRAN*, 2, no.650.

¹¹ Davis, 'Waldric', p.87.

¹² *RRAN*, 2, no.652.

¹³ *RRAN*, 2, no.1000. See also C. W. Hollister, and J. W. Baldwin, 'The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Phillip Augustus', *AHR*, 83 (1978), p.878.

then succeeded to the archbishopric of York on 15 August 1114.¹⁴ Bernard was the last of the four to receive a bishopric but by no means was his service to the crown of less longevity than the others; indeed, his was the longest career of the four.

This longevity of service demonstrates the character of both Bernard and King Henry I. Bernard's frequency of attestation to royal charters and the breadth of issues upon which Bernard attests, on 'subject matters with no connection either to each other or the lands relating to St. David's', suggests that Henry I trusted Bernard, a new man and royal chaplain'.¹⁵ Henry appears to have been a shrewd judge of when a royal clerk could be usefully employed in a particular role.

'Bernard was devoted to the king' and this made him the ideal candidate to establish 'for the first time a strong Anglo-Norman presence in southwestern Wales' by becoming bishop of St. David's in September 1115.¹⁶ Henry promoted other royal clerks to bishoprics at similarly politically opportune moments. When in 1106 the electors of Laon asked Henry for a bishop in order to settle a long running election dispute, Henry had no hesitation in appointing Waldric despite the fact that his ecclesiastical credentials were dubious, to say the least. We are told that 'Waldric was hastily consecrated a sub-deacon and appointed to a canonry in Rouen cathedral'.¹⁷ The motives for Roger of Salisbury's promotion are also clear. Firstly, the need to promote a trusted friend to an important diocese and secondly to increase

¹⁴ Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p.iv.

¹⁵ C. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: the Second Generation* (Philadelphia, 1988) p.99.

¹⁶ Hollister, *Henry I*, p.242.

¹⁷ Davis, 'Waldric', p.88.

the numbers of bishops in office, following the reign of William II which had 'caused the decline of religious communities either directly through his own exploitation or indirectly by placing undesirable administrators in vacant houses and at times ignoring whatever economic arguments prelates had made for their clergy'.¹⁸ Between Henry I's succession and Bernard's nomination in September 1115 there were 11 bishops nominated within the metropolitan see of Canterbury.¹⁹ Bernard's wait for a bishopric then had more to do with the king finding the vacancy in which he could most usefully be employed than any doubt as to his loyalty or usefulness. It seems that given Bernard's connections with the diocese of Hereford he was the ideal man to advance over the border to St. David's

History has accorded these four royal clerks who became bishops very different reputations, and yet it has been shown that in their backgrounds and in the fact that they all held King Henry's trust, they would at first glance appear very similar. On the whole, Thurstan and Bernard are perceived in a positive light, Roger and especially Waldric, less so. Both Thurstan and Bernard had able apologists: Hugh the Cantor in the case of Thurstan and Gerald of Wales for Bernard. There are aspects to the character and policies of both men which attracted the favour of medieval historians. Thurstan has received a reputation for piety, possibly because of his attraction to reformed Cluniac monasticism. Bernard's reputation has also been as a reformer, although the fact that he was a bishop in Wales, where reform of the native church was necessary in order to satisfy Anglo-Norman standards, has perhaps inflated Bernard's credentials in this area. If he did find the church of St. David's

¹⁸ L. H. Jared, 'English Ecclesiastical Vacancies During the Reigns of William II and Henry I', *JEH*, 42, no.3, (Cambridge, 1991), p.389.

¹⁹ *ibid*, pp.368, 369.

‘thoroughly rude and disordered’, then to bring the native ‘*clas*’ up to a cathedral church of Anglo-Norman standards may have seemed an act of a more zealous reformer than Bernard was by natural inclination.²⁰ This may have created an unfair impression of his reforming tendencies. That he was also a confidant of Queen Matilda, whose reputation for piety is noted by the chroniclers, may well have added a rose-tinted shade to some modern perceptions of Bernard’s personal piety. Roger, who spent most of his career in the service of the king, has a more secular reputation, probably because of his greater connections with the man who in the eyes of the church continued the ‘investiture dispute’ against Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, as well as his extensive political and administrative responsibilities as justiciar and at the king’s exchequer. Bernard, because of greater connections with Henry’s sainted queen, has thus come down to us with a veneer of piety from the chronicles, almost by association.

This opinion was by no means universal. Consider the words of Osbert of Clare, who in a discussion on The Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary protested, after Bernard and Roger of Salisbury had tried to prevent the celebration of the feast as uncanonical in 1129, that ‘Roger, bishop of Salisbury, this scandalous cleric, along with that other ‘follower of Satan’ Bernard of St. David’s, had intervened to try and prevent the celebration’.²¹ The monks of Battle also had cause to complain over Bernard’s conduct stating that in his desire to acquire the church of Carmarthen from the abbey Bernard ‘kept trying to make it his own by any available means, displaying an extraordinarily strong greed. Even the king was repeatedly nagged

²⁰ GC, *De Jure*, p.154, quoted in. *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.153.

²¹ *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*. ed. E. Williamson (Oxford, 1929), no.7, pp.65-68

about it by the bishop himself and by those who owed him favours'.²² Contrast this to Gerald's heroic epitaph for Bernard: 'a man of the court polished and fully learned. He first and alone amongst so many bishops and private persons, with such honour, publicly protested the right of his church'.²³ The difference is obvious, but they describe the same individual. Bishops Roger and Waldric have aspects to their characters which were to have the opposite effect. Roger was married, which in the eyes of the reformers was damning. He also was too close to the king for the liking of the monastic advocates of Gregorian reform, always sceptical of lay influence. It is interesting to note that there is little or no connection made in the chronicles between Bernard and the king. Gerald of Wales notes that Bernard was a '*curialis*' and this work will seek to demonstrate that Bernard's relationship with the king was scarcely less intimate than Roger's.²⁴ Waldric was accused of everything from unconventional dress and playing pranks to assassinating opponents and obtaining his money dishonestly.²⁵ Davies provides a helpful reminder when he states that 'the picture is highly coloured, perhaps over-coloured that may be said to agree with what we learn of other royal ministers of this period'.²⁶ Historians must inevitably rely upon these monastic and clerical writings when embarking upon a study of any twelfth-century bishop such as Bernard; these were not in any way cold dispassionate observers of the world. Apologists and detractors alike frequently saw their subjects in the light of their own opinions.

²² *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*. ed. and trans. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980), p.135-137.

²³ GC, *De Jure*, pp.152, 153, quoted in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.152.

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ Davis, 'Waldric', pp.88-89.

²⁶ *ibid*, p.89.

A comparison has been introduced between the four bishops as much to demonstrate the similarities between them as to set them apart from each other. It seems likely that all four bishops sprang from a relatively similar mould. What emerged from that mould were royal clerks trusted enough to assume episcopal status. Before assuming episcopal office they all held similar administrative offices: Waldric, Roger and Bernard being chancellors to either the king or the queen and Thurstan held a position within the treasury. All four also share a similar non-aristocratic background, gaining their positions through their own ability and the patronage of Henry I and Queen Matilda. 'Twelve royal chaplains..... were nominated to bishoprics by Henry'.²⁷ The ability of Bernard as queen's chancellor ('*cancellarius*') to secure a bishopric has been seen as 'more surprising' and is testament to both her influence in government and the ability of the man who filled that role.²⁸ Whilst most king's chancellors, for example Roger of Salisbury or Waldric of Laon were made bishops, this was by no means automatic: an example of this is Ranulf, who apparently was considered unsuitable for the episcopate.²⁹ It was, however, more usual for a king's chancellor to receive episcopal patronage than a queen's though Bernard had been chaplain to Henry I before serving Matilda. If the St. Florent charter, the significance of which is explained in more detail above, is genuine and the identification of the Bernard mentioned therein is correct, then it is arguable that Bernard did not secure patronage simply through his service to the queen.³⁰ It is notable that according to Eadmer both the king and queen insisted on being present at the consecration of Bernard.³¹ Eadmer also mentions a dispute as to whether the

²⁷ T. A. M. Bishop., *Scriptores Regis* (Oxford, 1961), p.24

²⁸ Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, p.107.

²⁹ HH HA, pp.244, 308.

³⁰ CDF, D.1138, pp.408-409; See also n.5 above of this chapter

³¹ Eadmer, *HN*, pp.235-6 quoted in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.35.

consecration should be in the king's chapel or at a chapel of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that the venue was settled at the behest of the queen. This reaffirms that whilst Bernard was primarily a servant of the queen and had a close relationship with her, it was King Henry who saw some useful potential in promoting Bernard to the bishopric of St. David's. Whilst it is undeniable from the evidence that Matilda was more pious than most, and that her chancellor was both an influence on and influenced by her piety, it is also likely that given their similar training, similar connections and obvious agreement on key issues of piety and patronage, Bernard of St. David's and the other royal clerks surveyed were very similar men.

Their attitudes on assuming episcopal office, however, are marked by clear differences. According to Waldric's critics, the *Vita Apostolica* appears to have had very little impact on his way of life. Roger, who was clearly breaking the rules on both clerical marriage and pluralism, conscientiously administered his diocese, alongside the kingdom. Bernard and Thurstan appeared to have adhered to the new teachings on clerical marriage, simony, and campaigning for the independence of their respective dioceses from Canterbury. It is tempting, therefore, to see them both as heirs to Anselm, but whilst Nicholl confidently asserts that 'there is one fact that inclines us to think of him as heir to the saint's attitude: it is that Anselm had been spiritual director to that great lady Adela of Blois, and Thurstan later succeeded to this position. He can hardly have failed to think of himself as Anselm's successor in other respects' - a similar assertion in relation to Bernard is a little misplaced.³²

³² Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p.14.

Bernard shows none of the outright rejection of the value of royal interference, seen in Anselm and Thurstan. Indeed, Bernard acted as a royal agent during his episcopate, remaining a central figure in the royal administration until well after Henry's death in 1135.

If Bernard was a royal creation, there is no reason to doubt that there were other influences on the young cleric. At the time Bernard was growing up, and growing in stature, the church he was to serve was in the grip of great reforms. Papal edicts were attempting to change the character of the church from one which often allowed the secular practice of passing property from father to son, as happened in many churches in Normandy and England in the eleventh century, to one which banned the ordination of the illegitimate children of priests.³³ Priests, even abbots and bishops, who fell short of the standards required of them, were frequently deposed.³⁴

It was also during this period that many features of the church we see today were first properly conceived. Reforming elements within the church sought to challenge the authority of lay and even royal investiture, and the control this represented over the church. During Bernard's episcopate, the papal reform party finally put an end to

³³ *ibid*, pp.2-3. The declaration by Pope Alexander II (1061-1073) that no son of a priest would be eligible for the priesthood was not applied in Normandy. Indeed, it was strongly resisted. It is interesting to note that had the reforming policies of the papacy been applied, such an advocate of reform as Thurstan of York would never have been ordained, being as he was, the son of a Norman priest from Bayeux.

³⁴ JW, vol.iii, pp.23-27. Under the years 1074 and 1075, the chronicler relates the moves by the new pope, Gregory VII to root out the purchase of ecclesiastical office, and attempts to enforce celibacy amongst all ranks of the church: 'The pope banned clerics specifically consecrated to the holy ministry from having wives, and from living with women, except from those which the Nicaean synod and other canons allowed. He also decreed, as with the judgment of St. Peter in the case of Simon Magus, that not only the purchaser and the vendor of whatever ecclesiastical office, that is bishopric, abbacy, priorate, deaconate, or any church tithe, should be condemned but also whoever consented to this'.

centuries of debate by conclusively legislating against clerical marriage for all who served at the altar. Bernard would have been in attendance at the council of Rheims in 1119 when Pope Calixtus II stated that ‘we forbid absolutely the cohabitation with concubines or wives by priests, deacons, or sub-deacons. If any of that kind, however, should be found, they are to be deprived of their offices and benefits. Indeed, if they will not have corrected their filthy ways, they should be deprived of Christian communion’.³⁵ After the council, real efforts were made in the Anglo-Norman world to enforce celibacy, the archbishop of Rouen, throwing some objectionist clergy into prison, and turning his household troops on others.³⁶ Celibacy was, however, not universally adopted, and indeed was not finally adopted by the church until 1139 at the Second Lateran council, where Innocent II ruled that ‘for priests, deacons, sub-deacons, canons, regular monks and lay brothers, we sanction that copulation of this kind, which was contracted against ecclesiastical rule, is not matrimony’.³⁷ The success of enforcing clerical celibacy in England, one of the few countries in which proper research into its enforcement has been undertaken, can be used to counter the views of some historians, notably Cantor, who have argued that the Gregorian reform movement failed in England because of efficient royal control.³⁸ Bernard’s practices with regard to celibacy are somewhat

³⁵ A. Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy; the eleventh-century debate* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1982), p.47.

³⁶ *ibid*, p.92

³⁷ *ibid*, p.47.

³⁸ *ibid*, p.10. The key element in this debate appears to be whether enforcement of clerical celibacy can be seen as a central plank in the policy of the Gregorian reformers. That it was would seem to be the correct conclusion, especially if the firm support given by Archbishop Anselm, England’s leading Gregorian reformer, to the Augustinian canons (secular clergy living in community, a practice which Gregory VII himself promoted vigorously) can be taken as any indication of the priorities of those inclined towards reform. It must be said that as clerical celibacy had great advantages for the king, as well as conforming to the wishes of the reformers, it may well have been an easier policy to undertake than many others that expressly sought to limit lay interference in the church. Another leading study on clerical celibacy in England is H. C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* (Philadelphia, 1867). For N. F. Cantor’s view of the failure of Gregorian reform on England, see his *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England 1089-1135* (Princeton, 1958).

contradictory. He himself appears to have remained celibate, but as Barstow points out, there were married archdeacons and bishops at St. David's a century after the papal decision on celibacy, and one of Bernard's leading clerics, Jordan, archdeacon of Brecon, was deposed for having a wife.³⁹ Celibacy did not play a significant role in Welsh ecclesiastical culture before the coming of the Normans and therefore took some time to be adopted. But in this respect, the reforms of the church were double-edged. It was now easier than ever for a king to reward his servants and administrators with church benefices, knowing that their lands and revenues would revert to him and not an heir, at the cleric's death. No one exploited this system better than the Norman king-dukes. Cantor has suggested that Henry's action in placing the vacant see of Hereford in the hands of Bernard in 1102 was part of a concerted effort by the king to establish complete control over the church during the period of his investiture dispute with Anselm and Pope Pascal II.⁴⁰ William I, in co-operation with his gifted archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, had introduced into England a potent mixture of reformed practice, backed up by strong royal control. William I's episcopal decrees make this partnership very clear, for they were decided not by bishops but on the 'advice of my archbishops, bishops, abbots, and all the magnates of my kingdom'; the affairs of the church were not simply a clerical matter.⁴¹ Whilst the church had its courts and jurisdictions over ecclesiastical matters, in terms of the temporalities of their see, Norman bishops such as Bernard were tenants-in-chief of the king. When the king granted a bishop's estate, he frequently did so with the advice of secular magnates, who frequently attested along

³⁹ Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy*, p. 88.

⁴⁰ Cantor, *Church Kingship and Lay Investiture*, p.157.

⁴¹ *The Laws of the Kings of England, from Edmund to Henry I.* ed. and trans. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925), pp.234-237.

with bishops to the king's grant.⁴² With effective royal control over appointments, the reform movement enabled the Anglo-Norman kings to use the church as a reward system for their administrative officials, and allowed them to parachute effective and loyal administrators into strategically important dioceses whenever vacancies arose, with virtual impunity. This would prove a useful tool for Henry I when a vacancy arose at St. David's in 1115.

William set the tone for his successors. Henry I told the papal legate, Peter, in 1121, that important decisions on church affairs could not be made without calling for '*episcoporum, abbatum, procerum...totius regni conventum*'.⁴³ The strength of lay influence over the church did not go unchallenged. St Anselm, Lanfranc's successor at Canterbury, was not comfortable with maintaining this state of affairs. Anselm's disputes with the king are well documented and are not the first concern of this study, but the profound effect these must have had upon Bernard's generation is unquestionable. Other historians have commented on the Anselm phenomenon, in relation to other bishops of Bernard's era. Nicholl has commented, in relation to Thurstan of York, that Anselm's 'influence on...outlook during these years is one that has left no trace on the documents'.⁴⁴ He goes on to say, however, that 'The effect on him of watching Anselm at close quarters as the Saint quietly put into operation the reforming principles urged by Rome' was both profound and long lasting.⁴⁵ What Nicholl applies to Thurstan, may not apply to Bernard, who, although certainly a reformer of his own diocese, cannot in any way be distinguished

⁴² *RRAN*, 2, no.1091. The charter granting Bernard the bishopric of St. David's and the lands belonging to the see is attested to by twelve laymen alongside 'all the bishops of England.'

⁴³ Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England*, p.280, from Eadmer, *HN*, pp.324-325.

⁴⁴ Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p.11.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, p.11.

as a doctrinal theologian or overt Gregorian reformer. Bernard does, however, show some of the traits of the reform party, for example his apparent celibacy. Furthermore, the chapel of Queen Matilda, of which Bernard had charge, was always well regarded for its learning and piety and the great disciple of St. Anselm, Eadmer, commented favourably on Bernard's character, saying of him that he was 'a worthy man, and in the judgement of many, an honourable priest'.⁴⁶ It may be concluded from this that although Bernard cannot be regarded as a Gregorian reformer, his actions at St. David's, which are discussed in chapter 3, can be interpreted as the actions of a reformer. But it is difficult to see how any Norman bishop, whether a follower of Gregorian practice or not would have left the organisation and practice of the Welsh church substantially unchanged. It cannot be regarded therefore as conclusive proof of Bernard's reforming credentials, although the speed with which he undertook the beginnings of reform may indicate a Gregorian tendency, whilst remaining a classic court bishop of the time than did some other bishops of his type and acquaintance, for example Roger of Salisbury and Waldric of Laon. In a judgement originally used in relation to Henry VIII, 'the rulers of the English church were servants of the English king, and it was because they served the king, that they were allowed to rule the church'.⁴⁷

Having looked at the type of men Henry I employed in his chapel and in his church, as well as looking at the changing face of the church, to see in what environment these men operated, it is possible to examine Bernard's career with an idea of what type of man he was and under what conditions his career was moulded. Even taking

⁴⁶ Eadmer, *HN*, p.235.

⁴⁷ E. U. Crosby, 'The Organization of the English Episcopate under Henry I', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 4, ed. W. M. Bowsky. (Lincoln, 1967), p.28.

into account the legitimate comments on the shortcomings of Round's scholarship made eloquently by Edmund King, there is enough corroborative evidence to suggest that in the case discussed below the evidence Round provides is historically valid.⁴⁸ In 1101-1102 William fitz Baderon, a Breton lord of Monmouth, granted some of his Welsh lands to the Abbey of Saint Florent (Saumur) including the church of St. Mary's whose dedication is undertaken by Hervé bishop of Bangor, also a Breton. A witness to the donation was 'Bernard the king's chaplain' – custodian of the vacant see of Hereford.⁴⁹ This is re-inforced by the appearance of Bernard in the obit lists of Hereford for 22 April.⁵⁰ This Bernard is likely to be the subject of our study, given that he appears as a priest of Hereford in the petition of the clergy and laity to Canterbury asking for ordination of the episcopal candidate, which normally referred to the diocese with which the candidate was most associated.⁵¹ In the company of this distinctly Breton gathering, it is tempting to conclude that Bernard's origins, so difficult to source, may also have been in Brittany. After all, of any place on the continent, the Welsh church had its strongest connections with Brittany and this may offer an explanation as to why Hervé and Bernard were appointed to Welsh sees. Convenient as this explanation would be, it is not borne out by the available evidence. Gerald of Wales who as a member of the chapter of St. David's in the

⁴⁸ E. King, 'John Horace Round and the Calendar of Documents preserved in France', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4 (1981) pp.93-103. See R. Graham, 'Four Alien Priories in Monmouthshire', *JBAA*, 35 (1929-30). I wish to thank Dr. F. Cowley for his reassurance on the validity of this charter's importance with regard to Bernard.

⁴⁹ *CDF*, p.408-9, Doc. 1138; See also B. Golding, 'Trans-border Transactions: Patterns of Patronage in Anglo-Norman Wales', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2005) p.34

⁵⁰ *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, vol 8, Hereford compiled by J. S. Barrow, (2002), p.117

⁵¹ *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.33. It is likely that the description of Bernard as a priest of Hereford is inaccurate. He was not in fact ordained until the day before his consecration as bishop of St. David's. It is also unlikely he was directly linked to Hereford Cathedral, in terms of being a canon, or holding some office in the chapter. He does not appear in the lists of Hereford Cathedral dignitaries mentioned by Brooke, Z. N., and Brooke, C. N. L., 'Hereford Cathedral Dignitaries in the Twelfth Century', *CHJ*, 8, 1944-1946 (Reprinted Vaduz, 1965), pp.1-22.

years immediately following Bernard's death was in as good a place as any to place the origins of the bishop and he is quite clear that Bernard was a Norman.⁵²

Bernard then, was a king's chaplain who transferred to the queen's chapel on becoming her chancellor in 1102. Previously to becoming chancellor to Queen Matilda Bernard attests to only one surviving charter, namely a notification of Queen Matilda's, which can be dated during her first confinement September 1101-February 1102.⁵³ Given that this is only shortly after her marriage it would suggest that Bernard's association with the queen began fairly soon afterwards. How and when did Bernard become the queen's chancellor? When Reinhelm, the first chancellor of the queen was appointed to the see of Hereford he appears to have followed the usual conventions of Anglo-Norman prelates by resigning the chancellorship. His last recorded attestation as queen's chancellor is dated as 25 December 1102.⁵⁴ Bernard's first recorded attestation as queen's chancellor dated 1102 follows almost immediately.⁵⁵ If the dating of the first is correct, then Bernard may have taken over at the Christmas court of 1102. Reinhelm was nominated in September 1102 because of the investiture crisis then currently in progress although he was not consecrated until 1107.⁵⁶ The celebrations surrounding Christmas would have afforded an opportunity to give notice of change to a large section of the court.

What were his responsibilities as the queen's chancellor? Historians of Matilda have highlighted the political role played by the queen not least as vice-regent of England

⁵² *Brut*, p.83

⁵³ *RRAN*. 2, no.565.

⁵⁴ *ibid*, no.613.

⁵⁵ *ibid*, no.624.

⁵⁶ Jared, 'English Ecclesiastical Vacancies', pp.368-9.

during her husband's long absences on the continent.⁵⁷ Bernard was one of the men empowered to draw up charters on behalf of the king. One of Henry's charters includes the clause *per Bernardum*, indicating that his authority was accepted by the king's officials when he instructed the scribes to draw up the writ.⁵⁸ This agreement could only have occurred at the beginning of the reign of Henry I. There seems to have been a lot of *ad hoc* arrangements for the issuing of charters and other documents and the 'chancery' officials would sometimes add a clause indicating by whose authority a writ was drawn up, this declined with time. Later they must have had more regular means of issuing documents and such references no longer appear in the charters.⁵⁹ His duties may have included serving as a liaison between the queen's officers and those of the king. As queen's chancellor Bernard attests to at least four charters of the king.⁶⁰ Members of the king's household, such as the king's chancellor or physician, often attest the queen's charters.⁶¹ A certain level of interaction between the households was inevitable and so transference between them would seem quite natural.

One of the few firm sources of evidence we have with which to examine the early career of Bernard is his attestation to royal charters before his election as bishop. There are at least eleven such charters: seven charters of Queen Matilda and four of

⁵⁷ See J. A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986); C. W. Hollister, 'The Viceregal Court of Henry I', in *Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Bryce Lyon*, ed. B. S. Bachrach and D. Nicholas (Kalamazoo, 1990), pp.131-144 and also F. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1966).

⁵⁸ *RRAN*, 2, no.698. Thanks to Dr. L. Huneycutt of Iowa State University, for her help on this issue particularly as this matter was only brought my attention after Dr. Huneycutt kindly allowed me to see sections relating to Bernard from her then forthcoming biography of Queen Matilda, *Matilda of Scotland*, p.99

⁵⁹ Again thanks to Dr. Huneycutt for her e-mails on this matter.

⁶⁰ *RRAN*, 2, nos.698, 720, 988, 1041.

⁶¹ *ibid*, no.567.

King Henry. Given that it is accepted that the surviving documents are a small sample of those produced, this number can only be taken as relative indication of Bernard's attestations but this may throw some light on a bigger picture.⁶² Matilda's charters are for the most part calendared in the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*. This is an essential work for all Anglo-Norman scholars, although Bernard attested to more royal charters than is cited within the *Regesta*. In the Aldgate cartulary Bernard attests Queen Matilda's grant of Aldgate to the Augustinian canons in 1108; the corresponding charter in the *Regesta* does not include Bernard among the witnesses.⁶³ Later copies of charters do not always include all the witnesses.

Although it is very likely that Bernard attested more charters than is cited in the *Regesta*, the latter remains sufficiently reliable overall to form the basis of my examination of the charters of Queen Matilda and Bernard's attestation to them, as there are no other sufficiently comprehensive studies from which to form a credible overall impression of Bernard's involvement. Bernard attests to at least seven of the queen's charters before becoming bishop of St. David's and leaving the queen's service. These come from both the *Regesta* and individual monastic cartularies, especially those of Abingdon and Aldgate, Worcester and Ely, as well as the records of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.⁶⁴ Bernard is the second most frequent attestor to Matilda's charters, attesting to approximately one third. This is a

⁶² See below, Appendix 2 – Bernard's attestation to royal charters before 1115.

⁶³ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, D4, p.1; *RRAN*, 2, no.906 and p.viii.

⁶⁴ *RRAN*, 2, nos.565, 567, 571,624, 632, 674, 675, 743, 785, 808, 887, 897*, 898*, 902, 906, 908, 909, 971, 1090 (the two starred references represent charters of King Henry clearly referring to grants of Queen Matilda); *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, D4, p.1, pp.224-225 for the original texts; and *Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. G. Lambrick and C. F. Slade, vol.i (Oxford, 1990); *Report on the Records of the City of Exeter* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1916), p.288, D1288, and p.428, D2001-3.

significant number given the inconsistency of the personnel attesting to Matilda's charters.⁶⁵ Over half of the people attesting to a grant do so only once. Only one other person, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, attests to more than Bernard. No other individual comes close to matching these two clerics, and it therefore shows the significance of the two in the affairs of Queen Matilda at this time, and clearly places Bernard alongside the most influential members of Henry I's English bureaucracy. However it is reasonable to expect the chancellor to attest frequently as he would be responsible for the drafting and reading of the document.

In addition to the seven attestations to charters of Queen Matilda, Bernard attests to four charters of King Henry before becoming bishop. All four are in some way connected to ecclesiastical matters. They date from between 1105 and 1114.⁶⁶ Apart from providing further evidence of Bernard's early connection with the king, one charter has particular significance with regard to Bernard's future career. This is Bernard's last known attestation, dated May 1114, and suggests that at this time Bernard was already establishing connections with the March and the great abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester with which he was to have many dealings as bishop of St. David's. The document is a grant to St. Peter's Gloucester, an abbey with considerable interests in Wales and one with which Bernard as bishop was to have numerous dealings.⁶⁷ Bernard's seven charters as bishop concerning St. Peter's constitute approximately a third of his surviving *acta*. The 1114 charter to this important abbey confirming *inter alia* grants by Robert Gernon of the churches of

⁶⁵ Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp151-160. Huneycutt produces the first comprehensive edition of Matilda's charters, collected together in one place. See also, Appendix 2 – Bernard's attestation to royal charters before 1115.

⁶⁶ *RRAN*, 2, nos.698,720, 988, 1041

⁶⁷ *St.D.Ep.A.*, nos.10-16.

Wraysbury [Bucks.] and Larkstoke, with their glebe, half a mill and half the land pertaining was witnessed at Tewkesbury by Queen Matilda, Bishops Roger of Salisbury and William of Winchester, Bernard the chaplain, and Humfrey de Albini.⁶⁸

This grant was part of a much larger confirmation of several grants which dates from around the time of Henry's campaign in Wales in 1114.⁶⁹ This would have increased royal interest in Marcher and Welsh affairs, a possible catalyst for this confirmation. Matilda's movements during this period are uncertain. One source suggests it is unlikely Matilda would have ventured to Tewkesbury: 'the bearing of two children, one of either sex left her content and for the future she ceased either to have offspring or desire them satisfied when the king was busy elsewhere to bid the court goodbye herself, and spent many happy years at Westminster'.⁷⁰ Given that King Henry was most definitely busy elsewhere, Malmesbury suggests Westminster as Matilda's principal place of residence, which would seem sensible, as Westminster was the seat of the permanent administration, within which Matilda often acted as vice-regent. Moreover, her presence in Henry's documents along with the other witnesses listed with her, (notably Roger of Salisbury), who both normally appeared as general witnesses to important grants, gives this witness list a particular air of importance. The fact that many of the 1114 grants refer to Welsh churches, some in Bernard's future diocese, and that there are others that refer to areas of the border and the March, to which Bernard already had connections, need to be taken into account. Bernard's presence within these, suggests that at this sensitive period of

⁶⁸ *RRAN*, 2, no.1041.

⁶⁹ *RRAN*, 2, p.xxx, Itinerary of Henry I.

⁷⁰ *WM GR*, pp.755-757.

time, Bernard was considered an important enough figure to attest to this charter, which may suggest he was considered something of an authority in Marcher affairs, especially given his experience at Hereford.

The responsibilities of a person who attested to a royal charter are clearly shown by a letter from Alexander, bishop of Lincoln many years after Bernard first attested to the charter. Between 22 July 1123 and 25 February 1148, Bernard confirmed to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln that he had, in fact, witnessed the grant of Robert Gernon. Bernard says: 'that I was present and saw and heard this: Robert Gernon gave to St. Peter and to Peter, the abbot of Gloucester and his monks, the church of Wraysbury and the church at Laverkerstoke, and all things that pertain to those churches'. He informed Alexander that King Henry had issued a writ confirming those gifts and that he, Bernard, 'saw my lady, Queen Matilda, conduct Robert Gernon to the altar of St. Peter's, Gloucester, when he, standing by the queen and several others, confirmed this gift by laying his knife on the altar'.⁷¹

We can place Bernard around the viceregal court of Matilda by virtue of his attestation to Matilda's charter given during her husband's absence from England, when it is likely that as chancellor to the vice-regent of England he undertook at least some of the responsibilities of the reigning monarch's chancellor.⁷² Some of Henry I's charters are simply attested 'the chancellor' and because of the difficulty of ascribing an exact date to charters it is possible that some were written during the times of Henry's absences, therefore it is possible that some of those thus attested

⁷¹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.11, translated by Huneycutt in *Matilda of Scotland*, pp.99-100.

⁷² *RRAN*, 2, no.971.

namelessly could have referred to Bernard.⁷³ The queen also conducted business during her viceregency in her own name, and under her own seal. One of the best known and also most extraordinary example of this is at the meeting of the court of the exchequer in 1111, at which the queen was present. This is known because the king was in Normandy, and its verdict was declared in a charter issued by the queen and sealed with her seal.⁷⁴ Matilda also conducted other government business in her own name, for example sending out writs by which government was conducted.⁷⁵ How might his administrative duties have affected Bernard's future career? Henry trusted his wife with the regency during his continental absences. Henry's evaluation of Bernard's role as his queen's chancellor and counsellor during these periods can be deduced from the length of service he gave to the queen in this position (1102-1115), and the sensitive bishopric to which Henry appointed Bernard in 1115. Henry's position in Wales at this time meant that he needed a man he could trust to be both an effective bishop and tenant-in-chief of the crown.

Can an examination of the nomenclature used by Bernard in the charters of the king and queen prior to his appointment as bishop of St. David's shed any light on Bernard's position? Bernard attests to these charters using three formulae: Bernard the chaplain (*capellanus*), Bernard the chancellor (*cancellarius*), and Bernard the clerk (*clericus*). Is there any significance we can infer from these differences? An explanation, which at first sight seems credible, is that there is a system of promotion within the *curia regis* that is represented by the changes in title. There is only one

⁷³ For an example of this type see *RRAN*, 2, no.867.

⁷⁴ *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 2 (1858), vol.2, p.116 quoted in Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.39.

⁷⁵ *Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill*, ed., R. C. Van Caenegem (London, 1959), p.487, no.143, quoted in Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.39.

use of the title ‘clerk’, by Bernard, when attesting, and this is the earliest example.⁷⁶

This comes, as we have seen, before Bernard’s promotion to the chancellorship. The other two titles, Bernard the chancellor and Bernard the chaplain, are used interchangeably during the time of Bernard’s chancellorship, with the one distinction, that Bernard is never referred to as ‘chancellor’ in a charter of Henry I. Presumably, this was to avoid confusion with the king’s chancellor. Both Brett and Green, however, have persuasively argued that the terms ‘clerk’ and ‘chaplain’ were used interchangeably at this time.⁷⁷ Could this change in attestation refer to a change in clerical rank? Again, this does not stand up to scrutiny. Clerks within the chapel of differing clerical rank appear to have been given the same title when attesting to charters. Roger, a priest of Avranches, and also the future bishop of Salisbury, is referred to as ‘the chaplain’, before his appointment as Henry I’s chancellor.⁷⁸ Bernard attests in the same manner, but we know from Eadmer that Bernard was not ordained until the day before his consecration as bishop.⁷⁹ An explanation for the apparent interchangeability of the terms ‘clerk’ and ‘chaplain’ is that the term clerk appears to have been used for anybody within holy orders, a clergyman, whereas chaplain refers to a role within the royal chapel (*capella*) which was apparently carried out by clerics at many different levels of ordination. The chancellor, who, as head of the chapel, was worthy of greater distinction, although it must be said that even when attesting Matilda’s charters, Bernard is not always styled as ‘chancellor’. In the case of one charter, an explanation seems clear, for although attesting to a charter of Queen Matilda, Bernard follows Waldric, the king’s chancellor, and

⁷⁶ *RRAN*, 2, no.565. September 1101 – February 1102.

⁷⁷ Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, pp.107-8; Green, *The Government of England under Henry I*, pp.28-30.

⁷⁸ Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury*, p.5; *RRAN*, 2, no.521.

⁷⁹ Eadmer, *HN*, pp.235, 236.

therefore Bernard is styled as chaplain, to avoid any confusion as to seniority.⁸⁰ In the other two charters, Bernard is also seen as subordinate in attesting behind Hervé bishop of Bangor, and John de Sééz.⁸¹ Although this in itself does not offer an explanation, as Bernard attests as chancellor behind the bishop of London in a later charter, it may offer some insight.⁸² This could be behind Bernard's non-use of 'chancellor' in these instances, or, more likely, offer further weight to the arguments of Green and Brett regarding the interchangeable nature of titles used by the chapel clerks, even at senior level.

Having looked at Bernard's responsibilities as queen's chancellor and the administrative role Bernard as a royal chaplain undertook, both for the king and for the queen, before becoming bishop of St. David's in 1115, it will be useful to focus on other areas of Bernard's life as a royal clerk, in order to see what effect they may have had upon his future career. This examination will focus on three distinct areas: the personal contacts Bernard made during his time as queen's chancellor, the exceptionally pious nature of the queen herself and the patterns of patronage this produced, some of which were followed by Bernard himself, and an examination of the possible financial benefits Bernard received as queen's chancellor. Taken alongside the examination of Bernard's administrative role, these will create a picture of the political and social networks of patronage that Bernard would rely upon when first becoming bishop of St. David's in 1115.

⁸⁰ *RRAN*, 2, no.743.

⁸¹ *ibid*, nos.675, 808.

⁸² *ibid*, no.971

Bernard benefited financially from his position as queen's chancellor. Precise references to this are few but there is one definite survival in the historical record, which can perhaps give us some idea as to the type of financial patronage Bernard received from Henry and Matilda at this time. The reference comes from a survey conducted circa 1110 of the landholdings in and around the city of Winchester.⁸³ In this survey we read that in the area outside the West Gate, 'the tenement of Alestan Coppede paid all customs *TRE*. And now Bernard, the queen's chancellor has it, and does not perform the customs, and part of that tenement is on the land of the king. And part on the land of the bishop. And [Bernard] encroached one foot on the king's street. And he has from it 24s'.⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that in a second survey of c.1148 contained within Biddle's study, there is no sign of Bernard holding any lands in and around Winchester, or indeed, any queen's chancellor holding equivalent properties. It is therefore difficult to place whether Bernard held this property personally or by virtue of his office. As the property appears to be either housing or commercial property, it is possible that Bernard retained the property when bishop, but that it was destroyed in the fighting around Winchester in the civil war, but this must remain speculation. Biddle attributes to Bernard a number of property holdings held by Bernard the Scribe; footnoting Bernard, bishop of St. David's, Bernard, the queen's chancellor, and Bernard the Scribe as one person.⁸⁵ This is unlikely as in the Pipe Roll of Micheltmas 1130, Bernard the Scribe appears in the Danegeld pardons for Surrey, for 2s, while in the same entry is a pardon for [Bernard] the bishop of St.

⁸³ *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an edition and discussion of the Wilton Domesday*, ed. M. Biddle et al (Oxford, 1976), no.83, p.47.

⁸⁴ *ibid*, p.9. Based upon the fact that it could not have taken place before the appointment of William Giffard and Roger of Salisbury, both appointed in 1102, consecrated in 1107, and the consecration of Bernard as bishop of St. David's in 1115, Biddle puts a tentative date on the survey of c 1110.

⁸⁵ *ibid*, no.i, p.47.

David's.⁸⁶ The reference here is therefore the only one that actually refers to Bernard of St. David's. Nevertheless, the survey gives us some idea of the kind of financial patronage Bernard was receiving at this time.

The patronage of Queen Matilda, particularly that directed towards her own Scottish family, in the field of the arts, and her monastic patronage, all had a profound influence upon Bernard's future career and the modern historical perception of that career. When Matilda married Henry I in 1101, her brother, David, was not expected to become King of Scotland, and so looked to his powerful brother-in-law, and his wife, for position and patronage. At the Christmas court in 1113, David was created earl of Huntingdon.⁸⁷ When David unexpectedly became king of Scotland in 1124, he maintained both his English possessions and a keen interest in the affairs of the Anglo-Norman kingdom. Bernard was to maintain strong links with Matilda's Scottish family, making David's oldest son, Henry, earl of Northumberland, in 1139, steward of the bishopric of St. David's, and maintaining a strong Scottish flavour at St. David's, including the dual dedication of the cathedral complex at St. David's to St. Andrew and St. David, and appointing the Scottish royal clerk, Jordan, to the pre-

⁸⁶ *PR 31, Henry I*, p.51.

⁸⁷ *ASC*, p.244. The earldom of Huntingdon is referred to in the text as the earldom of Northamptonshire, but most historians commonly refer to the possession as the earldom of Huntingdon. The discrepancy can be explained by the fact that Northampton and Huntingdon were a single earldom until the reign of Stephen.

eminent archdeaconry of his diocese at Brecon at some point after 1125.⁸⁸ The political effects of Bernard's Scottish connections would not fully be felt until the years of the civil war, in the 1140s, and thus are discussed at length elsewhere. But they were links forged while David I still basked in the glow of his sister's patronage. At this time, Bernard and David would have been in a similar position, both reliant on Matilda's patronage for position and status. Perhaps it was this that formed the lasting relationship between the future bishop and the future king. It is probable that during his time as Matilda's chancellor, Bernard came into contact with her daughter, who, during the time of her minority, would have remained with her mother's household. How much this influenced Bernard's decision to support the empress' cause during the 1140's is difficult to tell. Chibnall, in her biography of the empress, describes Bernard as 'an old friend'.⁸⁹ Whilst it seems likely that the young Matilda and Bernard knew each other, Chibnall's description is a little familiar in nature. Family loyalty may have played some role in Bernard's calculations in the 1140's, and therefore need to be taken into consideration in any analysis of Bernard's motives during the civil war, the picture of Bernard's actions are a lot more complex than simple loyalty to the daughter of his former mistress. Nevertheless, the working relationship between Bernard and Queen Matilda appears to have been strong, and

⁸⁸ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.6 explains much of Bernard's Scottish connections, which he gained through his close working relationship with Queen Matilda. It is not known precisely when Henry of Northumberland became steward of St. David's, but all of the attestations of the leading Scottish figures within Bernard's chapter date from post-1125. It is possible that these appointments date from the time of the civil war, in the early 1140 as Jordan continues to attest to Scottish royal charters up to 1141, and is not recorded as an archdeacon of Brecon. If this were the case it would date the majority of Bernard's surviving acta to very late in his time as bishop (1141-1148). This passage of time would further serve to demonstrate the strong personal links Bernard forged with the Scottish royal family at the time of his service to Queen Matilda, as nearly 30 years would pass between the initiation of those links and the appointment at St. David's. The dual dedication, which appear in Bernard's profession of obedience to Canterbury in 1115 and therefore is earlier in date than the appointments to the chapter, could be attributed to Bernard's strong Scottish connections.

⁸⁹ M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991), ch.5, p.99.

the strength of Bernard's connections with her relatives, and her daughter, appear to have had their beginnings during Bernard's chancellorship.

Bernard's reputation has, in large part, come down to us from the comments of the monastic chroniclers that are, perhaps, a most significant window into the esteem that individual men such as Bernard were held in by their contemporaries. In this, Bernard was fortunate that Queen Matilda was a patron of the arts, particularly of William of Malmesbury, whom she encouraged to write the *Gesta Regum*. The queen also had a close relationship with Archbishop Anselm, whose disciple and biographer, Eadmer, has much good to say of Bernard when recounting his consecration.⁹⁰ William of Malmesbury has surprisingly little to say on Bernard directly, his strong support of the Angevin cause coincided with Bernard's and William is known to have visited St. David's at least once in his lifetime. Matilda's own reputation, and the reputation of her chapel, may also have helped Bernard, both in the eyes of his contemporaries, and consequently, in the historical record. History has left to us an opinion of Matilda as 'the good queen', pious and self-debasing. When she died, in 1118, the Hyde chronicle eulogised 'from the time that England was first subject to kings, there has not been a queen like her, nor will you find her match in ages to come. Her memory will be praised, and her name blessed forever'.⁹¹ Whilst this is strong praise it must be remembered that Matilda was a benefactress of Hyde abbey and mediaeval chroniclers tended to concentrate on the

⁹⁰ Eadmer, *HN*, pp.234-235 in *Ep.Acts*, D.35, describes Bernard as 'a worthy man and in the judgement of many an honourable priest'.

⁹¹ *Liber Monasterii de Hyda; Comprising a Chronicle of the affairs of England, from the settlement of the Saxons to the reign of King Cnut; and a Chartulary of the Abbey of Hyde, in Hampshire, AD 455-1023*, ed. E. Edwards, RS 45 (London, 1866), pp.312, 313.

virtues of their benefactors. The high regard the queen was held in appears also to have reflected upon her chapel:

*‘Domino scilicet ubique placere, et nulli hominum scandalum inferre: dominicum itaque servitum omnibus diebus, statutis horis, tam devote tam festive persolvebat, ut putares capellam ejus non curialium conventiculum esse clericorum, sed ferventissimum religiosorum monachorum’.*⁹²

Thus the chronicler of Hyde describes the atmosphere of Queen Matilda’s chapel. Bernard therefore would have headed this ‘gathering of court clerks...’ that were more like an ‘assembly of fervent monks’.⁹³ It is important, therefore, to assess what we know about Bernard’s early career, in order to throw greater light on his actions as bishop and the thinking and opinions behind them.

It is questionable whether the idealistic image given to us by the Hyde chronicler was truly reflective of the day to day working of the chapel. After all, this was a body of clerics responsible for the administrative work, as well as performing all services for the spiritual needs of the queen. It is clear from the large body of contemporary evidence that the queen was capable of keeping her chapel busy with spiritual matters as well as administrative affairs. William of Malmesbury records that David of Huntingdon found the queen in her bedchamber ‘washing and kissing the feet of a group of lepers’.⁹⁴ When challenged, she retorted that the ‘feet of the eternal king are to be preferred to the lips of a mortal one’.⁹⁵ It is also known that the queen attended mass barefoot during Lent and regularly wore a hair shirt under her royal

⁹² *ibid*, p.312.

⁹³ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.38. The sense of the Latin here is ‘a little convent’, being a diminutive of ‘conventum’.

⁹⁴ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.38 from *WM GR*, pp.754-8.

⁹⁵ *ibid*, pp.754-8.

robes - something that for the monks of the twelfth century marked a person with special holiness.⁹⁶ What effect could Bernard's proximity to the queen's fervent piety have had on him? Firstly the reference to 'fervent monks' cannot be taken too literally. There is no evidence that Bernard was a monk or indeed a secular canon. With regard to his piety, we shall see from his readiness to reform the 'barbarian' practices of the Welsh church in his diocese, his patronage of the reformed orders of Augustinian canons and the Cistercians, and his active involvement in discussions surrounding the liturgy, particularly the argument over the feast of The Conception of the Virgin Mary, that Bernard was a cleric who strongly adhered to correct canonical practice. All of these points will be discussed in later chapters.⁹⁷

Queen Matilda or Edith as she was known in her youth was born in 1080. In 1086 she left Scotland to be educated in the abbeys of southern England which had long been connected with the family of her mother, Margaret, an English princess. She went first to the abbey of Romsey, and from there, before 1093 to the abbey of Wilton in Wiltshire which had a reputation for culture and learning and so was ideal to educate a royal princess.⁹⁸

But it was not only the Augustinians that Matilda patronised. Matilda's charters, some of which Bernard attested, show a broad range of support. In her charters Matilda is a benefactor of ten different houses: eight Benedictine and two Augustinian, as well as grants to the bishop of Lincoln and to the church of St

⁹⁶ *ibid*, p.38.

⁹⁷ GC, *De Jure*, pp153,154 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.153. Gerald of Wales describes the pre-Bernardine church of St. David's as being governed by barbarous rites and practices by which he presumably meant that they did not at that time fully accord with Roman practice.

⁹⁸ Honeycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp.17-20.

Peter's, York. This is unsurprising, as the vast majority of religious houses followed the Benedictine rule. Monastic change was on the way: this is shown in Matilda's charters. One of her grants is to a Cluniac house, St. Andrew's, Northants. More significant than Matilda's patronage of these reformed Benedictines were her gifts to the Augustinian canons, including Holy Cross, Waltham, over which abbey she is known to have exercised feudal lordship, and she was as we have seen, the founder of the Augustinian priory of Aldgate in London in 1108.⁹⁹

Bernard's attestations before he became bishop show in general no great variation from the general pattern. His seven attestations are made up as follows; three Benedictine, three secular, and one Augustinian. The detail may betray some significance, however. Two of the three Benedictine grants are for houses with which Matilda appears to have had major connections. The first, Abingdon, has three grants from Queen Matilda, the most of any Benedictine house.¹⁰⁰ Its head, Faricius, came from the other house that appears to have had significance for Matilda: Malmesbury (Matilda's grant is also attested to by Bernard).¹⁰¹ The significance of the abbey of Malmesbury to Matilda has already been alluded to with regard to her patronage of William of Malmesbury, but Matilda's connections with the abbey went deeper than the patronage of the great historian. Archbishop Anselm is noted to have strongly rebuked her use of ecclesiastical patronage and is said to have 'stiffly repelled her nominee for the abbacy of Malmesbury'.¹⁰² The archbishop's words here are interesting: *'ut ecclesiae Dei, quae sunt in vestra*

⁹⁹ *ibid*, p.63.

¹⁰⁰ *RRAN*, 2, nos.565, 567, 674.

¹⁰¹ *ibid*, no.971.

¹⁰² R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1983), p.192.

potestate, vos cognoscant ut matrem, ut nutricem, ut benignam dominam et reginam'.¹⁰³

The relationship, which perhaps most affected Matilda's view of the spiritual world, was not the one that she had with her chancellor, but her relationship with Anselm of Canterbury. Matilda's intensely passionate, though perhaps one-sided, spiritual relationship with the ultimate reformer within the English church, stems from the fact that when she was at the abbey of Wilton, she spent time under the tutelage of her aunt, and had worn the monastic veil.¹⁰⁴ Her aunt, to ward off unsuitable marriage proposals, enforced this, her father and indeed Matilda herself objected to this practice, her father swearing that in Queen Matilda's words 'he had designed me for a wife... rather than a community of nuns'.¹⁰⁵ This almost had the effect Matilda's aunt had desired, for when the marriage between Matilda and Henry was proposed, Archbishop Anselm took some persuading that the bride was not already a bride of Christ. When he reluctantly consented he referred to Matilda as a 'lost daughter'.¹⁰⁶ Matilda may have been lost to the church but she certainly set about trying to find a spiritual father in Anselm. She trusted his judgement, making amongst others, the Augustinian foundation of Aldgate (a ward which she held in the city of London) in 1108 on his advice.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ L. L. Huneycutt, 'The Idea of the Perfect Princess: The Life of St Margaret in the reign of Matilda II (1100-1118)', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1990), p.92.

¹⁰⁴ Southern, *St. Anselm*, p.261.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, p.185.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*, p.192.

¹⁰⁷ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, p.1.

The Augustinians were not monks but canons regular but priests living under a rule but ultimately under the sanction of a diocesan bishop rather than an abbot, independent of episcopal authority. The Augustinian movement developed as part of the eleventh-century reform movement as a counter to the perceived excesses of the secular clergy. Anselm had been active in curbing uncanonical practice amongst the secular clergy. An example of this can be seen in his attempts at the council of London in 1102 to enforce Gregorian church policy such as an end to simony and clerical marriage.¹⁰⁸ Under this climate of church reform it is unsurprising that the Augustinian movement was popular. As a body of lay priests, living together it represented something close to an apostolic ideal. In a discussion of the early Christian community it is stated 'no-one claimed for his own use anything that he had, as everything they owned was held in common'.¹⁰⁹ The reformers hoped that by following this example they could bring a better quality of priesthood for the cure of souls. The regular canons had grown up in the second half of the eleventh century being supported heavily by Gregory VII, who even before he became pope was active in promoting the ideals which led to the foundation of the order. Regular canons were given recognition by the Lateran councils of 1059 and 1062. Although Gregory as pope tried to support the movement it suffered in Italy from its association with the papal party during the years of the investiture dispute 1076-1122. It was in France that 'the regular canons principally flourished in the half-century that followed the Lateran councils which had given them recognition'.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Cantor, *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture*, pp.162-166.

¹⁰⁹ *The Jerusalem Bible*, Popular Edition (London, 1974), Acts of the Apostles 4 v.32, p.161.

¹¹⁰ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p.46. Dickinson gives a good account of the beginnings of the regular canons between pages 26 and 49 on which much of this paragraph is based.

From there the canons became a much-patronised order by Henry I and his first queen.

How much the influence of the Archbishop on Queen Matilda affected Bernard cannot be accurately quantified but there is a link of patronage between Matilda's foundation at Aldgate with which Bernard was at least associated, the foundation of Llanthony and Bernard's foundation at Carmarthen.

Bernard witnessed Matilda's foundation charter to the Augustinian priory at Aldgate in London. This was Bernard's first known contact with the Augustinian order which he was heavily to promote during his episcopate, founding the Augustinian priory at Carmarthen in 1125. This latter foundation also may have had its origins in Matilda's chapel, as Carmarthen was connected with the Augustinian priory at Llanthony, whose first prior, Ernisius, was a member of Matilda's chapel under Bernard in the early years of the twelfth century.¹¹¹ It seems the religious climate of Matilda's chapel appears to have been strongly influenced by Anselm.

The earliest surviving letters of a queen of England, which date from 1103, were sent by Matilda to Anselm, at a time when the English church was only beginning to

¹¹¹ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, p.1; cf. *RRAN*, 2, no.906 and p.viii. The original foundation of Llanthony may have taken place as early as 1103 under the auspices of St Anselm with Ernisius, the former chaplain of Queen Matilda as its first prior. A chaplain of that name does witness the charter of Queen Matilda's circa 1104-1106. This and other evidence suggests that the foundation of Llanthony was a long-term project, which was only finally completed in 1118. If indeed the first prior of Llanthony was a chaplain to Queen Matilda in the first decade of the twelfth century, he is almost certain to have known Bernard, when the latter was chancellor to Queen Matilda 1102-1115. Llanthony may itself, has been a daughter house of Aldgate. This gives another indication of the closeness of the collection between Bernard's patronage of the Augustinian order and his links with Queen Matilda; J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp.111- 112.

realise the significance of the papacy in settling disputes, and to Paschal II, expressing the hope that he could help settle the dispute between Anselm and Henry.¹¹² The letter to Anselm clearly shows Matilda's feelings: 'the clouds of sadness in which I was wrapped being expelled, the streamlet of your words has guided through me like a ray of light. I embrace the little parchment sent to me by you, as I would my father himself: I cherish it to my bosom...'.¹¹³ The letter to the pope, whilst using the stylised, devotional language expected, is more considered, less personal, and therefore bears more the mark of a diplomatic letter. Bernard, as Matilda's most senior clerk, may have had much to do with the construction of at least the latter document, given that a letter from a queen to the pope would have been regarded as an important and unusual document. This combination of the spiritual and the administrative best exemplifies the 'training' Bernard received during the years 1102-1115.

The early years of Bernard's career are the least well-documented part of his life that is still within the historical record. Yet, it has been possible to present a picture of Bernard as a court cleric gradually growing in experience and responsibility. It has also been possible to identify connections to people and themes that would feature throughout his future career. First and foremost, the figure of Henry I looms large. He, it was, who created Bernard as a person of substance and responsibility inside the workings of his administration. He appears to have recognised Bernard's abilities, and trusted him with a number of sensitive and important jobs; first, the custody of the see of Hereford circa 1100-1102. This sensitive frontier bishopric

¹¹² *Letters of the Queens of England, 1100-1547*, ed. A. Crawford (Stroud, 1994), pp.20-24.

¹¹³ *ibid*, p.22.

would be handled in later vacancies by men of higher standing than Bernard, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, William of Corbeil (1123-1136). After this, Bernard became chancellor to Queen Matilda, 1102-1115, where he carried out a number of responsibilities for both king and queen. It has been shown that in the early years of the reign, Bernard had responsibility for ordering the drawing up of charters in the king's name. The fact that Henry trusted Bernard with the instrument of government suggests that there was already a bond of trust between the two men which would allow Henry to trust Bernard to operate in his name, but outside of his direct control, without fear of mismanagement or betrayal. The root of this trust appears to have come due to Bernard's membership of a small group of clerics, all substantially Henry's creations, who in large part appear to have taken most of the important roles in the administration of the kingdom during Henry's reign. These men include Roger of Salisbury, Waldric of Leon, and Thurstan of York, as well as Bernard. As part of this study, an examination of these men was undertaken to determine what type of men Henry chose to trust with the administration of his kingdom and, in large-part, his church. Despite differing reputations, what unites these men is infinitely greater than what divides them - a surprising fact, given the wide range of ways these men have been perceived during their own time and in the historical record. Within this group, Roger of Salisbury must remain, as he has been recognised by history for some time, the predominant presence within Henry's administration. What this study has tried to demonstrate, however, is that Bernard too played a noticeable role in the historical record in the administration of both the king and the queen, before his consecration as bishop of St. David's.

It is also interesting to note that these major clerics surrounding Queen Matilda appear to have retained close connections with Bernard. For instance Roger, bishop of Salisbury was the second, only to Bernard, most frequent attestor to the charters of Queen Matilda and the prelate who conducted the queen's funeral.¹¹⁴ Bernard and Roger united in their opposition to the feast of The Conception of the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁵ They also ended up as neighbouring magnates in Wales after Roger was granted the lordship of Kidwelly in 1106. They also followed Queen Matilda in patronage of the Augustinian canons. Although very different in their interpretation of their personal responsibilities as bishop (Roger was married), these similarities show the influence of being part of the same court structures which shaped their practice as bishops. Both men's careers were to be divided between enthusiastic royal service, personal advantage and a principled administration of their bishoprics.

Away from administration, other long-term influences on Bernard's career have been found and examined. This period saw the beginning of political alliances and religious influences through Queen's Matilda's chapel which would serve Bernard throughout his life, with Matilda's Scottish relatives, and perhaps also with her only surviving daughter.

On the eve of his elevation to the see of St. David's in September 1115, what can be deduced from this examination to give us a picture of Bernard, and why was he chosen for the important and sensitive task of securing the bishopric of St. David's, for Henry I? Judging by the length of his term in office as queen's chancellor,

¹¹⁴ *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, p.312.

¹¹⁵ Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury*, pp.139-142.

Bernard appears to have been successful in his role. To do this, he must have demonstrated some considerable administrative and diplomatic skills, balancing his time between the needs of Matilda's zealous religious life, the facilitation of her extensive patronage of the church and his support of the active political role of the queen. All of these were extensively interlinked. During the king's frequent absences during the period 1106 until her death on 1 May 1118, Matilda often stepped in as vice-regent.¹¹⁶ Placing Bernard's precise role in this is difficult, although his presence during Matilda's viceregal administrations can be surmised, it is the trust placed in Bernard to draw up charters for the king independently that shows the clearest bond of trust between Bernard and Henry. It is this trust, as well as Bernard's proven administrative ability, previous experience in the frontier areas of the kingdom, loyalty, and solid personal reputation, as demonstrated by the opinions of Archbishop Anselm's disciple, Eadmer, that may have convinced Henry I that Bernard was the right man for the vacancy at St. David's. He would therefore be the guardian of Henry's western frontier.

¹¹⁶ Hollister, 'The Viceregal Court of Henry I', p.133

Guarding the Frontier:

From Consecration to Llandaff Dispute 1115-1131

Henry I ‘towers in the history of the subjugation of Wales and in the making of the Welsh March as no other monarch before the reign of Edward I’.¹ This statement is emphatic and, on further reflection, its judgement appears to be valid. The reign of Henry I was a period of notable expansion for the Anglo-Normans in Wales and in South Wales in particular.² In this chapter, the aim is to discuss questions surrounding the appointment of Bernard as bishop of St. David’s in 1115, in the wider context of Anglo-Norman expansion in Wales. The central questions are: what were the conditions in Wales that allowed for Bernard’s appointment both in relation to his diocese of St. David’s and the broader political framework of Wales? Why did Henry I choose Bernard for this politically sensitive appointment and what effect did it have on Bernard’s personal and political relationship with Henry and his family? To what extent did Bernard, in the earliest years of his time as bishop, come to dominate areas of his diocese and cause conflict in the shape of the Llandaff dispute?

Historians have identified the Llandaff dispute as a boundary dispute between the bishop and chapter of Llandaff on the one hand and those of Hereford and St. David's on the other; it is one of the most important components in any study of the life and career of Bishop Bernard. If it were merely an episode in the creation of a medieval diocese in South Wales this conflict would be vital enough; but the Llandaff

¹ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p.40.

² I. W. Rowlands, ‘The Making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 3 (1980), p.143

controversy provides vital insights into the process and advancement of the Anglo-Norman conquest in Wales. It also reveals the extent to which the papacy had become a vital element in the affairs of the church and demonstrates how limited papal power actually was when not fully supported by the power of the king and his authority. It indicates that Bishop Bernard had a place at the centre of Anglo-Norman power, both in lay and in ecclesiastical spheres, and that this role greatly aided him in avoiding some of the pitfalls of the secular Norman advancement in Wales and in finally gaining the upper hand in his dispute with the Bishop of Llandaff.³

Historians have debated at length the motives behind Henry's policies towards Wales and their level of success. For Davies, 'Wales was not high on Henry's agenda of preoccupations and priorities'.⁴ But for him this clearly does not lessen Henry's influence on the history of Wales. Others have been more critical of Henry's ultimate influence: Nelson, whilst acknowledging that 'the history of south Wales during the reign of Henry I then is one of apparent Norman success', is critical of Henry's ultimate achievement.⁵ For Nelson there were 'two major elements ...missing however. In the first place, the original attacks had aimed at the political conquest and eventual absorption or complete subjugation of the Welsh. Henry's new programme had more limited objectives. It was in the royal interest that certain Welsh communities and political groups be maintained intact to act as a political counterbalance to the Marcher lords'.⁶ For Nelson the ultimate effect was that, 'in

³ A study of these events is contained in the introduction to *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, pp.163-183.

⁴ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p.40.

⁵ L. H. Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales, 1070-1171*, (Austin, 1966), p.123.

⁶ *ibid*, p.123-124.

the long run...the royal policy... worked against the interest of the Norman invaders. Peace brought increase of wealth and population to the Welsh people; and peaceable contact with the Normans brought them knowledge of new techniques in military and political affairs... throughout this period Welsh society grew more dynamic and developed a greater sense of nationality.’⁷ Nelson’s verdict, then, is that Henry’s policy in Wales made the ultimate subjugation of Wales more difficult for Henry’s successors. Nelson’s argument appears to rest on the judgement that the political subjugation of Wales was always the ambition of the kings of England and even that this goal was somehow laudable. Evidence for this ‘conquest’ view can be found in the writings of the Welsh. The *Brut* says of Henry’s invasion in 1114 that ‘they planned by agreement to seek to eliminate all the Britons completely, so that the Britannic name should never more be remembered’.⁸ The *Brut* tells us that Owain ap Cadwgan Prince of Powys and then ‘King of the Welsh’ accompanied Henry on his trip.⁹ At some point in 1115, after Henry returned from the continent, Gruffydd ap Cynan, Prince of Gwynedd, was also sent for and came to King Henry’s court¹⁰ Native Welsh princes were frequently summoned to court. Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd probably attended before 1109 and again in 1115; Cadwgan of Powys in 1110 and his son Owain in 1111, 1114 and 1116; Gruffudd ap Rhys of Deheubarth came at least once.¹¹ Those Welsh princes who tried to move away from the king’s peace were regarded with some disdain even by the *Brut*.¹² The purpose of these

⁷ *ibid*, p.124.

⁸ *Brut*, p.79.

⁹ *ibid*, p.83. For Owain as ‘King of the Welsh’, see, JW, vol.3, p.183. The term king is not strictly applicable here. It rather denotes Owain’s status as first among the Welsh princes.

¹⁰ *Brut*, p. 85.

¹¹ Davies, ‘Henry I and Wales’, p.139.

¹² For example *Brut*, p.89, describes the followers of Gruffudd ap Rhys as ‘hotheads’, and observes of his expedition that ‘the spirit becomes haughty before the fall of man.’

visits to court is made clear by the *Brut*: 'it is the way of the French [the Normans] to deceive people with promises of land.'¹³

Such opinions may easily persuade the reader that it was Henry's intention to undertake the complete conquest of Wales. The tactical planning and overwhelming strength of Henry's campaign may suggest a similar conclusion. However, a wider view of Henry's political priorities may lead to a different view.¹⁴ In the end Henry was interested in hegemony rather than conquest. What marks Henry's policy is the determined and singularly effective way in which he pursued this goal. Henry made quite sure that he, and the men who represented him controlled Wales. The means by which he exercised his authority in Wales was through his control of men; 'from 1102 onwards Henry virtually created a new March in his own image'.¹⁵ He granted a succession of Marcher lordships to men who were, by virtue of his grant, 'beholden to Henry and he never allowed them to forget it'.¹⁶

¹³ *Brut*, p.85.

¹⁴ For Henry's campaigns in Wales, see *Brut*, pp.79-83 (1114 campaign) and pp.105-109 (1121 campaign). For a discussion of their effects, see *AC*, p.42 and Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales*, pp.123-125; also Hollister, *Henry I*, pp.237-238. For a wider view on Henry's political horizons at this time see Hollister, *Henry I*, ch.6, 'The Wheel of Fortune', pp.234-279. It is in this context, particularly in regard to Henry's continuing efforts to safeguard his position and that of his dynasty on the continent, for example in his efforts to secure his son's succession to the Duchy of Normandy in the spring of 1115, that Henry's concurrent policy towards Wales should be viewed. In the end Henry's actions in Wales were designed to allow him to concentrate on this first priority of securing his continental position without having to constantly worry about trouble from either the native Welsh or his own Marcher barons.

¹⁵ Rowlands, 'The making of the March', p.151.

¹⁶ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p.42. A full list of these grants can be summarized as follows: Brecon (Miles of Gloucester), Abergavenny (Brian fitz Count), Chepstow and Netherwent (Walter fitz Richard), Glamorgan (Robert of Gloucester), Gower (Henry de Beaumont), Kidwelly (Roger of Salisbury), Cantref Bychan (Richard fitz Pons) and Ceredigion (Gilbert fitz Richard). On the border Richard of Belmeis, bishop of London, was given control of Shropshire after the fall of the Montgomery earldom, and to this list must be added Bernard, who acquired the temporalities of St. David's in 1115. See *AC*, pp.40-42 and Rowlands, 'Making of the March' pp.151-152.

Added to this was Henry's skilful control over the Welsh princes. He was 'the only constant in the Balkan-like fragmentation of political alliances that followed the fall of Rhys ap Tewdwr and the Norman incursions into his erstwhile dominions.'¹⁷ The king proved to be an expert at exploiting the divisions of the native Welsh dynasties for his own ends. The native princes were frequently summoned to court not as the *Brut* believed, to facilitate the destruction of the native Welsh, but to install them as client princes on whom the king could rely.

Another important element in Henry's system of influence in south Wales was his use of trusted churchmen to perform important roles under Henry's control. This control was particularly strong over the great bishops of the court.¹⁸ It is therefore not surprising that the greatest of these, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, played a central part in this policy. At some point, probably in the first half of the second decade of the twelfth century, Henry gave Bishop Roger the lordship of Kidwelly, a reality recognised by Bernard's predecessor, Bishop Wilfred, in the years immediately preceding Bernard's consecration.¹⁹ Considering future events, it is interesting that Bishop Wilfred, and not Bishop Urban of Llandaff, is the recognised episcopal authority in the area. It is not surprising that Bernard, the man who in the second half of Henry's reign, was arguably to become the second most important court bishop after Roger of Salisbury, should be chosen to fill the vacancy at St. David's. It happened that by chance, at a time in his reign when Henry's eyes were most

¹⁷ Rowlands, 'Making of the March', p.151.

¹⁸ An example of this process is in 1109 when Henry appointed Richard, bishop of London as his steward at Shrewsbury. *Brut*, p.57.

¹⁹ The occasion was the gift by Bishop Roger of Salisbury of Kidwelly Priory to Sherborne Abbey, to which Bishop Wilfred 'consented'. Sherborne Cartulary [BL Add.MS. 46487 folio 14-15v]; Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury*, pp.231-233 who dates Bishop Roger's grant to 19 July 1114.

focused on Wales, in 1114-1116, a vacancy in the largest and most important diocese in Wales occurred; this allowed Henry to install a safe pair of hands to look after and oversee his affairs in South Wales. Hence, Henry took much care to associate Bernard's coming to Wales with the royal power and king's favour.

More obviously than any other of his predecessors Henry I was a lord of the March in his own right. The rebellion of the house of Montgomery in 1102 had allowed Henry to acquire the family's substantial holdings: the honour of Pembroke, which brought Henry £100 to the exchequer at Michaelmas 1130 and, with it, a personal lordship over the lords of Cemais, Emlyn, Rhos, Narberth and Daugleddau, as well as direct lordship over the Castle Martin peninsula.²⁰ Added to this extensive power-base was the royal castle and honour at Carmarthen with which Bernard was to have a close association.²¹ Through direct exercise of lordship and by means of effective exercise of overlordship of both the Anglo-Norman lords of the March and the native Welsh princes, Henry I became the most active king of England in the affairs of Wales yet seen, although he did not have the same focus on the British Isles as did Edward I. Henry, after all, devoted a large part of his early reign to the consolidation

²⁰ Rowlands, 'Making of the March', p.152.

²¹ Carmarthen was the site of Bernard's only independent monastic foundation. Bernard was also responsible for its administration at some point before 1131, when he owed a substantial sum of money to the treasury for the 'debts of the men of the honor of Chaermerdin', *PR 31, Henry 1*, p.90.

of his power in England and to the conquest of Normandy.²² Henry's priority in Wales was the maintenance of peace and stability. Bernard's elevation to the see of St. David appears to have been part of a concerted effort by Henry in the field of Welsh affairs designed to bring this about by an increase of stable royal influence in Wales, rather than by direct conquest, and by exercising control over those who held the lands and offices in Wales and the March, and where possible, over the native Welsh too.

This view is reinforced by the events surrounding Bernard's consecration. Bernard's consecration as bishop of St. David's in September 1115 was nothing if not controversial and unusual. Eadmer reports a dispute between the king and Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury over the location of the consecration ceremony. Archbishop Ralph insisted that, under the terms of the settlement of the investiture dispute with his predecessor Anselm, the proper place for such a ceremony was the archbishop's chapel which represented church rather than secular power. King Henry's friend and advisor Robert, count of Meulan proposed that the consecration should be reformed in the king's chapel in contravention of the agreement. King Henry however pointed out 'that he could not force the archbishop of Canterbury to

²² See Hollister, *Henry I*, ch.3 & 4, pp.102-204, for a good account of this period. It must be remembered that Henry was somewhat opportunistic in his seizure of the English throne after the mysterious death of William II, whilst his elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy was on crusade, and in his unification of the patrimony and the acquisition of his father which was secured by his victory at the battle of Tinchebrai -28 September 1106. Robert spent the rest of his life, 28 years, in prison. Thereafter Henry constantly defended his continental dominions against other claimants notably an alliance between William Clito (Duke Robert's son), and Henry's rival Fulk of Anjou. The conflict was current at the time of Bernard's appointment as bishop of St. David's. It is also interesting to note that as far as William I was concerned in the division of his possessions, it was the duchy of Normandy which took priority over the kingdom of England and went to the older son Robert, whereas England was given to the second son, William II; the orientation of the Norman kings is therefore clearly demonstrated.

consecrate anywhere except where he wished to do so'.²³ The consecration was therefore set for Lambeth until the personal intervention of Queen Matilda caused it to be moved for a second time to the royal abbey of St Peter's Westminster, where the ceremony duly took place in the presence of both the king and the queen.²⁴ The queen's intervention is likely to have been caused by a mixture of feelings, personal, political and pious.

What was the reason for the dispute in this case, given that there had been relative harmony on such matters, following the agreement between King Henry and Anselm? The reason for the exceptional circumstances surrounding Bernard's consecration was the very significance of the ceremony. Bernard was the first bishop to be consecrated to a Welsh diocese to derive his authority entirely from the Anglo-Norman establishment. Bernard's elevation to the see of St. David was not only a matter of the Welsh having to accept the continuing advance of the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury in the affairs of the Welsh church.

Bernard was not however the first bishop in Wales to come within the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence. Little is known about Bernard's immediate predecessor Bishop Wilfred. His Anglo-Saxon name would suggest he may have been of mixed Anglo-Welsh ancestry, another possibility is that he was a Welshman, who like his near contemporary Bishop Urban of Llandaff, could have been sent by his bishop, presumably in his case Bishop Sulien, to gain experience in England and thereby

²³ Eadmer, *HN*, pp.235-36.

²⁴ *ibid*, p.236.

gained a more anglicised name. What we can be sure about is that during his period of office Wilfred had to cope with many difficult experiences.²⁵

In 1089 St. David's suffered a Viking raid, during which the shrine of St. David was desecrated and its gold and silver taken by the raiders. Unlike some other bishops who had been killed in similar attacks Wilfred survived, but almost immediately was forced to cope with the far more serious and sustained challenge of Norman incursions into his diocese. At some point before 1095 Archbishop Anselm suspended Bishop Wilfred, presumably for refusing to accept the archbishop's authority, before restoring him at Rockingham in that year.²⁶ Wilfred clearly had trouble with the Norman settlers. The *Brut* says that 'Gerald the Steward, to whom the Stewardship of Pembroke Castle had been entrusted, ravaged the bounds of Menevia'.²⁷ The actions of the Montgomeries as a whole appear to have caused much difficulty for Wilfred as Bernard reported to Pope Eugenius III around 1145: 'then Wilfrid [Wilfred], at that time archbishop of their see, sorely pressed by the great hostility of the Normans, was at length made captive by the men of Arnulf of Montgomery, and detained by them for forty days'.²⁸ Around 1100 the situation became so bad between the Normans and Bishop Wilfred that the bishop was forced to turn to Archbishop Anselm for help. The archbishop in a letter addressed to the Montgomeries, Ralph Mortimer, Philip de Braose and Bernard of Neufmarché warned that Wilfred should be treated with 'all the reverence and obedience due to a bishop', warning them that if they 'hold lands, tithes or churches or anything which

²⁵ GW, *De Invect.* p.140 in *Ep. Acts*, D.131

²⁶ Eadmer *HN*, p.72

²⁷ *Brut*, p.37

²⁸ *Ep. Acts*, D.131

belongs to his church' each should be returned or risk being 'disinherited from the kingdom of God'.²⁹ After this there appears to have been more peaceful relations between Wilfred and the Normans, but even so Gerald of Wales still complains that 'Wilfrid [Wilfred] fearing the hostile lances of the newcomers' alienated many lands of the church – a charge he also levied at Bernard.³⁰

A Breton, Hervé was consecrated bishop of Bangor in 1092. Given that he was a familiar of King William II, it is likely that his appointment was made with royal approval and with the assistance of Hugh, earl of Chester.³¹ He succeeded the Welsh Bishop Revedun, who had probably been consecrated by Bishop Sulien of Menevia either between 1073x1078 or 1080x1085.³² By tradition the bishopric of Bangor had been founded by St Deiniol, and his successors were bishops of the saint's church and its dependent churches. It is likely that there was no formal diocese before Hervé. The idea of a bishop without a formal diocese would have seemed alien to the Normans, although it may have been difficult for Hervé to define his diocese on consecration.³³ This problem was experienced by both the bishoprics of Llandaff and St David's when they both entered the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence in the early twelfth century. Roughly speaking the area over which Hervé had at least nominal jurisdiction were the lands north and west of the Clwyd in the principality of Gwynedd and those lands granted within north Wales east of that river.

²⁹ *ibid.* D.24

³⁰ GW, *De Jure*, p 152

³¹ *Ep.Acts*, p.92

³² GW, *De Invest.* p.140; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, vol 9, *The Welsh Cathedrals* compiled by M. J. Pearson (2003), p.1; the circumstances surrounding the insertion of Hervé to Bangor are connected with the conquests of Hugh, earl of Chester and Robert of Rhuddlan, *Domesday Book, A Complete Translation*, ed., A. Williams and G. H. Martin (Penguin Books, 2002), folio 269, p.737; these conquests allowed temporarily for the installation of a bishop favourable to the Normans. See also *Ep.Acts*, p.92.

³³ *Ep.Acts*, p.93

to Hugh, earl of Chester, and Robert of Rhuddlan.³⁴ It is very likely the bishop's influence was confined to those areas under the control of the Normans. In 1094 a revolt by the Welsh destroyed Anglo-Norman castles of Gwynedd and resulted in the ejection of Hervé from his diocese.³⁵ Even after the re-establishment of Norman control over some areas of the diocese Hervé remained an infrequent visitor. After unsuccessfully petitioning Pope Paschal II in 1102 for a change of diocese he was eventually translated by Henry I to the new see of Ely in 1109.³⁶

These bishops, Wilfred and Hervé, along with Urban of Llandaff, had all at some point in their episcopacies been forced to recognise, with varying degrees of willingness, the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury as their metropolitan. This state of affairs implicitly recognised the growing influence of the Anglo-Normans in the affairs of Wales, both political and ecclesiastical, in the first years of the twelfth century.

Yet Bernard's consecration as bishop of St. David's represented a far more significant step, which was clearly acknowledged by Henry and his advisers. Bernard, the intimate *familiaris* of the family of the king- duke, represented not only the growing power of the Anglo-Norman church, but also the increasing ability of Henry I to influence the internal politics of Wales in a way that the appointment of any of the other Anglo-Norman bishops had not.

³⁴ *ibid*, p.93

³⁵ *Brut*, p35; *AC*, pp.29-30; J. C. Davies in *Ep.Acts* p.95 assumes that the castle and cathedral of Bangor were amongst those taken.

³⁶ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden Third Series, 92 (London, 1962), pp.248-9

Why was Bernard chosen for this appointment? Whilst Bernard had enjoyed lengthy success in his post as chancellor to Queen Matilda, there is no surviving evidence to suggest that he possessed exceptional powers of administration, although his career as a bishop does suggest such qualities. Henry may well have recognised a man of talent. The one quality which Bernard did certainly possess was that he was Henry's man. His appointment then fits the pattern of Henry creating a Welsh March which contained a number of men who owed their power and position to Henry's patronage. Everything suggests that Henry even went to greater lengths than usual to associate himself with Bernard's appointment. If the events surrounding Bernard's consecration are difficult to interpret, one thing is very clear from the evidence of the surviving records: Bernard was by far the best connected bishop in Wales in the first half of the twelfth century as far as the English court is concerned. Taking the number of attestations to royal charters during their episcopates as a rough guide to political influence, the Welsh bishops fared extremely badly. Of forty-seven bishops in Henry reign, Hervé of Bangor is 35th, David of Bangor is 43rd, Urban of Llandaff 45th and Wilfred of St. David's 47th. Using the same yardstick Bernard is ranked 3rd.³⁷

The effect of a man so closely linked with Henry I - a king greatly feared by the Welsh - becoming bishop of St. David's cannot have gone unnoticed by Anglo-Norman and Welshmen alike. Any attempt to depose Bernard, often the precedent of the successful deposition of Hervé of Bangor by a Welsh rebellion is likely to have

³⁷ The table is taken from Crosby, 'The Organization of the English Episcopate under Henry I', p.7. Crosby puts Bernard 10th but this is based on an incorrect number of attestations by Bernard (44), as opposed to the 65 I have uncovered. Using Crosby's system of calculation, the number of attestations divided by the number of years in office, the position of 3rd is achieved. This does not take into account the possibility of inaccurate numbers for other bishops.

been met with a swift and powerful royal response. The implications of Bernard's close association with Henry go largely unrecorded, although the temporalities of St. David's suffered less from the incursion of both Anglo-Norman lords and Norman monks than did some other Welsh sees notably Llandaff. This is a fact that some have attributed to Bernard's close association with Henry I.³⁸ It is likely that the attribute that most recommended Bernard to Henry was his loyalty, a quality which, as we have seen, was singularly lacking in Welsh politics in the early twelfth century. William I had instituted a system of creating semi-autonomous military lordships on the Welsh border, notably the three earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford.³⁹ This system was designed to give security against Welsh raids and the earldoms were given to trusted Norman vassals. However the system was not as effective for William's successors, as the bonds of personal loyalty which guaranteed the success of William's system were not evident between his successors and the next generation of these powerful frontier families as successively all rebelled against the crown. Thus after 1102, with the rebellion of the earl of Shrewsbury and his family, Henry appears to have changed his mind, re-distributed the lands of the earldom of Shrewsbury and retained the lordship of Pembroke in royal hands. With the earldom of Chester already part of the royal domain, this represented a powerful block of sensitive territory retained directly in the king's control, and emphasises Henry's desire to ensure security in sensitive border areas.

³⁸ Rowlands, 'Making of the March', p.152. 'His (Henry I's) support of Bishop Bernard ensured that St. David's emerged virtually unscathed in terms of its temporal lordship and diocesan boundaries by the end of his episcopate.' This would seem to be true. However, Rowlands's assertion that Henry I denied an archbishop's pallium to Bernard is misplaced, as there is no clear evidence of Bernard seeking the pallium before Henry's death. It is more likely that Bernard's desire to elevate his bishopric stemmed from the political realities of the Welsh reconquest of St. David's following Henry's death rather than from any conflict between bishop and king during Henry's lifetime.

³⁹ *Brut*, pp.39,41,133.

Why was the granting of the bishopric of St. David's to a favourite of Henry I considered necessary? Of the three dioceses in Wales in existence on the accession of Henry I in 1100 - Bangor, Llandaff and St. David's - St. David's was the last to fall under Anglo-Norman control. Until then an independent St. David's provided a possible focus for rebellion or for facilitating alliances between the native Welsh. Bishop Wilfred, Bernard's predecessor, had supported anti-Norman movements in the 1090's and from St. David's came the most powerful literary expressions of Welsh ecclesiastical independence, notably Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*. Control over this powerful centre of learning and religious culture in south Wales was a desirable goal for the Normans. A further advantage of Norman control of St. David's lay in its geographical position on the western flank of the rapidly expanding Norman territories in Dyfed. Bernard's succession to the temporalities of St. David's secured the king's interest in the far south-west and prevented the possibility of native infiltration of the Norman lordships, which would be difficult to reach from England. As Rowlands has suggested, what better place to install a reliable and loyal informant to gather sound intelligence than the most distant cathedral in Wales?⁴⁰ There is evidence to show that during Bernard's first visit to St. David's between 1116-1119 he maintained communications with Henry I. Among the witnesses of a notification dated between 1115-1120 regarding the church of St Mary at Hay-on-Wye is a cleric of Henry I.⁴¹ This suggests that Henry was using his clerics to keep in contact with Bernard at a time when Bernard was unable to advise the king personally. The logic of this strategy is undeniable but it must be taken into account

⁴⁰ Rowlands, 'Making of the March', p.151.

⁴¹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.17.

that after 1119 the frequency of Bernard's attestations to government documents suggests that he spent little or no time in Wales until after Henry's death in 1135. Presumably the diocesan organisation set up by Bernard was effective enough to allow the bishop to be absent for long periods.

A trusted Norman bishop of St. David's was clearly in the king's interest and the timing of Bernard's appointment in the middle of the turbulent years 1114-1116 cannot be seen as anything other than the king seizing the opportunity presented by the death of its last native Welsh bishop, Wilfred. It was the first time since 1085 that a vacancy in the bishopric had arisen; whereas neither *Annales Cambriae* nor *Brut Y Tywysogyon* comment on Wilfred's background when recounting his succession to Sulien [1085], they make a point of specifying Bernard's origins when recording his succession in 1115. Thus Henry had not previously had an opportunity of appointing a bishop at St. David's which the massive Norman expansion in Dyfed in the intervening years facilitated.⁴²

Bernard's arrival in St. David's, probably at the beginning of 1116, also strengthened the military position of the Anglo-Normans in south-west Wales. Gerald, archdeacon of Brecon, states that Bernard provided for his knights three times the

⁴² *ibid*, p.2. Bishop Wilfred, judging by his name, was probably English with Welsh connections. Not a Norman intimate, he makes no attestations to the charters of Henry I. He increasingly felt the power of the Norman church after a suspension 'On account of his fault'; Archbishop Anselm restored him to office in 1095. 'The fault' may have related to his support for the Welsh rebellion of 1093. After his restoration to office Wilfred received some support from Anselm against the design of the encroaching Norman lords and supported Roger of Salisbury's grants from the Norman bishop's lands at Kidwelly to the Benedictine abbey at Sherborne. For Wilfred's suspension and restoration, see Eadmer, *HN*, p.72. For Wilfred's possible support of the Welsh rebellion see the preface to Rhigyfarch, *St.D.* For support from Anselm and his connections with Robert of Salisbury see *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.24. Also, from the insepimus by David, bishop of St. Davids, 15 October 1301, *Mon. Ang.*, no.1, pp.64, 65.

average land grant in exchange for military service, an example to the former of his profligacy at expense of the lands of St. David's.⁴³ This suggests that Bernard was actively trying to attract knights to his service and indeed it may suggest a realisation on Bernard's part that he would have to offer greater awards in exchange for the very real possibility of substantial active service which the situation in Wales at the time of Bernard's consecration suggested was likely.⁴⁴

At the time of Bernard's arrival in Wales, the Anglo-Norman and royal interest in Wales was under severe threat. Henry's massive campaign of 1114 had been relatively successful, bringing the powerful Welsh princes, Gruffudd ap Cynan and Owain ap Cadwgan, back into the king's peace.⁴⁵ The return of Gruffudd ap Rhys, a claimant to the Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth, in 1115 threw south and central Wales into political turmoil.⁴⁶ It was to gain the support of Gruffudd ap Cynan for the struggle against Gruffudd ap Rhys that King Henry had 'bid him come to him at court' in 1115, 'send him to him alive, and if he could not capture him to kill him and to send him his head', the *Brut* has Henry saying.⁴⁷

When Bernard actually arrived in this maelstrom of conflicting loyalties and personal vendettas is not known precisely. Bernard certainly did not proceed to Wales

⁴³ GC, *De Jure*, p.153, 154.

⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.153

⁴⁵ *Brut*, pp.79-83, depicts both Gruffudd and Owain as enjoying the king's favour following Henry's campaign; see also, *A Medieval Prince of Wales, The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. and trans., D. S. Evans (Llanerch, 1990), pp.80-81; K.L. Maund, *The Welsh Kings, The Medieval Rulers of Wales* (Stroud, 2000), ch. 4, pp.71-93.

⁴⁶ *Brut*, pp.83-101

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.85.

immediately following his consecration, as he attests a number of charters in the months following the ceremony. The last of these was at Winchester, a charter to the new bishop of Hereford, the likely date of which is around Christmas 1115.⁴⁸ This date will allow for Bernard's arrival in Wales in the early part of 1116 not the most auspicious year for a new royal appointee to take office in Wales.⁴⁹ At that time the royal castle at Carmarthen was under threat from Gruffydd ap Rhys and his supporters. The *Brut* comments: 'the French then took counsel and summoned to them the chiefs of the land, to wit, Owain ap Caradog ap Rhydderch. ...Maredudd ap Rhydderch And said to them. You must keep the castle of Carmarthen, which belongs to the king each one of you in his appointed time for a fortnight'.⁵⁰ The *Brut* makes clear that this was a test of loyalty for the friendly chiefs. It may also be an indication that Anglo-Norman military resources were stretched at this point and so the Welsh were invited to hold the king's castle for the period of a month in turn. No Normans involved in this council are mentioned, the *Brut* simply referring to the French; this can only mean Normans were involved in the council as generally the latter almost always appear as 'the French' in the *Brut*, but it is certainly feasible that Bernard, a man from in Henry's circle of intimates and who had only recently left the court, as well as holding the leading ecclesiastical office in the area, would have been involved, indeed, he would have been an ideal choice to conduct any negotiations on

⁴⁸ The charter to Bishop Geoffrey that the editors date November-December 1115 is in *RRAN*, 2, no.1100. The vacancy at the see of Hereford lasted from 27 October to 26 December 1115, when Bishop Geoffrey was consecrated. Bernard attests a charter of Henry I granting Bishop-elect Geoffrey the temporal estates of the diocese. Some idea as to the dating of this charter may be gained from the fact that a similar charter from Henry to Bernard, although attested to by greater number of Henry's barons, was granted on 16 September, two days before Bernard's consecration. If Bishop Geoffrey's charter was also granted two days before his consecration it would date from Christmas Eve 1115. For the date of the vacancy at Hereford see, JW, vol.3, p.139.

⁴⁹ *Brut*, pp.83-101, covers the events of 1115x1116 in detail. For a concise account, see Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, pp.90-92.

⁵⁰ *Brut*, pp.87-91.

behalf of the king, who by then had departed for the continent. Whatever Bernard's role in these events, this would have been a difficult period for the new bishop who had only just arrived to take up his new role. 1116 was a year not only of war, but also of famine. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* state 'this was a very laborious year and calamitous for the earth crops through the immense rains that came just before August and were still very oppressive and troublesome when Candlemas came [2nd February]. Also this year was so barren of mast that none was heard tell of in all this land nor also in Wales'.⁵¹ It is little wonder that the *Brut* concludes the events of 1116 thus: 'meanwhile the year came to a close irksome and hateful to everyone'.⁵²

Whatever Bernard's role in the conflicts of 1116, the south-eastern parts of his diocese, centred on the royal lordship of Carmarthen and the secure Anglo-Norman lordship of Brecon, would play a leading role in Bernard's actions and responsibilities during his first stay in Wales which was to last until the summer of 1119.⁵³ It is during this period that much reform took place at St. David's. Although Bernard spent this time in Wales, he is almost entirely absent from the direct historical record. We have only one confirmation of Bernard's presence, which probably dates from this period, namely his rededication of the church of St Mary's, Hay, and confirmation of the lands which the church has been given by William Ravel, who held the castle and the lordship of Hay, with the consent from Bernard de Neufmarché, lord of Brecon/Brycheiniog.⁵⁴ Bernard's other confirmed activities during this period involve reform of his church, such as the introduction of

⁵¹ *ASC*, p.246-247. Mast or *maesten*; the fruit of beech, oak and other forest trees, was of vital importance as pannage (pig-fodder).

⁵² *Brut*, p.101.

⁵³ *JW*, vol.iii, pp.145-47.

⁵⁴ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.43; see also Lloyd, *History of Wales*, vol.ii, pp.437-38, note 133.

archdeaconries and parishes (in the areas dominated by the Normans) and the replacing of the native Welsh *clas* system at the cathedral by a European-style stipendiary system of secular canons.⁵⁵ An examination of the Pipe Roll entry for ‘Caermarthen’ of 1130 reveals some of Bernard’s other responsibilities. The record states that ‘Bernard, bishop of St. David’s owes £8 16s 4d for the debts of the men of the honour of Carmarthen’.⁵⁶ Green has suggested that this reference is not contemporary with the compiling of the Pipe Roll and has also suggested a credible reason for its presence in it. She suggests that the debt represents an aid, ‘*de dono Regis*’ levied for the support of knights taken from the manors of the royal domain, possibly in lieu of service, the entry relating to an earlier financial year’.⁵⁷ Green further suggests that this type of aid represents an early form of tallage – an arbitrary muniment on demesne lands like boroughs and towns.⁵⁸ Green’s suggestion would seem to be a credible basis from which to work. What does this say about Bernard’s role with regard to the honour of Carmarthen at this time? Searle has suggested that Bernard was holding the honour of Carmarthen at the time of the Pipe Roll.⁵⁹ This is unlikely as there is no evidence that King Henry, who held the honour at the time, transferred the honour to Bernard. It is more likely that Bernard was administering the honour on behalf of the king, much as he had with the temporalities of the see of Hereford between 1100-1102.

⁵⁵ For Bernard’s reforms, see Chapter 3 below, ‘Menevia and St. David’s: Bishop Bernard and the Diocese of St. David’s.’

⁵⁶ *PR 31, Henry I*, p.90.

⁵⁷ J. Green, ‘Praeclarum et Magnificum Antiquitatis Monumentum: the Earliest Surviving Pipe Roll’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55, no.131 (1982), pp.5-6.

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p.5. Tallage was a type of taxation levied at the behest of the king and usually used to finance military campaigns, *A Dictionary of Historical Terms*, 3rd ed, ed. C. Cook (Macmillan, 1998), p.342.

⁵⁹ *Chron. Battle*, p.137, n.1.

There are a few Welshmen amongst the many Bernard would have had connection with of whom we know sufficient that they can add greatly to the picture of Bernard's actions within his diocese during the reign of Henry I and in addition, the events and cultural insurrections which shaped those actions. Perhaps the most significant of these Welshmen who lived in Bernard's diocese was Bleddri ap Cadifor.

Bleddri was a member of the local Welsh aristocracy whose father was described as 'the man who had been supreme lord over the land of Dyfed'.⁶⁰ From him Bleddri inherited substantial lands, becoming lord of Blaencuch and Cil-sant north of Carmarthen.⁶¹ Bleddri appears to have become an ally of the Normans. He became a tenant-in-chief of Henry I when some of his lands, the commotes of Elfed and Widigada were incorporated into the honour of Carmarthen. They along with Derllys formed 'the Welsh county' of the royal honour.⁶² His involvement with Bernard is in three distinct areas: firstly, there is Bleddri's endowment of Bernard's foundation of Carmarthen Priory, secondly, Bernard's role within the honour of Carmarthen in which Bleddri was a substantial landowner; and thirdly, Bleddri's role as a interpreter for the Normans and his apparent knowledge of Welsh tradition particularly the traditions of Arthur, which may have put him in a position to inform Bernard of the traditions surrounding his diocese, particularly those of the supposed archbishop of St David's.

⁶⁰ *Brut*, pp.99-101.

⁶¹ T. James, 'Bleddri ap Cadifor ap Collwyn, Lord of Blaencuch and Cil-sant', *The Camarthenshire Antiquary*, 33 (1997), pp.27-42.

⁶² *ibid*, p.34

Bleddri is one of the few Welsh landowners to have a grant of land confirmed by Henry I, namely the grant to Carmarthen Priory of four carucates in the parish of Newchurch Elfed. The king's writ is attested by Bernard, Archbishop Thurstan of York and Henry, Bishop of Winchester and can be dated between 1129 and 1134.⁶³ The date of this charter is interesting coming at a time when the Pipe Roll of 1130 shows that Bleddri was under some pressure. It records that a fellow Welshman, Bleddyn, had abducted his daughter; a fine of seven silver marks had been levied for the offence. It is interesting that his two pledges were Norman: Robert de 'Quercu' and Stephen de Cameis.⁶⁴ Bleddri too had a fine to pay - twenty shillings for the killing by one of his men of a Fleming, one of many who had recently settled in Daugleddau and Rhos; the cause of the violence can only be guessed, but is likely to have been a dispute over land.⁶⁵ Royal justice it seems was functioning in this particular part of Wales and the man responsible for some of its debts to the exchequer was Bernard of St. David's. To the men of the honour of Carmarthen, of which Bleddri was hardly the least, Bernard may have been a useful ally in uncertain times and perhaps in this we can find a reason for the bequest of a Welshman to the new Norman foundation.

Bernard's presence may not have been entirely to the benefit of Bleddri. There is evidence from Bernard's own bequests to Carmarthen Priory and from the lands of the lordship of the bishops of St. David's that Bernard may have encroached upon the family inheritance of Bleddri. Some time after 1125 Bernard granted Carmarthen Priory two carucates of land at Cwmau in Derllys in the honour of Carmarthen

⁶³ *Cartularium Prioratus de Caermarthen*, ed., T. Phillips (Cheltenham, 1865), no.33

⁶⁴ *PR 31, Henry I*, p.90

⁶⁵ *ibid*, p.90

which, according to James, had originally formed part of the original inheritance handed down to his sons by Cadifor ap Collwyn.⁶⁶ Then there are Llawhaden, Bletherston and Meidrim(Ystlwyf) all inside or bordering the lands of Cadifor.⁶⁷ Were the lands inherited by Bernard as ancient holdings of the bishops of St David's? Were they granted to him by Henry I now overlord of the honour of Carmarthen, or were they 'acquired' from the Welsh? There is no evidence sufficient to form a reliable conclusion but the foundation of Carmarthen and the Llandaff dispute shows that Bernard was capable of spending a lot of time and effort to get his hands on land he wanted for his new foundation and for his diocese.

Bleddri is also reputed to have been a noted storyteller, particularly influencing the development of the legends of King Arthur by Geoffrey of Monmouth and contributions also to the development of the Tristan story.⁶⁸ In a charter of Henry I Bleddri is referred to as a latimer or interpreter so what better man to interest the bishop of St David's in the history of his diocese?⁶⁹ This is just speculation but intriguing for all that. The similarity between a section of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* and some of the writings of the chapter of St. David's has already been noted. Could this be because they come from the same source? It is a possibility, but the question cannot be settled from the evidence.

At some point during these early years of Bernard's in Wales there arose a dispute between the dioceses of St. David's and Llandaff over the borders of their respective

⁶⁶ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.7, James; *Bleddri*, pp. 28,34.

⁶⁷ *ibid*, p.33.

⁶⁸ *ibid*, p.37-38

⁶⁹ *Cartularium Prioratus de Caermarthen*, no.33

jurisdictions. It is interesting to note therefore that the areas of his diocese with which Bernard was most involved in this period, or in which the fighting between the Anglo-Normans and their supporters and the followers of Gruffydd ap Rhys took place, were often to be the areas where the Llandaff dispute centred. Hay on Wye, where Bernard rededicated the church of St Mary, was one of the areas that the pope commanded Bernard should give back to Llandaff during the course of the dispute. The same is true of Roger of Salisbury's Kidwelly. Cantref Bychan, held by Richard fitz Pons, was heavily involved in the fighting, as were Swansea and Gower, both areas contested by Bernard and Urban of Llandaff in the period 1119-1131.⁷⁰ At first glance, these coincidences are easily explained. Most of these areas were under Anglo-Norman control, and it seems likely that the lords of these territories would favour the episcopal jurisdiction of a Norman bishop who was well connected to the king. But such circumstances do not only apply to Norman areas. According to the *Brut*, the lands of the Normans' principal native allies lay in disputed territory in Cantref Mawr in Ystrad Tywi.⁷¹ It seems likely that Bernard worked in close co-operation with the Anglo-Norman lords of many of the disputed areas soon after his arrival in Wales. Bernard may well have based himself for a time in the south-eastern part of his diocese given that his earliest surviving charter dated 1115-1120 concerns the re-dedication of St. Mary's at Hay.⁷² An explanation of why trouble flared so quickly between the two dioceses is therefore evident. Bernard's focus on this part of his diocese is further demonstrated by the presence of two archdeacons in the witness list of the Hay confirmation. Archdeacons were innovations of Bernard's in the diocese of St. David's. The centres and jurisdictions of two of these

⁷⁰ For the fighting in 1115-16 see, *Brut*, p.87-101.

⁷¹ *ibid*, p.87.

⁷² *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.17.

archdeacons are interesting: Brecon and Carmarthen. Bernard chose to place archdeacons in the two centres of Anglo-Norman/royal control in the eastern part of the diocese of St. David's, perhaps hoping to confirm Anglo-Norman influence in the administration of his diocese. Such firm administrative foundations in the areas in which Anglo-Norman and royal influence were strongest were essential if Bernard wished to use his position to guard the frontiers of his master's dominion, as he had been tasked to do. Bernard and his archdeacons appear to have had the support of the Anglo-Normans and their allies. One of the principal explanations for this support would have been Bernard's close connection with the king.

It is strong testimony to Bernard's abilities that he was able, in the midst of this political uncertainty, to gauge and execute his duties and reforms at St. David's itself. Added to this would have been the delicate diplomatic task of persuading the native Welsh to work with him at a time when upheaval was common: reform in an area of shifting allegiances would have been a difficult task. If we add to this the possibility that Bernard would most likely have been party to any councils, such as the one mentioned in the *Brut* between the Normans and their supporters, and that he reported to Henry on events in Wales, his role becomes not that simply of a bishop but that of an official who is both the protector of and is protected by Henry's influence in Wales. His evident success in St. David's diocese between 1116-1119, offers a possible reason why, following his return to the English court in 1119, Henry almost immediately assigned to him a difficult and delicate diplomatic commission connected with the Canterbury-York dispute, and suggests his high standing in the circle of Henry I. In short, the coming of Bernard to Wales contributed greatly to the making of Henry's March. There are strong indications that it also contributed to the

making of Bishop Bernard as a prominent political figure at Henry's court and he is shown to have maintained close contact with Henry's court whilst in Wales. Bernard's earliest surviving charter as bishop of St. David's discussed above is attested by both two archdeacons, an indication of his early reforms, and by a royal clerk, namely '*Liriencius clericus Regis Henrici*', indicating a measure of contact between Bernard and Henry's administration.⁷³ Bernard was not only well connected with the royal court but also increasingly trusted with sensitive political business as an increasingly highly favoured member of the king's entourage.

The Exchequer accounts which was audited at Michaelmas 1130, though the debts for Carmarthen belong to an earlier period, reveal more evidence about how that favour manifested itself. Danegeld was a land tax originally levied by the Anglo-Saxon kings of England to buy off raiding Danes in the centuries leading up to the Anglo-Norman invasion. After 1066 the Norman kings found this national taxation system to be a useful revenue-raising exercise. All kings from William I to Henry I levied the tax. Exemptions from this lucrative form of revenue can therefore be taken as a mark of considerable royal favour. Although not mentioned by name, 'the bishop of St. David's' mentioned twice in the text can only refer to Bernard. The two exemptions mentioned in the Pipe Roll are for £2. 0s. 3d in Surrey and 4s. in Middlesex.⁷⁴ Danegeld was usually charged at two shillings a hide or carucate.⁷⁵ With these figures it is possible to calculate the approximate size of Bernard's estates in these counties, for which he received exemption. These exemptions were given to

⁷³ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.47. The identity of the clerk however is uncertain as Barrow points out, but the origin of this clerk is clear as are the implications of his presence. For Bernard's early reforms, see Chapter 3 below 'Menevia and St. David's: Bishop Bernard and the Diocese of St. David's.'

⁷⁴ *PR31, Henry I*, pp.51, 152. The entries are as follows: for Surrey, *xl.s.7.iiij.d*; for Middlesex, *iiij.s*

⁷⁵ Green, *Government of England*, pp.69-75.

tenants-in-chief of the crown as they were responsible for paying Danegeld. This shows us something of Bernard's high standing as he was tenant-in-chief for lands other than his episcopal temporal lordship in Wales. Using the known figures for hides and carucates, Bernard's exemptions from tax in Surrey totalled an area of between 2,415 and 2,818 acres. His exempted area in Middlesex was much smaller, but still totalled between 240 - 280 acres.⁷⁶ Where these estates were located is not known precisely, but the size and placement is worthy of comment. The smaller estate in Middlesex suggests the possibility that it may have been a small farm or manor, which acted as a private residence within easy reach of London or the royal courts at Westminster. This would fit easily with the emerging picture of Bernard as an important cog in the machine of government of Henry I.

Another instance which shows the extent of Bernard's royal connections and the favour in which he was held by Henry I are the events surrounding the foundation 1125 x 1127 of the Augustinian Priory at Carmarthen dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It is not surprising that Bernard should choose the royal lordship of Carmarthen to found the priory. He had had close connections with the area since his arrival in Wales in 1116. He had been responsible at least once for collecting military aid owed to the king by the men of the honour of Carmarthen, a role perhaps akin to that of a *castellaria*, an area that perhaps constituted those communities dominated by the royal castle of Carmarthen. There had been a Benedictine priory at Carmarthen since the early years of Henry I's reign on the site of an earlier Welsh

⁷⁶ The figures are based on the following calculation: Bernard's estates in Surrey exempted from taxation totaled 20.125 hides or carucates. One hide = 120 acres approx. One carucate = 140 acres approx. A similar calculation on 2.0 hides or carucates for Middlesex forms the basis of that figure.

foundation.⁷⁷ King Henry had sometime before 1115 given the church of Carmarthen, dedicated to St Peter and St Teilo, to the great Benedictine Abbey of Battle.⁷⁸ Bernard changed the foundation from a Benedictine priory into one of Augustinian canons. The circumstances surrounding this change are relayed graphically in the Chronicle of Battle Abbey: 'The diocesan bishop, Bernard seduced by the delightfulness of the place, kept trying to make it his own by any available means, displaying an extraordinary greed. Even the king was repeatedly nagged about it by the bishop himself and by those who owed him favours, until at last by the election of Abbot Warner the complaint was settled by the king giving the place to the bishop and compensating the church of Battle with a holding worth 70 shillings from the royal manor of Meon'.⁷⁹ The exact location of the manor of Meon is difficult to judge, but it is most likely to be one of the two manors of Meon in Hampshire; one of these, East Meon was royal demesne in 1086. The value of the whole is given as £60 so it is likely that Henry's gift formed only part.⁸⁰ Bernard also secured the lands, which had been granted to the Benedictine priory, for his Augustinian foundation, notably a grant for the priory's maintenance of the fertile territory of Pentwyn near Llanstephan.⁸¹ This was obviously a coveted prize and Bernard had to work hard, late in his episcopate, to prevent its appropriation by lay members of the fitz Gerald clan. The situation forced Bernard into threatening excommunication.⁸² Owen has suggested a possible location for these lands in his

⁷⁷ *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, ed., R. A. Griffiths, (Cardiff, 1978), pp.137-138.

⁷⁸ A. C. Evans, 'St. John's Priory, Carmarthen', *Arch. Camb.*, 7, 4th series (1876), p.97.

⁷⁹ *Chron. Battle*, pp.134-137.

⁸⁰ *Domesday Book*, p.91. 'of this land of this manor, Bishop Wakelin holds 6 hides and 1 virgate with a church'.

⁸¹ Evans, 'St John's Priory', p.97; A. J. Richard, 'Castles, Boroughs and Religious Houses', in *History of Carmarthenshire*, vol.i, ed. Lloyd. p. 331.

informative paper on the temporalities of Carmarthen Priory.⁸³ Bernard also granted the priory some additional lands, namely two carucates in the eastern commotes of Cantref Gwarthaf at a place called Cwmoernant.⁸⁴ Carmarthen may have been founded with assistance from Llanthony where canons certainly claimed Carmarthen as a daughter house in the thirteenth century.⁸⁵ If this were true then the fact that Llanthony was not finally established until 1118 would seem to make the established date of Carmarthen's foundation of 1125 or earlier a realistic possibility.⁸⁶

A foundation date 1125 x 1127 shows that even when he was not resident in his diocese, as he is unlikely to have been in 1120's, (see Appendix 1), Bernard was still concerned with consolidating reforms in his diocese and extending his control over it. In installing Augustinian canons at Carmarthen Bernard would have increased his control over the Carmarthen area as major patron of this well supported house. As bishop he could also exercise more control over the canons than he could over a

⁸² *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.6. The date of the notification is likely to be relatively late in Bernard's episcopate as both Jordan Archdeacon of Brecon and Master John, both of whom are known to have survived Bernard, appear in the witness list. These charters are similar to those which probably date from the last two decades of Bernard's time as bishop. Barrow dates the notification to 1125 onwards. Maurice fitz Gerald later became steward of St David's after the forfeiture of the Scottish royal family's possessions in 1173-4 which would have prevented them appointing substitutes to the chapter in 1176.

⁸³ G. Owen, 'The Extent and Distribution of the Lands of the Priory of St. John's at Carmarthen', *The Carmarthen Antiquary*, 1 (1941), pp.21-29. Special attention should be paid to the map on page 26. which sets out Owen's ideas. Most of his research appears to be based on the reports of 1536-37, as a prelude to the dissolution of the priory.

⁸⁴ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977), pp.65 ,66; *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.7, identifies the area as *Cwmau*: the original charter has *Kenmy*.

⁸⁵ *History of Carmarthenshire*, ed. J.E.Lloyd, p.333.

⁸⁶ The original foundation of Llanthony may have taken place as early as 1103 under the auspices of St. Anselm with Ernisius, the former chaplain of Queen Matilda, as its first prior. A chaplain of that name does witness the charter of Queen Matilda c.1104-1106. This and other evidence suggests that the foundation of Llanthony was a long-term project, which was only completed in 1118. If indeed the first Prior of Llanthony was a chaplain of Queen Matilda's in the first decade of the twelfth century, he is almost certain to have known Bernard, when the latter was chancellor to Queen Matilda, 1102-1115. Llanthony may itself have been a daughter house of Aldgate. This gives another indication of the closeness of the connection between Bernard's patronage of the Augustinian order and his links with Queen Matilda, see Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp.111-112.

Benedictine community. This community would also have provided priests for the Carmarthen area and would have shared their bishop's view of the conduct and regulation of the church and therefore would have seen the reforms taking place in the diocese as a necessary transformation. King Henry's active involvement in Bernard's foundation and his allowing the foundation to be at the heart of royal power demonstrates that from the king's perspective anything that increased Bernard's control over his diocese was in the king's interest also. This is crucial in understanding the actions of both Henry and Bernard during the Llandaff dispute. This dispute had the potential to seriously diminish the size of Bernard's diocese and the area over which he could exercise episcopal control. Any loss of power by Bernard will also represent a loss of royal power and influence. Henry would be unlikely to allow this in the interests of stability and peace in South Wales and the March. He was not about to allow a native Welsh bishop, in the person of Urban of Llandaff, to diminish his power, however well founded or well supported the bishop's claims might be. Much of the diocese of Llandaff and the areas under dispute were under the control of powerful Anglo-Norman magnates who also would have had a firm interest in the maintenance of a Norman power in the area; examples of these Marcher families include fitz Hamo lords of Glamorgan c.1090-1107, the Beaumonts in Gower 1107-1184 and perhaps most notably the dynasty of Robert, earl of Gloucester who was lord of Glamorgan from 1121.

The dispute between Urban, bishop of Llandaff, Bernard of St. David's and the bishops of Hereford between 1119 and 1131 arose from Urban's claims, ultimately unsuccessful, for episcopal jurisdiction over certain areas. These constituted the

seven cantrefs of the kingdom (*dominium*) of Morgannwg.⁸⁷ To support this contention, Urban produced a judgment supposedly made in the court of King Edgar, to settle a dispute between the Welsh kings, Hywel Dda and Morgan Hen. By this judgment Ewias and Ystradyw were adjudged to Morgan, the king of Morgannwg and thereby came under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Llandaff who was bishop of the kingdom of Morgannwg.⁸⁸ To reinforce this evidence, Urban produced a confirmation, which was supposedly given to Morgan, of all the territory of the seven cantrefs between the river Wye and the mouth of the Towy.⁸⁹ Based on this evidence, Urban claimed diocesan rights in Erging from the bishop of Hereford and in Cantref Bychan, Gower, Kidwelly and Carnwyllion, Ewias and Ystradyw from the bishop of St. David's.⁹⁰

The dispute between the three bishoprics and their respective chapters appears to have arisen during the time of Bernard's stay in Wales between 1116 and 1119. As the vast majority of those territories claimed by Urban lay within Bernard's diocese, this meant that it was he who had the most to lose if Urban's claims were upheld and so it was in Bernard's interest to resolve the matter as quickly as possible. The attempt by these two bishops looking to define the boundaries of their respective dioceses to their own advantage was bound to lead to conflict. The need for Bernard in particular to define the boundaries of jurisdiction of his newly created

⁸⁷ *BLLD*, ed. J. G. Evans and J. Rhys (Oxford, 1893), pp.247, 248. For more on this see D. Crouch 'The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan, 1067-1158', *Morgannwg*, 29 (1985), pp.20-41. For the areas under dispute see Map 7 The Welsh Resurgence 1137 – 1144.

⁸⁸ *BLLD*, p.248. This judgment is chronologically impossible as Hywel Dda died before King Edgar came to the throne in England, *Ep.Acts*, p.149.

⁸⁹ *BLLD*, pp.240, 241 in *Ep.Acts*, pp.149, 150.

⁹⁰ *ibid*, p.150.

archdeaconries and rural deaneries probably brought the conflict about.⁹¹ As the history of the dispute shows it was crucial for Bernard to resolve the dispute in order to maintain the integrity of his diocese. In order to continue to perform his function as a familiar of the king who could maintain royal influence, it was also vital to ensure where the dispute was settled. This was because, as the final agreement indicates, any settlement originating from within King Henry's dominions favoured Bernard, whereas one emanating from the papal curia was more likely to favour Urban. At first the two bishops appear to have tried to settle their differences in the king's court, for they were both present in Normandy with the king before the opening of the Council of Rheims in October 1119. Settlement here would have favoured Bernard for it would almost certainly have favoured the royal interest which in this case clearly rested on the maintenance of the power and influence of the trusted bishop of St. David's over the bishop of Llandaff, who was an unknown quantity. The Roman curia, on the other hand, represented a far more neutral location. For Urban, the pope offered the best prospect for success. Thus, when Henry I sent all the bishops who were at his court to the council which began on 20 October 1119, Urban wasted no time in seeing an opportunity to press the case for his diocese at an interview with the pope before the beginning of the council: the opening letters of the pope concerning the controversy are dated at Soissons before the opening of the Council. Urban instigated the case with a letter of appeal to Pope Calixtus II, claiming that the church of Llandaff 'had always been master in dignity and all privileges, until at length by treasons and the ravages of so many wars and the old age of his predecessor Herwald, and his consequent feebleness, it began to

⁹¹ See below Chapter 3, pp.127-129

decline and, almost devoid of a pastor, was brought to nought by the savagery of the natives and the invasion of the Norman people'.⁹² He also claimed at this time that Llandaff had been the leading see in Wales, but that due to its continuing loyalty to the archbishops of Canterbury, Urban never made an archiepiscopal claim for Llandaff over the rest of Wales. In this same letter, Urban complained that 'now the church is desolate and despoiled, even its tithes being lost to it, and all the clerks of the whole bishopric, both by the lay power and the invasion of the monks, and now his brother bishops, namely of Hereford and St. Dewi (St. David) together have made a great invasion of the territory and of the diocese'.⁹³ Urban then begged the pope to give his church succour and commended it to him. Both sought to divide their bishoprics into the standard administrative areas of the medieval church, namely archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and in some areas parishes. Conflict had arisen between the traditions of both St. David's and Llandaff, which appeared to claim jurisdiction over the same churches in some areas of South Wales.⁹⁴ In his letter Urban claimed that the diocese of Llandaff had been, since the time of St. Augustine of Canterbury, loyal to the see of Canterbury. This was perhaps to ward off any claims of supremacy from its more powerful neighbour, St. David's, which Bernard might try to use against Llandaff, given the existence of an archiepiscopal tradition at St. David's at this time.

⁹² *BLLD*, pp.51-52

⁹³ *BLLD*, pp.87-88 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.33.

⁹⁴ The jurisdictions of pre-Norman Welsh bishops appear to have depended largely upon the power and extent of the secular kingdoms upon which most Welsh bishoprics were based. This meant that at different times different bishops held jurisdiction over the same area depending upon the success or failure of a particular king or dynasty. Also Welsh kings appeared to have exercised a great deal of control over the church especially with regard to a bishop's temporalities, D. Crouch, 'Urban: First bishop of Llandaff 1107-34', *JWEH*, 6 (1989), p.5; T.P. Ellis, 'The Catholic Church in the Welsh Laws', *Y Cymmrodor*, 42 (1931), pp.1-66. A more recent addition to the scholarship of the dispute is J. R. Davies's *The Book of Llandaff and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge, 2003).

Calixtus replied with a number of letters all favourable to Urban and Llandaff. They are dated 16 October 1119 and concern all aspects of the case. In the bull of privileges, issued on the same day in which the pope appeared to give protection to the diocese of Llandaff, he also specified some forty-six churches and properties as the property of the diocese, with tithe obligations, burials, territories, and sanctuaries. There is, however, in this bull no attempt to delineate a diocesan boundary or to define it. It would appear at this early stage that the pope had not yet made a final decision on the exact boundaries of the diocese of Llandaff on the basis of the evidence which Urban had so far provided.⁹⁵ There were three other bulls given by Pope Calixtus on behalf of Llandaff at this time. The first was directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, Ralph d'Escures, enjoining him to render justice to the see of Llandaff and noting that Urban had complained about the encroachment of Bishop Bernard of St. David's and Bishop Geoffrey of Hereford.⁹⁶ Of the other two documents, the first is addressed to a number of lay lords of the diocese of Llandaff, all of whom Urban had accused of taking land in the diocese. The pope warned them against the consequences of doing damage to the church of Llandaff and stated that he would endorse any episcopal punishment which Urban wished to give.⁹⁷ The third of these early letters is to the clergy and chapter and the people of the diocese of Llandaff, notifying them of his kind reception of Bishop Urban and desiring them to give Urban due reverence and obedience as their bishop; this perhaps denotes that

⁹⁵ For the text of the bull, see *BLLD*, pp.89-92; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.27; *The Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff*, ed. W. D. Birch (Neath, 1912), Doc.i, p.243; *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.164.

⁹⁶ Geoffrey of Hereford was bishop from 26 December 1115 to 3 February 1120. This bull is contained in the *Memorials of Llandaff*, p.243, Doc.ii.

⁹⁷ *Memorials of Llandaff*, p.243 Doc.iii. The lords involved were: Walter fitz Richard, Brian fitz Count, William fitz Baderon, Robert de Candos, Geoffrey Badalon, Roger de Berkele, William, sheriff of Cardiff, William fitz Roger, Robert fitz Roger and all tenants/lords in lowland Glamorgan and Gwent.

this had not always been the case, reflecting the state of Llandaff as indicated by Urban in his initial letter to the pope in 1119.⁹⁸ Urban's response to these problems was to go, not to the king for help, but to the Papacy. Calixtus II gave him strong backing. Llandaff in fact was to continue receiving papal support for virtually the entire Llandaff controversy and the defendant bishops of Hereford and St. David's would repeatedly be asked to surrender lands and do justice to Llandaff. Henry I and successive archbishops of Canterbury would be asked by successive popes to ensure justice, though in the end Urban achieved little. Even with the powerful support of the pope, he was unable to settle the argument in his favour. The Council of Rheims, 20 - 29 October, saw the issue of two further papal letters in defence of Llandaff - one to Henry I commending Urban to the king and asking his assistance in the defence of the rights of the diocese, and a similar letter to the archbishop of Canterbury.⁹⁹

What effect these letters had, or Urban expected them to have, on the situation in Wales is not known. There is no evidence that there was any attempt to persuade the bishop of either St. David's or Hereford to give up territory which Urban considered to be his. The lack of such evidence should not cause surprise given that it was not in the royal interest for the power of bishops of Hereford and St. David's to be diminished. This is especially so with regard to Bernard and St. David's and for two important reasons. Having made a point of forging a close connection between Bernard and himself at Bernard's consecration, any reduction in Bernard's power and influence might be seen by both the native Welsh and the lords of the March as a

⁹⁸ *ibid*, p.243, Doc.iv.

⁹⁹ *ibid*, p.244, Docs.vii & viii; *BLLD* in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.174; *ibid*, p.89 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L30a.

reduction in royal power and influence, something which Henry would be keen to avoid. The second reason has to do with the location of the lands claimed by Urban. These areas in the east of Bernard's diocese were precisely areas where Anglo-Norman and royal influence was strongest and where Bernard attempted to make - indeed could make - the biggest impression in the early years of his episcopate. His creation of the archdeaconries of Brecon and Carmarthen are a good example of this. The 1130 Pipe Roll entry for Carmarthen also shows that the king at around this period had more than ecclesiastical duties in mind for Bernard. Any loss of control by Bernard in these areas would endanger the plans of both the bishop and the king.

Consequently, although Archbishop Ralph issued an indulgence to assist Urban to construct a new cathedral for his diocese in April 1120, and helped the translation of some notable Welsh saints to Llandaff, to lend the cathedral credibility, no action was taken to redraw the diocesan boundaries.¹⁰⁰ For some years following the papal intervention in 1119, the dispute appears to have been effectively managed by the king and Canterbury. Urban was unwilling or unable to pursue the matter further. Whether this was because of direct intervention on the part of the king or the archbishop is not known, but certainly later in the dispute Honorius II in October 1128 warned Henry directly, not to hinder Urban's ability to put his case. 'The king is to cause no hindrance or inconvenience to Urban in coming to the pope, or in his business, or to allow others to do so'.¹⁰¹ It is probable that these interventions

¹⁰⁰ The church that stood at Llandaff at this time was in fact only the size of a small chapel. (28' long, 15' wide, 20' high), *BLLD*, p.49 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.34. On 23 May 1120, with the consent of the archbishop of Canterbury, David, bishop of Bangor and the leading Welsh prince of North Wales, Gruffudd ap Cynan, King of Gwynedd, the bones of the Welsh Saint Dyfrig were translated from the Island of Bardsey to Llandaff. On 10 June, having reached the cathedral, the relics were suitably interred, *BLLD*, pp.84-86 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.36.

¹⁰¹ *BLLD*, p.39 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.56

reflected Urban's past experiences in the case. During the hiatus, Bernard was heavily involved on the king's business, particularly with regard to papal affairs, escorting legates and playing a leading role in persuading the pope to accept Henry's candidate William de Corbeil as archbishop of Canterbury. While in Rome in 1123 with Archbishop William, Bernard was the leading advocate for Canterbury in the primacy dispute with the archbishop of York. Bernard lost the case because the monks of Canterbury could not provide credible evidence.¹⁰² Bernard's engagement on the king's business provides an explanation for the gap in the progress of the Llandaff dispute, as it is likely that Henry would have tried to protect Bernard from controversy while the bishop was involved in periodic but important diplomacy with the papacy. It was not until September 1125 that Urban had an opportunity to raise his claim again. On the other hand, Urban and his chapter had used the interval productively, for those years saw the production at Llandaff the book containing the evidence in support of their claims, *Liber Landavensis*, the so-called *Book of Llan Dav*.¹⁰³

The *Book of Llan Dav* was in fact a set of one hundred and fifty-eight charters purporting to be records of transactions carried out in and around South Wales between the sixth and eleventh centuries.¹⁰⁴ Because of the date of the collection of these charters, which was at the time when a dispute concerning Llandaff's boundaries was current, Davies accepts that as a consequence 'it has been assumed that the work itself is in many senses a clever forgery produced to support the claims

¹⁰² See Chapter 4, below, The King's Bishop: Bishop Bernard and Henry I, 1115-1135, for a full account of these events.

¹⁰³ The editor of the *BLLD* suggests a publishing date 1124 x 1129. This overlaps with the date of 1125 suggested above. Material was however available for publication before 1124, *BLLD*, p.31

¹⁰⁴ W. E. Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (RHS, 1978), p.7.

of the diocese, certainly the first diocese in south-east Wales to be organised on strict Roman lines, and to demonstrate the antiquity of a diocese which had a more recent origin'. Again she accepts that the material in the *Book of Llan Dav* is problematic and 'in the absence of collaborative evidence will remain difficult to understand and interpret'.¹⁰⁵ Although the *Book of Llan Dav* is 'in some senses a forgery, this does not limit its value for it is quite clear that much of the material is based on earlier manuscripts'.¹⁰⁶ This leads her to conclude that 'the charters cannot therefore, have been completely invented in the twelfth century; the fact that they had been copied and copied from relatively archaic material is quite easily demonstrable'.¹⁰⁷ Davies, from an analysis of the diplomatic of the charters, has argued that the charters were collected together in nine separate groups between c.868 and the making of the book in 1124x1129, although the charters themselves purport to be from 500-1075.¹⁰⁸ Others are not so convinced of the charters authenticity. C.N.L. Brooke refers more than once to the Llandaff forger when discussing the *Book of Llan Dav*.¹⁰⁹

On several occasions it has been pointed out that Bernard and his clerks wrote down the hitherto oral tradition of their diocese to present a coherent history of the affairs of the diocese of St. David's, which they believed to be completely genuine. Examples of these usages include the suggested alterations made to Rhigyfarch's *The Life of St. David* and the *Letter from the Chapter of St. David's* to Pope Honorius II between 1124 and 1130 which, as we have seen, sets out the archiepiscopal tradition

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, p.3.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*, p.5.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*. p.5.

¹⁰⁸ Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp.23, 24, 96, The Map of Grants.

¹⁰⁹ *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp.31-35.

of St. David's.¹¹⁰ In the *Book of Llan Dav* we see a similar (but charter based) process being undertaken for the diocese of Llandaff. As in most oral traditions, some of the 'facts' may seem incredible to our modern eye. They are certainly in need of corroboration which is often lacking, but there is no reason to suppose that to the clerks who collected together the traditions of both dioceses they were not entirely genuine and there was certainly no deliberate intention to deceive but simply to promote in the best light possible the claims of a particular diocese associated with at least one Welsh saint. In the case of St. David's this was of course St. David, in the case of Llandaff it was St. Teilo. What both bishops and chapters were doing was attempting to bring those oral traditions into a state of reality in the form of a constituted twelfth-century diocese centred on a new cathedral in both cases. Because those oral traditions often associated many saints with the same areas, holy places and foundations, conflict was inevitable.¹¹¹

The conflict between St. David's and Llandaff resumed on 8 - 10 September 1125 during the legatine council held by John of Crema, the papal legate in England. Urban took the opportunity of the council to complain against the wrongs done to him by the bishops of Hereford and St. David's and he appealed against them to the greater audience of the Roman curia.¹¹² His appeal must have impressed the papal legate for he was granted a hearing. Presumably to reassert the papal association with the cause of Llandaff, the cardinal then journeyed to Llandaff where, 'he found it oppressed by great poverty and plundered of its goods and possessions'. He therefore reissued the indulgence of the archbishop of Canterbury to encourage the

¹¹⁰ See below Chapter 6, p.276

¹¹¹ See above, pp.88-91

¹¹² *BLLD*, p.49 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.43.

people of Llandaff to give benefits and alms to the churches of the diocese and added a remission of two week's penance for any offence.¹¹³ This was a clear reassertion of papal support and also an incentive for any layman to give backing to the church of Llandaff.

Yet whilst the dispute remained within the boundaries of Henry I's lands, St. David's always enjoyed the advantage conferred by Bernard's influence. Urban was not slow to realise this and after another unsuccessful hearing of his complaints at the Council of Westminster, held by William de Corbeil in May 1127, Urban set off again to gain the backing of the pope.¹¹⁴ The pope, Honorius II, summoned Bernard and Richard, bishop of Hereford to answer the Bishop of Llandaff's claims. Neither man appeared. Bishop Richard had died on 15 August 1127 and significantly Henry I had entrusted the administration of the vacant diocese to the archbishop of Canterbury with whom Bernard was on good terms. No reason is given for Bernard's non-appearance but a probable reason was that he had not yet gathered sufficient evidence with which to challenge Urban's case. Furthermore Bernard, knowing that he had the support of the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, presumably preferred to stay in Henry's realm where he knew he had support rather than attend a very hostile papal court even though it was presided over by a new pontiff. We can gauge just how hostile the papal court would have been by the fact that Urban was sent letters by at least two cardinals offering their support. One of these came from

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, vol.1, 1066-1204 (Oxford, 1981), The Legatine Council at Westminster, 13-16 May 1127. 'Bishop Urban of Llandaff attempted to pursue his claims against the bishops of St. David's and Hereford over disputed diocesan frontiers, but subsequently told the pope that he could obtain no judgment in so ill-regulated an assembly; accordingly he appealed to Rome', pp.743-749. *BLLD*, pp.34-38.

the powerful papal adviser and one-time papal legate of England, John of Crema, who had held the legatine Council in England in 1125, and the other came from a Cardinal Gregory.¹¹⁵ In Bernard's absence, Urban presumably had greater freedom to expound his claims and he came away successful. On 18 April 1128 the pope issued a bull which dealt more exactly than the first in 1119 with the boundaries of the diocese of Llandaff. It mentions some eighty-four churches and properties and ends confirming the territories of the bishopric of Llandaff as Gronydd, Penychen, Gwynllŵg, the two Gwents, Ewias and Ystradyw. There is no mention of Cantref Bychan, Kidwelly, Gower, or Erging and therefore it should be regarded as an interim judgement based on evidence submitted by Bishop Urban.¹¹⁶ Accompanying this confirmation however was a series of letters to the clergy and lay lords of the districts of Ystradyw, Cantref Bychan, Kidwelly, Gower, and Erging all of which, save the last, were in Bernard's diocese - Erging being in Hereford. The clergy and people of the district were commanded to acknowledge Urban as their bishop until a final judgement was delivered at mid-Lent 1129 to decide their final possession. Associated with these documents firmly supporting the diocese of Llandaff were letters to the archbishop of Canterbury and Henry I asking them to recognise and facilitate the papal judgements. Finally, Urban returned home seemingly victorious and invested with an episcopal staff as a symbol of his investiture by the pope.¹¹⁷ This was clearly an unequivocal statement of papal support for the claims of Bishop Urban and his diocese both in respect of his claims against Bishop Bernard and

¹¹⁵ *Memorials of Llandaff*, p.252, Doc.27; p.255, Docs.37-8.

¹¹⁶ *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.164; *BLLD*, pp.30-33; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.50.

¹¹⁷ The letter from the pope to the clergy and districts see *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.167; *BLLD*, pp.36, 37; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.51. The letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, *ibid*, vol.i, p.166; vol.ii, L.52, p.623. The letter to Henry I, *ibid*, vol.i, p.175, vol.ii, L.53. The letter to the lay lords, *ibid*, vol.i, p.175, vol.ii, L.54.

against the diocese of Hereford and the lay lords of Llandaff. If he were to follow the papal judgements Bernard would lose large parts of his diocese.

The problem for Urban was that the parts of his enlarged diocese which Bernard stood to lose were controlled, at least in part, by some of Bernard's most powerful political allies. The grants in the *Book of Llan Dav* are located outside the eventual boundaries of the diocese of Llandaff - in Pembroke, and Carmarthen and more specifically, Bernard stood to lose Kidwelly. The honours of Pembroke and Carmarthen were the two major centres of royal power in Wales at this time. We know that Bernard by 1131, when this dispute had not yet been resolved, was holding some responsibility to the exchequer for administering the honour of Carmarthen for the king.¹¹⁸ Outside the territories of the king, the powerful Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, chief minister of Henry I and Bernard's political ally, held Kidwelly. For these powerful men there was a vested interest in securing for Bernard episcopal rights over the lands which they held in temporal or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for Henry I had placed Bernard there and it was vital that Bernard's bishopric should remain intact. So long as Urban lacked royal support he could not hope to enforce the papal judgments in his favour. So long as Bernard retained royal support he could ignore those judgments with impunity. Bernard continued to exercise control over the whole of his diocese and does not appear to have surrendered the districts as ordered; relying on the protection of his powerful allies and confident of the protection of the king, he could hold on to the areas in dispute without great difficulty.

¹¹⁸ *PR 31, Henry I, p.90.*

In February 1129 Urban undertook another journey to Rome. His reasons for doing so are clear. Having failed to gain any support from King Henry with regard to the privileges granted to him by the pope in 1128, he was eager to return to Rome for a final judgement in mid-Lent 1129. It was amongst the papal curia that Urban found himself support. He said that Bernard's allies, most importantly the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, would seek to obstruct his attendance in Rome. Accordingly papal letters were sent to both the archbishop of Canterbury and the king. The archbishop was to 'make provision that Urban shall sustain no inconvenience or detriment in going to the pope or in other things' and the king was told that he was to 'cause no hindrance nor inconvenience to Urban in going to the pope, or in his business or allowing others to do so'.¹¹⁹ In the event no hindrance was placed in Urban's way; he arrived on schedule to receive an unequivocal statement of his rights to the disputed lands. Urban took with him the bulls and privileges granted to him during the last two trips to the curia and he was accompanied by clerical and lay witnesses. These witnesses, two clerical and one lay, gave evidence that the disputed lands of Gower, Kidwelly, Cantref Brychan, and Ystradyw properly belonged to Llandaff, and that the disputed territory of Erging between Llandaff and Hereford also belonged to Llandaff. Moreover, the boundaries of the bishopric of Llandaff were stated to lie properly between the rivers Wye and Tawe and Urban's predecessor, Bishop Herwald, had exercised episcopal jurisdiction over all these areas. Accordingly on 4 April 1129 papal judgement was given in favour of Llandaff and letters to that effect were sent to Henry I, the archbishop of

¹¹⁹ *BLLD*, pp.38-39; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.55, 56.



Canterbury and to the clergy and people of the relevant areas instructing them to regard Urban as their bishop.¹²⁰

Victory appeared to be Urban's and he returned presumably in a state of some happiness to his diocese. This was short-lived. Shortly after Urban's departure from Rome, Bernard at last put in an appearance. By accident or design his arrival had been delayed, but he did not come unarmed to make his case, for with him came a substantial body of clerks and laymen as well as letters from the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was also the papal legate in England, other English bishops and certain lay lords who testified to the justice of Bernard's case and stated that the matter of the boundaries of the dioceses of St. David's and Llandaff had been settled by Urban and Bernard's predecessor, Bishop Wilfred.¹²¹

The means of the settlement had been a jury of forty-eight men, twenty-four from each diocese, who had decided the case. Bernard had brought with him two witnesses who had been amongst the twenty-four men of the St. David's jury, and others who had seen or heard of the previous proceedings. These proceedings had apparently been ignored by Bishop Urban in the case so far. Producing these witnesses changed the direction of the case substantially. There is no corroborative evidence of the jury of which Bernard spoke but it is not inconceivable that such arbitration took place. Whilst there is no surviving evidence of the effect of the letters from Henry I, the

¹²⁰ Properties granted to Urban in the final judgment. *Ep.Acts* vol.i, pp.164-167, p.176; *BLLD*, pp.39-48; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.59-63.

¹²¹ *BLLD*, pp.53,54; *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, pp.176, 177; vol.ii, L64

archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops and lay lords had on the case presented by St. David's, we may deduce something of what they might have contained.¹²²

It is possible that Henry I included in his evidence to the pope reference to the charter which he had given to Bernard on his accession to the bishopric of St. David's; this stated that the lands were confirmed to Bernard as they were in the time of Henry's father, William I, Edward the Confessor and Gruffudd [ap Llywelyn] and at any other time.¹²³ It is likely that in Henry's eyes his confirmation securely granted those areas to the bishop of St. David's who had held them at the time of his consecration. This is most clear in relation to Kidwelly, because at the time it was granted to Roger of Salisbury.

There was a papal change of heart and on 27 April 1129 the pope wrote to Urban ordering him to appear on 18 October 1130 to answer the evidence given by Bernard.¹²⁴ Bernard also took the offensive in a judgement on 28 April 1129 on behalf of William, archdeacon of St. David's whom Urban had unlawfully ejected from a church which Archdeacon William had been lawfully granted.¹²⁵ It seems likely that this church was inside the diocese of Llandaff but outside the disputed areas for it seems unlikely that William, one of Bernard's senior clerics, would have accepted Urban's right to grant churches and properties elsewhere and especially in the disputed districts.¹²⁶

¹²² *ibid*, vol.i, p.176, sets out the details of Bernard's appearance in Rome.

¹²³ *RRAN*, 2, no.1091.

¹²⁴ *BLLD*, pp.53-54; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.64

¹²⁵ *ibid*, p.30; *ibid*, L.65.

¹²⁶ *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.177.

This seeming change in attitude towards Urban was not, however, a complete abandonment by the pope of his earlier position. The new pope, Innocent II, elected in 1130 immediately restated that the clergy of these districts were to regard Urban as their bishop until a final judgement was given.¹²⁷ Urban enjoyed a great measure of support from the new pope and the papal curia, for on 12 August 1130 Innocent II wrote to William, archbishop of Canterbury, holder of the temporalities of Hereford during the vacancy, to complain that the archbishop had allowed the church of Hereford to communicate some parishioners of the territory of Archenfield who had been placed by Bishop Urban under sentence of excommunication. The archbishop was ordered not to allow this state of affairs to continue and that he was not to promote his clerk, Robert de Béthune, to the bishopric of Hereford without the pope's permission.¹²⁸ At this time too there was yet another exhortation to Henry I from the pope to do justice to the diocese.¹²⁹

By this time the dispute had been rumbling on for some twelve years and time was beginning to weigh on the side of the bishops of St. David's and Hereford. Urban, no doubt from the strain of frequent protesting, the weight of his responsibilities to his diocese and a number of arduous journeys to Rome, was becoming tired and ill, and so he obtained from the pope a postponement of the final judgement scheduled for 18 October 1131 until mid-Lent 1133. Innocent II however, reversed this decision and

¹²⁷ *BLLD*, pp.55-56; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.66. It is unlikely, however, that this made any difference on the ground, though it must have been a source of comfort to Urban and his supporters.

¹²⁸ *BLLD*, p.57; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.70. Archenfield was a district of the territory of Erging, which was in dispute between Hereford and Llandaff. Robert de Béthune was to become the next bishop of Hereford, an interesting choice given the current situation between the diocese of St. David's and Hereford as the priory lies within the boundaries of the diocese of St. David's. It is also interesting that de Béthune is noted as a clerk of the archbishop of Canterbury, another indication of the closeness of links between the diocese of St. David's and the archbishop of Canterbury.

¹²⁹ *BLLD*, pp.56, 57, 59, 60; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.71.

since he was planning a council at Rheims on the initial date of the hearing, 18 October, sent word to both bishops that he had decided to settle the matter at the council, pointing out the advantages of Rheims over Rome for a hearing that involved fatigue, expense and labour for bishop and diocese.¹³⁰ During the course of 1131, Innocent II continued to support Urban ordering Bernard, for example, to restore the possession of the districts from which 'Bernard's archdeacons had indecently ejected him'.¹³¹ Urban meanwhile had seemingly given up his attempts to gain justice from the English episcopacy. When in August 1129, after both he and Bernard had returned from their journey to Rome, William de Corbeil held a council at London, at which Bernard is recorded as being present but Urban is not.¹³²

On 18 August 1131 Bernard accordingly arrived at Rheims at the head of a large legation apparently confident and ready to settle the dispute with Urban. Urban, however, did not attend and witnesses attested to their bishop's ill health.¹³³ Innocent II therefore made a fateful decision; he committed the case to be heard by judges delegate. Those judges were to be the three archbishops of Henry's dominions - those of Canterbury, York and Rouen. By effectively revoking the case to the dominions of Henry I he almost certainly handed victory to Bernard and the bishop of Hereford. The reason for Innocent II's change of heart had more to do with his own desire for recognition, than with the justice of the case. Immediately after the death of Honorius II on the night of the 13/14 of February 1130 two

¹³⁰ *BLLD*, pp.65, 66; *Ep.Acts*, vol.ii, L.76.

¹³¹ *BLLD*, p.61; *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.81. There is no evidence that Bernard conformed in any respect with the papal order.

¹³² *Councils and Synods*, vol.i, part ii, pp.757-761. Bernard's presence again emphasizes his centrality in the government of church and state under Henry I as opposed to Bishop Urban.

¹³³ *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.179.

successors were elected, one body of cardinals directed by the chancellor Cardinal Aimeric chose Gregory of St. Angelo who took the name Innocent II, while a rather larger body, chiefly the older cardinals chose Pietro Pierleone, the legate to England in 1121, as Anacletus II. Uncertainty over the procedure for election and bitter personal divisions among the cardinals made the resolution of this schism more complex than it might otherwise have been. Before the middle of June Anacletus had secured virtually complete control of Rome, and Innocent was compelled to flee to Pisa, and thence, early in September, to France. The abbot of Cluny recognised him at once as pope; at the meeting of the clergy of northern France, Louis VI and his bishops accepted him too. King Henry meanwhile still held aloof. Agents of Urban, bishop of Llandaff had been in Rome when the schism broke out; they seem to have accepted Innocent at once, for his first bulls as pope were issued on Urban's behalf on 25 February, two days after his consecration. In August agents of Bishop Urban were at Genoa with Pope Innocent II again, while Bishop Bernard of St. David's may also have been there, perhaps as the king's agent. All the while, Henry ordered his clergy to take no action until the choice between the popes was made; it seems clear that the propaganda of both parties was current in England. In the autumn the king crossed to Normandy and thence, accompanied by the Norman bishops, came to Chartres where he met Innocent II on 13 January. Henceforth Henry's dominions accepted Innocent apparently without exception; from the 17 January onwards bulls for England in Normandy followed in rapid succession ... at Rouen he [Innocent II] issued the first surviving summons to a council to be held at Rheims on the 18 October 1131. Henry returned to England before the council, where his chief representative was Archbishop Hugh of Rouen ... of the bishops of

England, only Bishop Bernard of St. David's and the representatives of Urban of Llandaff are known to have been there 'in the interests of their own sees'.¹³⁴

Bernard's attendance at the Council of Rheims, which marked the end of the debate over whom the bishops of the Norman world would accept as pope, is highly significant. King Henry had been slower than Bishop Urban in recognising Innocent II. It is interesting to note the possibility that his agent in these discussions could well have been Bernard. Bernard, after all, knew Innocent II's rival, Pietro Pierleone, better than most in England, having led the royal party of welcome when the cardinal had been the papal legate in 1121, and had escorted him during his visit.¹³⁵ He therefore would have been in a good position to judge the attributes and advantages to be gained from the man. Innocent II's actions in support of Bernard after October 1131 were, it seems likely, in gratitude for the king's support against Pierleone. Innocent was quick to rule in favour of Llandaff initially when Urban had offered him his support in Rome in 1130. The recognition by Henry I was a far greater prize, which appears to have persuaded the pope to find a way of acceding to the king's wishes over the Llandaff case without appearing to go back on his previous rulings. The revocation to the archbishops of Canterbury, York and Rouen offered that possibility and Innocent took it. It was unlikely that any judge delegate acting within the dominions of Henry I would take a decision contrary to the wishes of the king. The hearings of these judges delegate were held in April 1132 and on 8 February and 30 April 1133.¹³⁶ Their decisions are not extant but it seems very likely that they went in favour of St. David's. The next we hear of Bishop Urban is

¹³⁴ *Councils and Synods*, vol.i, part ii, pp.754-57.

¹³⁵ See below, Chapter 4, The King's Bishop: Bishop Bernard and Henry I, 1115 – 1135

¹³⁶ *HH HA*, p.489.

of his death at Rome, or on his way to Rome, to present yet another appeal to the pope.¹³⁷

The Benedictine monk and historian, William of Malmesbury (1090-1143), who wrote under the patronage of Queen Matilda and Earl Robert of Gloucester, may well have known Bernard at this time. Retelling the story of Stephen's succession to the English throne, he commented on Bernard's role in the Llandaff dispute, 'The pope likewise, after weighing the rights of the case contented the piety and justice of the bishop of St. David's [*Meneuensem*] by the decision that was fitting'.¹³⁸ It is a strange inclusion for a writer who, in the whole of the rest of the *Historia Novella*, mentioned Wales only once. His reason is probably connected to a desire to validate his fellow Angevin. The *Historia Novella* is an important but not unbiased source of the information on the conflicts of Stephen's reign but its accuracy has been questioned.¹³⁹ Leedom assesses that although the work is undoubtedly designed as

¹³⁷ *Ann. Waverl, Ann. Mon.*, vol.ii, p.223 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.89; *HH HA*, p.491.

¹³⁸ *WM HN*, p.11. This was written not from contemporary knowledge but after Bernard had joined the cause of the empress. It is interesting to note that when referring to Bernard's diocese in this instance William chooses to use the Welsh, Menevia, rather than St. David's, which was used in other English chronicles of the time.

¹³⁹ R. B. Patterson, 'William of Malmesbury's Robert of Gloucester: A Re-evaluation of the *Historia Novella*', *AHR*, 70, no.4 (1965), pp.983-997. His argument can be summed up thus: the earl of Gloucester commissioned WM to write an apology, in order to explain the earl's actions both to contemporaries and future generations. Robert had previously been portrayed as something of a man of straw, bending in the wind as the political climate changed. In contrast, WM portrayed the earl as the protagonist of a cause. He saw in his service the fulfillment of his ambitions. He remains, in this portrayal, neither a usurper nor a violator of coronation promises; he becomes the man who paid the price for a political mistake early in his reign by alienating one faction of his familiars by promoting another.

an apology for the actions of Robert of Gloucester and his supporters, its exegesis of events is basically sound.¹⁴⁰

Probably through the weight of his own political influence and support, Bernard had secured victory. It should be emphasised that at no point, even after all the papal judgement had gone against him during the dispute, is there any evidence that Bernard gave up a single piece of territory. Although the case may legitimately be used to emphasise the pope's influence in England, it must be conceded that the final judgements were heavily affected by the power of laymen, principally Henry I. Power lay with Henry I and other powerful Norman lords and this identified Bernard at the centre of both lay and ecclesiastical power in England between 1116 and 1132; he had ultimately a decisive advantage over his spirited but less well-connected opponent.

The claims of Urban, bishop of Llandaff, threatened to undermine the power-bases that Bernard had carefully constructed for the maintenance of royal hegemony, particularly in the south and east of Bernard's diocese. Success for Urban would have severely reduced or in some cases ended Bernard's influence in areas of royal territory and in areas controlled by important Norman lords such as Roger of Salisbury. This would have severely weakened Bernard's ability to perform the task

¹⁴⁰ J. W. Leedom, 'William of Malmesbury and Robert of Gloucester Reconsidered', *Albion* 6 (1974), pp.250-263. Written in direct response to Patterson's article, it argues that WM, like all who supported the empress, was shaken by Robert's submission to King Stephen. WM undertook a literary project to paint his patron in the best possible light. Robert's motives are shown to be the result of necessity. Little attention is paid in WM *HN* to Robert's actions between Easter of 1136 and June of 1138, which can be easily misinterpreted. WM's portrait of the earl is doubtless idealised but it is not fictionalised. (p.263). This is perhaps a more rounded conclusion than the deliberate deconstruction of WM as a historian undertaken by Patterson and is part of the current and (favourable) reappraisal of WM as a legitimate historian. This is the premise on which the author of this present study will proceed regarding WM's work.

which Henry had set him. Despite the consistent support of successive popes, Urban was unable therefore to gain further territory from either Bernard or successive bishops of Hereford who also enjoyed the king's confidence. The disputed accession of Pope Innocent II provided Bernard and Henry with an opportunity to resolve the matter favourably. The archbishops of the Norman world knew who the centre of their world was, and predictably they produced an outcome favourable to the king. After his victory over Llandaff in 1133, Bernard continued in the same vein as he had for much of the reign of Henry I. When Henry left England for the last time in August of 1133 Bernard accompanied him and was present at court in Rouen in 1134. It is symbolic of the relationship between king and bishop that the last known appearance of Bernard in the historical record during the reign of Henry I should be as the recipient of an order, to execute a judgment Bernard had given in his own bishop's court - the two experienced, ambitious, old politicians working together for mutual benefit to the end (1134x1135).¹⁴¹ For as long as Henry I lived, his man on the western frontier was secure. But if Bernard was part of Henry's 'making of the March', it is clear that the March was also the making of Bernard.

¹⁴¹ *English Law Suits*, Doc.284, pp.239-240; *Cartularium Gloucestrie*, vol.i, Doc.cciv, p.268; *RRAN*, 2, no.1938. The order from Henry I specifically required Bernard to ensure that the monks of Gloucester Abbey should have a seisin of the church of Daugleddau as they regained it in the bishop's court on the king's order. The dispute involving the monks of Gloucester over the church of Daugleddau is fully set out in the cartulary of the abbey and discussed below, Chapter 3, pp.148-149.

Menevia and St. David's:

Bishop Bernard and the Diocese of St. David's

'The Welsh are entirely different in nation, language, laws, and habits, judgments and customs'. So stated Bishop Bernard in a letter to Innocent II.¹ On the 19 September 1115 Bernard came to a church which had established traditions, stretching back to the emergence of Christianity in Britain.² The Welsh knew Bernard's church of St. David's as the church of Menevia. So in a sense, the church of 'St. Andrew and St. David' to which Bernard's profession of obedience refers is an entirely new ecclesiastical entity, a Norman conception of a church of whose traditions and practices few Normans knew anything about.³ It is not surprising that the Anglo-Norman church should seek to associate itself from the outset of its hegemony over the ancient church of south-west Wales with the ecclesiastical tradition represented by its greatest bishop, St. David. Bernard appears to have secured a full recognition of the sanctity of St. David, from Pope Calixtus II between 1119 and 1124, probably during one of the bishop's visits to the papal curia at Gap in 1119 or Rome in 1123. It is likely, although not recorded, that the *Life of St David* played some role in convincing the pope of David's saintly nature. So impressed was he that the Peterborough Chronicle s.a 1124 says that Pope Calixtus 'conceded

¹ GW, *De Invect.*, pp.141, 142 in *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, D.121.

² Richter, 'Professions of Obedience', p.200; *Bede*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896) quoted in Richter, 'Giraldus Cambrensis: *NLWJ*, 17, p.41.

³ *Canterbury Professions*, ed., M. Richter Canterbury and York Society 67 (1973), D64. This is the first recorded use of this formulation to refer to St. David's as an ecclesiastical entity. The city of St. David's had frequently been referred to as such. The ecclesiastical entity to this point had been consistently referred to as the diocese of Menevia. The double nomenclature is an interesting matter. The reasoning behind it may be that St. David had not been as yet recognised as an official saint. Papal recognition had to await until circa 1123. The choice of St. Andrew may be personal to Bernard, who had close connections to Scotland through Queen Matilda.

to English and Scots to go twice to St. David's instead of one pilgrimage to Rome, because of the danger of the ways'.⁴ It is interesting to speculate that this danger of the ways might have reflected Bernard's own experience. The effect of this is summed up by the Dean of St David's as 'Bernard's initiative, combined with the rave review from Pope Calixtus II placed St. David's firmly on the religious map ... David was internationally famous ... a vast income was raised by visiting pilgrims'.⁵ The pairing of an established Roman saint or saints with an established Welsh patron was a practice adopted not only at St. David's but also at Llandaff and appears to have been a device to give the ancient church a more integrated role in the new Anglo-Norman church.⁶

At St. David's Bernard would create a diocese of recognizably continental style for the first time. It would have been recognizable in any part of the western church that owed allegiance to the pope: it had defined boundaries, a cathedral chapter with offices of archdeacons and canons and attendant legal powers over ecclesiastical matters. Whilst the diocese of St. David's was for the most part a Norman creation, it also remained distinctively Welsh in character adapting features and practices of the native church to suit the needs of its new Norman masters. The story of Bernard and his diocese is one of a marriage of cultures and ecclesiastical traditions, which

⁴ *The Chronicle of Peterborough* (Caxton Society), p 82, quoted in *Scottish History AD 500-1286*, coll. and trans., A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922), p.203.

⁵ Rev Wyn Evans, quoted in *St David's Day, Pembrokeshire* at www.history.uk.com

⁶ Llandaff's dedication was to St. Peter and St. Paul and St. Teilo. At the time of Bernard's arrival in Wales many of the traditional Welsh diocesan patron saints were recognised by the church on an official basis. Bernard may well have felt the need, therefore, to include an officially recognised saint in his diocesan dedication as David was not officially recognised as a saint in the Roman canon until 1123.

brought about the creation of two new entities - the diocese of St. David's and its co-existent ecclesiastical barony.

This meeting of traditions was not at first an easy one. The *Brut* condemns Bernard's appointment in no uncertain terms: 'a man from Normandy, who was called Bernard, who was raised to be bishop in Menevia by King Henry against the will and in despite of all the clergy of the Britons'.⁷ The Normans for their part may well have been shocked at what they found at St. David's: according to Gerald of Wales, the church was 'governed by barbarian rites' and the clergy had 'wickedly taken possession of the goods of the church'.⁸ How fair these conclusions were is hard to judge. It was standard Norman practice to dismiss the traditions of the native churches with suspicion and disgust. William I had used the abuses of the Anglo-Saxon church and monarchy to gain the support of Pope Alexander II who had according to William de Poitiers sent a banner from Rome to 'signify the approval of St. Peter'.⁹ After the conquest he used the same abuses to legitimize the removal of many of the Anglo-Saxon bishops and abbots, so enabling him the more easily to gain control of the English church.¹⁰ Thus, it was in the interest of the Norman

⁷ *Brut*, p.83.

⁸ GC, *De Jure*, pp.153, 154 in *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, D.153.

⁹ William de Poitier quoted in Crouch, *The Normans*, p.88.

¹⁰ JW, vol.iii, pp.11-13. Under 1070, the chronicler writes: 'A great council was held at Winchester on the octave of Easter [11 April], at the command, and in the presence, of King William, with the consent of Pope Alexander, whose authority was represented by his legates Ermenfrid, bishop of Sion, and John and Peter, cardinal priests of the apostolic see. In this council, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed for three reasons; he had unlawfully held the bishopric of Winchester, together with the archbishopric; that, in the lifetime of Archbishop Robert, he had not only seized the archbishopric, but had for some time used, during mass, Robert's pallium, which the latter left at Canterbury when he was unjustly driven from England by force...; some abbots were also deposed there, the king striving to deprive so many Englishmen of their offices. In their place, he would appoint men of his own race to strengthen his position in his newly acquired kingdom. He stripped of their offices many bishops and abbots who had not been condemned for any obvious cause, whether of conciliar or secular law.'

conquerors to paint the condition of the church they found as black as possible in order to justify both their reform and their take-over of the institution.

It is likely that the greatest differences between the churches lay not in liturgical practices but in forms of clerical life. Pre-Norman Welsh cathedral priests lived in semi-autonomous religious communities. They held much in common, in a fashion similar to the monks of the continental church. However, practices common in Welsh communities such as inheritance of ecclesiastical property and offices and marriage of the clergy were utterly unacceptable to a reformist continental church which, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was deeply concerned with rooting out such practices.¹¹ Members of Welsh churches did not live by a specific rule and a large part of native Welsh ecclesiastical life had lost the zeal of monastic life ascribed to an earlier age in, for example, Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*, c 1085-95. Rhigyfarch reports St. David's ability to heal the blind and resist temptation from the pagans.¹² It is necessary to treat such glowing descriptions of an ecclesiastical golden age with scepticism. By the same token, the undignified portrayal of the state of the native Welsh church in some Anglo-Norman or Anglo-Welsh writings, such as those of Giraldus, requires equal impartiality. Indeed, it is in Giraldus's often scathing texts that we find the surest indication that the native Welsh church contained an undeniable devotional spirit. Giraldus commented upon St. Caradog and his followers, and the eremitical communities at Bardsey, Priestholm and

¹¹ The make up of the Welsh church before the arrival of Bernard is well described in Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp.172-179.

¹² Rhigyfarch, *St.D.*, pp.32, 35.

Beddgelert as possessing 'an intensity and vitality which could not be rivalled in any part of Europe'.¹³

The 1080's and 1090's were a time of considerable pain for those who cared for the Welsh church. Around 1094 – 1095 Rhigyfarch wrote movingly, 'O Wales you are afflicted and dying...An alien crowd speaks of you as hateful...O country deserted by God...What is now left for you but to weep excessively...'.¹⁴ He was expressing the feelings of many at the disintegration of the Welsh *clas* system.

It is often the sign of a good conqueror that existing laws, customs and institutions are incorporated and adapted in the new settlement, and never completely destroyed. William I had used much of the Anglo-Saxon infrastructure in the new Anglo-Norman administration of England, now Bernard was to show considerable skill in moulding his new diocese and barony according to Welsh custom and tradition whilst making both institutions unmistakably Norman in character.¹⁵ It is a testament to the ability of Bernard that the major reorganisation of the cathedral and the diocese appears to have begun very quickly after his appointment and progressed with astonishing speed. The Welsh clergy of course did not greet Bernard's arrival with any great enthusiasm, as the *Brut* makes clear, but Bernard's apparent ability to adapt and use the traditions of his see, as well as its new Norman persona, to good effect enabled him to satisfy the expectations of all in his culturally diverse diocese

¹³ GC, *Opera*, vol.iv (Speculum Ecclesiae), pp.167-8; vol.vi (Descriptio Kambriae), pp.124, 131, 204.

¹⁴ Rhigyfarch's *Lament*, in M. Lapidge, 'The Welsh-Latin Poetry of Sulien's family', *Studia Celtica*, 8/9 (1973-4), pp.89-93.

¹⁵ *Ep.Acts*, p.144

and beyond, maintaining for the most part the goodwill of the laity and the clergy, both Norman and Welsh alike.

As a reflection of the varied cultural and ecclesiastical traditions of his diocese, Bernard and his chapter adopted various nomenclatures and styles, which in turn reflect intimately the different connections which Bernard wished to make with his diocese present, past and future. These styles and titles revolve around the two separate identities of Bernard's diocese, the Welsh Menevia and the Norman St. David's. The origin of the term Menevia has been the subject of debate. It may have developed from the Welsh 'Mynyw', where the cult of St. David was regarded as firmly centred by the tenth century.¹⁶ The recently retired bishop of Menevia offered the author the customary explanation for the origin of the name of Menevia. He states that the name derives from the Latinisation of the river in which St. David reputedly bathed for the purpose of penance.¹⁷ All contemporary Welsh references referring to the pre-Norman church of St. David's, use the term Menevia, both with regard to the bishop and to his diocese. St. David's is only used it would appear when referring to the actual settlement which became the city of St. David's. The bishopric of 'St. David's', sometimes with its dual dedication to St. Andrew, is contemporary with Bernard's election as bishop and its first mention appears in Bernard's profession of obedience to Canterbury on 15 September 1115. An example is found in the letter of the chapter 'of St. Andrew and St. David's' to Pope

¹⁶ www.ccw.gov.uk – The Countryside Council for Wales website – St. David's.

¹⁷ Bishop Daniel Mullins was bishop of Menevia (a Roman Catholic diocese which approximates to the boundaries of the diocese of St. David's at the start of Bernard's episcopate, before the creation of the diocese of St. Asaph) for thirty three years, up to 2000. The information was provided in various personal conversations, which I had with him from time to time and his interest and assistance is gratefully acknowledged here.

Innocent II (1130 x 1143) to explain the chapter's claim to archiepiscopal status for St. David's. When Bernard alone is referred to, in a charter or judgment, or when he attested a royal charter, he is normally styled '*Bernardus Dei gratia de Sancto David episcopus*' or 'bishop of St. David'.¹⁸ This implies succession to the saint himself in the same way as the bishop of Rome is often referred to as the successor to St. Peter.

For acts given within his own diocese Bernard continued to use the Menevian nomenclature of his predecessors but in a new form apparently unique to Bernard: this was '*dei gratia Menevensis antistes*'.¹⁹ '*Antistes*', which in classical Latin meant 'high priest', was used in the Middle Ages to refer to a bishop, but interestingly normally a bishop in a subordinate capacity. This is most often demonstrated in the professions of obedience made by bishops in England and Wales to the archbishop of Canterbury of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and it is used in that capacity by Bernard in his profession.²⁰ The avoidance of the term 'bishop' is highly significant, and adds credence to Barrow's argument that Bernard's usage is connected with his fight for archiepiscopal status. Barrow uses the evidence of the early charter to substantiate this point.²¹ The earliest extant charter of Bernard's that uses the traditional Welsh reference of 'Menevia' to describe his diocese and the '*antistes*'

¹⁸ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.23. The use of 'episcopus' for bishop represents the standard title used by medieval bishops including Bernard's successors as bishops of St. David's. It is highly unusual to find any variation on this in episcopal records.

¹⁹ *ibid*, p.23, 43 with reference to nos. 4-5, 6-7 and 19. Bernard does use '*Dei gratia Menevensis episcopus*' once in his surviving acts. This is in his earliest surviving charter, which Barrow dates between 1115-1120. This variation may be for a number of reasons, most likely, as the copy of the charter is not original, it is a scribal error in a period when, as with all of Bernard's successors, this formula represented the standard form of address in charters.

²⁰ Richter, *Canterbury Professions*, D64.

²¹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.23, 46.

form dates from 1115-1125.²² This is long before Bernard even contemplated raising the archiepiscopal status of his diocese with the pope. If Bernard then chose to use this form, why should he choose such an unusual form of address? There is much significance attached to this term. The reasons why it was significant may have changed during Bernard's episcopate. In Biblical terms, the commission of a high priest carries with it an indisputable authority from God. The significance of this is apparent when it is considered that the Welsh had raised strong objections to the election of Bishop Bernard. Bernard had become bishop 'without having been elected by the chapter according to canonical and ancient method'.²³

In using the '*antistes*' nomenclature, Bernard may have been trying to convey a sense of change with his coming. He also wished to convey that he had the spiritual as well as the temporal authority to reform his diocese to bring its standards up to those approaching the high ideals of the continental church, following the Gregorian reformation of the late eleventh century.

There are other interpretations, on Bernard's use of this particular style. Barrow has claimed that Bernard used this form of address in order to avoid giving the impression of subordination to Canterbury. This is a credible theory, in view of Bernard's archiepiscopal ambitions. On examination, however, it has weaknesses. Bernard began to use this nomenclature around 1120 plus, long before his

²² *ibid*, p.39. Barrow doubts the authenticity of this document; the author clearly felt that the inclusion of this unusual form of address, even at the early stage in Bernard's episcopate would lend it an authenticity. It would be sufficiently plausible to avoid suspicion of possible forgery, and therefore, we may assume that the '*antistes*' form would not have seemed out of place at this early stage, when presented in evidence to contemporaries. It is credible, then, to imagine that at an early date.

²³ E. Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. F. Green (London, 1927), p.24.

archiepiscopal ambitions became apparent, for it was the world beyond his diocese that Bernard had to convince of his archiepiscopal case. When Bernard used the '*Dei gratia Menevensis antistes*' nomenclature, in the vast majority of cases this was used when an act referred to the people or institutions in the diocese of St. David's itself. Bernard used the standard Norman '*episcopus*' formula on the majority of his documents, be they personal acta or attestations to royal documents relating to institutions and his diocese, both before and during the time of his archiepiscopal pretensions. It is difficult to see therefore, how the '*Dei gratia Menevensis antistes*' formula was used as Barrow suggests. Its almost exclusive use within the diocese of St. David's suggests that the '*Dei gratia Menevensis antistes*' formula, was designed to portray the bishop in a particular light to the people of Bernard's own diocesan jurisdiction. Whether this is exactly the impression intended is difficult to prove, but whether Bernard meant to convey an impression by words, he very quickly supported his words with actions.

The first problem which Bernard faced was to get to grips with the diocese itself, its extent, jurisdictions and temporal possessions. Bernard, like most Normans, probably knew little of his Welsh see, even though his time at Hereford may have brought him into contact with the Welsh church. He would not have found in place any of the usual administrative officers of an Anglo-Norman see and cathedral and even the diocesan boundaries were in dispute.²⁴ Within three years Bernard had completed much reform. There are two main sources of evidence for this: firstly, he

²⁴ For more on this dispute, see below, pp.126-133

was absent from the English court and government records between December 1115 and June 1119.²⁵ This absence is lengthy considering the regularity of Bernard's attestations during the rest of the reign. It is likely that during these missing years Bernard was in Wales, getting acquainted with his new diocese. The second piece of evidence is the appearance of people and offices unknown in the native Welsh church, in Bernard's first known charter as bishop of St. David's, written between 1115 and 1120. Of greatest significance are the attestations of two archdeacons, (i.e. the bishops' chief clerics in the parochial administration of the diocese), Elias of Brecon and William of Carmarthen.²⁶ The presence of these offices at this early stage of Bernard's episcopate suggests that he wasted no time in creating the divisions of his diocese, as well as in coming to terms with its vast extent. Only in small dioceses including Canterbury, Rochester, Ely and Carlisle was one archdeacon sufficient; elsewhere they ranged from two (Durham, Hereford) to eight (Lincoln).

Bernard was responsible for a major reorganisation of the diocese in terms of its clerical officials. He divided his diocese into four archdeaconries, those of St. David's, Carmarthen, Brecon and Cardigan. In doing so Bernard used existing Welsh administrative boundaries, both lay and ecclesiastical. He also 'subdivided those archdeaconries into rural deaneries having due regard for the historical background of the ancient Welsh divisions of cantrefs and commotes'.²⁷ In England

²⁵ See below, Appendix 1 – Itinerary of Bishop Bernard of St. David's.

²⁶ See below, Appendix 4 - Persons attesting to charters of Bishop Bernard of St. David's.

²⁷ *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, p.144. The archdeaconries in Bernard's diocese appear to correspond to the ancient Welsh kingdoms of Dyfed, Deheubarth, Brycheiniog, and Ceredigion. The rural deaneries appear to correspond to Welsh cantrefs and commotes within those four kingdoms.

it was the practice that rural deaneries should conform to the administrative boundaries of a hundred or group of hundreds. Bernard was, it seems, conforming to this practice with the nearest Welsh administrative equivalent.

With Bernard's arrival at St. David's, the diocese saw the introduction of the parish. Several parishes are mentioned in Bernard's surviving acta, most of these lay in areas of the diocese which were heavily Normanized even before Bernard's arrival. These acta also show the Norman trait of giving Welsh churches and parishes in their territories to their favourite English or indeed French monasteries and illustrate aspects of parish life, from which it is possible to gain a better understanding of how Bernard's diocese was administered and functioned. The Anglo-Norman parish had reached full development by the beginning of the twelfth century. 'It was a well-defined district in which lived a group of families, directly subject to their *parson*'.²⁸ It was also subject indirectly to the bishop. It was a sub-unit of the church on earth, the unit being the diocese. It existed primarily for religious purposes, but also to provide social services and relief of the needy. The scope was much wider than it would be in modern times. 'To the people of the Middle Ages it would not have been strange to see an organization that was primarily concerned with spiritual welfare also being concerned with the welfare of the body. The parochial authorities might concern themselves with fire fighting, the upkeep of the roads and bridges, healthcare and the preservation of peace. When a benefice fell vacant, the patron, usually the lord of the manor, but sometimes the king, a nobleman or a knight, or

²⁸ L. Goulder, *Church Life in Medieval England and Wales, Part 1, The Parishes* (Bristol 1988), p.30 Parson is an old English word meaning the rector or the vicar, the medieval equivalent of the modern parish priest; from the Latin '*persona*', meaning the person of the place.

even a monastic or collegiate body, chose a suitable clerk to serve the benefice. When the patron had made his choice he presented the candidate to the bishop for appointment. It was the duty of the archdeacon to satisfy the bishop that the candidate was suitable in all respects for the post. He had to be at least twenty-five years old and if not yet a priest be prepared to receive that order within one year. If the candidate were accepted, the new incumbent was inducted to the spiritualities and temporalities of his parish by the bishop himself, his official, or more usually by the archdeacon.²⁹ Parsons had to pay the expenses of the archdeacon's visit, which varied according to the number of attendants the archdeacon brought with him. If a monastery, or some other institution or person appropriated the benefice or rectorship, and were unable to officiate directly at mass then a vicar would be appointed and his duties varied little from those of an officiating rector. Once installed, a holder of a benefice could not be removed against his will, unless convicted of a serious offence in an ecclesiastical court. He could also be sued, or sue on behalf of his parish. Parishes were generally small perhaps very small by modern standards, containing no more than a few hundred people. Staffing levels, however, were high with the rector sometimes assisted by more than one curate or assistant priest as well as by stipendiary priests and clerics in minor orders'.³⁰

Of Bernard's parishes perhaps the best documented is that of St. John's Brecon. In a confirmation of the grant by Bernard of Neufmarché of tithes and lands, probably

²⁹ *ibid*, p.31. Induction is the ceremony by which the candidate assumed authority over his parish. It took place in his own church. Spiritualities representing the rights of a parish priest as pastor of his flock. The temporalities of the benefice represented his rights in civil law and over the material possessions of his benefice.

³⁰ *ibid*, pp.30–31.

written around 1125, Bernard included his own gift of the chapel of St. Elyned in the parish.³¹ The shrine was noted 'for the attraction it exercised on men in search of medical cures and for the frenzied religious dances performed by crowds, which came there'.³² During Bernard's episcopate, he must have maintained some control over the chapel, as a grant releasing it from 'episcopal customs' was granted to Brecon Priory by Bernard's successor, Bishop David fitz Gerald, in 1152.³³ Another parish under the jurisdiction of Brecon priory was the site of St. Paulinus in the parish of Llangors which was the subject of a monition by Bernard to Roger of Hereford between 1143 and 1148, but here the name of parish is all the evidence we have.³⁴ The other probable parish churches of his diocese mentioned in Bernard's acta over the course of his episcopate, appear in confirmations of grants in other charters: they are St. Michael's, Ewias; St. Mary's, Hay; and Holy Trinity, Cardigan.³⁵ All the parishes mentioned in Bernard's charters are ones that had been appropriated by monasteries. This suggests two points. Firstly, that the parish system may have been more developed in monastic lands both in terms of ecclesiastical and administrative structuring, and the temporalities, than in those areas controlled solely by the diocese. Secondly, it is likely that parishes were more prevalent in Norman areas of the diocese than the Welshery. It is possible to speculate that in areas of the diocese where the Welsh predominated, traditional Welsh church infrastructures remained in place for a longer period. Towns, which appear earliest and most frequently in Norman areas, often quickly developed church

³¹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.4.

³² Griffiths, *Boroughs of Medieval Wales* p.62.

³³ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.24.

³⁴ *ibid*, no.5.

³⁵ *ibid*, nos. 13, 14, 16, 17.

centred parishes as they grew. The term parish is not used directly yet confirmations concerning the churches and the presence of tithes in the confirmations suggest that parishes were present, as tithes represented a major source of parochial finance. 'There were two major types of tithe: pedial or agrarian and personal. The former tithe was subdivided into the greater and lesser types. The first of these was paid on corn, wine, oil and wool, the other on vegetables, fruits, beasts and dairy produce. The personal tithe was levied on profits from craftsmanship and trade, paid to the parish in which the workmen lived. It was allowable for a recipient to expropriate his greater tithe to a monastery, college or individual. When given to a monastery the abbey or priory which benefited was compelled to dedicate one of its monks to the parish, or else to appoint a secular priest as chaplain. This proved to be so unsatisfactory that the Westminster synod of 1102 enacted that this could only take place with the permission of the bishop'.³⁶ In the case of St. Michael, Ewias noted above, the grant includes 'the lands and tithes belonging to it, with the chapel of St. Nicholas of the castle of Ewias, all the tithe of the castle domain, the tithe of the corrody of the household of the castle, the tithe of all the slaughter at the castle, whether the animals are home reared or bought, the tithe of game, the tithe of the church of Bilbo (Black Bilbo and Great Bilbo, Herefordshire) and all parochial rights'.³⁷

There are some serious deficiencies in our knowledge of Bernard's parish system. No mention of any secular parish survives in Bernard's *acta*.³⁸ But it is at least

³⁶ Goulder, *Church Life*, p.39.

³⁷ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.14.

³⁸ The phrase 'secular parish' refers to one which forms part of a given diocese and is not subject to a monastic institution or 'regular parish'.

possible to say that in the Anglo-Norman area a parish system along Anglo-Norman lines was begun, and tithes were paid and distributed to favoured Anglo-Norman monasteries of the local lord. It may therefore be said that a functioning Anglo-Norman diocese, at parish level, as well as administrative level, was begun during Bernard's episcopate. A study of the acta of Bernard's immediate successor, David fitz Gerald reveals to an extent the development of the parish system in St. David's by the middle of the twelfth century. Three monastic houses were granted a number of parishes and churches:

Brecon – Hay, Llanigon, Llansanffraid, Llanelu, Cathedin, Llangors and Talgarth

Gloucester – Porthamel, Pontithel and Llanbadarn Fawr

Slebech – Troed-yr-Aur, Wiston, Slebech, Walton, Clarbeston, Ambleston, Boulston, Rhosmarket, Minwear, Amroth, Samnelay, Penrice in Gower and 'Villa Amlot'.³⁹

Two charters speak of nominations of priests and parsons to some of these churches, indicating the presence of a medieval parish system in quite an advanced state of development. Even allowing for some developments in this area after Bernard's death it is likely that many of these churches and systems of nomination were not a development of the twenty-eight years which separate the deaths of Bernard and David fitz Gerald.⁴⁰

In the cathedral itself, Bernard introduced some major reforms of the chapter. He chose to create a chapter for secular canons - a system popular in the Anglo-Norman church. For Bernard the system had many advantages: as a secular bishop he might

³⁹ St.D.Ep.A, nos.25, 27, 30, 31, 36, 37.

⁴⁰ *ibid*, nos 26, 27.

have experienced difficulties with a regular chapter, as did some of the archbishops of Canterbury with theirs. Given the mistrust between the native Welsh and the Norman monks, particularly the Benedictines who had priories at Brecon and Carmarthen prior to 1115 and normally formed Anglo-Norman regular cathedral chapters, their introduction might have caused major tensions between the bishop and the native Welsh clergy of the diocese. Added to this, the conversion to a chapter of secular canons represented the least change from the native Welsh *clas* system of administration. It was clearly, the most advantageous, diplomatic and simple solution to achieve reform.

Bernard's choice of a secular cathedral chapter may not have been unusual in the Norman church, but the system he chose to operate undoubtedly was. It was modified so that the bishop took the role of president of the chapter, thereby excluding the office of dean.⁴¹ The office of dean was firmly established in other secular chapters by the end of Bernard's lifetime. For example, in the chapter of Bernard's close colleague Roger, bishop of Salisbury, a dean was in place by 1139.⁴² Other offices within the chapter which appear to be present in other secular chapters at this time, such as those of chancellor and treasurer, were not introduced by Bernard but appear at St. David's only in the mid to late thirteenth century and thus cannot form part of Bernard's reform programme.⁴³ The structure which Bernard

⁴¹ O. T. Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St. David's Day; the medieval office of the Welsh Patron Saint in National Library of Wales* (Cambridge, 1990) p.157.

⁴² *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, compiled by D. Greenway, vol 4 Salisbury (1968) p.7.

⁴³ There was a chancellor at Salisbury by 1139 at the latest, *ibid*, p.16. There was a treasurer at Lincoln as early as 1092; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, compiled by D. Greenway, vol 3 Lincoln (1977), p.18. For the dates of introduction of officers at St. David's, see Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers*, p.157.

devised for his chapter is unique within the British Isles. Edwards believes that this situation was born of lack of funds. Since St. David's was poor by English standards this explanation has some force, though other explanations are worth considering.

Similar chapters are to be found in Brittany, at the cathedrals of Dol, Treguier and Dol-de-Leon.⁴⁴ There are a number of points of interest here. On re-examination of the evidence a more persuasive hypothesis emerges. It was usual for the bishop or abbot of a native Welsh *clas* church to head its 'chapter' of senior clergy. Appreciation of this fact calls into question whether Bernard's 'introduction' of an unusual system represents a novel experiment at all: it may represent a continuation of the native Welsh system, albeit adapted to the stricter hierarchical structure and episcopal control of the Anglo-Norman church. This probability is strengthened when it is considered in conjunction with the traditions of the archdiocese of Dol. In a letter to Calixtus II the chapter of St. David's state that, 'St. Samson ... fleeing from the imminent danger of the plague, crossed over to the monastery of Dol, of the people of Brittany, with the honour of the pallium'.⁴⁵ The similarity in the traditions of the two dioceses and their equally unusual cathedral structures point to a conclusion that there was contact between the dioceses which led to their chapters being organized along similarly unusual lines.

It is possible, then, to construct a credible picture of what the newly reorganized diocesan organization and cathedral chapter looked like in terms of its offices and

⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.157.

⁴⁵ GW, *De Invect.*, pp. 143-146 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.80.

organization. But what of the men who filled these positions? There is evidence for a William, archdeacon of St. David's during Bernard's episcopate and he was in post by 1128, though there has nothing known about this cleric and he does not witness any of Bernard's surviving charters.⁴⁶

Of the archdeacons of Brecon there is more information. The first one known to us was Elias; he was probably a Welshman and he held office, circa 1116-25. He attested Bernard's earliest surviving charter drawn up between 1115 and 1120.⁴⁷ His successor as archdeacon was the most significant and one of the best documented of all Bernard's clerics, Jordan. This cleric had a varied career and probably came from Scotland; he became chancellor of the Scottish realm in 1141 for a short period.⁴⁸ Jordan appears to have spent much time in Bernard's company; he testified to five of Bernard's surviving charters, more than any other person recorded. Jordan continued to hold the archdeaconry until 1175, when he was deposed and replaced by Gerald of Wales. A further mark of his importance is that he possessed the so-called 'golden prebend' of Mathrey in Pebidiog.⁴⁹

One archdeacon of Carmarthen is recorded for Bernard's episcopate, yet another William. He was another early arrival and probably a Norman, attesting the same

⁴⁶ Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, p.174.

⁴⁷ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.17 and Appendix 4 - Persons attesting to charters of Bishop Bernard of St. David's.

⁴⁸ *St.D.Ep.A.*, nos.6,7,19,20. It may seem a little far-fetched that the archdeacon of Brecon could be chancellor of Scotland, but the text is clear: '*et mecum Iordanus cancellarius regis Scotie*'. In 1141 Bernard was mediating between the abbeys of Shrewsbury and Sées over the church of Kirkham in Lancashire which lay within the lands of David I of Scotland, hence the appearance of Jordan as chancellor of Scotland, rather than his more usual, archdeacon of Brecon.

⁴⁹ Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, p.191, p.233; see also M. J. Pearson, *The Bishop and his Chapter: The Internal Re-organisation of the Bishopric of St. David's 1115-1280* (M.A. Thesis, University of Bangor, 1995) p.32.

early charter as did the first archdeacon of Brecon, between 1115 and 1120: his existence is noted by Yardley who gives no specific date as to either his arrival or his death.⁵⁰

The first known archdeacon of Cardigan was John, a Welshman, of the family of Bishop Sulien of Menevia. Cardigan was in the area of the diocese which most retained of its native Welsh character. Even two centuries after Bernard's death, the *Black Book of St. David's* makes it clear that 'the Cardiganshire customs certainly point to a different state of things'.⁵¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that Bernard chose for this post a prominent member of the most important native Welsh ecclesiastical dynasty in Menevia. Bernard may not have had too much choice in the matter as it may well not have been in Bernard's interests to remove such an important and well-respected Welsh cleric. His obituary, in 1136-7 refers to him as archpriest or archdeacon of Llanbadarn.⁵² This *clas* church was the Sulien dynasty's principal church. It is likely that Bernard felt the need to gain the trust and cooperation of a family which, through its standing in the diocese, could have made life very difficult for him. John also had a very good reputation, 'being a man of singular piety and strictness of life, who for his rigid zeal in religion and virtue, was thought worthy to be canonised and recounted among the number of the saints'.⁵³ In addition to these virtues, it is certain that John, like his brother Rhigyfarch, had a good knowledge of the traditions and practices of the diocese which would have been

⁵⁰ Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, p.206; *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.47.

⁵¹ *The Black Book of St. David's*, ed. J. W. Willis-Bund, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 5 (London, 1902), p.viii.

⁵² *Brut*, p.117; *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.110; Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, p.219.

⁵³ Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, p.219.

invaluable to a foreigner like Bernard. On John's death in 1136-7, an equally significant figure succeeded him as archdeacon of Cardigan, David fitz Gerald. David was a Normano-Welshman, son of Gerald of Windsor and Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. On Bernard's death in 1148 he became bishop of St. David's on condition that he abandon Bernard's fight for archiepiscopal status which had so occupied the bishop and his chapter in Bernard's last years. David was also the uncle of Gerald of Wales. Another son of Bishop Sulien of Menevia is mentioned as an archdeacon during the time of Bernard. In 1127 the *Brut* records the death of Daniel ap Sulien, archdeacon of Powys. He 'peaceful and beloved by all' is described as an arbitrator between Gwynedd and Powys 'in the strife between them'. Although Powys was not historically an archdeaconry of the diocese of St. David's, it is likely that given the dominance of Sulien's family at St. David's in the late eleventh-early twelfth century there would have been close connections here. These connections may have a bearing on why Bishop Bernard claimed metropolitan rights over the bishopric of St. Asaph (Powys) in the early 1140's.⁵⁴

From Bernard's charters, we learn the names of some the canons of St. David's, though little further information is available about these clerics. As with the archdeacons there is a mix of Norman and native Welsh names. This indicates the multi-ethnic origins of Bernard's chapter. Many of these canons appear in more than one charter from 1125 onwards. In descending order of the number of times they appear, their names are: John of Ysterlwyf, Master John, Cadwgan, John son of Daniel, Symon son of Daniel, Walter, another John and an Edward. Further evidence

⁵⁴ *Brut*, p.111

concerning the positions and seniority of some of these clerics comes from a letter of Gilbert Foliot to the chapter of St. David's, bemoaning the effect of Bernard's death. It is addressed to '*Hieuardo sacriste ecclesie sancti David et magistro Iohanni et toti capitulo*'.⁵⁵ This suggests that in Bernard's absence the two officers mentioned occupied an elevated position in the chapter. This could, however, merely represent a temporary state of affairs because many senior clerics would have been away with Bernard in France at the papal council where Bernard died. From the number of times he appears in Bernard's charters Master John seems to have been a senior cleric; he appears four times between 1125 and 1148. The reference to John as a Master (*magistro*) indicates that he was a university graduate- a rare occurrence in a Welsh context at this time. Which university John was a graduate of must remain speculation, but is most likely to have been Padua or Paris.

From Gerald of Wales we gain an idea of how all these clerics lived. He says of Bernard's treatment of his canons 'which he had ordained so miserably and minutely, that they dwelt more as soldiers in many things, than as clerks'.⁵⁶ What Gerald is referring to here is not the fact that Bernard expected his cathedral chapter to act as a private army but rather that Bernard's reorganisation of the temporalities for the creation of a number of knight's fees.⁵⁷ This common practice presumably left at least some members of the cathedral chapter, probably the native Welsh contingent,

⁵⁵ Gilbert Foliot, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Z. N. Brooke, A. Morey, C. N. L. Brooke, (Cambridge, 1967), D 74.

⁵⁶ GC, *De Jure*, pp.153, 154 in *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, D.153.

⁵⁷ An idea of the military potential of the lordship of the bishops of St. David's can be gathered by reference to the Black Prince's muster of 300 foot in 1347, D. L. Evans, 'Some Notes on the History of the Principality of Wales in the time of the Black Prince (1343-1376)', *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* (1925-26) p.59. See also Chapter 5, pp.214-215.

worse-off. From Gerald's writings, it is also possible to appreciate the fact that Bernard's provisions for his knights may have been generous by the standards of the day; 'where ten carucates of land should have been sufficient he bestowed twenty or thirty'.⁵⁸ The reason for this becomes clear when it is recalled that Bernard's role in Wales was not only, or was intended to be primarily that of a spiritual leader to the people of south Wales. Bernard's primary function was to protect the king's interest on Henry's south-western frontier. As with all frontier areas there was an increased danger of violence and conflict, as Henry's campaigns of 1114 and 1121 show. Bernard's ample provision for his knights shows that there was recognition of the need for their services.

From the historical record it is possible to say something about some of laymen on whom Bernard could rely for support. The most significant office held by a layman at the time of Bernard was that of steward. The steward (*dapifer*) was a lay assistant in, and protector of, the interests and activities the diocese.⁵⁹ Bernard's choice of steward shows us just how well connected politically and socially he was. Prince Henry of Scotland [d. 1152], later earl of Northumberland, was appointed steward of St. David's probably in the 1120's or 1130's, Henry was the nephew of Queen Matilda of England, for whom Bernard was formerly chancellor. As a consequence of this appointment, the kings of Scotland may well have held the stewardship of St. David's by hereditary right perhaps up to 1174 when Barrow suggests that William the Lion was deprived of the stewardship after his participation in the rebellion of the

⁵⁸ GC, *De Jure*, pp.153, 154 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.153.

⁵⁹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.33

young King Henry, which explains why it is only after that date that David fitz Gerald was able to grant the office to his brother Maurice.⁶⁰ It was Henry who probably introduced Jordan, archdeacon of Brecon, to the diocese and his appointment also puts Bernard's political allegiances in a clear context. Henry commanded the Scots cavalry during his father's invasion of England, which led to the battle of the Standard in 1138, at a time when Bernard, in theory at least, was still loyal to King Stephen.⁶¹ Bernard's choice of ally makes his true political allegiances clear. Whatever the political advantages for Bernard of having Earl Henry as his steward, the latter like the bishop spent little time in the diocese.⁶² Away from high politics one of Bernard's larger grants to a layman shows him in a more human light. Gerald of Wales writes that Bernard gave a large estate to his nephew Hubert, because 'he had no one of his own flesh' [*quia nemo carnem*].⁶³ Even in the harsh reality of twelfth-century Wales, politics was not always the first consideration. However placing a relative within the diocese may well have strengthened Bernard's position.

This mention of land given to Bernard's nephew is a convenient juncture at which to refocus the discussion of Bernard's diocesan reforms. Bernard was the first bishop to hold a recognizable Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical barony of St. David's. This is shown by a 1358 *inspeximus* of a charter of Henry 1 dated at the time of Bernard's consecration and in effect recording the creation of the ecclesiastical barony of St. David's:

⁶⁰ *ibid*

⁶¹ *HH HA*, iv, pp. 68-69, 70-73, 136-137

⁶² *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.59.

⁶³ *GC, De Jure*, pp.153-4.

*'Henricus, rex Anglorum, archiepiscopis, episcopis et comitibus et baronibus et omnibus fidelibus suis, Francis et Wallensibus et Anglicis, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse Bernardo episcopo episcopatum Sancti Andree Apostoli et Sancti David de civitate Menevensi in Walis, habendum et jure tenendum cum omnibus pertinentiis ejus et terris, cultis et incultis, viis et inviis, pratis, paludibus, pascuis, silvis, venationibus et earum percursibus, aquis et aquarum decursibus, molendinis, piscationibus, exitibus atque redditibus, et cum omni utilitate que inde poterit omni tempore per terram et per aquam provenire, cum omnibus consuetudinibus sicut ecclesia predicta vel aliquis episcopus ejus melius habuit et tenuit tempore patris mei et regis Edwardi et Grifini, vel aliquo alio tempore. Et volo atque precipio ut omnia predicta in pace et honore et quiete teneat et habeat. Et nemo sit qui ei inde aliquid difforciet vel contrateneat. Presente Mathilde regina, uxore mea, et Willelmo filio nostro, et teste Radulfo, archiepiscopo Cantuarensi, et Gaufrido, archiepiscopo Rotomagensi, et Turstino, electo Eboracensi, et Ricardo, episcopo Londonie, et Rogero, episcopo Salesberie, et Rodberto, episcopo Lincolie, et Johanne, episcopo Luxoviensi, et omnibus aliis episcopis Anglie, et Urbano, episcopo de Wlatmorgan, et Rannulfo Cancellario, et Johanne de Baiocis et Ebrardo filio Comitum, et Goiffrido capellano, et Ricardo cappellano, custode sygilli regis, et Rodberto, comite de Mellent, et Henrico comite, fratre ejus, et Ricardo, comite de Cestra, et Rodberto filio regis, et Gisleberto filio Ricardi, et Waltero de Gloecestre et Adam de Port et Haumione Dapifero et Willelmo de Albinneio et Nigello de Albinneio, apud Westmonasterium in concilio, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quintodecimo, quartodecimo kalend. Octobr. indictione octava, epacta vicesima tertia, concurr' iij., anno prefati regis quintodecimo'.*⁶⁴

There are two interesting points to be made about this notification. The first is the use of the Anglo-Norman dual dedication to St. Andrew and St. David. The second

⁶⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the P.R.O., 1358-1361*, (H.M.S.O., 1911), vol. xi, pp. 7-8.

is the inclusion among earlier kings mentioned of a Welshman, probably Gruffudd ap Llewellyn who dominated most of Wales in the 1050's and early 1060's.

Bernard's barony was centred on the lordship of Pebidiog in south Pembrokeshire; this had formed the core of the episcopal estates since 1082, when Rhys ap Tewdwr had granted the cantref of Pebidiog to Bishop Sulien. The centre of the bishop's lands also formed the parish of St. David's. On Bernard's appointment Anglo-Norman systems of ecclesiastical and lay administration were introduced although Welsh tenural systems with adaption persisted.⁶⁵ Smaller areas of land however appeared to be scattered throughout diocese. Bernard was for the most part an absentee landlord, the temporal affairs of his lordship being managed from St. David's castle, a Norman timber ringwork which Bernard himself raised or reoccupied at the beginning of his episcopate. The origins of this castle may lie in a temporary fortification, or encampment, dating from the time of William I's visit to St. David's in 1082 where coins are known to have been minted.⁶⁶ Among the silver pennies found in a hoard at Beawan (Hants) in 1933, one has the mint mark of 'DEVITVN' (other incidentally CARITI).⁶⁷ Conjecturally the castle was a D shaped ringwork approximately fifteen feet high surrounded by a V shaped ditch eight feet deep which took the place of the motte. This would have provided a greater area of accommodation compared with the overall ground area covered. There was also a

⁶⁵ www.cambria.org.uk - St. David's area, 291 Dyffryn Alun

⁶⁶ Royal Commission on Ancient Historical Monuments, Wales, *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan, Volume III, Part 1a: The Early Castles From the Norman Conquest to 1217* (London, 1991), pp.9, 32, 164.

⁶⁷ British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Norman Kings, i (1916), pp.clxvi, clxxx; ii (1916), pp. 109-110, 162, 165-166

bailey to the north that was built with a core of unmortared stone and a clay bank.⁶⁸

‘It was the furthestmost castle of the Landsker Line of castles (a line, eventually of over fifty, built by the Normans and Flemish to protect their new holdings in South Pembrokeshire) that stretched from the Bishop’s other castle at Llawhaden’.⁶⁹ By 1200 the castle as an administrative and domiciliary centre was superseded by the bishop’s palace at St. David’s and Bernard’s main residence may well have been Llawhaden Castle near Haverfordwest - another ringwork which has been referred to as ‘the prize of Bishop Bernard’.⁷⁰ Llawhaden had been part of the estates of the bishops of St. David’s before the Norman conquest and may well have formed one of the more valuable parts of the estates granted to him by Henry I. The castle Bernard built at Llawhaden at the start of his episcopate would have been ‘part of his responsibilities as a Marcher lord’.⁷¹ It can be seen in two contexts – firstly, Bernard acting in a similar fashion to most Anglo-Norman settlers in England and Wales coming in to new estates, raising castles to protect and administer their lands and secondly, to show the local population exactly who was now in charge.

Bernard was away from south-west Wales for much of the time on court business, but during these long absences he took every opportunity to further the interests of his diocese. In 1123 Bernard secured from Pope Calixtus II confirmation of his new ecclesiastical barony and all goods and services to which the bishop was entitled

⁶⁸ J. Northall, *St. David’s Castle* at www.castlewales.com

⁶⁹ *ibid*

⁷⁰ L. Hull, *Llawhaden Castle* at www.castlewales.com

⁷¹ Thanks to Richard Turner, Inspector of Ancient Monuments at CADW for his thoughts and clarification on the foundation and significance of Llawhaden Castle.

upon penalty of excommunication.⁷² This confirmation offered Bernard some degree of protection from incursions on his territory mainly by Marcher lords, a problem from which Llandaff had been suffering. According to Gerald of Wales there was some encroachment by the lords of Cemais around the area of Fishguard.⁷³ Gerald was naturally noticeably more reticent on encroachments made by his own family in the south of the diocese.⁷⁴ Whatever the degree of lay encroachment made during Bernard's episcopate its extent was not as great as that suffered by other dioceses. Historians such as J. C. Davies and Cowley have correctly given much of the credit for this state of affairs to Bernard. His influential position at court would undoubtedly have helped him to maintain his lands against any lay baron. But by obtaining a papal confirmation of his rights Bernard could now bring his power as a bishop to bear on anyone who threatened him or his lands, including wielding the ultimate episcopal sanction of excommunication. Bernard's foresight in this matter showed an ability to perceive and deal with potential problems effectively, and a keen awareness of how to secure his position in an effective legal fashion. If Bernard had initially been sent to Wales because Henry I perceived him to be a man capable of safeguarding the royal interests in south Wales, it is equally clear that Bernard was capable of looking after his own.

The next question that arises is how much reform of the cathedral chapter did Bernard actually undertake? From the description by Gerald of Wales in *De Jure*, it

⁷² *Statute Book of St. David's (A)*, Records of the Church in Wales, pp.105, 106 and Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, vol.i, pp.315, 316 both in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.59.

⁷³ GC, *Jure*, p.152-4; see also J. C. Davies, 'The Black Book of St. David's', *NLWJ*, 4 (1945-46), p.161

⁷⁴ *ibid*, p.161.

appears that major reform of the chapter was necessary and was undertaken by Bernard. But how accurate is this? The evidence suggests that Bernard undertook reforms of the lands which supported his chapter. Gerald is eloquent and detailed in his criticism of Bernard in this respect. To Gerald, Bernard was a despoiler of the church's estates: 'Bernard alienated many lands of his church unfruitfully and uselessly'.⁷⁵ The thrust of Gerald's argument is that Bernard reordered this estate, taking some prebendal properties and converting them into military fees and diverting others to episcopal purposes. In making these changes to the structure of his estates, Bernard was following Norman practice whereby a bishop was the tenant-in-chief of the lordships of Pebidiog and Llanwhaden. Here also Bernard appears to be Normanising the existing system rather than making wholesale changes. The effect is summed up thus: 'Even two-hundred years after his time there is little evidence of any revolutionary change... though changes inaugurated by him and his successors had had the cumulative effect in modifying the tenures, customs and services. The essential change was that the estates of the church had become an episcopal barony fashioned partly on the normal English model and partly on the pattern of a Welsh marcher lordship. This must have had some effect upon the administration of the estates, but the effects of this were felt more on organisation than on their internal economy. In 1326 the results of five centuries of rule of the estates of St. David's by the successors of St. David had effectively survived two centuries of their rule by Norman and Norman-Welsh bishops'.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ GC, *De Jure*, pp.153, 154.

⁷⁶ Davies, 'Black Book', p.165.

To a great number of the people that lived on his ecclesiastical estates, Bernard was not only bishop but also their lord. He or his representatives carried out the normal functions of an Anglo-Norman baron, but to many people on his lands English law was alien, and therefore not used in the administration of these areas. The evidence suggests that in Bernard's time Welsh law was predominant in regulating the obligations to the lord for the majority of those living in the ecclesiastical barony of St. David's. Even two hundred years after Bernard's death only in Pembroke did the services offered to the lord seem the same as those offered in an English manor. In Cardigan they were still predominantly Welsh and in all other areas of the diocese there was a mixture with elements of Hywel Dda, feudal custom, law of the March and English common law being used to form the customs of the lordship of the diocese. In Bernard's day Welsh law and custom would very likely have been predominant.⁷⁷

Where episcopal jurisdiction was concerned it is possible to be clear on the extensive reform undertaken by Bernard or his representatives. By the end of his episcopate Bernard's Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical courts were in operation. An example can be seen in the notification given to Earl Roger of Hereford of a judgment, whereby Brecon priory proved its claim of jurisdiction over the church of Llangors 'Mara' against the monks of St. Peter's, Gloucester. The earl was told to respect and maintain the judgment of the bishop.⁷⁸ In common with all Anglo-Norman bishops, Bernard claimed jurisdiction over two further types of case, jurisdiction over

⁷⁷ *The Black Book of St. David's*, pp.vii-viii.

⁷⁸ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.5; *Ep.Acts*, vol.i. p.139.

criminous clerks and cases held to be *contra christianitatem*, such as adultery, rape, incest, sorcery, heresy, violence committed in churches, assaults against clerics and nuns, and breaches of the truce of God.⁷⁹

Another major feature of the diocese was the presence of religious orders. They owned much land in the diocese of St. David's and were to a certain extent free from Bernard's direct control. The bishop, however, maintained close links with most of the monasteries and orders patronized during his episcopate; indeed he patronized the religious orders extensively himself. Although the Augustinian canons and, later, the Cistercian order, benefited most from his patronage, it was also extended to the Benedictine order and the Knights Hospitaller.

Barrow's collection of Bernard's surviving acta is invaluable in this regard. Of Bernard's fifteen surviving monastic grants and confirmations twelve were in favour of the Benedictines, two the Augustinians, and one the Hospitaller knights.⁸⁰

At first glance, there seems to be a high proportion in which Bernard either confirmed the grants of others rather than making his own grants, or exercised his powers as a bishop with regard to the religious. What may be the explanations for this? First, the temporal possessions of the bishop of St. David's were not large by English standards, being confined mainly to the lordship of Pebidiog on the Dyfed coast. It is likely that Bernard was unable to give large parts of his lands away, and

⁷⁹ S. E. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages: The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1204* (Cambridge, 1936), pp.84-9.

⁸⁰ *St.D.Ep.A.*, pp.35-50.

at the same time maintain himself. Some historians have followed the suggestion of Giraldus Cambrensis on the issue of Bernard's financial standing. Giraldus states that Bernard was 'always striving for translation to wealthier English dioceses, as was the custom among all who were intruded into Wales from England'.⁸¹ There is no direct evidence that Bernard's ambitions were of such a nature but there is much evidence to suggest that Bernard pursued vigorously and at length matters which truly concerned him, such as the founding of Carmarthen Priory and his metropolitan claim. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that compared to some of the great English bishops, for example, of Winchester and Canterbury, Bernard had less room for manoeuvre in giving personal grants, whilst maintaining a sufficiently dignified lifestyle and household.

Bernard's lifetime witnessed a tremendous expansion in the numbers and variety of religious orders in England and Wales. Between 1100 and 1143, nine orders were introduced to England.⁸² Three orders - the Augustinian, Cistercian, and Tironian - were introduced into Bernard's diocese during his episcopate, at Carmarthen, Haverfordwest (the community that was to become Whitland) and St Dogmael's respectively.

In general, the Benedictine and Cluniac monks were regarded by the Welsh as being hand-in-glove with the Anglo-Norman conquerors. This is demonstrated by the fact that their nineteen priories established in Wales between 1070 and 1150 were 'almost

⁸¹ GC, *De Jure*, pp.152, 153 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.152.

⁸² Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.418.

without exception in the shadow of the new Norman castles'.⁸³ These establishments recruited almost exclusively from the Anglo-Norman communities, both from England and from the continent. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that these religious communities shared the mentality of their secular counterparts. This is demonstrated by the advice of Gilbert Foliot to a Benedictine prior in the 1140's, when the Welsh were enjoying a temporary resurgence: 'strengthen the locks of your doors, and surround your house with a good ditch, and an impregnable wall'.⁸⁴ Given the amount of patronage shown towards the Benedictine order by the Normans in Normandy, England and Wales to the beginning of the twelfth century, the need for these monks to protect themselves from possible harm at Welsh hands shows the widely differing perceptions of these two cultures, native Welsh and Norman invaders, towards these monks. This is a graphic demonstration both of the cultural differences between the two cultures, and of the central role which the monks played in the Norman reformation of the Welsh church in the first half of the twelfth century in which Bernard played a significant role.

It is not surprising that the majority of Bernard's confirmations and grants to monasteries should relate to Benedictine monastic foundations. The distribution of these grants requires detailed examination. Of the twelve grants to Benedictine or reformed Benedictine foundations contained in Bernard's acta, no fewer than nine are grants or confirmations to St Peter's, Gloucester. This abbey had benefited significantly from royal patronage under Henry I and the relevant *Regesta Regum*

⁸³ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p.181.

⁸⁴ Gilbert Foliot, p.47.

Anglo-Normannorum contains eleven of his grants to the abbey.⁸⁵ This makes it the fourth most popular of the Benedictine institutions during the reign. St. Peter's was a large institution, having more than a hundred monks during Bernard's time. There was good reason for the royal generosity. It was large enough to entertain the royal court, its location near the Forest of Dean made it an excellent base for hunting, and the presence of the nearby Welsh frontier made it strategically important. Furthermore, it was chosen as the resting-place of Henry's elder brother, Duke Robert of Normandy, and so Henry made sure that the monks took care of his brother's soul.⁸⁶

Its location doubtless inspired some of the grants of Norman and Flemish settlers which Bernard confirmed during the course of his episcopate. Gloucester's priory at Ewias Harold was founded by Harold of Ewias whose endowments were confirmed by Bernard supposedly before 1125. The surviving copy however, was probably made in the 1130's to validate Gloucester's claim to ownership, although the original grant was probably genuine enough.⁸⁷ This confirmation is not the only confirmation of this grant for, twice more in the 1130s Bernard issued confirmations of the grant, either by himself or in conjunction with others.⁸⁸ The endowment cannot have been particularly large however, as in 1359 the abbot of Gloucester recalled the monks

⁸⁵ Hollister, *Henry I*, p.401.

⁸⁶ *ibid*, p.402.

⁸⁷ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.9; see also *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestrie*. ed. W. H. Hart, 3 vols, RS 33(1863-7), vol.i, p.76.

⁸⁸ *St.D.Ep.A.*, nos.13, 14. Barrow notes that these conflated charters were drawn up by the Gloucester monks and therefore do not have the '*Menevensis antistes*' style.

from Ewias Harold because the revenues were not enough to support even a small community.⁸⁹

Included in what appears to be a general confirmation during Bernard's episcopate is that of the donation by Earl Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare to St. Peter's of the church of Holy Trinity, Cardigan, dated no earlier than 1138.⁹⁰ The reason for the initial grant is that Idnard, the priest of the church, had chosen to become a monk of Gloucester, demonstrating that the Benedictines chose to recruit from the Normans rather than the Welsh. The other grant confirmed is one by Bernard of Neufmarché of the church of St. Kenedri of Glasbury, and its tithes of the lordship of Brycheiniog, Talgarth and Llan-faes.

Bernard appears to have taken a great deal of care in his dealings with St. Peter's, Gloucester. When confirming the abbey's rights to property or tithes, he often did so on more than one occasion. Is this an example of good record keeping, or is there a more pragmatic, political motivation at work? It is probable that both factors contribute to an explanation. In 1122, the abbey had burnt down: 'the fire came in the upper part of the steeple, and burnt down all the minister and all the treasures which were inside, except for a few books, and three chasubles'.⁹¹ This may have meant the loss of the records of grants made to the monastery before that date, and may explain why the charters supposedly made before the mid-1120's, such as the Ewias grants, and those of Wizo the Fleming, which appear to have originated in the

⁸⁹ D. Knowles and R. N Hadcock, *Medieval and Religious Houses: England and Wales*, (London, 1953, 2nd edn, 1971), p.65.

⁹⁰ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.13.

⁹¹ *ASC*, p.250.

time of Bernard's predecessor, Bishop Wilfred, appear to have been drawn up in the late 1120's or 1130's, rather than on the dates of the original grants.⁹² Another possible reason why Bernard was so concerned with the affairs of Gloucester was the central role that the city and its abbey played in the Angevin cause during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda. Stephen had visited Gloucester in 1138, but in 1139, the city, under the influence of its constable, Miles, who was created earl of Hereford by Matilda, had moved to the Angevin side; John of Worcester states 'she (the empress) left Bristol in October, and came to Gloucester on the 15th of October, where she sought to assert her lordship and receive the submission of its citizens, and those dwelling in its vicinity'.⁹³ For Bernard, by then a leading Angevin, it was vital that the loyalty of this key strategic town and its abbey was maintained. The new abbot, Gilbert Foliot, later to be so conspicuous in the controversy between Henry II and Thomas Becket, was faced with the threat from King Stephen to alienate and seize all the possessions of St Peter's unless the abbot conformed to his will.⁹⁴ Despite this threat, John of Worcester recorded that Abbot Gilbert was amongst the leading Angevins escorting the Empress Matilda when she left Gloucester in 1141.⁹⁵ Moreover, it is around this time that Bernard issued his confirmation of a number of the earlier grants made to Gloucester, which cannot have been made before 1138.⁹⁶ It appears likely that this multi-grant confirmation would have been in response to possible doubts over the rights of St. Peter's. Bernard seems to be using his

⁹² *St.D.Ep.A.*, nos.1, 2, 9, 10. Barrow regards nos. 1, 2, and 9 as spurious, indicating that they were drawn up later than the documents themselves would indicate. It is possible that original documents appertaining to these grants were lost in the fire of 1122.

⁹³ JW, vol.iii, pp.270-273, s.a. 1139; see also *Cartularium Gloucestrie*, vol.i, pp.xxix-xxxi.

⁹⁴ *ibid*, pp.xxvii-xxx.

⁹⁵ JW, vol.iii, pp.294-295.

⁹⁶ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.13, includes the grant of Gilbert fitz Richard, of the church of Holy Trinity, Cardigan, and is dated after 1130. There is a separate confirmation (no.16.). This confirmation Barrow dates after 1138.

episcopal authority to underwrite the rights of St. Peter's in the face of threats from King Stephen, thus bolstering St. Peter's, in the Angevin cause.⁹⁷

Bernard is also recorded in the cartulary of Gloucester as resolving a dispute between St. Peter's and the canons of Llanthony Secunda Gloucestershire, over the body of Miles, earl of Hereford, who had been killed in a hunting accident strikingly reminiscent of the 'accident' which had killed William II.⁹⁸ They had both been killed by archers. Bernard, along with Miles's son, wished for the earl's body to be buried with the Augustinians. Miles having initially promised his body to St. Peter's Gloucester prior to his foundation of Llanthony Priory, later requested burial in the latter church. Bernard, along with two other bishops, Simon of Worcester and Robert of Hereford, found in favour of Llanthony.⁹⁹ It is interesting to see Bernard again acting beyond his diocesan jurisdiction on behalf of a fellow Angevin. Here, again, Bernard favoured the Augustinians and the interests of his diocese, for the priory of Llanthony Primus lay inside the borders of his diocese.

Bernard's acta contains two notifications that he witnessed grants to St. Peter's, one whilst as bishop and the other before his elevation. In the former case, Bernard witnessed a grant by Roger de Port of the church of St. Guthlac in Hereford castle. Bernard's connections to the diocese of Hereford have been well documented and, not surprisingly, Bernard appears to have maintained his interest in border affairs

⁹⁷ *Cartularium Gloucestrie*, vol.i, pp.xxix-xxxi.

⁹⁸ *Brut*, p.119 describes the circumstances surrounding the death of Miles, earl of Hereford.

⁹⁹ *Cartularium Gloucestrie*, vol.i, p.lxxv-vi; M. M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, (Toronto, 1963), p.142. See also *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.119.

whilst bishop of St. David's.¹⁰⁰ The other confirmation has a longer history, as it refers to events that occurred before Bernard became bishop. It is a confirmation to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, that Roger Gernon had granted the churches of Wraysbury, Buckinghamshire and Lark Stoke, Gloucestershire to Gloucester abbey, and that Henry I and Queen Matilda confirmed this.¹⁰¹ This grant can be traced through three charters of Henry I. In the autumn of 1104, Queen Matilda granted Wraysbury to Abingdon, Wraysbury having been given to her by Robert Gernon. Interestingly, the notification is addressed, amongst others, to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, Alexander's predecessor.¹⁰² Bernard does not appear in this grant. However, by July 1113, in another notification addressed to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, the gift of Robert of Gernon to Henry and Matilda of Wraysbury had been transferred to St. Peter's, Gloucester.¹⁰³ It seems likely that Bernard witnessed this grant because, in a later confirmation of several grants to St. Peter's, Gloucester, Bernard appears as a witness to this charter by King Henry, below the grant of Robert Gernon.¹⁰⁴ It appears likely that Alexander, aware that Bernard had witnessed the grant addressed to his predecessor, asked him to confirm that the grants had indeed taken place. It is possible that Alexander was asked by the abbot of St. Peter's to confirm previous grants, following the fire of 1122, and that Alexander turned to Bernard for confirmation that the grant did indeed take place, although there is no specific mention of these circumstances in Bernard's letter to Alexander. It could be testimony to the efficiency of the Norman administrative

¹⁰⁰ For the grant itself, see *Cartularium Gloucestrie*, vol.iii, pp.257-8, where Bernard attests as 'Episcopus de Sancto David'; for Bernard's confirmation, see *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.15.

¹⁰¹ *ibid*, no.11.

¹⁰² *RRAN*, 2, no.676, p.36.

¹⁰³ *ibid*, no.1026, p.110.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*, no.1041, pp.113,114.

system that a bishop could ask another bishop to confirm that a grant took place over a decade previously, in this case when Bernard was only a minor attestor.

The grant involving Bernard which has left more traces than any other in the surviving historical record is one made by Wizo the Fleming to St Peter's, Gloucester. This is in large part due to the long dispute between Worcester and Gloucester abbeys, and later the Hospitallers' commandery at Slebech, over this territory in Pembroke. Worcester's claim appears to be reflected in an argument contained in a letter from Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, which is dated editorially in the Worcester cartulary to 1139x1148.¹⁰⁵ It quotes a supposed confirmation of Bishop Wilfred to the effect that Aldred, chaplain of Worcester, had been granted Daugleddau by Wizo.¹⁰⁶ This grant appears nowhere else, and is regarded by Barrow as spurious. There is a confirmation by Bernard of the same grant to St Peter's, Gloucester.¹⁰⁷ There is further strong evidence to substantiate the claims of Gloucester and that they were recognised during Bernard's time. Here is a writ of Henry I dated 1127 x 1135, which supports a decision made by a synod in St. David's that granted Gloucester seisin of the church of Daugleddau:

'Henricus, rex Anglorum, episcopo Sancti David, salutem. Praecipio quod monachi Gloucestriae habeant saysinam suam de ecclesia sua de Dugledi et omnibus ejus pertinentiis ita bene et in pace sicut inde habent cartam praedecessoris tui de concessione tua et sicut eam ante transfretationem meam praecepto meo et iudicio sinodi tuae dirationaverunt et sicut hoc postea per ipsam synodam recognitum fuit quod eam ita dirationaverant. Et

¹⁰⁵ *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory (Register 1)*, ed. R. R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Society n.s. 38, (1968), D252, p.134.

¹⁰⁶ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.2.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*, no.10, pp.40,41.

super hoc non placitent amplius. Teste: Milone Gloucestriae. Apud Argentum'.¹⁰⁸

Bernard's confirmation grants all the churches and chapels, and benefits of the land which Wizo the Fleming had given to St. Peter's Gloucester, probably between 1133 x 1135:

'concedo et confirmo elemosinam quam dedit Wyzo Flandrensis Deo et Sancto Petro, abbati et conventui ecclesie de Gloucestria, ecclesiam scilicet castelli sui de Dugledi et omnes ecclesias et capellas totius terre sue cum decimis et beneficiis et terris'.¹⁰⁹

This judgement was superseded by a judgment of John, bishop of Worcester, in the early 1150's, which favoured Worcester's claim, provided that Gloucester received a pension of half a mark.¹¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the judgement of a diocesan bishop could apparently supersede that of an executive order of a king, albeit that of a deceased monarch.

With this judgment concluded after Bernard's death, it is appropriate to shift the focus to his involvement with the Augustinian canons. Indeed, the house of canons at Carmarthen represents Bernard's only known independent foundation. The canons were a popular order with King Henry I and Queen Matilda who appear to have passed something of their enthusiasm to Matilda's former chancellor, who

¹⁰⁸ *RRAN*, 2, no.1938; *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*. ed. R. C. Van Caenegem. vol.1, William to Stephen (Selden Society, 1990-1991), D.284, gives a date of between 8 September 1134 and 1 November 1135.

¹⁰⁹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.10.

¹¹⁰ *Cartularium Gloucestrie*, vol.i, pp.262-266; see also *St.D.Ep.A.*, pp.33,34.

represented the interests of the order vigorously both inside and outside his episcopal jurisdiction.

Henry I was seen by contemporaries as a generous patron of the church. Peter the Venerable recorded that ‘The king of England... as is known throughout all the lands of the world, exceeds all Christian princes of his time in prudence, in [works], and in generosity’.¹¹¹ He was known particularly for his patronage of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders, along with his wife, Queen Matilda, whose patronage of the church was discussed above and who, it appears, came close to following her mother into the communion of Saints. Apparently Matilda’s cult, which had been started at Westminster, her place of burial, foundered on the fact that King Stephen was understandably reluctant to support the canonization of the mother of his rival for the throne.¹¹² This regal image is very different to the view of Henry I as the all-powerful ‘emperor’ of the British Isles found in the *Brut*.

This royal patronage of the Augustinian and Benedictine orders is illustrated by a close examination of Bernard’s attestation of royal charters between his accession to the bishopric of [Menevia] St. David’s in 1115 and Henry’s death in 1135. Of sixty-five separate attestations included in this study no less than thirty-seven relate to Benedictine or reformed Benedictine houses.¹¹³ Included in these confirmations is Henry I’s greatest Benedictine foundation at Reading. There are also twelve made to

¹¹¹ Peter the Venerable, ‘De miraculis’, 2:10, *Patrologia cursus completus. Series latina*. ed. J. P Migne. 221 vols (Paris 1844-1864), quoted in Hollister, *Henry I*, p.399.

¹¹² Hollister, *Henry I*, N.88, p.130.

¹¹³ See below, Appendix 5 – Bernard’s attestations to royal charters, 1115 – 1135

Augustinian foundations, including a number of new royal foundations or confirmations of the foundations of others.

With regard to the Augustinian canons, Dickinson, in his authoritative work, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, recognises that the reign of Henry I was the most auspicious for the order in England. He ascribes the canons' success to the support of Henry and Matilda, and to the reformist zeal within the church, which created enthusiasm among non-monastic clerics for communal living in imitation of that of the early church.¹¹⁴ In following royal patronage of the Augustinian canons, Bernard was not alone. Many of Henry's court, secular and spiritual, followed the example. Dickinson indicates that of the forty-three Augustinian houses established in England by the time of Henry's death, some seventy-five percent had been founded by members of Henry's *familia*.¹¹⁵ Among these Augustinian enthusiasts, Bernard was certainly prominent, although Hollister chooses not to include Bernard in his own list.¹¹⁶ Bernard clearly demonstrates that he is following the current trends among his Norman colleagues, but an examination in detail of Bernard's surviving grants demonstrates some distinctive aspects to Bernard's patronage, revealing positive choices in the light of the political situation in which he found himself.

The Carmarthen foundation is significant therefore in any examination of the influences upon Bernard and his own influence in Henry I's court. Carmarthen had

¹¹⁴ pp.108-131.

¹¹⁵ *ibid*, pp.125-130; see also Hollister, *Henry I*, p.397.

¹¹⁶ Hollister, *Henry I*, loc. cit.

been founded circa 1110 as a dependent priory of Battle Abbey.¹¹⁷ At some point in the mid-1120's, Bernard became convinced of the desirability of having a foundation of canons there instead. It appears that in 1125, upon the installation of a new abbot at Battle, Bernard took the opportunity to convince Henry to arrange with the abbot that Battle could be compensated with royal lands.¹¹⁸ Opinions as to Bernard's motivation for this foundation differ. Sir John Lloyd argued that Bernard 'cast jealous eyes' upon the church.¹¹⁹

At first sight it is difficult to imagine that such important land transactions between powerful magnates could depend on aesthetic values. It should be remembered, however, that bishops in the twelfth century, as much as historians in the twenty first, had likes and desires which were not driven by public policy or political advantage, and therefore it is possible that Bernard did indeed desire to found a community in Carmarthen because of the pleasantness of the location.

Personal satisfaction, however, was not the only advantage to be gained by introducing Augustinian canons as opposed to Benedictine monks. The average size of endowments given to the Augustinian canons was smaller, consequently costing the benefactor less. Furthermore, canons were not monks; they served in parish churches outside the walls of their house, whilst maintaining a communal life inside their houses. This had the effect of providing effective clergy steeped in the new reformed ideals of the Gregorian church. This was particularly useful when, as with

¹¹⁷ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.62.

¹¹⁸ *Ancient Charters, Royal and Private, Prior to AD 1200*, ed. J. H. Round, Pipe Rolls Society, 10 (1888), p.27.

¹¹⁹ Lloyd, *History of Wales*, vol.ii, p.432.

Bernard, a bishop was faced with a large number of clergy which in Norman eyes at least did not embody the ideals of an effective clerical body. Consequently the bishop would be able to exercise a great deal more control over the canons, who were in effect parish clergy living together, than over a monastic order which was subject to the internal jurisdiction of an abbot or prior. It is therefore not surprising that Bernard took care of the canons. Bernard is known to have made at least two grants of land to them. There was a grant of two carucates at Cwmau, with tithes and an offering.¹²⁰ A gift of the land of Pentywyn was subject to interference from the lords of Llanstephan, with whom Bernard was quick to deal. He threatened its lord, Maurice de Londres, with interdict and excommunication if he disturbed the canons in their estate.¹²¹ It was not just the bishops who gifted their lands to the canons. Secular lords, English and Welsh, are known to have acted in this way too. For example, two men both mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1130, Alfred Drue who gave one carucate at Llangain, and Bleddri, the '*latimer*' or interpreter, known as 'Bleddri the Welshman' gave four carucates in Newchurch in about 1130.¹²² Bernard's foundation attracted grants from both Norman settlers and Welshmen, unlike the Benedictines whom he had supplanted.

Bernard's patronage of the Augustinians extended beyond the reach of his own diocese. In 1144 Bernard requested the pope, presumably at the instance of King David I or the Scottish clergy, that St. Andrew's cathedral should become an

¹²⁰ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.7.

¹²¹ *ibid*, no.6, see also, *History of Carmarthenshire*, ed. Lloyd, p.138.

¹²² *History of Carmarthenshire*, ed. Lloyd, p.138; *PR 31*, Carmarthen, p.89

Augustinian foundation. Pope Lucius III responded positively in a bull that specifically mentions Bernard:¹²³

*'Ea propter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestries rationabilibus postulationibus venerabilis fratris nostri Bernardi episcopi Sancti David' precibus inclinati clementer annuimus et praefatam ecclesiam in qua divino mancipati estis obsequio sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus'.*¹²⁴

It is therefore tempting to see Bernard's extra-diocesan patronage of the Augustinian canons as strongly influenced by his own Scottish connection.

An important feature of Bernard's dealings with monastic orders, in the latter part of his episcopate, was his patronage of the Cistercian order. At the end of the nineteenth century, J. Willis-Bund commented that, 'the religious houses were part of the Norman garrison, established and maintained as part of their system of conquest and settlement'.¹²⁵ Of Bishop Bernard, he states, 'there can be no doubt he did a most important work in Normanising the Welsh church. One of the chief means he took for enforcing Latin as opposed to Celtic ideas was the establishment of Cistercian monasteries'.¹²⁶ Recent historical opinion has argued that whilst the Benedictine order can be strongly identified with the Anglo-Norman cause, the Cistercians, who arrived in Bernard's diocese late in his episcopate when, after the death of Henry I in 1135, the Welsh enjoyed a significant resurgence, cannot be so

¹²³ *Scotia Pontificia: Papal letters to Scotland before the Pontificate of Innocent III*, ed. R. Somerville (Oxford, 1981), D25, p. 35.

¹²⁴ *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, (Edinburgh, 1841) p.47; A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153* (Glasgow, 1905), d.clxv, p.129

¹²⁵ 'The Religious Houses in South Wales after 1066', *Arch.Camb.*, 5th series, 7 (1890), p.27

¹²⁶ *ibid*, p.20

easily classified. The Cistercian house founded at Haverfordwest around 1140 which was later to become Whitland, and in which Bernard had a hand, was located in an area under the control of the native dynasty. This was a situation that would have been unthinkable for a Benedictine house. In many ways, the Cistercians were the inheritors of the Welsh ecclesiastical tradition, learning 'how to tap the strong eremitical and heroic element in the country's ecclesiastical traditions and to fill the void left by the decline of the *clasau*'.¹²⁷ Bernard's involvement with the Cistercians came at a time when he wished to distance himself from the power of king and Canterbury. During this period, his allies were no longer the monarch and Benedictine Canterbury, but the Angevins and the Welsh, two political groups who strongly favoured the Cistercians.

In the 1130's and 1140's the white monks of the Cistercian order began to receive patronage in England during the reign of Stephen. In his patronage of the Cistercian order Bernard was not typical of the bishops of his time. Episcopal patronage for the white monks was not greatly in evidence in England in the mid-twelfth century, though William Bishop of Winchester, who had ordained Bernard priest in September 1115, was responsible for their introduction to England when he settled monks from L'Aumône on his estates at Waverley in 1128.¹²⁸ Further examples are extremely limited, prior to Bernard's foundation at Haverfordwest only Thurston of York had established a house at Ripon, which was to become a daughter of Clairvaux around 1133, and even this was almost entirely unintentional.¹²⁹ In respect of this

¹²⁷ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p.197.

¹²⁸ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), p.69.

¹²⁹ *ibid*, p.70

element of his patronage, Bernard is therefore conspicuous in comparison to his episcopal colleagues.

The same cannot be said of his other foundation at Carmarthen. The Augustinian order received much in the way of patronage from the English and Welsh bishops, particularly those who were among King Henry's close *familia*. These included, not only William of Winchester, Richard of London and Anselm of Canterbury, but also the politically powerful Roger of Salisbury and the diplomat William of Exeter, with whom Bernard was in familiar company.¹³⁰

Early in Stephen's reign the Welsh began a reconquest of many of the areas where there had been Anglo-Norman incursions during the previous reign. In 1137, the episcopal chapter of St. David's submitted to the protection of the Welsh prince, Anarawd ap Gruffudd ap Rhys. The political situation in Wales had changed markedly and did not appear to be favourable toward the Norman bishop. Owen and Cadwaladr the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan and Anarawd sent a letter to Bernard, 1139 x 1143, offering peace and support, 'although we have not previously offered you friendship, from now onwards we are giving you our obedience'.¹³¹

The Cistercians with which Bernard was most closely associated were those of 'Whitland', the name commonly used for the community of monks that Bernard established around Haverfordwest in the first half of the 1140's. The monastery we

¹³⁰ Hollister, *Henry I*, p.397

¹³¹ GW, *De Invect.*, pp. 142, 143, 146, 147 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.122; Discussed below, Chapter 5, pp.219-239.

now know as Whitland, having been established in 1151, was not a creation of Bernard's. The date of the Cistercians' arrival has been a matter of debate. Official Cistercian records appear to date the foundation of the community of Whitland to 16 September 1140.¹³² This is a credible date in terms of the documentation it is based on and would fit the assertion that the coming of the Cistercians was in some way linked with the political attitudes of, or realities facing, the order's major patrons and in view of the fact that Bernard may not have been in a strong situation in his own diocese and that his major political preoccupations appeared to lie with the Angevin cause in England. It is most probable, given John of Worcester's remarks, that Bernard was in attendance upon Matilda somewhere in the south of England. It seems unlikely therefore that the house of the Cistercians at Haverfordwest would have been founded so early. Any evaluation is hampered by a lack of sources, and conclusions are in the nature of educated speculations. This having been said, it is more likely that a date around 1144 for the first foundation is more realistic. Under that year the *Annales Cambriae*, has the entry:

*'Ducti sunt monachi ordinis Cisterciensis qui modo sunt apud albam landam in West Walliam per Bernadum episcopum qui dedit eis locum apud Trefgann in deuglethef'.*¹³³

This date has been accepted by some historians, including J. E. Lloyd, and makes more sense than the earlier date. 1144 is the latest date possible for the peace between the Welsh princes and Bishop Bernard, by which time Bernard's mind appears to be fixed more securely on Welsh matters than it had been since the arrival of the Empress Matilda in 1139. Through his support of the Angevin cause, Bernard

¹³² L. Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium* (Vienna. 1877), p.62.

¹³³ *AC*, p.43.

had lost the eminent place at court he had held in the earlier years of his episcopate, and was beginning to devote much time and energy to the securing of archiepiscopal status for St. David's. This, then, would appear to be an ideal moment to introduce the white monks, who were to prove so popular with the native Welsh compared to their Benedictine predecessors, although negotiations had probably begun earlier and this may account for the official Cistercian record giving a slightly earlier date.

The last foundation of a religious order to appear in Bernard's acta is the Hospital at Slebech. The accepted date for the foundation of the commandery at Slebech is between the years 1161 and 1176, on the grounds that the endowments given by Wizo came into the possession of Slebech only after the end of the Gloucester/Worcester dispute over Daugleddau.¹³⁴ This is well after Bernard's death, and therefore would preclude any grant or confirmation from Bernard to Slebech. One does exist however: a confirmation given to the Hospitallers of Slebech, of the church of St. Leonard of Rhos castle together with its tithes and revenues.¹³⁵ The source of the difficulty when dealing with the records of the commandery is not difficult to find: the parliamentary army apparently burned them during the civil war.¹³⁶ B. G. Charles does, however, confirm the existence of the Bernard charter, dating it after 1130.¹³⁷ With so few records, and with the 'Bernard' confirmation being attributed in its surviving manuscript to Bishop Edward Vaughan (1509-22), how can a case be made for the authenticity of its claims? Its

¹³⁴ W. Rees, *A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border* (Cardiff, 1947), pp.26-28.

¹³⁵ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.21.

¹³⁶ B. G. Charles, 'The Records of Slebech', *NLWJ*, 5 (1947-8), pp.179-189.

¹³⁷ *ibid*, pp.180-181.

identification has to be based on the content of the charter itself. The three barons mentioned in the grant are Richard fitz Tancred, William fitz Hamon, and Robert fitz Godbert, making a dating of 1130-1148 probable. It appears, therefore, that William Rees's criterion for the date of the foundation of Slebech may be challenged. Further evidence is to be found in a general confirmation by Peter de Leia to the monks at some point during his episcopate (1176-1198).¹³⁸ A number of the confirmed grants make possible a more accurate assessment of the date of the foundation of the commandery to be made. One grant in particular is significant: that of Richard fitz Tancred of the vill of Rhosmarket with the church and mill in the vill of Haverfordwest. The grant of Richard fitz Tancred would have to have been made after 1124, and before 1130.¹³⁹ Rees notes the possibility that the Hospitallers arrived in Wales earlier than the records report, 'It is possible that the Hospitallers settled in Wales immediately after the recognition of the order by Pope Pascal in 1113'.¹⁴⁰ With this suggestion, and the above dating evidence, it is possible to place the foundation of Slebech between 1124-30. The foundation is likely to have occurred after the election of Bernard because it helped to bring the Welsh church into a closer relationship with Rome and the crusading ethos, which the Hospitallers represented, even though Peter de Leia's confirmation mentions concessions made by Wilfred. This is a significant re-dating of the foundation of the Hospitallers' commandery at Slebech, which allows for a much earlier influence of the Hospitallers and their crusading ideal in Wales. As such a conclusion would be a significant re-evaluation of the accepted historical record contained within this work,

¹³⁸ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.46.

¹³⁹ *ibid*, p.68

¹⁴⁰ Rees, *Order of St. John in Wales*, p.25

it would be useful to establish something of the context that may have brought about the early foundation of a Hospitaller commandery in South Wales, so soon after the establishment of the order. There is nothing concrete remaining in the historical record to explain this surprising event. The early history of the Hospitallers does give some indication that they may well have come to Bernard's notice at a very early stage and that the Hospitaller ethos may well have appealed to Bernard's personal pattern of patronage. The Hospitaller movement was 'Augustinian in inspiration', the canons of the church the Holy Sepulchre becoming a regular Augustinian order in 1114.¹⁴¹ It has been shown in this and earlier chapters how well-connected Bernard was to the Augustinian movement. He was also primarily responsible for its introduction into Wales at Carmarthen. This possible predisposition towards the Hospitaller movement, may well have been enhanced by contact with Hospitallers whilst Bernard was travelling with the papal court in and around Gap where a number of their commanderies were concentrated in March 1120.¹⁴² There is strong evidence that papal visits were often linked with Hospitaller foundations. For example, between 1095 and 1096, Pope Urban II visited Pisa, Asti, and St. Giles, whilst also visiting the vicinity of Taranto and Otranto, as well as Gap, all of which developed Hospitaller *xenodochia*.¹⁴³ The close links between the papacy and the new order are witnessed by the papal confirmations of 1113, 1119, and 1121, which secured the order's status and growing property.¹⁴⁴ Although there is no specific evidence linking the curia's stay in Gap with the Hospitallers, it is

¹⁴¹ A. Luttrell, 'The Earliest Hospitallers', *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (Variorum, 1997), p.52.

¹⁴² The evidence for Bernard's travels around Gap comes from Hugh the Cantor. See below, Appendix 1 – Itinerary of Bishop Bernard of St. David's

¹⁴³ Luttrell, 'The Earliest Hospitallers', pp.46-47.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.46-49.

interesting to note that some of them, who, in 1121, arrived at Salamanca, carrying papal letters requesting arms for the Jerusalem Hospital, were Gap Hospitallers, notably Pierre d'Abon, who held an *honor* in the vicinity.¹⁴⁵ The links between the papacy, the Hospitallers, and Gap, are therefore well established. It therefore seems likely Bernard would have encountered something of the Hospitaller movement in his travels. Their ethos of caring for pilgrims may well have provided the impetus for Bernard to allow the order to settle in his diocese, particularly as after the papal confirmation of 1123, St. David's [and Pembrokeshire] became a major pilgrimage centre in its own right.

Although events surrounding the foundation of Slebech must remain largely conjectural, it is possible that the commandery at Slebech was founded during Bernard's time as bishop. Local evidence would suggest a date of foundation no later than the mid-1130's, if Barrow's attribution of the fitz Tancred charter to Bernard is correct, which seems very likely. The remoteness of St. David's as a place for a relatively early Hospitaller foundation can be explained by the fact that Bernard was one of very few Anglo-Norman bishops to have visited the southern French heartlands of this order. The Hospitallers's rule contained elements which would have appealed to his marked predisposition to all things Augustinian. It is possible, therefore, to say with some confidence that the first Hospitallers arrived in Wales at some time during Bernard's episcopate.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid*, p.49.

The final aspect of Bernard's relationship with regular monastic communities concerns the reformed monastic orders. The two orders with which Bernard was principally involved were the Tironian and Cistercian orders. Bernard's relationship with them reflects clearly the changing religious and political climate of Wales during Bernard's episcopate.

The Tironians were reformed Benedictines and because of the location of the mother house of the order close to lands controlled by Henry I on the continent- the abbey of St. Martin of Tiron which stood 'on the Dives river not far from the channel'- they made an impact in England more quickly than did the monks of Citeaux.¹⁴⁶ In 1118 Henry I confirmed the gifts of Robert fitz Martin to the monks of Tiron which were the foundation of the abbey of Cemais or St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan. There was a further confirmation of this endowment in 1120.¹⁴⁷ In that year Robert fitz Martin petitioned for the priory, which had been dependent on Tiron, to become an independent abbey. In a charter of that year, Henry I granted his permission, instructing Bishop Bernard to install the first abbot of St. Dogmael's. Bernard also witnessed the king's charter.¹⁴⁸ Bernard duly discharged this office on the 10 September 1120.¹⁴⁹ Bernard himself gave a grant to St. Dogmael's, explicitly stating that it was for the souls of King Henry and Queen Matilda, and of their sons and predecessors. This is the only time that Bernard is known to have made a grant for this purpose, probably after 1125 when Matilda was dead. The terms of the grant

¹⁴⁶ Hollister, *Henry I*, p.406.

¹⁴⁷ *RRAN*, 2, no. 1187, 1223.

¹⁴⁸ *Mon. Ang.*, p.130; *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.19.

¹⁴⁹ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p.20.

may indicate that it was given after the death of both Henry I and his sons, but it was certainly not unusual for grants to be given to monasteries in these terms during the lifetime of those for whose souls the grants were given.¹⁵⁰ A reformed congregation though they were, the Tironians followed the pattern of their Benedictine brothers in being associated primarily with the Anglo-Norman settlers. Therefore, they formed part of the earlier stage of monastic colonization of Wales.

How does this study of Bernard and his diocese contribute to an understanding of Bernard's life and achievements? The period 1116-1119 is crucial to our understanding of Bernard's relationship with St. David's. It was in those years, when Bernard was personally present in his diocese, that many of the reforms detailed above were instigated. Bernard's long absences from his diocese - he may not have returned here until 1144 - makes it difficult to ascribe to Bernard alone the success of the reform process. But Bernard's drive energy and diplomatic skill show themselves in the speed and energy with which the reform process was undertaken and the skill with which Welsh tradition and Welsh clergy were interwoven and incorporated into Bernard's new diocesan organisation. Bernard assisted in, and personally undertook, the patronage of the new religious orders, particularly the Cistercian order and the Augustinian canons. He also maintained close relationships with the powerful Benedictine houses, particularly St. Peter's, Gloucester, and assisted in the patronage of Brecon Priory where he made his own gifts.¹⁵¹ There are

¹⁵⁰ Rev. Canon Bevan, 'Extracts from the Statute Book of St. David's Cathedral', *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, 7 (1890), pp.205-208, also *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.19.

¹⁵¹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.5

also personal touches, reflecting Bernard's alliances and personal relationships. The choice of St. Andrew in the Norman dual dedication of St. David's cathedral may reflect his close relationship with the Scottish born Queen Matilda as does his choice of Jordan the Scottish cleric, to be archdeacon of Brecon in the 1130s. But perhaps the most telling comment on Bernard's impact in the diocese of St. David's comes from the fact that in many cases Bernard appears to have had little noticeable effect, for example in many areas of his temporal lands Welsh law continued to dominate. English law appeared only in areas where Anglo-Norman settlement was greatest. Ecclesiastically too, St. David's retained a distinctively Welsh feel. Many Welsh clerics remained in place, and the unique solution Bernard introduced to his new chapter reflected as much of the traditions of his church over previous centuries, as Bernard's own Norman ecclesiastical heritage. It appears that Bernard reformed sufficiently to bring his church and diocese up to acceptable Anglo-Norman standards but without alienating the majority of the senior Welsh clergy, from whom on his election the *Brut* tells us there was much dissatisfaction. Yet he seems to have gained unquestioned control of his diocese. His was a master stroke of reform, without destruction and seeking co-operation rather than conflict with the traditions and clergy of his diocese.

The King's Bishop:

Bishop Bernard and Henry I, 1115 - 1135

Advocatus et curialis et familiaris

‘A man of the court polished and fully lettered’.¹ It is perhaps a little surprising that a writer that has done so much to skew the opinions of historians in respect of Bishop Bernard should begin his summary of Bernard’s life in such an altogether correct manner. For the greater part of his episcopal career Bernard was one of the more significant royal administrators and advisers of his time. The beginnings of this picture of Bernard emerged in the first chapter of this work, when he was shown to be a royal clerk and the long-term chancellor of Queen Matilda, the highly politically active first wife of Henry I. The extent and nature of Bernard’s influence during this period is hard to assess. The most concrete evidence comes from the multiple attestations to the charters of Queen Matilda - his six attestations are almost as equally frequent as those of Roger of Salisbury whose seven attestations represent a man of whom a contemporary stated that the queen ‘takes advantage of your advice in everything’.² Bernard was moreover one of a few administrators entrusted to have royal charters drawn up on his own authority.³ On becoming bishop of St. David’s Bernard’s involvement in, and influence upon, the government of Henry I is very

¹ GC *De Jure*, pp.152,53 in *Ep.A*, vol.ii, D.152.

² Herbert, Bishop of Norwich to Roger of Salisbury, quoted in J. Hudson, ‘Henry I and Counsel’ in *The Mediaeval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, eds. J. Maddicott and D. Pallister (Hambledon Press, 2000), p.114.

³ Hence the appearance of the phrase ‘per Bernardum’ when he gave instructions to the king’s secretaries for a document to be drawn up. See Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p.99.

marked. So much so that Bernard can be shown to be one of the most significant figures in Henry I's administration in the second half of the reign - a period which approximates from Bernard's return to court from Wales in June 1119 to the king's death in November 1135. This administrative role and the powers and responsibilities it gave Bernard arguably represent the most significant historical reason for the study of Bishop Bernard's career, yet until now it has been the most neglected. This chapter is an attempt to redress the balance and for the first time to show Bernard's full significance as an administrative figure and trusted adviser of Henry I. Indeed Bernard's influence in the timeframe outlined was one surpassed perhaps only by Roger of Salisbury himself.

The evidence will be presented in three parts: firstly, a detailed examination of Bernard's appearances in the charters of King Henry I.⁴ This will necessitate the correcting of some inadequacies of charter scholarship in current historical use. It will show that Bernard was an even more significant figure in the governing élite of Henry I than is currently recognised, even though in most work on the administration in recent times he is already among the top echelon of figures that 'enjoyed a superior position in the political life of the realm'.⁵ If according to Hollister, Bernard's forty five attestations 'rank him as one of the most faithful members in both England and Normandy', then the larger number re-inforces the central

⁴ See below, Appendix 5 – Bernard's attestations to royal charters, 1115 – 1135.

⁵ Crosby, 'The Organisation of the English Episcopate under Henry I', p.7. Crosby's analysis is based upon the frequency of bishops' appearances as witnesses to royal charters. The formula is simple: take the number of appearances and divide into the number of years served as a bishop, e.g. for Roger of Salisbury 143 appearances in 29 years, equating to a frequency of 4.93. This is a crude but effective and accepted way of gauging the influence of a particular bishop. This is the technique I will adopt when assessing Bernard's appearances; figures for all other bishops will be taken from Crosby's table of bishops on p.7 of the above work.

argument of this chapter that Bernard should indeed be regarded as being amongst the closest *familiares* of the king in the second half of the reign of Henry I.⁶ When relying upon charter attestations to draw conclusions as to the superior political position of a king's familiar in this period, it is important to try and gain as full a picture as possible of the charters that are extant. There must also be recognition that the picture produced however thoroughly, is distorted by the random survival of charters and their copies. Vincent has argued that although only one Pipe Roll has survived for Henry I it is clear from Gilbert fitz Nigel's *Dialogue of the Exchequer* written in the late 1170's that in his time other pipe rolls were available for consultation in the treasury, 'many records were made in the twelfth-century exchequer. They were, however, only haphazardly preserved'.⁷ Furthermore making a comparison with late eleventh-century Song China, Vincent adds that although a multitude of records once existed most of them were 'quite deliberately destroyed once their utility had passed, the twelfth century English treasury must have been almost as adept at destroying as at preserving written records'.⁸ Vincent calls into question the validity of the term 'chancery' as applied to the early twelfth century; however other historians who have focussed in more detail upon the structures of government under Henry I draw a subtly different conclusion: 'in the beginning of the reign there seem to be a lot of ad-hoc arrangements for the issuing of charters and other documents ... later they must have had more regular means of

⁶ Hollister, *Henry I*, p.395

⁷ For successful research concerning charter attestations to 12th and 13th century kings using similar research techniques to the ones employed here see T. K. Keefe, 'Counting Those Who Count: A Computer-Assisted Analysis of Charter Witness-Lists and the Itinerant Court in the First Year of the Reign of King Richard I', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 1 (1989) pp.135-145; See also Vincent, N. C., 'Why 1199? Bureaucracy and Enrolment under John and his Contemporaries', *English Government in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Adrian Jobson (Boydell Press, 2004), p.27

⁸ *ibid*, p.29

issuing documents'.⁹ The validity of using these surviving documents on Henry I's government to evaluate the influence of a particular *familiaris* of the king is commented on by Hollister: 'there is every reason to conclude that the group of administrators and advisers who frequented the king's itinerant court and attested surviving royal charters most often would have been all the more conspicuous in the witness lists of charters that have perished'.¹⁰ Over nearly nine hundred years, after much debate, historians generally accept that whatever the limitations of the method, conclusions may be drawn from the frequency of attestation.¹¹

The second and third sections of the chapter are case studies which reflect differing aspects of his involvement in Henry's administration and the responsibilities with which the king entrusted Bernard; these are Bernard's involvement in the Canterbury-York dispute, during which Henry I gave him the responsibility of persuading the pope to accept his choice, William de Corbeil, as archbishop of Canterbury and in prosecuting before the papal court the last serious attempt by the king to prove the suffragan status of the archbishop of York toward Canterbury. This was done by the use of the so-called Canterbury forgeries in 1123.¹² The second is

⁹ From an e-mail discussion with L. Huneycutt on aspects of her then forthcoming book *Matilda of Scotland*, in October 2001.

¹⁰ Hollister, *Henry I*, 'Charter Attestations and the Royal Entourage', Appendix, p.506.

¹¹ F. W. Maitland, 'History of the Charter Roll', *EHR*, vol.8, no.32 (Oct 1893), pp.726-733; G. L. Haskins, 'Charter Witness Lists in the Reign of King John', *Speculum*, 13 (1938), pp.319-325; J. C. Russell, 'Attestation of Charters in the Reign of John', *Speculum*, 15, no.4 (1940), pp.480-498. See also Hollister, 'Charter Attestations and the Royal Entourage', Appendix, pp.499-506. For discussions on this matter see above, Introduction, pp.5-12.

¹² R. W. Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', *EHR*, 287 (1958) pp.193-227. The Canterbury Forgeries were a series of supposed papal grants which asserted Canterbury's right to be primate of the whole of Britain. They may have been based on grants now lost to history, or the perceived rights of Canterbury's archbishop and the chapter at the time. Alternatively, they may have been complete fabrications. Southern concludes 'the growth of papal authority and the accompanying conviction that arguments from history and inferences from ambiguous documents' formed the backbone of the forgeries.

Bernard's involvement in the councils and controversies of 1126-27: most notably the matter of the royal succession and the introduction of the feast of the Immaculate Conception into England. These sections are intended to give the reader an insight into Bernard's close involvement in the politics of the second half of the reign of Henry I and the trust which Henry evidently placed in him. Ultimately a clearer picture will emerge of the significance of Bernard as a political figure within the wider Anglo-Norman world.

Bernard has already been identified as one of the leading members of Henry's administration after his consecration as bishop of St. David's in 1115. In Crosby's analysis of the charter evidence, Bernard's forty-four attestations in twenty-one years at an average of 2.10 charters per year places him tenth amongst the forty-four bishops of Henry's reign, comfortably within the top fifteen bishops who, Crosby asserts, hold a superior position politically over the others and in the realm as a whole.¹³ Hollister concludes that Bernard was by far and away the most influential bishop to hold a Welsh bishopric during Henry's reign.¹⁴ Such conclusions are well-founded but the research used to justify such conclusions does not demonstrate the full extent of Bernard's involvement in government as a whole as recorded in the surviving documents not least because there are serious shortcomings in the research surrounding Henry's charters. Any conclusions which have been drawn from this research can therefore be regarded as incomplete in nature.

¹³ Crosby, 'The Organisation of the English Episcopate under Henry I', p.7.

¹⁴ Hollister, *Henry I*, p.395.

A full analysis of Bernard's appearances in royal charters shows him to be an even more significant figure in Henry I's administration than has been previously recognised. The charters uncovered in this research places Bernard firmly amongst Henry I's governing élite.¹⁵ Some sixty-five charters, collected from a wide range of published sources, attested by Bernard between 1115-1135 are included in the analysis of this chapter.¹⁶ It is difficult to imagine how the previously accepted total of attestations was reached. Even relying on *RRAN* as a single source, there are more Bernard attestations than the forty-four or forty-five previously accepted, although Hollister implies that this is a minimum.¹⁷ A practical explanation is that not all of Bernard's attestations in *RRAN* are indexed under him.¹⁸ But this only accounts for one of the fifteen additional Bernard attestations found during the course of research for this work, in *RRAN* and other sources.

According to the calculations of Mooers Christelow, for the whole of Henry's reign there are at least 1,494 surviving charters which are originals or copies.¹⁹ Bernard attested to approximately 4.62% of the total number, and this percentage rises to some 7.9% of the charters issued on or after 1115, the year of Bernard's consecration. The significance of this number can only be fully appreciated if the criterion applied by Crosby is reapplied in the light of the new total of Bernard's attestations. This gives Bernard an attestation rate of 3.1 charters per year and raises Bernard from 10th position amongst the forty-four bishops of Henry's reign to 3rd.

¹⁵ See below, Appendix 5 – Bernard's attestations to royal charters, 1115 – 1135.

¹⁶ *RRAN* – 59; *CDF* – 3; *Mon. Ang.* 1; *Cartularium Prioratus de Caermarthen* – 1.

¹⁷ Hollister, *Henry I*, p.395

¹⁸ *RRAN*, 2 no.1761 is an example.

¹⁹ 'A Moveable Feast: Itineration and the Centralisation of Government under Henry I', *Albion*, 28 (1996), pp.194-195.

Roger of Salisbury has the highest attestation rate at 4.93 charters per year followed by Robert of Lincoln at 4.58.²⁰ To give the reader some kind of perspective the figures now place Bernard immediately ahead of far more notable figures, Henry of Winchester (2.85) and Nigel of Ely (2.66). Given that previous charter evidence with regard to Bernard has been shown to be unreliable, it would be necessary for a similar re-evaluation to take place for other bishops. This research falls outside of the remit of this present work. Analysis of the chronology of Bernard's attestations allows for greater historical contextualisation. The vast majority of Bernard's attestations come after 1120, when he had returned from Wales and resumed his place at the Anglo-Norman court. Re-analysis of the charters, using the same technique, from the period 1121-1135, Bernard is found to have attested to 9.08% of the total number of charters issued. This gives an attestation rate of 3.87 charters a year, giving him a figure much closer to Roger of Salisbury and Robert of Lincoln. The historical context of these fifteen years clearly accounts for this increase. When Bernard returned to court in June 1120 Henry was regrouping from the death in the previous year of two of his closest political and administrative allies, Queen Matilda and Count Robert of Meulan.²¹ An even greater catastrophe was to befall Henry in November 1120 when his only legitimate son William was drowned in the White Ship accident.²² By the beginning of 1121 Henry had been deprived of his heir and many of his network of friends and servants which had supported him in the first half of his reign.²³ Bernard, a long-term royal clerk and a close and trusted adviser to Henry's dead queen, for whom in spite of his numerous infidelities Henry genuinely

²⁰ Crosby, 'The Organisation of the English Episcopate under Henry I', p.7.

²¹ Christelow, 'A Moveable Feast', p.201.

²² *ASC*, p.249

²³ Christelow, 'A Moveable Feast', p.201.

mourned, was one of the men to whom Henry now turned to re-establish that network.

In 1121, for which the largest number (90) of charters of any year of his reign are extant Bernard attested to a minimum of 13, his highest in any single year, and equating to some 14.4% of the total number. Two other events close to this date stand out as significant in Bernard's career. The first was the creation in June-September 1122 of the king's illegitimate son Robert, as earl of Gloucester.²⁴ Bernard was to have close links with Robert, particularly during the Anglo-Norman civil war, when they were both prominent supporters of the Empress Matilda. The second was the election of William de Corbeil to the see of Canterbury - he was consecrated in February 1123. Not only was Bernard prominent during the new archbishop's election and consecration, but it was to Bernard that Henry I turned to ensure the archbishop's acceptance by the papal court. Bernard was also to be mobilised in the king's attempt to bring the archbishop of York once again into a suffragan relationship with the archbishop of Canterbury, something that in royal eyes would have strengthened the unity of the kingdom. In the second decade of the century then we see Bernard's transformation from a trusted court administrator, into a loyal member of the governing élite, trusted not only to execute policy, but advise upon matters of vital political importance.

Mediaeval courts were itinerant affairs and Henry I seems to have done much government business at three major government/ecclesiastical centres: Westminster,

²⁴ *ibid*, p.197.

Winchester and Rouen.²⁵ This is reflected in Bernard's own itinerary during the reign. These sites appear sixteen times and constitute the majority of known locations indicated by charter evidence. If the three most popular 'subsidiary' sites namely Woodstock, Windsor and London are added to the picture, then the pattern in Bernard's itinerary becomes even more pronounced.²⁶ The exception is the 're-establishment' year of 1121, after the death of his son and heir William, when the king travelled widely and Bernard went with him. They are known to have been together at Westminster, Woodstock, Clarendon, Winchester, Bridgnorth and Conover.²⁷ Not surprisingly, this is the most comprehensive list of locations for Bernard in any single year, during which he also assisted in the consecrations to two bishoprics - Richard de Capella to Hereford on 16 January and Robert Peche at Coventry on 13 March.²⁸ In addition to his presence at court in England, Wales and Normandy, Bernard spent more time than any other Anglo-Norman bishop attending the papal court not least as suitor in the strategically important Llandaff case as discussed above: the winning of which was of vital importance to Bernard and King Henry.²⁹ But as the first case study in this chapter will show, Bernard also attended the papal court representing the king on matters that had nothing to do with his diocese. Hollister states that Bernard acted as the king's emissary to the pope at Reims in 1119, 1131 and Rome in 1120.³⁰ Added to these must be Bernard's

²⁵ *ibid*, p.209; some 636 of the 1494 surviving charters of Henry I are known to have been issued at these three centres.

²⁶ *ibid*, p.209; there are a further seven instances when Bernard can be located with Henry at either Woodstock, London, and Windsor.

²⁷ See below, Appendices 1- Itinerary of Bishop Bernard of St. David's and 5 - Bernard's attestations to royal charters, 1115 – 1135.

²⁸ Eadmer, *HN* pp.291, 293; presumably Henry chose this moment to appoint the bishops in order to help secure his western and northern borders. Hereford had been vacant since February 1119 and Coventry since September 1117, Jared, 'English Ecclesiastical Vacancies', pp.368, 369.

²⁹ See above, Chapter 2, pp.88-108.

³⁰ *Henry I*, p.395.

appearances at the papal court at Gap in 1120 and before the papal court in Rome on behalf of the archbishop of Canterbury in 1123, at which he is said to have delivered letters on behalf of the emperor, the king, and the English bishops.³¹

The first section of this chapter, deploying the surviving charters of Henry I, has sought to demonstrate that Bernard of St. David's played a more important role in royal administration, particularly in the 1120's and 30's than hitherto recognised. Unlike the other more significant bishops in Henry's administration, Roger of Salisbury and Robert of Lincoln, Bernard appears to have followed the king on his trips to Normandy. Henry appears to have used Bernard as his major diplomatic representative to the papacy from the 1120's onwards. Along with his administrative and advisory duties at court this would have necessitated a number of long journeys for Bernard in France and Italy. This fact makes large numbers of attestations at court all the more significant. Bernard can therefore be shown to be one of the most significant of the many royal clerks appointed to bishoprics in the reign of Henry I, the number of which shows a marked increase in the reign. This is further evidence of the amount of royal influence over the church which Henry was able to exercise. The appointment of these royal clerks could only have been part of extending royal control through these men as well as maintaining good relations with the ecclesiastical power.³² The diplomatic aspects of Bernard's career demonstrate most clearly perhaps Henry's confidence and trust in Bernard. Bernard's important role in these foregoing negotiations is the subject of the first case study.

³¹ See n.69-71 below.

³² See below, Appendix 6 - Appointments to the English Episcopate, 1070 - 1189

Case Study 1: The Canterbury-York Dispute.

From his consecration in 1115 until the end of his involvement in the Canterbury-York dispute in 1125 Bernard acted as any other new bishop towards his archiepiscopal superior. Examples of Bernard acting as a normal suffragan bishop of Canterbury soon after his consecration can be found in Eadmer's account of Bernard's attendance at consecrations of new bishops, namely Richard of Hereford and Robert of Chester, and in his making of the customary profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury without complaint.³³ If the Canterbury chronicler is positive towards Bernard, then his counterpart at York, Hugh, was less than complimentary. Under the year 1125, Hugh recorded with some satisfaction Bernard's confession that, 'he had sinned in being so hot against our church'.³⁴ This came after Bernard had led those arguing for Canterbury's supremacy in the case brought before the curia at Rome in 1123. Bernard's position in relation to the case could not be clearer: he is for Canterbury and against the church of York.

When Bernard re-enters the historical record at Rouen in June 1119 disputing the boundaries of his see against Urban, bishop of Llandaff at Henry's court, he was inadvertently heading for at least an indirect role in the Canterbury-York dispute since all the bishops present with Henry on the continent did go to the council of Rheims. This concession was seen by some commentators as somewhat unusual. Orderic Vitalis comments, 'The king of England went to the length of permitting the prelates of his realm to go to the council'.³⁵ The reason for the king's wariness at

³³ Eadmer records Bernard's attendance at the consecrations of the two bishops in the first half of 1121. *HN*, pp.291-293. Indeed Eadmer holds Bernard in highest esteem. *HN*, pp.235, 236.

³⁴ *HC*, pp.204, 205.

³⁵ *OV*, 6, pp.252,253.

this cause of action becomes obvious when his instructions to his prelates are examined. He is reported to have said, 'I will do justice to anyone bringing a plea in my land. Every year I pay to the Roman church the dues fixed by my predecessors, and equally I uphold the privileges granted to me in the same way from time immemorial. Go; greet the pope on my behalf and just listen humbly to the papal precepts, but do not allow unnecessary innovations to be introduced into my kingdom'.³⁶ Thurstan, the archbishop-elect of York since August 1114, had only been allowed to attend after assurances from the king's most experienced ambassador to the papacy, William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, that Thurstan would not be consecrated by the pope.³⁷ When the rest of the Anglo-Norman bishops arrived at Rheims they found that the pope had done just that, consecrating Thurstan before the opening of the council on 19 October 1119.³⁸

The situation was now extremely delicate and, upon their arrival on 22 October, the bishops seemed confused as to how to proceed.³⁹ Hugh the Cantor with evident delight records that, 'when they heard this, they stopped and consulted together as to what they should do. Should they associate with the archbishop? Should they speak to him? It was of no use to forbid him to do what was already done'.⁴⁰ No specific mention is made of Bernard's thoughts and actions at the council; rather it is William

³⁶ *ibid*, pp.152, 153. It is clear that Henry does not want any extension of papal jurisdiction to result from his bishops' attendance at the council. Calixtus had written to Henry in July expressing his concern over Henry's support for the archbishop of Canterbury against the archbishop of York and commanding the presence of both archbishops at the council of Rheims. OV, 6, p.252, n.2. The archbishop of Canterbury did not however attend. Henry was anxious that the Canterbury-York dispute should be settled in England.

³⁷ HC, pp.114,115

³⁸ *ibid*, pp.118,119, OV,6, pp.252, 253

³⁹ Eadmer, *HN*, p.255. The bishops sent by Henry I were William of Exeter, Ranulf of Durham, Bernard of St. David's and Urban of Llandaff.

⁴⁰ HC, pp.120,121

of Exeter whom Hugh singles out for attention. 'The bishop of Exeter, more than all the others, made the worst of the thing complaining that he has been deceived and had himself deceived the king'.⁴¹ This suggests that this experienced diplomat was still the king's first choice when dealing with papal affairs although the events of the council imply that Bishop William lacked credibility and influence with the papal curia. Cardinal Cuno, bishop of Palestrina who was appointed papal legate in England and Normandy on 1 December 1119 described Bishop William as a 'blind man and no scholar'.⁴² Whether it was the failing health of his chief negotiator, or his lack of success which prompted Henry to send a new man to accompany William of Exeter on his new mission to the pope in March 1120, it was during this mission that Bernard first became involved in the Canterbury-York dispute.⁴³ Bernard was Henry's new man, chosen to sort out the mess in which both the king and Canterbury found themselves in early 1120.

Some explanation of the position is necessary before discussing at length the attempts of Bernard to dig Canterbury out of its hole. By the end of 1119, Canterbury's claim to be primate of Britain stood in great difficulty. The pope's consecration of Thurstan as the archbishop of York, without a profession of

⁴¹ *ibid*, pp.122,123

⁴² *ibid*, pp.144,145, the Latin reads '*qui cecus oculis nec litteratus erat*'

⁴³ Bernard is recorded as being present when Thurstan consecrated the bishop of Geneva at Gap on 11 March 1120, HC, pp.142-149 This date is significant because on this day the pope issued a confirmation of the privileges and possessions of the church of York, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols, RS 71 (London, 1879), Doc. 23, pp.41-43; the record of this meeting is in HC, pp. 142-149. Brett puts William of Exeter present at the papal court in February and Bernard in May, *The English Church Under Henry I*, p.240. But the proximity in the HC text between the consecration of bishop of Geneva and the mention of Bernard's presence is unmistakable; therefore it seems more likely that both William and Bernard arrived together sometime in February, Bernard staying on longer than William and therefore present at the consecration on 11 March, William having already departed. HC, pp.144, 145.

obedience to Canterbury, would effectively end any chance of Canterbury maintaining its position as acknowledged superior of the northern archdiocese - a position it had claimed since the Norman conquest of 1066. This state of affairs may have had more to do with the malleable character of successive archbishops of York, as compared to their southern counterparts in Canterbury, than with any genuine case for legal authority.⁴⁴ After the arrival of the uncompromising Archbishop Thurstan, maintaining control became very difficult. To make matters worse for Canterbury, their new archbishop, Ralph, was very unpopular with the papal court both over his uncompromising stand over the York issue and over his support for the anti-pope Gregory VIII.⁴⁵

Traditionally the archbishops of Canterbury saw themselves as the only ones who could exercise legatine power in England.⁴⁶ It is also possible that the elected pope, Calixtus II, saw in the 1119 Canterbury-York dispute an opportunity to increase papal power in England. It was after this date that foreign-born legates from the curia make a particular appearance especially in the years between 1119 and 1125, the approximate dates with which we are most concerned here.⁴⁷ It is likely that this

⁴⁴ A good overview of the dispute can be found in M. Dueball geb Telle, *Der Suprematstreit zwischen den Erzdiozesen Canterbury und York 1070-1126* (Berlin, 1929). Thanks to Dr. Mario van der Ruhr for confirming my understanding of this text from my schoolboy German. Southern argues convincingly that the Canterbury forgeries were only produced after the coming of Archbishop Thurstan made the maintenance of control of York by Canterbury impossible, 'Canterbury Forgeries', pp.208-224.

⁴⁵ D. Bethell, 'William de Corbeil and the Canterbury-York Dispute', *JEH*, 19, no.2 (1968), pp.152-154, describes Ralph's journey to Italy from 1116 to 1118, during which the coronation of the Emperor Henry V took place when Ralph was also in Rome, the Emperor having created his own pope in order to receive his coronation. As a result of his close association and support for the imperial anti-pope, Archbishop Ralph was unable to gain the pallium for himself. These associations further fuelled anti-Canterbury sentiments in the papal court, *ibid*, p.153, no.9.

⁴⁶ A. L. Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216*, (2nd edition Oxford, 1955). p.184. Unsurprisingly, it is the Canterbury writers such as Eadmer who express this tradition the loudest.

increase in acceptance by Henry of papal legates into England coincided with a moment of significant political weakness. The death of the only legitimate male heir, William Atheling in November 1120 left Henry in a vulnerable position, as his daughter, the Empress Matilda (who had been married to Emperor Henry V in 1114) was not universally considered to be a fit heir to the throne. Henry therefore needed papal support to prevent dangerous alliances between his continental enemies. This further weakened Canterbury's position.⁴⁸

In addition to this, the implacable character of Thurstan, archbishop of York, a royal clerk who had evidently been trusted enough by Henry to receive one of the major offices in England, was a further problem. Thurstan and Bernard were similar men - they were approximately the same age and both appear to have a good knowledge of canon law and were effective diplomats.⁴⁹ During his stay at the papal court Thurstan also made connections with the current leaders of the church and he apparently impressed the new generation of its hierarchy.⁵⁰ There appears to have

⁴⁷ In comparison with William I or William II, Henry allowed more foreign legates. The papal legates - Cuno Palestrina, Peter Pierleoni, Henry of St. Angely and John of Crema - all appear in England in quick succession during the reign of Henry I, Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, pp.34-50.

⁴⁸ The marriage between William Clito and the daughter of Henry's most powerful enemy Count Fulk of Anjou prompted Henry to seek papal help in having the marriage declared unlawful, S. B. Hicks, 'The Anglo-Papal Bargain of 1125: The Legatine Mission of John of Crema', *Albion*, 8 (1976), pp.301-310.

⁴⁹ Hugh and Symeon of Durham comment on Thurstan's ability as a negotiator in balancing the wishes of King Henry I and the pope; Thurstan also negotiated for a peace between Louis of France and Henry I and was instrumental in its conclusion, Symeon of Durham, *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols, RS (London, 1882-1885), vol.ii, p.258 and HC, pp.146-149. Hugh the Cantor makes it clear that Bernard was chosen by Henry I for his diplomatic and legal abilities and is described in 1123 as the archbishop of Canterbury's '*prolocutor et proorator*', HC, pp.188,189.

⁵⁰ Nicholl, *Thurstan*, pp.71,72, gives an impressive list of Thurstan's associates including a future pope, Innocent II, and three future papal legates in England: Cuno Palestrina, Peter Pierleoni and John of Crema. Hugh the Cantor also make it clear that Thurstan was well-liked at the papal court 'as long as the pope had archbishop with him, he kept him close by his side like a cardinal or chaplain in celebrating mass and in consecrating altars', HC, pp.138,139.

been a realisation on Henry's part that a new man was needed to try and regain the initiative for king and Canterbury - a man with diplomatic and legal skills to match Thurstan's but without the credibility problems of either Ralph or William. Bernard fitted the bill.⁵¹

The exact purpose of Bernard's first appearance at the papal court at Gap after the council in Rheims is uncertain, as Hugh only mentioned his presence rather than any specific reason for it. There are three conceivable reasons. The first and the least likely is that Bernard was in some way answering the complaint of Urban, bishop of Llandaff over the boundaries of the respective dioceses, known to have been in the pope's hands by October 1119.⁵² Yet there is no record in the *Book of Llan Dav* of Bernard appearing before the papal court concerning this particular matter until April 1129.⁵³ Given the very complete coverage of the St. David's-Llandaff case in the *Book of Llan Dav*, it is extremely unlikely that a meeting regarding this case would have completely escaped its notice.⁵⁴ Rather the meeting's only appearance in the historical record, which is to be found in Hugh the Cantor, indicates that Bernard's presence was in some way connected to the Canterbury-York dispute. This is the second possible reason for Bernard's presence at Gap.

⁵¹ The evidence surrounding the circumstances of Bernard's appearance at the papal court, suggests that his first appearance at papal court was concurrent with the last visit of William of Exeter. HC, pp.148,149. Bernard continued to feature regularly in the ongoing dispute between the archbishops until 1125-1126.

⁵² *BLLD*, pp.560,561, has a letter from Calixtus II to Archbishop Ralph specifying Urban's complaint, 16 Oct 1119.

⁵³ *BLLD*, p.30

⁵⁴ For more details of the Llandaff dispute, see above, Chapter 2, pp.88-108

Henry had met Pope Calixtus II in November 1119 at Chaumont.⁵⁵ What passed at the conference must have disappointed the church of York for Hugh comments that ‘neither by coaxing nor by prayer nor by absolution was the pope able to obtain anything from the king for our archbishop’.⁵⁶ Henry steadfastly refused to allow Thurstan to return to his diocese and exercise the authority granted him by the pope’s consecration. He instead chose to send William of Exeter and Bernard successively to the pope to try and force a submission from Thurstan. There is however a problem with this argument. Hugh the Cantor makes it clear that although the king sent William of Exeter to the pope, the same is not clear in respect to Bernard.⁵⁷ The next time we are sure of Bernard’s movements, he is at Westminster on 7 January 1121 when he attests along with a great many other barons both lay and ecclesiastical to a charter of Henry I. This charter was directed to Adam de Port and other barons in the Welsh border counties.⁵⁸ Such a great assembly of barons including almost the entire episcopal bench is likely to represent the participants in the royal court of January 1121 which discussed a possible reversal of royal policy towards allowing Thurstan to enter the country and take up his archiepiscopal function. This decision could well have been made in the light of Bernard’s experience of the pro-Thurstan feeling at the papal curia, which he had so recently visited.

⁵⁵ OV, 6, pp.282-291; *HN*, pp.258, 259; *WM GR*, pp.734-737 and *HC*, pp.126-133.

⁵⁶ *HC*, pp.132, 133.

⁵⁷ *ibid*, pp.142, 143, ‘The king therefore sent the bishop of Exeter with gifts, who found the pope at Valence’. The papal court was at Valence 18 February to 2 March 1120. The last of the dates is a full week before Hugh mentioned Bernard’s presence at Gap.

⁵⁸ *RRAN*, 2, no.1243. The full list of attestations are as follows: Ralph of Canterbury, Richard of London, William of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Lincoln, Ranulf of Durham, Theodulf of Chichester, Bernard of St. David’s, Urban (*Gurgano*) of Llandaff, David of Bangor, Ranulf the chancellor, Stephen count of Mortain, Ranulf earl of Chester, Robert the king’s son, Nigel de Albini, William de Tancarville, William de Albini, Walter of Gloucester, Adam de Port, William de Pirou, Walter de Gant and Richard fitz Baldwin

We know from Eadmer that papal letters were read which threatened to excommunicate both the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, if Thurstan were not readmitted to the kingdom.⁵⁹ Bernard had been the last royal bishop to leave the pope's presence before this pivotal meeting. On his return to England it is likely he would have reported to Henry on the evidently pro-Thurstan mood of the papal court. As we have seen, it is also possible that Bernard was present with the pope at the granting of privileges to York on 11 March 1120. So it would appear that Bernard had a better idea than most about the papal attitude towards York and thus may well have played a central and perhaps crucial role in the discussions that brought about the king's vital change of policy. The uncertain succession following the death of Henry's son may have been an extra incentive to placate the papacy at this time.

There was a third possible reason for Bernard's presence at Gap in March of 1120. Upon his return to England in January of 1120 Archbishop Ralph sent a letter to the papacy outlining Canterbury's case as it stood in the early part of 1120. This letter was written in the name, not only of the archbishop, but of the chapter of Canterbury as a whole, which was now actively involved in the defence of the rights of their church as they perceived them. It can therefore be taken as the clearest statement of Canterbury's case as it stood in the early 1120's. However, there is no specific mention of an envoy in the letter.⁶⁰ It is possible that Bernard's visit was in some way connected with this letter. On the limited evidence available, it seems most likely that the second of the three reasons discussed is most likely to explain

⁵⁹ WM HN, pp.291, 292; see also Southern, 'Canterbury Forgeries' p.221.

⁶⁰ *Historians of the Church of York*, vol.ii, pp.228-251; see also Southern, 'Canterbury Forgeries', p.209.

Bernard's presence at Gap, given its proximity to the council of the realm at Westminster in January 1121, which discussed royal policy with regard to the archbishopric of York.

In the summer of 1121 Bernard again became involved with the papal court, this time as King Henry's representative to conduct the new papal legate and cardinal-deacon Peter Pierleoni to the king.⁶¹ It is perhaps further indication that Henry was taking a more conciliatory line towards the papacy that he allowed a foreign-born legate into his kingdom at all. It is clear however that Bernard was expected to keep the legate from causing trouble once in England. Bernard was told that, 'The legate was to be entertained entirely from the royal domain, claiming no procurations from churches and monasteries'.⁶² On the legate's arrival at court Henry explained that he was far too busy with his Welsh campaign and accused the legate of infringing the customs of the kingdom, which Pierleoni strenuously denied.⁶³ Henry's tactic of accusing the papal legate of infringing on local customs was clearly a success because Pierleoni's legateship left virtually no lasting effect on England apart from a couple of charters given to Westminster Abbey.⁶⁴ During his visit Pierleoni stayed, probably by design, at Canterbury and the monks did not waste the opportunity to mention their continuing disquiet over the Canterbury-York dispute, and he went home promising to see justice done to them.⁶⁵ For the king, the supporters of Canterbury, and not

⁶¹ Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, p.41. Pierleoni, it will be recalled, had become one of the cardinals close to Thurstan during the archbishop's exile and therefore is likely to have been considered by the Canterbury party to be potentially dangerous especially when papal legate. Pierleoni later went on to become the anti-pope Anacletus, see Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p.72.

⁶² Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, p.41. Eadmer, *HN*, pp.294,295

⁶³ Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, p.41.

⁶⁴ *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, vol.i (Berlin, 1930), n.12,13.

⁶⁵ Southern, 'Canterbury Forgeries', pp.224,225.

least Bernard, it must have seemed like mission accomplished. Bernard and his colleagues had ensured that the legateship would have no lasting effect on the church in England as a whole. The legate had not interfered with 'local customs'. The probable reason for Pierleoni's visit was that Calixtus II had granted a number of commissions to various legates in celebration of his return to Rome in early 1120.

The defeat of the anti-pope Gregory led directly to the peace in 1122 between the empire and the papacy known as the Concordat of Worms. Its terms were very similar to the treaty which had ended the English investiture crisis of 1109, whereby the king or in this case the emperor, would receive the homage of the bishop for his temporal lands, but would desist from investing bishops with the symbols of their ecclesiastical power, the ring and staff.⁶⁶ The peace between emperor and pope brought a powerful new ally, Henry I's son-in-law, the Emperor Henry V, into the equation of the Canterbury-York dispute. If the king of England and monks of Canterbury could use the influence of the emperor on the papacy, their seemingly desperate case might yet prevail.

An opportunity presented itself in relatively short order. Archbishop Ralph, so unpopular with the papal court had had a stroke on the 19 July 1119 and remained incapacitated for the rest of his life until his death on the 22 October 1122.⁶⁷ At Gloucester on 2 February 1123 Henry I assembled a great council of ecclesiastical

⁶⁶ For the terms of the Concordat of Worms see *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe: From the mid-eighth to the mid-thirteenth century*, ed. B. Pullan (Oxford, 1971) pp.157-159.

⁶⁷ Bethell, 'William de Corbeil and the Canterbury-York Dispute', p.154.

and lay barons for the purpose of filling the vacant primacy.⁶⁸ The monks of Christ Church Canterbury were represented by their prior and other high-ranking monks. It appears however that the predominantly secular episcopal bench was determined on this occasion to avoid having a monastic archbishop. The king agreed and they chose instead a canon from Queen Matilda's foundation at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, William de Corbeil, who was consecrated at Canterbury by a committee of his suffragans that included Bernard.⁶⁹

Almost immediately Archbishop William set off for Rome to collect his pallium from the pope⁷⁰. The evidence would suggest that the archbishop's supporters planned to reopen the Canterbury-York dispute during this visit. There are two reasons for this contention: William was accompanied on his trip by several influential Canterbury supporters: Anselm abbot of St. Edmund's and John archdeacon of Canterbury.⁷¹ The monks of Canterbury had also been busy in the meantime constructing a set of papal privileges to form the basis of Canterbury's

⁶⁸ K. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250* (London, 1982), pp.209-210.

⁶⁹ William was 'blessed as bishop there (Canterbury) by the bishop of London and Bishop Ernulf of Rochester and Bishop William Gifford of Winchester and Bishop Bernard of Wales', *ASC*, p.252, s.a.1123. However, Bethell, 'William De Corbeil and the Canterbury-York Dispute', p.155 note 2, says that Ralph of Diceto 'says it was William of Winchester alone and that since the bishop of London was ex-officio dean of the southern province, Ralph as dean of St. Paul's is unlikely to have said it unless it were true. The then bishop of London Richard de Belmeis was paralysed'. If this is true it is highly unlikely that he could have attended the consecration as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states. What is certain is that William de Corbeil had refused to accept consecration by Thurstan of York until the matter of the primacy was settled, *Historians of the Church of York*, vol.ii, p.268. Whatever the exact state of affairs we can infer from this muddle of evidence it is highly probable that Bernard was present both at the council at Gloucester and at the consecration at Canterbury and remains close to the Canterbury camp in the year 1123.

⁷⁰ Henry I confirmed to William de Corbeil and the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, all their temporal possessions before February 1123, *RRAN*, 2, no.1388.

⁷¹ Anselm abbot of St. Edmunds was the nephew of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury and had been papal legate in England 1115-1116. He had been influential in gaining the pallium for Archbishop Ralph. John archdeacon of Canterbury was the brother of Archbishop Ralph and became bishop of Chichester in 1125, *ASC*, p.252.

legal case. These documents, the so-called 'Canterbury Forgeries', were to play a crucial role in the events which followed. The date of the forgeries tie in well with an attempt to resurrect Canterbury's position following the disastrous years of 1119 to 1120, and a desire to undertake this upon the appointment of the successor to Archbishop Ralph.⁷²

The hearing before the curia in the spring 1123 is the best documented involvement of Bernard in the Canterbury-York dispute. It was in effect Canterbury's last attempt to recover the position established by Archbishop Lanfranc and his successors maintaining their claim to be the primacy of the whole of Britain'.⁷³

All sources agree that Bernard played a central role in the conduct of the Canterbury case. With the exception of the two archbishops, Bernard is the only English prelate mentioned by name in the discussions at the curia and he appears at least on the Canterbury side to dominate proceedings.⁷⁴ The latter can be divided into two sections: first, the battle to gain papal recognition of the newly-consecrated William de Corbeil and secondly, the launching of Canterbury's new offensive in its conflict with York. It's clear from the evidence that Bernard had the job of securing a

⁷² Southern comes to this conclusion after examining the evidence from *British Library MS. Cotton Cleopatra E i.*, which contains the forgeries between the professions of David of Bangor consecrated 4 April 1120 and Alexander of Lincoln consecrated 22 July 1123. Therefore the forgeries were very probably have been produced between these dates, 'Canterbury Forgeries', pp.193-227. In fact they must have been produced before the departure of William de Corbeil shortly after the 18 March 1123 as Southern accepts that Bishop Bernard used the forgeries in the presentation of Canterbury's legal case to the papal court.

⁷³ HC covers the case from pp.188-199. Symeon of Durham, pp.272, 273, provides a northern perspective. My account will therefore draw on both sources plus the arguments in Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, pp.209-213, to construct the fullest possible picture of this crucial hearing, both for the two archbishops and for Bernard.

⁷⁴ HC, pp.188-189 and pp.192-193.

successful conclusion. Upon the arrival of the Canterbury party in Rome, it was Bernard who greeted the pope, presenting letters supporting the recognition of William de Corbeil from the Emperor Henry V, Henry I, the bishops of England and the chapter of Canterbury which the pope said he would answer after consulting with his brethren.⁷⁵ Hugh describes Bernard as '*archiepiscopi prolocutor et proorator*' suggesting that Bernard was acting in some official legal capacity, perhaps with a power of attorney from the archbishop during this case.⁷⁶ The pope's brethren however, raised serious objection to William's election on four grounds: firstly, William had been chosen at court rather than a suitable place for the election of bishop; secondly, he had been elected by the bishops rather than the monks of Canterbury; thirdly, he had not been consecrated by the archbishop of York as custom decreed and, lastly, William was not a monk.⁷⁷ The sources differ in their description of the resolution of these difficulties. Hugh, no doubt eager to paint Thurstan in a good light and with the benefit of hindsight gives much of the credit for talking around the curia to his archbishop. Hugh's view is challenged by Symeon of Durham and by some of Hugh's own evidence.

Hugh explicitly mentions that the first of Bernard's representations conveyed to the pope on behalf of William de Corbeil, was one from the Emperor Henry V, Henry I's son-in-law, who had recently been reconciled with the pope by the Concordat of

⁷⁵ *ibid*, pp.188, 189.

⁷⁶ The translation of this phrase is problematic, the editor/translator of HC, p.189 has, 'spokesman and orator', which suggests that Bernard's function was primarily one of rhetoric, whereas *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.57, has 'proctor and speaker'. The latter would suggest a more official legal function for Bernard. The weight of evidence would suggest that Bernard, whatever his formal legal training, was chosen by Henry I as the person most likely by legal, diplomatic or extra legal means to persuade the curia of Canterbury's case.

⁷⁷ Symeon of Durham, p.272 and HC, pp.188-193; see also Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, pp.210-213.

Worms. This Concordat had much to do with the settling of the William de Corbeil's election dispute. Symeon of Durham is explicit that Calixtus II overruled the objections of his court '*tandem gratia imperatoris praefati et Henrici Regis Anglorum*'.⁷⁸ Under the terms of the Concordat Henry V had been granted the right to have bishops and abbots elected in his presence. This was also the custom in England following the settling of the Investiture Contest. William de Corbeil was certainly elected in circumstances which mirrored the terms of the privileges granted to the emperor. If it were not to back William de Corbeil's election in these terms there seems little reason for the Emperor of the Germans to get involved in the election of an English primate. If the pope did indeed reverse the decision of the court out of respect for the privileges granted to the two Henry's, it is indeed likely he did so with the terms of the Concordat of Worms fresh in his mind, either from his own recollection or having been reminded of the privileges by the content of the letters which Bernard had presented. Certainly the terms of the Concordat regarding the election forum and the circumstances of William de Corbeil's election are strikingly similar.⁷⁹

These letters had the desired effect and eventually William de Corbeil was granted his pallium. Bernard then turned to the matter of the primacy and presented the case for the archbishop of Canterbury, asking the curia to hear the privileges the Canterbury party had brought with them [concerning its rights and the primacy]. It appears that all parties were not prepared for a full legal hearing. It is argued here

⁷⁸ Symeon of Durham, p.272; see also Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, p.213.

⁷⁹ Leyser, *Medieval Germany*, p 212. For the agreement on investiture in England in 1107, see Cantor, *Church Kingship and Lay Investiture*, ch.5, especially 'The agreement of 1107', pp.253-273.

that the evidence both before and during the events at the curia discussed below supports the view that, the sole purpose of William de Corbeil's delegation in travelling to Rome was to gain the pallium for the new archbishop from Calixtus II. It seems likely that the pope would have asked for information regarding the privileges and limits of jurisdiction of the metropolitan to whom he was about to grant the pallium. The Canterbury delegation is then likely to have re-stated their belief that the see of Canterbury had jurisdiction over the whole of Britain as '*totius Britannie Primas*'. Once these claims had been made Archbishop Thurstan would have immediately objected and Calixtus is therefore likely to have asked for evidence of the competing claims for which both sides appear to have been unprepared. It was clearly not the intention of Canterbury to act on these jurisdictional claims at this time. Bernard is reported to have said that they did not mean to 'take judicial proceedings about them'.⁸⁰ Thurstan then complained that he likewise had not come prepared for a legal case but had been detained in England by the will of Henry I. Bernard appears at this point to have misheard Thurstan's reply and reacted that he was perfectly prepared to defend the king against a charge of wrongful detention. At this point the pope, anxious to control the situation, attempted to correct Bernard on his misunderstanding, saying that Thurstan had indeed been detained, if not wrongfully then wilfully; at this 'Bishop Bernard was for a while thrown into confusion'.⁸¹

⁸⁰ HC, pp.192,193. The account of the following proceedings is taken from HC, p.192-201.

⁸¹ *ibid*, pp.192,193.

After this unpromising beginning Bernard at last managed to present Canterbury's privileges to the curia. These were the Canterbury 'forgeries' specifically designed to resurrect Canterbury's fortunes.⁸² They did not have the desired effect. Having 'no trace of the style of the Roman chancery' they were immediately discovered as forgeries to the amusement of the curia some of whose members 'smiled, others turned up their noses, and others laughed aloud, making fun of them'.⁸³ Unwilling to perjure themselves and presumably seeing that their cause was lost, Bernard and his colleagues 'having nothing more to say retired in disorder; their privileges were disbelieved and their speeches neither praised nor kindly received'.⁸⁴ This was catastrophic failure both for Canterbury and by implication Bernard who had been so prominent in pursuing the case for the archbishop of Canterbury and the king. Bernard's conduct in the case is hard to judge, as Southern has convincingly argued, that the case was already lost before 1123.⁸⁵ Even if we accept Southern's argument, such a defeat in such a place and manner must have been for one of the king's closest and most trusted advisers both a humiliating and potentially politically damaging experience. There is no evidence to show that Bernard's failure adversely affected his relationship with the king and he continues more often than not in the latter's presence when we can be certain of his movements. Bernard also appears to have

⁸² The Canterbury forgeries themselves consisted of a number of papal letters supposedly from the following popes: Gregory I (590-604), Boniface I (418-422), Honorius I (625-638), Vitalian I (657-672), Sergius I (687-701), Gregory II (715-731), Leo III (795-816) and Leo IX (1049-1054). See Southern, 'Canterbury Forgeries', pp.217-221 and HC, p.xxxvii.

⁸³ HC, pp.192-195.

⁸⁴ *ibid*, pp.194,195.

⁸⁵ Southern, 'Canterbury Forgeries', pp.208-225. He argues that as soon as Thurstan became archbishop of York, and was unwilling to accept the justice of Canterbury's case it became unavoidable that the latter would be shown to be a house of cards and that the events of 1123 were therefore unavoidable.

remained a trusted colleague of William de Corbeil.⁸⁶ Bernard had, after all, fulfilled Henry's primary purpose, to secure the pallium for the new archbishop.

If Bernard remained trusted by his Anglo-Norman counterparts, there is strong evidence that he lost credibility with the Roman curia which both he and the king were anxious to recover. King Henry, eager to maintain good relations with the papacy, allowed a new papal legate John of Crema, a cardinal-priest and one of the pope's closest advisors to come to England.⁸⁷ It was during the Legatine Council held at Westminster on 8 September 1125 that Bernard made his final personal intervention in the Canterbury-York dispute. According to Hugh the Cantor 'on one of the days of this council, Bishop Bernard begged our archbishop's pardon, confessing that he had sinned in being so hot against our church'.⁸⁸ Bernard's motives for performing this public act of reconciliation are an interesting matter of conjecture. It is unlikely that he would have made such a gesture if he knew it to be against Henry's wishes. Certainly, Bernard was with Henry in France immediately prior to attending the council.⁸⁹ John of Crema had been vocal in his support of Thurstan and in 1123 had been directly critical of Bernard's presentation to the curia.⁹⁰ With Henry for dynastic reasons, now wanting to keep John of Crema on his side, an open declaration from one of the king's closest advisors may have contributed to a favourable impression. After attending the council Bernard returned

⁸⁶ Bernard was sent on a mission by the dying William de Colbeil to insert Augustinian canons into the new church at Dover against the wishes of the monks of Canterbury who had appealed to Rome in 1136, Gerv. of Canterbury, *Chron.*, vol.1, pp.97, 98 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.106, 107.

⁸⁷ Hicks, 'The Anglo-Papal Bargain of 1125', pp.301-310

⁸⁸ HC, p.205.

⁸⁹ *RRAN*, 2, no.1425 dated Jan – Mar 1125

⁹⁰ HC, pp.192,193.

almost immediately to Henry who had remained on the continent.⁹¹ This would suggest that Bernard's actions during the council do not demonstrate a political action contrary to the king's wishes. Indeed it is more likely that Bernard's actions were sanctioned by the king, although there is no evidence to suggest that Henry directly requested Bernard to make an apology. The legatine council marks the end of Bernard's known involvement in the Canterbury-York dispute. He had tried and failed to rescue a lost cause on behalf of Canterbury and although this failure does not appear to have damaged Bernard politically, it cannot have been anything less than an embarrassing experience.

This is demonstrated by examining Bernard's actions and responsibilities in connection with the second case study of this chapter. This centres around the dispute which erupted following the introduction of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary on 8 December 1127.⁹² Bernard's participation shows he continued to wield his influence as a familiar of the king, but on his accession it shows him operating in an ecclesiastical context, thereby revealing something of his own attitude towards the changing ecclesiastical culture of his day.

Case Study 2: The Westminster Dispute, 1127-1129

After the Norman Conquest 'the culture of England ... was altered in many respects by the Norman conquest and the events surrounding it. The suppression of the commemoration [of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary] was one of the

⁹¹ *RRAN*, 2, no.1427, 1428 dated Oct 1125, nr. Rouen.

⁹² *A Handbook of Dates For Students of British History*, ed. C. R. Cheney and M. Jones, new edition (Cambridge, 2000), p.78.

many changes in the physiognomy of what had been a distinctively Anglo-Saxon Catholic ‘culture’.⁹³ It is hardly surprising then that ‘given the considerable tension which still existed between the new Norman ruling class and their Anglo-Saxon subjects, ... that the re-introduction of the feast among the English Benedictines was greeted with joyful acceptance and a considerable amount of controversy, both in England itself and across the channel’.⁹⁴ It is this controversy in which Bernard became involved that this case-study will deal. Evidence of this comes from the Westminster Abbey dispute of 1127 when, as Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster, records ‘the bishops declared that the festival had been forbidden by a council and the observance of it must be stopped’.⁹⁵ No contemporary source or modern historical commentary identifies the council to which Bernard and Roger of Salisbury referred to during the Westminster dispute. Despite a search of relevant sources, it has proved impossible to improve upon this inadequate state of affairs. Given that the known celebrations at Winchester, Canterbury and Exeter, ceased to occur shortly after the Norman Conquest it is most likely that the responsibility for their suppression lies either with Archbishop Lanfranc or perhaps the new Norman bishops of the two other dioceses who introduced a church more in line with the model found on the continent where the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary was almost completely unknown at the time.⁹⁶

⁹³ Janaro, J., ‘Saint Anselm and the Development of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception: Historical and Theological Perspectives’, *The Saint Anselm Journal* 3.2 (Spring 2006), p. 49; ‘The Anglo-Norman Church’ in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.165-190.

⁹⁴ Janaro ‘Saint Anselm and the Development of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception’, p.50.

⁹⁵ *Letters Osbert of Clare*, no.7, pp.65-68; translated in H. Thurston, ‘Abbot Anselm of Bury and the Immaculate Conception’, *The Month*, vol.103 (1904) p.569.

⁹⁶ www.newadvent.org.uk – An online Catholic encyclopaedia – ‘The Feast of the Immaculate Conception’.

The man who perhaps did most to rekindle interest in the feast in the reign of Henry I was Anselm, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds.⁹⁷ This remarkable Benedictine, who had been papal legate in England in 1115, was for a time after 1109 abbot of St. Sabas in Rome, where the daily office followed the Greek and not the Latin calendar. Under the Greek calendar the feast of the conception of the Virgin Mary was well established, deriving from an ancient feast on 25 March which celebrated the conception of the Virgin Mary by the barren St. Anne.⁹⁸ When Anselm was translated to Bury St. Edmunds in 1121 he gave the monks lands and revenues to support an extension of their devotions to the Virgin Mary. These included both the Conception (8 December) and the even rarer Expectation of the Virgin Mary (18 December). Anselm's reintroduction of the feast of the Conception proved popular, especially among the English Benedictines. Within a few years leading Benedictine houses such as St. Albans, Worcester, Colchester and Winchcombe had adopted this feast. Perhaps most importantly it was also celebrated at Henry I's foundation at Reading where Abbot Hugh persuaded Henry I of the feast's merit, keeping it 'at the command of king'.⁹⁹ Despite this high-profile support, the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary was not universally accepted even among Benedictine abbeys. There is no record of its celebration amongst other religious orders, let alone among the secular clergy and episcopate of which Bernard was part. Its celebration then was a matter of personal preference, devoutly held by some in England but without

⁹⁷ He is not to be confused with his uncle St. Anselm archbishop of Canterbury. Historians of the feast of the Immaculate Conception have regularly confused the two, an error that derives from the 1325 Council of Canterbury, which attributed the reintroduction of the feast to the archbishop. There is no evidence that St. Anselm introduced the feast anywhere; indeed the feast was not formally reintroduced into Canterbury until the thirteenth century.

⁹⁸ www.newadvent.org – The Feast of the Immaculate Conception; see also Thurston, 'Abbot Anselm'; p.567.

⁹⁹ *Letters of Osbert of Clare*, no.7, p.67, see also, www.newadvent.org – The Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

the official sanction of the episcopal bench and virtually unheard of outside its shores.

Bernard was to become involved in the debate surrounding the feast of the Conception because of the strongly held personal viewpoints of its advocates and detractors even within the same religious house. The incident already noted that occurred on 8 December 1127 originated in the attempt by Osbert of Clare prior of Westminster to introduce its celebration into the abbey. The intensity of the struggle and the acrimony it caused within the community of Westminster also reflects the internal power struggle in which he was involved at the time. This almost certainly had a bearing on the hurried intervention of two of Henry I's most powerful curial bishops, Bernard and Roger of Salisbury. Osbert, it seems, was in the eyes of Henry I a bit of a troublemaker. The troubles began during the vacancy at Westminster Abbey between December 1117 x January 1121. During much of this time Henry I was abroad and the monks of Westminster appear to have elected Osbert as abbot. On Henry's return in November 1120, Osbert was passed over for the vacancy in favour of another internal candidate Herbert the almoner, who was appointed in January 1121.¹⁰⁰ It appears that Osbert, a young and vigorous reformer, who had the backing of a number of monks who wished to make him abbot, proved too much for Abbot Herbert to handle. The abbot and his supporters appealed to King Henry who facilitated Osbert's removal to Ely on 'official business' c1123.¹⁰¹ In a letter Osbert complains of his 'violent ejection' from Westminster, which may have come about

¹⁰⁰ J. A. Robinson, 'Westminster in the 12th century: Osbert of Clare', *CQR*, 68 (1909), pp.337.

¹⁰¹ *ibid*, p.345 note 2, Osbert was sent by the king to 'visit' Ely ('*ad quam missus sum*').

after he had ‘begun to urge huge reforms at home’. As Osbert was still *proscriptus* in 1133, it is possible to see the Westminster dispute of 1127 as a possible catalyst for this ejection, although his presence at Westminster during the incident with Bernard and Roger of Salisbury seems solid. It is possible that this visit might have been made ‘for the express purpose of assisting at this function.’¹⁰²

In order to understand the events surrounding the dispute it is perhaps appropriate to quote from Osbert’s account of the incident at some length and this is his letter to Abbot Anselm of Bury St. Edmund’s:

‘Suavissimo domino ac serenissimo patri Anselmo, dei gratia sanctae Romanae ecclesiae filio uterino, servus eius frater Osbertus, vivere et laetari in domino.

Quoniam diligentia sollicitudinis vestrae per diversa mundi spatia multos ad amorem beatae et gloriosae dei genetricis Mariae ferventer accendit, quae castis visceribus perpetuae virginitatis auctorem caeli et terrae Christum dominum concepit et peperit et in multis locis celebratur eius vestra sedulitate festa conceptionem, quam antiquitus apud patres veteres celebrare non consuevit Christiana religio. Unde in ecclesia dei eum a nobis celebris ageretur illius diei festivitas, quidam post Sathan abeuntes dixerunt esse ridiculum, quod usque ad haec tempora omnibus fuisset saeculis inauditum ; et in livore ac felle suae malitiae perdurantes duos episcopos, qui tunc in vicinio fote aderant, Rogerum videlicet et Bernardum, adeuntes convenerunt, ac de novitate solennitatis exorta facta relatione animos eorum ad indignationem provocaverunt. Qui hanc festivitatem prohibitem dicentes in concilio, affirmaverunt quod cassanda esset nec tenenda ista traditio. Nos tamen coepto diei insistentes officio cum gaudio gloriosam festivitatem exegimus et solenni tripudio. Postremo vero aemuli mei et qui canino dente bona invidentes rodunt aliorum, qui vanas suas ineptias

¹⁰² *ibid*, p.345 note 2, p.349

semper nituntur approbare, et dicta et facta religiosorum moliuntur improbare, nescientes secundum apostolum neque quae loquuntur neque de quibus affirmant evomere venenum iniquitatis suae, et in me sagittas lungaue pestiferae iaculantes asseverarunt tenendam non esse festivitatem cuius primordia Romanae ecclesiae non habent auctoritatem. Quos me rationabiliter refellente et eis secundum malitiam eorum respondente, multi testimonium perhibuerunt quiniam et in hoc regno et in transmarinis partibus a nonnullis episcopis et abbatibus in ecclesiis dei celebris instituta est illius diei recordatio de cuius summa redemptionis nostrae salutaris processit exordio. Plurimumque exquisite multa indiximus argumenta, quibus in cordibus fidelium catholica de beatae Mariae conceptione confirmaretur sententia.’¹⁰³

From the point of view of the theological debate, Professor Bartlett is quite correct when he states that: ‘In 1129 those who believed that the feast was an absurd innovation won the backing of two great curial bishops, Roger of Salisbury and Bernard of St. David’s’.¹⁰⁴ If so why did the two bishops choose to take this line? The answer lies in the origins of the two parties. The two bishops were part of a Norman church, essentially ‘conservative’ in nature, suspicious of radicalism, but nonetheless rigorous in the application of reform in order to produce order and conformity: ‘The Norman church was aggressively orthodox. Duke and bishops accepted without question the doctrinal authority of the apostolic see, and the desirability of those moral reforms which it advocated. Their implementation was attempted, however, within a self-contained ecclesiastical province in which papal legates only intervened at ducal invitation and outside which, Norman prelates

¹⁰³ Letters of Osbert of Clare, no.7, pp.65-68.

¹⁰⁴ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and the Angevin Kings 1075-1225*, p.470.

seldom ventured. The same model of reform was to be applied to England' after the conquest, and this methodology was accepted by the vast majority of the higher clergy in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.¹⁰⁵ The latter included many of the secular episcopate who though an 'able collection of men... [were] primarily servants of King Henry who had 'raised them out of the dust' to serve him and incidentally the church'.¹⁰⁶ These men were 'reformers' but primarily of institutions and practices which they saw as out-dated: a good example of this process being Bernard's own extensive reforms at St. David's which were concerned more with diocesan boundaries and ecclesiastical jurisdictions than any great alteration or departure from the standard Norman practice in a theological sense. 'In terms of organisation, the Conquest brought obvious changes to the English church. The institutions of the English church had been old-fashioned, and continental bishops were eager to modernise'.¹⁰⁷ In this respect Bernard and his fellow secular bishops were the heirs of Archbishop Lanfranc who, although a monk 'purged the calendar of his cathedral church at Canterbury almost with the severity of a sixteenth-century reformer'.¹⁰⁸ He also did little to disrupt the relationship between church and state, which at times amounted to a virtual royal supremacy. Men like Osbert and Anselm of Bury St. Edmonds came from another ecclesiastical tradition, which was not as prevalent in England as on the continent but nonetheless made its presence felt in ecclesiastical affairs. The Gregorian reform was most prevalent in Rome where the

¹⁰⁵ 'The Anglo-Norman Church', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, p.170.

¹⁰⁶ A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (University of London Historical Studies 2, 1956), p.13, 'secular bishops' is meant to convey the modern distinction between secular clergy, i.e. those who are non-monks, and regular clergy, those who follow a rule in a monastery, friary, or canonry.

¹⁰⁷ 'The Anglo-Norman Church', p.173.

¹⁰⁸ *Letters Osbert of Clare*, p.13.

papacy had most control. This radical reforming tradition was best represented in England by the policies supported by Archbishop Anselm whose followers were well represented amongst the advocates of the introduction of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary.

This was a clash of clerical perspectives. But there was more to the intervention of Bernard and Roger than a clash of opinion on the direction and radicalism of the English church. Westminster was then, as now, at the centre of government, royal life, and administration.¹⁰⁹ The closeness of the abbey to the hall meant that as landlords abbey officials appear to have been cheek by jowl with royal clerks.¹¹⁰ The royal hall was indeed a busy place with both litigants and those requiring charity. In Edward the Confessor's time Westminster Hall was clearly filled with poor and sick, whilst Matilda 'surrounded by lepers' at her home which we know was primarily at Westminster.¹¹¹ As we have seen, King Henry had already become involved in the internal disputes within Westminster Abbey. From a royal perspective, any continuation of the challenges being made to his chosen figure of authority, Abbot Herbert, would have been viewed with displeasure. Given that the disturbances again centred on Osbert, who had been the cause of most of the previous trouble, it is easy to see the presence of the bishops as having not only

¹⁰⁹ Gaps in Henry's known movements make it difficult to locate him at this time, but from the evidence we have, Westminster was the location of issue of 201 of Henry's surviving charters, giving it a significantly higher number of charters issued than any other place during Henry's reign. The next highest location for charters issued is Winchester, which has 128, and the next Woodstock, 93. Henry also visited Westminster more frequently than any other location in England, 30 visits are recorded as compared to Woodstock, 24, and Winchester, 21, Christelow, 'A Movable Feast', p.199.

¹¹⁰ *The History of the King's Works*, eds. R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. F. Taylor, vol.i (London, 1963) pp.45-7, 491-493.

¹¹¹ *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, ed. trans. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1992), p.41; M. Paris, *Chronica Majora*. ed. H. R. Luard, (Rolls Series, London, 1880) vol.ii, p.130.

ecclesiastical significance but also to see them as representatives of the royal administration attempting to restore authority in this most important abbey.

The bishop's intervention may have been due to other reasons. Along with Osbert's enemies at Westminster and royal discontent at the challenge to the authority of Abbot Herbert, opposition to those in favour of the introduction of the feast was widespread, especially among the clergy who were not monks. E. Bishop argued that the dean of St. Paul's, who was a nephew of the previous bishop of London, Richard of Belmeis [d. Jan 1127], and a secular priest, vetoed the appointment of Abbot Anselm of Bury St. Edmunds to the bishopric. This was despite the abbot having near total support from the chapter, upon the death of the then Bishop Gilbert the Universal [d. Aug 1134], who was a strong supporter of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary.¹¹² Osbert provides a possible explanation as to where the 'fault line' in the chapter of London occurred when he refers to 'the opposition of those who had always been envious of the good things practised by religious men'.¹¹³ If by religious we take Osbert to mean monks or perhaps more specifically Benedictines, we see a possible pattern emerging. Most of the promoters of the feast of the conception of the Virgin Mary were indeed Benedictine prelates such as Eadmer of St. Andrew's, Anselm of Bury St. Edmunds, Hugh abbot of Reading and Osbert, prior of Westminster. Those who were not radical opponents of

¹¹² E. Bishop wrote extensively on the introduction of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, culminating in *On the Origins of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (London, 1904). This work inspired much of the later scholarship upon which this paper is based. Gilbert the Universal was himself a strong supporter of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary and adopted it for his diocese when the feast was legitimised by the Council of Westminster in 1129. This may explain why such a leading supporter for the feast as Abbot Anselm received the chapter's blessing after the death of Gilbert.

¹¹³ *Letters Osbert of Clare*, p.14.

the introduction of the feast were predominantly secular such as the bishops of St. David's and Salisbury and the dean of St. Paul's. There were also leading monastic opponents, notably the Cistercian St. Bernard of Clairvaux. So it becomes clear that the advocates of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary were drawn from a relatively narrow, largely Benedictine but also influential group of prelates, who were heavily influenced by the reforming doctrines attributed to St. Anselm.¹¹⁴

There is another factor to be taken into account when discussing the events at Westminster 1127 and others that followed, namely the absence of the king. Henry was in France from 26 August 1127 to 15 July 1129.¹¹⁵ In this context the Westminster dispute of 1127, particularly the involvement of the two bishops, Bernard and Roger, is worth examining in its own right. In the king's absence in Normandy, both these bishops, with their close connections to the royal administration were together at Westminster. Roger of Salisbury had ceased to be the chancellor before September 1102; he undoubtedly was the king's chief minister and appears as regent during the king's absences 1119 x 1135. He was '*chief justiciar*' in all but name but not so called in any official document, though styled '*Regni Angliae Procurator*' (1123 x 1126).¹¹⁶ Although Bernard held no official

¹¹⁴ It was for a long time argued that Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury had re-established the feast of the Conception in England. The *Tractatus de Conceptione beate Mariae Virginis*, which defends the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, demonstrates that although it had been attributed to Archbishop Anselm, it is in fact the work of his 'disciple', Eadmer. It is likely that Archbishop Anselm encountered the doctrine and feast of the Conception from Greek monks during his exile in Campania and Apulia (1098-99). Although his adherents instigated the introduction of the feast, it is unlikely that they would have actively promoted theological practices which Anselm, as the inspiration behind their theological ideas, would have objected to.

¹¹⁵ *RRAN*, 2, p. xxx. The itinerary of Henry I shows Henry in Normandy from 26 August 1127 to 15 July 1129.

¹¹⁶ D. M. Stenton, 'Roger of Salisbury, *Regni Angliae Procurator*', *EHR*, 138, no. 152, (1923), pp. 79, 80.

position other than his bishopric after 1115, Bernard was however a *curialis* of Henry I and therefore maybe expected to be one of those Henry trusted with responsibilities in his absence. This suggests that they both played a role of the governance of England during the king's absence. It is also interesting to note that we see the two bishops together attesting to major episcopal grants, such as that given by Bishop William Giffard of Winchester between 1138 x January 1139 concerning divisions of property of his own cathedral priory of St. Swithin's. Roger and Bernard are the only episcopal witnesses to this grant, which may give a further indication as to their centrality in administrative governance at this time.¹¹⁷ The situation gives a valuable insight into the possible role Bernard played in the administration of the king whilst bishop of St. David's. A recurring theme of this examination into the career of Bernard has been the close nature of his ties with Henry I and his family. Henry appears to regularly have entrusted Bernard with both communication and enforcement of the 'royal will'. In this context, there is a double instance, in that Bernard appears to be acting as a go-between between Henry and his English administration and also when dissent appears at Westminster, Bernard and Roger attempt to restore order. A picture therefore emerges in 1127 of the involvement of Roger and Bernard in the affairs of Westminster, in which the religious context of the dispute appears to matter less than the fact that a dispute had occurred which was not in the royal interest - a royal interest which was at that moment, in the absence of the king, enforced by the two bishops. It is perhaps more appropriate to see the bishops at that moment as civil servants trying to quell

¹¹⁷ *English Episcopal Acta, viii: Winchester 1070-1204*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), no. 20. This document's validity is discussed by Franklin in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 12 (1990), pp. 51-2.

unwelcome disorder, than as successors of the apostles engaged in the theological debate which lay behind it. Bernard and Roger were probably well versed in canon law and the absence of the feast on the official Roman calendar and its dubious Anglo-Saxon origins may well have been the legal justification which the bishops used to attempt to quell the disagreement within the abbey.

Further evidence for the administrative nature of the bishops' intervention in the 1127 dispute is provided by Henry I's actions following his return to England in July 1129. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle states that 'by the king's advice and by his leave, the Archbishop William of Canterbury sent over all England and summoned bishops, abbots and archdeacons and all of the priors, monks and canons that were in all the cells in England, and all those who take care to look after Christendom, that they should all come to London at Michaelmas [29 September] and should speak of all God's dues'.¹¹⁸ This council was the longest of Henry's reign, extending from Monday to Friday and was extremely well attended. All the bishops attended, (there were at that time only four vacancies) along with a great many other senior prelates.¹¹⁹ The recent troubles of the church were discussed, which found in favour of the Feast of the Conception and allowed it to be celebrated.¹²⁰ This evidently did not extend to the universal instruction for its celebration as many cathedrals including Canterbury, St. David's and Salisbury did not introduce it. As late as 1222 the Synod of Oxford refused to make its celebration a holy day of obligation.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ ASC, 1129, p.259.

¹¹⁹ *ibid*, p.260.

¹²⁰ *Councils and Synods*, p.751

¹²¹ [www.newadvent](http://www.newadvent.org) – The Feast of the Immaculate Conception. A holy day or holiday of obligation is a feast outside of Sunday where all people were expected to attend a religious service.

This investigation into the role of Bernard in the controversy surrounding the feast of the Conception has shown some errors in the limited historical narrative surrounding this incident in Bernard's career. Professor Bartlett mentions that 'Bernard and Roger had tried to ban the feast'.¹²² While they certainly opposed its celebration on a single occasion there is no evidence that either bishop openly campaigned for a blanket ban on the practice. Neither bishop has left any theological text opposing the feast, as did for example Bernard of Clairvaux.¹²³

The main issue with which this council dealt was that of clerical celibacy. This taken along with the council's ruling on the feast of the conception indicates its strong reformist agenda. The council ordered that archdeacons and priests should 'relinquish them [their wives] by the feast of St. Andrew (30 November) and that anyone who should not do so was to forgo his church and his house and his home and never more have any claim to them' - a pronouncement that had little practical effect as 'all kept their wives by leave of the king, just as they did before'.¹²⁴ Leading bishops of the court, notably Roger of Salisbury, took full advantage of the non-enforcement of these decrees, advocated by the reformers, by being openly married. There is every indication that Bernard followed the official line and remained celibate.¹²⁵ This view is reinforced by the positive comments made about

¹²² Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.470.

¹²³ St. Bernard opposes the doctrine in the strongest possible terms in a letter to the canons of Lyons. *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. B. S. James (London, 1998), no.215.

¹²⁴ *ASC*, 1129, p.259.

¹²⁵ This assumption is made from lack of evidence to the contrary. If a bishop had a wife and children at this time he would be unlucky to lose office but in the case of a major bishop like Bernard one or other of the chronicles or other sources normally mentions it. The lack of such comments with regard to Bernard especially given the commentary on his life by Gerald of Wales, who was never afraid to attack a senior churchman on this account, would seem to indicate that Bernard remained celibate.

Bernard at the time of his consecration in 1115 that he was ‘a worthy man, and in the judgement of many, an honourable priest’.¹²⁶

What light does this examination of events of 1127 and 1129 cast on Bernard as politician and prelate, which is this work’s primary purpose? Events of 1127 and 1129 lend further support to the view of Bernard as a trusted adviser to King Henry. He is also shown working alongside the most important administrator in England to accomplish this. The examination has also shed some light on the ecclesiastical world in which Bernard operated and the competing ecclesiastical traditions he endeavoured to balance in his own life. Exercising an episcopal office was a responsibility that required him to strike a delicate balance between his responsibilities as a churchman and his role as a curialis and advisor to Henry I. This duality of roles, in which the lines between Bernard’s responsibilities could easily become blurred, as they did during the controversies of 1128-1129, represents the greatest challenge in understanding the career of Bernard. There are certainly aspects of Bernard’s career in which he appears to be a genuine reformer. But his role in court administration and his apparent alignment with the ‘conservative’ secular episcopate in matters of liturgical practice makes it difficult to justify placing Bernard alongside the heirs of Archbishop Anselm. The overriding view of Bernard from this examination is of a man committed to the good order and maintenance of the kingdom of his creator Henry I.

¹²⁶ Eadmer, *HN*, p.235.

The Empress's Bishop:

Bishop Bernard And The Anglo- Norman Civil War

1135-1144

'Crastino, quod fuit quinto nonas Martii, honorifica facta processione recepta est in ecclesia episcopatus Wintonie; episcopo, eodemque legato, eam ducente in dextro latere, Bernardo uero de sancto David episcopo in sinistro'.¹

This chapter will examine the period in Bernard's life between the death of Henry I in December 1135 and his last attestations to royal charters in 1144. This period encompasses the Anglo-Norman civil war between Stephen and Matilda, in which Bernard played a prominent role. There will be four interconnected issues discussed in this chapter: the Welsh resurgence following the death of Henry; Bernard's continuing presence at court with King Stephen; the proposal by Stephen for the creation of the bishopric of St. Asaph and its relevance to the beginning of the metropolitan case of St. David's and, lastly, Bernard's choice for the Angevin cause after 1140 which is also contemporary with his acceptance of the friendship and support of the Welsh princes of Gwynedd and Deheubarth in connection with his metropolitan claims.

¹ WM HN, p.51

The Welsh Resurgence

Wales must have seemed like a no-go area for Bernard in the early months of Stephen's reign. There is little to suggest that Bernard's visits to Wales during the reign of Henry I, although infrequent, presented a significantly higher danger to the safety of the bishop or his household than a long journey anywhere would present at that time. There is some evidence that Bernard provided generously for his military tenants on arrival in Wales but beyond the first eighteen months of Bernard's episcopate there appears to have been little need for these tenants to do much fighting.²

The extent of the fighting within Bernard's diocese prior to 1135 can be demonstrated by examining events in the first two years of his episcopate, recorded in the *Brut*. In 1115 Gruffudd ap Rhys attacks the Flemings in Ystrad Tywi and a year later he burns and attacks castles at or near Arbeth, at Llandovery, Swansea, the royal honour of Carmarthen, Blaen Porth Hoddnant, Ystrad Peithyll and Aberystwyth. From this it can be appreciated that Bernard might have needed a military presence in order to protect his lands, especially in the Carmarthen area, although the extent of this presence and any military effect it had cannot be substantiated from contemporary sources.³

In spite of these difficulties Bernard had achieved much, including a substantial diocesan reform programme. Bernard also played a key role as bishop and

² Gerald of Wales suggests that Bernard provided twenty or thirty carucates of land while ten would have been sufficient. This suggests that Bernard's military tenants enjoyed a greater share of land for their services than other comparable knights, GC, *De Jure*, pp.153, 154 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.153.

³ *Brut*, pp.85-99

ecclesiastical baron in the success of the so-called 'Henrician' system of government, which saw Anglo-Norman royal and baronial influence in Wales reach its greatest extent until the Edwardian conquest of Wales in the thirteenth century. The 'Henrician system' is a term invented to describe the methods used to control Wales that collapsed in the early reign of Stephen. This term is developed and discussed in R. R. Davies's article 'Henry I and Wales'.⁴ The effect of King Henry I's intervention in Wales is further explored in Davies, *Age of Conquest*, and Rowlands, 'The Making of March'. After Henry I's death it is possible to appreciate what complete dominance he appeared to hold in Wales. The breakdown of this system under Stephen makes it difficult to piece together exactly what form or forms were used by Henry to achieve this dominance. Some idea can be gained through reference to the comments made by the Welsh chroniclers about King Henry I. Through these, some understanding of the awe with which Henry I was viewed by the Welsh can be gleaned.⁵

Following Henry's death, however, the situation changed rapidly: 'The peace and harmony of the kingdom were buried with him, the Welsh, who always cherished a hatred for their masters, broke their compact with them utterly, and appearing in bands at different places, they made hostile raids in various directions'.⁶

Bernard's diocese if not his own immediate lordship was in the forefront of the fighting, particularly the areas of his diocese with which he had been in dispute with

⁴ R. R. Davies, 'Henry I and Wales', pp.132-147

⁵ The breakdown after the death of the king in 1135 is clearly explored by D. Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', in *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994).

⁶ *Gesta Stephani*, ch. 8, p.14.

Urban of Llandaff a few years earlier. On 1 January 1136 the Welsh of Cantref Bychan and the West of Glamorgan attacked Gower, inflicting a heavy defeat on the Anglo-Normans in a pitched battle. Worse was to come for the Anglo-Normans when on 15 April in Gwent, Richard fitz Gilbert of Clare was ambushed and killed by the forces of Morgan ap Owain of Gwent. The army of Gwynedd joined in the fighting in the same year when the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan attacked Ceredigion and burned the castles of Walter and Richard de la Mare, Aberystwyth, Dineirth and Caerwedros. This was followed in 1137 by another offensive against Ceredigion during which the castles of Ystrad Meurig and Humfrey were burned; Llanstephan, and Carmarthen were also affected.⁷ Gerald suggests there may have been further offensives in Gower and Kidwelly.⁸

Stephen's immediate reaction to the trouble in Wales was to enlist Baldwin fitz Gilbert and Robert fitz Harold.⁹ Fitz Gilbert was sent to the north, fitz Harold to the south, where he established a forward base (possibly Carmarthen) from which he eventually had to withdraw in 1137.¹⁰ After this, Stephen chose not to press the matter further, hoping that the rebellion would die down and that the Welsh would start fighting among themselves.¹¹ A possible reason for Stephen's *modus operandi*

⁷ See, Map 7- The Welsh Resurgence 1137 – 1144.

⁸ GC *Opera*, vol.iv, p.78. A good account of the wars in the first two years of Stephen's reign can be found in Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', in E. King, ed., *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford 1994) and also from the *Gesta Stephani*, the *Brut* and the *Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 1137 and 1136.

⁹ Baldwin fitz Gilbert was the younger brother of Richard fitz Gilbert. Robert fitz Harold was the son of Harold of Ewias. The family of Harold of Ewias is connected to three surviving charters of Bernard between 1115 and 1148 confirming the grants of the family to the abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester, *St.D.Ep.A.*, nos.9, 13, 14 and also Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', pp.259-261.

¹⁰ For the expeditions of Baldwin fitz Gilbert and Robert fitz Harold, see *Gesta Stephani*, pp.19-23 and Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', pp.259-261.

¹¹ Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', pp.260-261.

here may be his desire to keep the Welsh Marches disturbed so that some of his powerful opponents would be too busy defending their lands to conspire against him.

From 1144 the Normans began fighting to recover their position in Wales and reclaimed Maelienydd and Elfael and in 1145 Earl Gilbert of Clare came to Dyfed and re-built the castle of Carmarthen and another in Mabudrud. In the following year the Welsh again re-captured Carmarthen and took Llanstephan. Wiston, well within the lordship of Pembroke, was captured from the Flemings in 1147. From this it can be seen that at times during his episcopate Bernard encountered a great deal of unrest and disruption within his diocese but especially between the years of 1136 – 1147/8.¹²

Stephen's reaction to the situation in Wales has sometimes been seen as weak and ineffective. Stephen did try to remedy this situation with some degree of speed, yet given the unhelpful situation in the north of England and elsewhere, it was difficult for him to make as firm a response as had characterised Henry I's campaigns in Wales.

¹² *Brut*, pp.113-125.

Bernard at the Court of King Stephen

Bernard is not among those named by Orderic Vitalis in his list of those present at Henry I's death on 1 December 1135.¹³ It is however quite possible that Bernard was among the twenty thousand people mentioned as having accompanied the king, at least some part of the way from Normandy to Reading, founded by Henry in 1121 and where he was buried on 4 January 1136.¹⁴

The succession to England and Normandy was to be the dominant political issue for the remainder of Bernard's life. He was to live thirteen years after Henry's death but even in 1135 he was among the longest serving bishops and experienced *curialis* in England. Having reached at least his mid-fifties in 1135 he would have been considered by contemporaries in the winter years of old age.¹⁵ The succession in England was very quickly decided when on 22 December 1135 Henry's nephew, Count Stephen of Blois, was crowned king by the archbishop of Canterbury, William

¹³ OV, 6, book 13, ch. 19, p.449. Those specifically mentioned by Orderic as being present were Archbishop Hugh of Rouen and Audoin bishop of Evreux and the nobles, Robert earl of Gloucester, William of Warenne earl of Surrey, Rotrou of Mortain count of Perche, Waleran count of Meulan and Robert earl of Leicester. Orderic also mentioned that other magnates and officers and noble castellans were present. The possibility of Bernard being present was left open by Orderic's account because he may not have been present in the room, though there is a strong possibility that Bernard was attending at the court and thus was nearby at the time of Henry's death. Henry's last illness was drawn out. He became ill on Monday night 25 November and deteriorated to the point that Hugh archbishop of Rouen was asked to give the king 'spiritual counsel'. Henry finally died on Sunday 1 December.

¹⁴ *ibid.* pp.449-451. The king was buried 'by his successor in the realm and by the bishops and magnates of the land'

¹⁵ *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 3. Plate 21, ed. C. M. Kaffmann (London, 1975) - an 11th Century scientific treatise of Byrhtferth which gives four 'ages of man': boyhood, spring, until 14 years of age, young manhood, Summer, until 26 years of age, manhood, Autumn, until 48 years of age, and old age, Winter, until 70 or 80 years of age. From this we can see that it is likely that Bernard would have been regarded as an old man by the standards of his own times when Henry I died. See Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, ch. 11, 'The Course of Life'.

de Corbeil.¹⁶ In fact, the matter was far from being settled; what has become misleadingly known as the 'anarchy of Stephen's reign' had begun.

In 1126 Henry had obtained from his lay and ecclesiastical barons an oath that, in theory, secured the succession for his only surviving legitimate child, the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry's first queen, Queen Matilda, to whom Bernard had for so long been chancellor. The barons promised to 'defend the kingdom of England for her'.¹⁷ All major barons both episcopal and lay made this promise. Archbishop William raised the question of the oaths to Matilda at Stephen's coronation but was reassured by Roger bishop of Salisbury that the oaths were not valid, since Henry had married Matilda to Count Geoffrey of Anjou without prior consultation with his barons.¹⁸ There is some justification for this reasoning by Roger. Of Henry's barons only Robert earl of Gloucester and Brian fitz Count appear to have been consulted by Henry before making the marriage.¹⁹ This marriage provoked considerable opposition amongst both the English and Norman barons. In 1135 Henry I had also fought a war with Count Geoffrey over possession of some castles in Normandy, a conflict that had only just ended on Henry's death.²⁰ These were not auspicious

¹⁶ The date of the king's coronation, described in many chronicles is disputed. The 22 December is agreed upon by WM *HN*, p.16, and JW, vol.iii, p.215. *ASC*, p.263 says midwinter's day which JW p.215, note 1, says is Christmas Day, 25 December. John of Hexham says 1 January in the *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, vol.ii, p.286.

¹⁷ D. Matthew, *King Stephen* (London, 2002), p.53.

¹⁸ WM *HN*, pp.24-27; see also Matthew, *King Stephen*, p.63. It does not appear that any significant English bishops and laity regarded their oaths to defend the rights of Matilda as at all binding, only in hindsight did authors such as HH and WM express the opinion that the English suffered in this period because of their perjury. Opinion appears from political motives and from experience in hindsight of events that followed rather than any feeling towards this point of view at the time.

¹⁹ Matthew, *King Stephen*, p.53.

²⁰ OV, 6, book 13, ch. 18, pp.444, 445: 'Geoffrey of Anjou aspired to the riches of his father-in-law. He demanded castles in Normandy asserting that the king had covenant with him to hand them over when he married his daughter'.

circumstances for anyone seeking to oppose the accession of Stephen - an event that appears to have passed off relatively peacefully, at least in southern England.²¹

Bernard did not attend Stephen's coronation, which was a relatively small-scale event, at which only three bishops and a handful of other barons were present.²² This poor attendance did not reflect upon a lack of support for Stephen, but simply the speed with which Stephen wished to be crowned. The significant level of support he received at this time is perhaps better reflected by the numbers of nobles attending the council of Oxford in 1136.²³

At the time of the death of Henry I Bernard was a prominent and loyal servant of both the Crown and Canterbury. He had also shown no obvious intention to break with a system of patronage which he had served and which had served him equally well. Immediately after the death of Henry I, Bernard maintained his position as a prominent figure at the court of King Stephen, much in the same way as he had in the second half of the reign of King Henry I.

Any pro-Angevin feelings harboured by Bernard do not appear to have manifested themselves at this stage. Indeed, his subsequent actions suggest Bernard was entirely positive towards the accession of King Stephen. Bernard does not reappear in the

²¹ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. trans. K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davies. Nelson Medieval Texts, 2nd Edition by R. H. C. Davies (Oxford, 1978). JW, vol.iii, pp.216-219, describes disturbances in England and Normandy and especially in Wales. According to OV, 6, pp.244, 245, troubles in Wales broke out while Henry I was still alive in Normandy but he wasn't able to return to deal with them. David I immediately invaded northern England, but at least in southern England, the *Gesta Stephani* says that Stephen was able to control the trouble within weeks if not days.

²² WM HN, p.16 mentions the following bishops as being present: Archbishop William de Corbeil, Henry of Winchester and Robert of Salisbury but there were 'no abbots and very few nobles'.

²³ RRAN, 3, no.271., p.96

historical record until Easter 1136 (22 March) but thereafter it is possible to reconstruct much of his itinerary and actions for the rest of the year. Nine of his attestations have survived from Easter to the end of the year. These attestations indicate that Bernard travelled with the king during most of this nine month period. After travelling with the king from Westminster to Oxford for the granting of the charter of liberties in April, Stephen travelled to the south-west of England to deal with the rebellion of Baldwin de Redvers at Exeter, where Bernard is recorded as having attested to a royal charter between June and August 1136 'at the siege of Exeter'.²⁴ Gervase of Canterbury records Bernard's efforts on behalf of the Augustinian challenge as directed by William de Corbeil in November.²⁵ His attestations in 1136 represent the second largest number of any year of Bernard's life; only in 1121 does Bernard attest to more surviving royal charters. He appears to have retained his position as a prominent *curialis* which he had established in the second half of Henry I's reign. Therefore it is clear that Stephen perceived Bernard as a person to welcome at his court at a time when, at the beginning of his reign, he was establishing his right to rule.²⁶

There are two strong reasons why Bernard may have chosen to have taken the pro-Stephen line. Firstly Bernard, as a bishop, would not have been able to raise a significant rebellion on his own initiative. The military potential of the lordship of the bishop of St. David's is hard to estimate for this period but in 1347 the Black

²⁴ *RRAN*, 3, no.337, p.127. Baldwin de Redvers was one of only a few barons of the kingdom not to attend Stephen's court at Easter 1136. This is a probable reason why his lands were not confirmed by Stephen. He was the only major baron never to recognise Stephen's kingship and, therefore, at the height of her powers in 1141 the empress awarded him the earldom of Devon, *Gesta Stephani*, p.31, note 1.

²⁵ Gervase of Canterbury, vol.i, p.97; see below, pp.14-16.

²⁶ See below, Appendix 7 - Bernard's attestations to royal charters 1136 - 1144.

Prince was able to raise some three hundred foot from these lands. Although this is a later reference and does not fully substantiate the number of men Bernard may have been able to call upon, it is the nearest realistic indication we have. It is interesting to note however that the total number raised from Wales by the Black Prince was five hundred men. It is therefore true to say that the military resources of the lordship of the bishop of St. David's, although not insubstantial, would not have been sufficient to independently overcome a royal army. It is perhaps possible to say that Bernard would have been able to make a useful contribution to the empress's military contingent.²⁷

There were two men whom Bernard could have looked to for protection and support if they had chosen to come out against Stephen's rule at this time. They were David, king of Scotland, Queen Matilda's brother, with whose court Bernard and his chapter had many connections. The other was Robert, earl of Gloucester, soon to be a staunch supporter of his sister, but shortly after Easter 1136 he too had recognised Stephen as king. Both men had their reasons for offering Stephen their support at this time. King David had invaded England on the death of Henry I, ostensibly to support his niece's claim to the throne but the real reason was territorial.²⁸ David claimed the area around Carlisle for the kingdom of Scotland, forcing Stephen to come north at the beginning of his reign to deal with the Scottish threat. In February 1136 Stephen and David concluded a treaty by which Stephen conceded Carlisle to David in return for Henry, David's son (and steward of St. David's), doing homage to

²⁷ Evans, 'Some Notes on the History of the Principality of Wales in the time of the Black Prince', p.59

²⁸ Matthew, *King Stephen*, pp.69-71 and G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Scots and the North of England', in *Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994) pp.231-253.

Stephen for his father's English earldom of Huntingdon.²⁹ His objective had been achieved and after a short stay at Stephen's court David together with Henry returned to the north.

The other possible focus of rebellion - Robert earl of Gloucester - had little choice but to accept Stephen; King David's treaty added to Stephen's almost universal support in the early months of 1136. The earl would have been dangerously isolated had he taken action at this time. But the issue that could well have been decisive in the thoughts of both Robert of Gloucester and Bernard was that they may have felt the need for royal support to deal with a major Welsh rebellion that broke out at the death of Henry I. Robert of Gloucester's castle at Cardiff and his lands in Gwent were in the front line. For Bernard the loyalty of his diocese may well have been called into question as well as his ability to control [and receive the income from] his Marcher lordship which constituted the major part of his already limited income. For these reasons then, this would not have been a time for either of them to consider rebellion.³⁰ With hindsight it is possible to see merit in this action as three of the people who were to become long-standing Angevin opponents of Stephen - Robert earl of Gloucester, Miles of Gloucester, who was created earl of Hereford by Matilda in 1141, and Bernard of St. David's - were indeed Marcher lords. Wales was not a priority for Stephen. He could not have foreseen the degree of unity the Welsh showed in the early years of his reign but what he could and perhaps should have foreseen was the potential for co-operation between his opponents and the native

²⁹ Matthew, *King Stephen*, pp.69-70.

³⁰ *ibid.* pp.70, 71; Leedom, 'WM and Robert of Gloucester', pp.256, 257. Robert of Gloucester had little room for manoeuvre as he had been placed in serious financial difficulty by the Welsh rebellion. Any disturbance in Wales made it difficult for him to manage his estates and the income that came from them given his absence in England.

Welsh princes - a contingency which others with more knowledge of Marcher affairs were astute enough to see.³¹ In fairness to Stephen he had no reason to suspect such co-operation as in 1136 the great Marcher lords were loyal to the Crown and most attested to his charter of liberties in 1136.³² Whilst Stephen may well have mistrusted Robert of Gloucester there was nothing in Bernard's conduct at this time to suggest any disloyalty towards the new king.

In 1137 while events in his diocese took place which were to have a significant effect on the future, Bernard continued in allegiance to and in attendance on Stephen.³³ Between March and November of that year Bernard may have accompanied the king on his campaign in Normandy. The evidence for this comes from two attestations Bernard made, one on Stephen's return on 28 November which is marked '*in transitu*', the other is a grant to the Bishops of Normandy regarding breaches of the Truce of God.³⁴ Cronne and Davis appear unsure about the date of the charter to the bishops of Normandy but it is probable that it dates from around the time of Stephen's journey to France as he was at other times indifferent to Norman affairs.³⁵

It is also likely that Bernard continued his attendance at Stephen's court at times during 1138 and 1139 culminating in a final attestation at sometime during 1140 probably before November. The evidence for his involvement is thin. A single

³¹ The Shropshire-born monk Orderic Vitalis states that 'the most powerful of all the rebels recklessly steeled themselves to resist, and entered into an alliance with the Scots and the Welsh and other rebels and traitors, bringing down the ruin of the people', OV, 6, pp.294-295.

³² Miles of Hereford and Bernard appear at Stephen's Easter court in 1136. Robert of Gloucester arrived in time to attest to Stephen's charter of liberties to the church given at Oxford in early April. *RRAN*, 3, no.271.

³³ See below on St. David's surrender to the Welsh, pp.221-222.

³⁴ *RRAN*, 3, nos 827, 609. A shortened version of the charter appears in CDF No.9, p.2 adding further weight to the suggestion that Bernard made the journey to Normandy with the king.

³⁵ D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135-1154*, (London, 2000), pp.59-67.

attestation in 1138 survives but this is possibly spurious as the charter to Westminster is likely to have been forged sometime in the mid twelfth century.³⁶ The charter purports to have been drawn up during the council of Westminster presided over by the bishop of Ostia at which Bernard is likely to have been present in connection with his metropolitan claims. Perhaps the forger under Stephen's illegitimate son, Abbot Gervase (1138-1157), remembered Bernard's presence at this time hence his inclusion.³⁷ Bernard's last attestation to a charter of King Stephen occurred sometime early in 1140.³⁸

Bernard maintained his position then in the royal court and in ecclesiastical affairs. Some historians have argued that Stephen's reign saw him 'spending more time on affairs of the church than the state'.³⁹ Davies misreads the situation due to the fact that his calendar does not include all of Bernard's attestations to Stephen's charters in the years 1136-1140. Of the nine attestations included in this work for the year 1136, Davies includes only four. This leads to his misleading conclusion that Bernard 'could not have been happy about his appearance at Stephen's court'.⁴⁰ This is based upon the hindsight that he was indeed a strong supporter of the empress in later years. Bernard in fact appears to have been quite comfortable working in and around Stephen's court and Stephen was likewise comfortable with his presence.

³⁶ *RRAN*, 3, 928.

³⁷ See manuscript notes to no.928, *RRAN*, 3, p.340

³⁸ *RRAN*, 3, no.991.

³⁹ *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.143

⁴⁰ *ibid*

The Creation of the Bishopric of St. Asaph and the Genesis of the Metropolitan Claim of St. David's

How did the events of 1136-1140 change Bernard from a supporter of King Stephen and purely Anglo-Norman interest in Wales, to a bishop whose metropolitan ambitions had attracted the loyalty of the native Welsh princes of Gwynedd and Deheubarth and whose own loyalty came to rest with the Empress Matilda?

After the successful conclusion of the three-month siege of Exeter in 1136, Bernard returned to London by October or November of that year to assist his close colleague William de Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury, in converting the church of Dover into a house for Augustinian canons. If the account of 1136 given by Gervase of Canterbury is to be believed, Bernard had received a request from the dying archbishop to ensure on the archbishop's behalf that a community of Augustinian canons be installed at St Martin's Priory in the city.⁴¹ The Anglo-Saxon priory was founded for secular canons who were transferred to St. Martin's, Dover in 696, where they remained until Henry I gave the church to the chapter of Canterbury in 1130. In the following year, Archbishop William de Corbeil introduced the Augustinian canons. In 1136 twelve Benedictine monks possibly taking advantage of Archbishop William's final illness, re-established themselves - hence his dying request to Bernard. Bernard, as a firm supporter of both the Augustinian canons and Archbishop William, undertook this task with some forcefulness aided by John, bishop of Rochester, and Herlwin, archdeacon of Canterbury. The Benedictine monks of Canterbury appealed to the pope against Bishop Bernard's actions.

⁴¹ Gervase of Canterbury, vol.i, p.97

Bernard left the monks in no doubt as to where his loyalty lay making a strong statement in support of Archbishop William and once again the Augustinian canons were re-instated.⁴² Their plans for the extension of the order were bitterly opposed by the Benedictines of Canterbury.⁴³ Led by the monk Jeremiah, they appealed to Rome in an attempt to prevent Bernard and his companions from carrying out their duty. On this Gervase puts an interesting speech into Bernard's mouth:

'...against our mother church of Canterbury or our profession, which binds us to it, we intend no injury nor will we attempt to diminish any particular of its possessions. But our archbishop and your lord has sent us for the execution of this work, whose mandate we cannot but obey'.⁴⁴

Gervase's speech may well be apocryphal given the amount of antagonism between Bernard and Canterbury in the next few years to the end of Bernard's life. Gervase was writing after Bernard had died, so knew all of the history of what had occurred when Bernard attempted to repudiate his professional allegiance to Canterbury in the 1140's, but it seems likely that at this point in 1136 that Bernard would have been perfectly happy to make a speech expressing such a sentiment. His duty done to his dying friend, and no doubt pleased with the extension of Augustinian representation Bernard appears to have left the situation in the hands of Bishop Henry of Winchester who administered the archdiocese during its vacancy and who, even though he was a Benedictine, supported Archbishop William's wishes with regard to the installation of the canons.

⁴² *ibid*, p.98

⁴³ *ibid*, vol.i, p.97.

⁴⁴ *ibid*, vol.i., p.98.

He had maintained his position of eminence in the political circles of the court and had continued supporting the archbishop of Canterbury with whom he had much in common in terms of experience and inclination. There is little evidence at this stage to indicate his later rejection of Stephen's kingship and the leading role he was to play in the affairs of the empress.

The events of 1137 hold the key to the future. This was not however, a year of rebellion for Bernard for he may indeed have accompanied the king on his campaign in Normandy between March and November but in its course there occurred an event which may have proved critical to Bernard in his attempts to maintain his own bishopric.⁴⁵ This was the submission of the chapter of St. David's to the house of Deheubarth in the person of Anarawd the son of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr. The *Annales Cambriae* records that Anarawd killed Letard 'Litelking', without the knowledge of his father, (who had conquered Ros earlier in the year).⁴⁶ This event must be seen in the context of the considerable pressure which the native Welsh put upon the Anglo-Norman areas of Wales in 1137-1138. This was potentially a very serious situation for Bernard. The native Welsh had originally been hostile to the

⁴⁵ Bernard attests to two charters, one on 28 November in Portsmouth on the return of Stephen which is marked 'in transit', *RRAN*, 3, no.827; the other is a grant to the bishops of Normandy of fines regarding breaches of the Truce of God, *RRAN*, 3, no.609. Cronne and Davis appear to be unsure about the date of this charter. It is probable that it dates from around the time of Stephen's journey to France as king of England. He was in other periods of time somewhat indifferent to Norman affairs, D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, pp.59-67. A shortened version of this charter appears in *CDF*, No. 9, p.2; on which Bernard's attestation appears lending further weight to the suggestion that Bernard made this trip. See also below, Appendix 7 - Bernard's attestations to royal charters, 1136 - 1144.

⁴⁶ *AC*, s.a. 1137, pp.40, 41. Letard Litelking is described by the Annals as the 'Enemy of God and St. David' and was a Fleming who from his base at Letterston (which may have been 'acquired' from Bernard's predecessor Wilfred) appears to have disrupted life in Pebidiog to such an extent that the clergy of St. David's seem to have welcomed his death.

bishops imposed upon them and had at least once removed an alien bishop upon recovery of a cathedral chapter.⁴⁷ Bernard had known Hervé at least from the time when Bernard had held the temporalities of the see of Hereford for Henry I in 1101-1102 and is likely to have been concerned for his position when his chapter submitted. The princes were not yet friendly towards Bernard and there may well have been simmering resentment from the native elements of the St. David's chapter left over from Bernard's imposition as bishop.⁴⁸

Although Bernard had cause for worry 1137 also brought opportunities. The death of William de Corbeil in November 1136 had brought about a vacancy in the archbishopric of Canterbury. This is when Bernard's personal quest to achieve archiepiscopal status for St. David's is believed by historians to have started. Barrow following Richter believes that it was at this point that Bernard first sent a personal message to Rome concerning the status of his bishopric.⁴⁹ None of this important letter showed the studied submission one might expect from an experienced bishop with years of the service in the royal Chancery behind him. Bernard starts by apologising for not taking up the case of his bishopric more promptly:

'Apud clementem iudicem sub spe uenie supplicem offero confessionem huiusmodi culpe, quod cum pallium infra vi menses postulandum sit, ego diutius distuli pluribus obsistentibus causis, inter quas precipua fuit

⁴⁷ Hervé the Breton, bishop of Bangor was removed from his cathedral by the Welsh rebellion of 1093 and was never able to return.

⁴⁸ The letter dating from February x October 1140, from the princes of Gwynedd to St. David's make it clear that 'hitherto he had not enjoyed their friendship'. It is therefore fair to say that in 1137 Bernard could expect little support from the native Welsh. Also mentioned in this letter is Anarawd, son of Gruffudd, who had already taken the submission of the chapter of St. David's, indicating that he too offered Bernard friendship only at this point, *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120-1283*, ed., H. Pryce (Cardiff, 2005) p322; GW, *De Invect.*, pp.142-143, 146-147.

⁴⁹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.18; cf. Richter, *Geraldus Cambrensis*, 2nd edn (Aberystwyth, 1976), p.42.

paupertas tanta loci, quod non fuit unde sustentarer, uel ibi uel alibi, nisi manum aperiret mihi liberalitas boni regis'.⁵⁰

The sixth month time period referred to in the letter may have begun with the letter from the chapter of St. David's to Honourius II in the 1120's.⁵¹ But given that there is no clear context for the commencement of the claim in the 1120's, it seems more likely that Barrow and Richter's date of November 1136 x January 1139 for the first formal approach is correct – namely, the period between the death of William de Corbeil and the consecration of Theobald of Bec.⁵²

So what exactly does this letter represent? It is a letter written with the support of the king, since Bernard praises the king for providing him with the means of finally continuing his case. It is not a first step; there is a clear apology for the tardiness of Bernard's follow up to an initial request of an unspecified nature. The tone of the letter suggests that Bernard is eager to take the new chance offered him by the support of the king and so very quickly and succinctly he puts down a number of arguments giving the impression that the letter, although certainly written in response to a renewed impetus, upholds the claims which possibly Bernard did not expect to have to advance. Moreover, it was permissible for a demandant personally or by appointed persons to be late and so still as a demandant he humbly sought that his church and himself should be honoured by the dignity of a pallium'.⁵³ If this is so, what had brought about royal support for the claims of St. David's to be an archbishopric? The answer lies in the increasing decentralisation of government during Stephen's reign. Both candidates for the throne were willing to grant almost

⁵⁰ GW, *De Invect.*, pp.141; *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.121.

⁵¹ *ibid*, pp.143-146, in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.80.

⁵² *ibid*, pp.141, 142, in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.121.

⁵³ *ibid*.

anything in order to gain the support of leading magnates. If Stephen could secure the support of a Welsh archbishop in St. David's, it would help control the leading Angevin magnates, Robert of Gloucester and Miles of Hereford. In 1137 and 1138, Bernard remained loyal to Stephen, or at least loyal enough in order to gain his support for this claim.

The beginnings of Bernard's claim centred around the creation of the new bishopric of St. Asaph, whose jurisdiction lay mainly in the Welsh principality of Powys. At that time the area of Powys had no dedicated bishop and its archdeacon, Daniel son of Bishop Sulien of Menevia, had died in 1127. His connections to the Sulien family suggest that the archdeaconry of Powys was ultimately, though in the case of Bernard loosely, under the control of the bishop of St. David's.⁵⁴

Stephen appears to have originally asked Bernard to consecrate the new bishopric, whose creation had been proposed by Stephen and the earl of Chester in order to control the expanding influence of Gwynedd over the area. These events are recorded from the perspective of St. David's in letter written by the chapter to Eugenius III between 1145-1147. The consecration was eventually undertaken by Theobald in 1143, but it is clear that the Bishop and chapter of St. David's felt aggrieved that they had been deprived of what they considered to be their rites which had been unlawfully performed by another,

⁵⁴ Daniel acted as mediator between Powys and Gwynedd in 1124-1127, *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Autobiography*, ed. K. L. Maund (Woodbridge, 1996), p.49.

'Ricardus uero in Laneluensi ecclesia electus a ministris ecclesie ceteroque clero cum literis regis et comitis terre metropolitano nostro B. ad consecrandum est destinatus'.⁵⁵

The date of the proposed consecration must remain conjectural but it would seem that 1137-1138 is the most probable. If the archdeaconry of Powys were to be subsumed within the bishopric of Bangor it would not be in the interests of the earl of Chester, Bishop Bernard nor King Stephen, all of whom at this time, 1137-1138, were still apparently working together. This would mean Bernard consecrating the bishop of St. Asaph without necessarily having metropolitan rights over the other Welsh bishoprics of Bangor and Llandaff. Given the political situation at the time it is unlikely that Bernard would be created the head of a new Anglo-Norman archbishopric with only one suffragan.

Why did Stephen ask Bernard to perform the consecration? This is most easily explained by the absence of an archbishop of Canterbury. As the senior bishop in Wales Bernard would be the obvious choice for this role. The absence of the presiding metropolitan allowed the chapter of St. David's to enhance the significance of the event in their letter to Eugenius III at least four years later. Theobald's appointment in 1139 removed the reason for Bernard to consecrate the bishop of St. Asaph. By the time the chapter of St. David's wrote to Eugenius III Bernard had long been an opponent of Stephen and was pursuing metropolitan status for his diocese, therefore the account of events in the letter was bound to emphasize those elements of the intended consecration which best highlighted the proposed metropolitan status of St. David's, as at the time it suited the chapter of St. David's to

⁵⁵ GW *De Invect.*, pp139-141

embellish the events of 1137-1138 to create the impression that King Stephen had agreed to an elevation of status for St. David's which no-one had in fact at the time intended.

If Bernard felt that Stephen had reneged on promises which would have at the very least increased his status within the hierarchy of Wales if not granted him full metropolitan status this may well have formed a considerable part of his reasoning in changing his allegiance to the empress. It may well also have encouraged him to seek further advancement as other parties such as the Angevins and the Welsh princes saw political advantage in Bernard achieving his growing ambitions for metropolitan status. It is no surprise that in the coming years Bernard can be seen making common cause with these groups.

In 1143 the setting up of the bishopric of St. Asaph was undertaken by King Stephen and the earl of Chester as envisaged in 1138, but replacing Bernard with Stephen's most consistent ecclesiastical supporter, Theobald of Canterbury, with whom, by this time, Bernard was engaged in contesting the leadership of the church in Wales. Gilbert was therefore consecrated bishop of St. Asaph by Canterbury and swore profession to him.⁵⁶ In 1137-1138 under the plan which never was implemented Bernard would have consecrated the new bishop and obtained an oath of allegiance to Stephen.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, p.85.

⁵⁷ For the setting up of the bishopric of St. Asaph, see *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, pp.88-91.

There is another possibility here which needs careful examination namely the possibility that Stephen, intending to keep Bishop Bernard on his side, gave his support for full blown metropolitan status for St. David's. Evidence of this possibility comes from Henry of Huntingdon who states that 'In our time the bishop of St. David's received from the pope the pallium that in ancient days had been at Caerleon but he very soon lost it'.⁵⁸ This entry has two components: the statement that Bishop Bernard of St. David's received from the pope a pallium 'in our time' is in the third version of the *Historia Anglorum* which was finished circa. 1140. It must therefore pre-date the letter of the chapter of St. David's to Eugenius III. The consecration to be performed by Bernard of the new bishop of St. Asaph was prevented by the king's capture in 1141.⁵⁹ The second statement that Bernard lost it soon afterwards appears in the fourth version of the same work circa. 1147, and must therefore refer to the later phase of the metropolitan case of St. David's in which Bernard was involved between 1144-1148.⁶⁰ It clearly demarcates two phases of Bishop Bernard's efforts to achieve metropolitan status. The capture of Stephen at Lincoln in 1141 led to a correspondingly successful phase for the Angevin party. Bernard wished to achieve some form of metropolitan status for St. David's. He had the opportunity to do so between 1137-1140 by an alliance with King Stephen and a coalition of lay and ecclesiastical authorities which ultimately created the bishopric of St. Asaph without him in 1143. Although as Greenway points out, there is no direct evidence to show the pope actually sent a pallium to St. David's, this

⁵⁸ HH HA, pp.18,19.

⁵⁹ *ibid*, p.19, footnote 25.

⁶⁰ *ibid*

possibility cannot be dismissed.⁶¹ The most likely explanation for the form of words used by Henry of Huntingdon is that the status of St. David's was discussed with Alberic bishop of Ostia who was sent as papal legate to England and Scotland in 1138-1139.⁶² The raising of expectation amongst the bishop and chapter of St. David's is best demonstrated by again referring to the letter from the Chapter of St. David's to Eugenius III. The actions they complain of do not refer to all archbishops of Canterbury ordaining Welsh bishops as they had been doing during the reign of Henry I, they complain only of the actions of Archbishop Theobald. If the complaints of the chapter in this letter had been based on an older tradition such as the one referred to in their letter to Honorius II in the 1120's then it would seem logical that the chapter would have regarded the consecration of bishops of St. David's and other Welsh bishops by Canterbury as contrary to canon law. Complaints were made for example, on the election of Bernard in the Welsh chronicles, notably the *Brut*.⁶³ In this instance we find that the argument is based not on the traditions of the chapter of St. David's but upon the actions of a single archbishop of Canterbury elected in 1139. Ancient traditions of the see are mentioned early in the letter but the only specific actions of an archbishop complained of are Theobald's.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *ibid*

⁶² The legateship of the bishop of Ostia formed part of the peace negotiations between England and Scotland during the Scots invasion of 1138 which led to the Battle of the Standard. There is no evidence that King David I raised the status of the empress with the legate at this time, suggesting that Angevins were still pursuing other interests. It is interesting to note given the connections between the Scottish court and the bishop of St. David's that any diminution of the status of St. David's would have been favourable to both Stephen and David at this time. There is however no direct evidence that such matters were even discussed. The effect the actions of the archbishop of Canterbury who was appointed during the legateship of the bishop of Ostia, suggest that the expectations of the bishop and chapter of St. David's concerning the metropolitan status of their see were sufficiently heightened at the time of Archbishop Theobald's appointment in 1139. This caused them to regard these subsequent actions as contrary to the rights of the bishopric of St. David's. For more on the legateship of the bishop of Ostia see Matthew, *King Stephen*, pp.80-87.

⁶³ *Brut*, p.83

⁶⁴ *GC Invect.*, pp.139-141

The action which appears to have so upset the chapter of St. David's was Theobald's consecration in December 1139 of bishops to the two vacant Welsh sees of Llandaff and Bangor. The objection to Bangor in particular was to have profound consequences. The chapter of Bangor objected to the consecration of Maurice as their new bishop, seemingly without consultation with the native Welsh, in this case the powerful dynasty of Gwynedd represented by the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan, Owain and Cadwaladr.⁶⁵ Gwynedd had been one of the leading foci of the resurgence of the native Welsh after the death of Henry I. Owain and Cadwaladr were not about to accept the imposition of a bishop in their territory from the king and Canterbury. A dispute therefore arose which was to be one of the major causes of the remarkable split between Bernard and King Stephen. John of Worcester tells us that: 'The king confirmed the election (of Bishop Maurice). When urged by the bishops to do homage to the king, Maurice answered that he would in no way do this, saying, 'There is among us a man of great piety, whom I look upon as my spiritual father, and who was archdeacon to my predecessor David, who forbade me to take this oath.' They said to him, 'Reason demands that you do as we have done.' And he replied, 'If you who are men of high authority have done this, then I will not put off doing likewise.' He then swore fealty to the king'.⁶⁶

The archdeacon mentioned here could only be Simeon archdeacon of Bangor whom historians generally accept as the ecclesiastical driving force behind the princes of Gwynedd.⁶⁷ Simeon played an important role in urging Owain Gwynedd to support

⁶⁵ For the election of Bishop Maurice, see JW, vol.iii, p.279.

⁶⁶ JW, vol.iii, pp.278-279.

Bernard's claim for metropolitan status. Russell supports the possibility that the Latin version of the Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan was 'composed in the context of the relationship between St. David's and Gwynedd' at some point after 1137.⁶⁸ There is also the possibility that the work was 'composed as a *quid pro quo*, or simply as a gift, in return for the support of Gwynedd.⁶⁹ It did not appear that the princes of Gwynedd and the powerful archdeacon objected to Maurice becoming the bishop of Bangor; rather did they object to the oath of allegiance taken to the king and to Canterbury.⁷⁰ Their reaction to Bishop Maurice's acquiescence in swearing fealty to King Stephen was decisive; they rejected him as their bishop. In so doing they rejected the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate a bishop. Owain and Cadwaladr then turned to Bernard: the only other potential source of archiepiscopal authority in Wales. Their letter to Bernard was written between 1139x1143 and is most likely to have been written between Bernard's last attestation to a charter of King Stephen in the early months of 1140 and the date of the proposed meeting on 1 November, is worth quoting at length:

Dei gratia Meneven(s)i episcopo Oene(us) rex Wallie et Kadwaladerus salutem et omne bonum. Notum sit vestre potestati, licet ante non profuerit nostra vobis amicitia, nos amodo nostram vobis propalare obedientiam. Non lateat etiam vestram clementiam quendam hominem Mauritiu(m) episcopum nomine Sancti Daniel' ecclesiam non per hostium sed aliunde, ut

⁶⁷ Simeon of Clynnog, archdeacon of Bangor to 1151, was a strong force for a church of Bangor freed from the control of the archbishop of Canterbury. He also was the cleric Bernard asked in 1148 to make a deposition before the Council of Rheims in favour of the rights of the bishopric of St. David's as metropolitan of Wales and was present at the death bed of Gruffudd ap Cynan in 1137. For Archdeacon Simeon see JW, vol.iii, p.279, n.17; *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, pp.116, 117; *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. Maund, p.151; *A Medieval Prince of Wales, The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. Evans, p.83. For his involvement in the Council of Rheims on behalf of Bishop Bernard see GW, *De Invect.*, pp.142, 146.

⁶⁸ *Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. and trans. P. Russell (Cardiff, 2005), pp.46, 47, inc.footnotes 141-144.

⁶⁹ *ibid*, Russell states that this might help to explain the 'Menevensian Latinity' of the *Vita*.

⁷⁰ JW refers to Maurice as of great piety chosen by the clergy and people of Bangor. Vol.iii, p.179, s.a. 1139. Maurice himself raises only an objection to the over fealty to the king.

fur vel latro, nobis omnibus invitis intrasse, de cuius statu iniusto decretum est nobis vestrum inconcussum subire consilium. Talem enim pastorem nostre ecclesie animeque nostre tutorem esse Deo et vobis auxiliantibus nullatenus volumus, sed cum iustum sit, eum omnino supplantare desideramus. Hactenus autem ecclesie Sancti David vetus ius, scilicet archiepiscopatum, superbie radice subtraximus, quod demum recognoscimus atque penitere non denegamus; ideoque satisfactionem vobis facere de omnibus hiis non protelamus. Quamobrem vestram 'obtestamur' dignitatem quatinus pro Dei amore nostraque petitione cum Anarawd filio Griffini in festo omnium sanctorum ad hostium Dei erga nos omni excusatione remota veniatis, ut deliberationem de supradictis agamus et vestre ecclesie antiquum ius restituere nitamur.⁷¹

The princes had not yet offered Bernard their friendship but from now onwards they would be obedient to him, the reason for this was the election of Bishop Maurice. They now sought his canonical removal by Bernard as archbishop of Wales - the right of the bishop of St. David's was now accepted and they would do everything in their power to help him. They would, therefore, come to Aberdyfi, which was on the northern most border between Bangor and St. David's with Anarawd the representative of the southern Welsh dynasty of Deheubarth.

It is the election of Maurice and the rights of the archbishops of Canterbury and St. David's that brings Bernard and the Welsh princes together and this alliance was to continue until Bernard's death in 1148. The comment that 'they had withdrawn, by proud rashness, the old right of the church of St. David's' is revealing. This implies

⁷¹ *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1170-1283*, pp.322-3; GW, *De Invect.*, pp.142-143, 146-147, also calendared in *Handlist of the Acts of Native Welsh Rulers 1132-1283*, ed. K. L. Maund (Cardiff, 1996), Doc. 325, p.98. The letter is historically accurate although not an original. It is either copied from an original or is an amalgamation of a series of letters or copies of original letters. See also Chapter 6 below, pp.271-285.

that up to that point the Welsh princes had not recognised the separate identity of the Welsh church; this would mean that it was not a continuing theme in the thinking of the Welsh political élite. This is at odds with the presentation of the case of St. David's which always presented the rights of St. David's as continuing unchallenged and uninterrupted except by the Norman ecclesiastical authorities. Bernard's archiepiscopal claims had indeed been launched before the consecration of the two Welsh bishops, Maurice of Bangor and the bishop of Llandaff. Indeed it is possible to discern at this time an emerging continuity of interest between the native Welsh princes of Gwynedd, the kingdom of Powys, the location of the proposed new bishopric of St. Asaph and the supporters of the empress in Wales and the March, which by 1140 included Bernard and Robert earl of Gloucester. An illustration of this coalescence of interest can be seen in the patronage of the Augustinian priory of Haughmond in Shropshire: 'Its patron was Hywel ap Ieuaf, lord of Arwystli, who acted with the support of his lord, Madog ap Maredudd, king of Powys. Haughmond's patron was William fitz Alan, a close supporter of the Empress Matilda. Madog (and probably Hywel as well) had fought against the king at Lincoln in 1141. For a few years there was a community of interests between the kingdom of Powys and the supporters of the empress along the Shropshire marches. At the very same time Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd gave Haughmond the church of Nevyn on the Lleyn peninsula, which was to become the nucleus of a significant estate. Cadwaladr was also a supporter of the empress. He too, had fought at Lincoln'.⁷² The only threat to the security of Powys and Cadwaladr was his own brother Owain who as a co-signatory to the letter of November 1140 and another supporter of the empress would have been no threat to the growing Angevin

⁷² Golding, 'Patterns of Patronage in Anglo-Norman Wales', p.42-3.

consensus. 'By favouring Haughmond Madog, Hywel and Cadwaladr were declaring their solidarity with William fitz Alan in his opposition to Stephen'.⁷³ Meanwhile in south-east Wales other Welsh princes were declaring for the Angevin cause. Morgan ap Owain recovered the lordship of Gwent in 1136; 'such power could not have been maintained without the agreement of Earl Robert of Gloucester whom Morgan acknowledged as his lord'.⁷⁴ Although these relationships can be identified primarily by the nexus of church patronage, that is co-incidental to the emerging pattern shown here that in the early 1140's there appears to have been co-operation based on mutual self interest between the Angevin Marchers and many native Welsh magnates who until recently had been opposed to each other. The main consequence for Bernard seems to have been an active interest in making his metropolitan claims a physical reality, rather than the informal position of authority he appears to have enjoyed under Henry I. Whether he undertook this change of emphasis with enthusiasm or simply as a matter of experienced diplomatic necessity can only be guessed at, but he does appear to have followed up his claims with some force and vigour, which suggest that whatever the circumstances of Bernard's acceptance of his metropolitan rights he certainly intended for them to be recognised and enforced.

Bernard's world had always, and still did, revolve around London, Rouen, and Rome, far more than Dyfed and south-west Wales. What had caused this Norman of all Normans to go so completely native? The reality was he had not and never would. Bernard's reasons for this unlikely alliance were as rooted in the Anglo-

⁷³ *ibid*, p.43

⁷⁴ *ibid*

Norman world as he was. As well as the changing political and ecclesiastical scene occasioned by the actions of Theobald of Bec there were also more personal differences between him and Bernard. The matter centered on the priory of Dover. Bernard had with some difficulty managed to enforce the final wishes of Theobald's predecessor, William de Corbeil in installing the Augustinians in the priory in 1136. Upon his election in November 1139, Theobald dispatched a group of 12 Benedictine monks from Canterbury to Dover (this may have been the same group which tried to re-occupy the priory in 1136) finally declaring St. Martin's Dover to be a cell of Canterbury late in 1139.⁷⁵ These actions could not have done anything but worsen the already strained relationship between Theobald and Bernard, coming as it did when the archbishop was making his moves in consecrating the Welsh bishops and when support for the empress in the Welsh March was beginning to grow, under the influence of men such as Robert of Gloucester. This combined with the return of the empress in October 1139 resulted in Bernard facing a difficult decision.⁷⁶ He had certainly not fared badly under Stephen. He had retained a position of influence and may have secured some kind of agreement with Stephen regarding his consecration of at least one Welsh bishop. If he renounced his fealty, any agreement would be null and void; he would also lose any political and financial support from the king.

Not surprisingly he took some time to come to a decision. Bernard did not go over to the Angevins immediately. In fact he was the last of the 'big three' - Robert earl of

⁷⁵ Gervase of Canterbury, vol.i, pp.96-99, p.109; vol.ii, pp.287, 383; see also Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.64 and Saltman, *Theobald*, p.57.

⁷⁶ *WM HN*, pp.34-36. The position of Bernard's diocese left him in a difficult political position. St. David's lay well to the west of Angevin controlled territory notably the centres of Cardiff, Bristol, Gloucester, and Devizes, which would have made communications with his diocese difficult if not impossible if he had remained with the king.

Gloucester and Miles of Gloucester, lord of Brecon being the other two - to appear with the empress.⁷⁷ Bernard last attests in the company of Stephen some time after 25 January 1140 and well before the proposed November meeting with the Welsh. The attested grant of King Stephen to the diocese of York, which was made at Winchester, has to be dated after the resignation of Archbishop Thurstan on 25 January, as it is a guarantee of privileges during the vacancy.⁷⁸ As his transfer of allegiance was so completely permanent when it happened, his continuing presence at Stephen's court would indicate that Bernard had not yet reached the final decision. There is no hint from the sources about exactly when Bernard's change of allegiance finally took place but it is possible to provide a credible scenario. After Theobald's consecration of the elect of Llandaff, St. Asaph and Bangor the Welsh were looking for a way to rid themselves of their unwanted bishops. Bernard was at Stephen's court in 1140, possibly to seek confirmation of where he stood. He may also have participated in the peace conference organised by Henry of Winchester at Whitsun Tide i.e. 26-28 May 1140. William of Malmesbury is somewhat vague over who attended, especially on the empress's side. The failure of peace talks may have forced Bernard to make a decision.⁷⁹ With its failure, it is unlikely Bernard would have been able to secure the concession he wanted from Stephen, as the king received strong mutual support from Archbishop Theobald. Therefore it is strongly suggested by the evidence shown above that the breach between Bernard and Stephen finds its cause in Bernard's wish to pursue metropolitan status of his diocese beyond the point that Stephen was willing or able to countenance.

⁷⁷ The empress's brother Robert of Gloucester accompanied her from the continent in September, whilst Miles of Gloucester pledged his allegiance in October of that year.

⁷⁸ *RRAN*, 3, no.991, Jan – Nov 1140.

⁷⁹ *WM HN*, p.44.

Bernard's struggle for metropolitan status has carried so much weight with historians in its historiography hitherto that it would seem perverse to argue that his archiepiscopal ambitions were of secondary importance to him at this time. The most extensive body of work concerning Bishop Bernard is that of Michael Richter whose work on professions of obedience, Gerald and Bernard's own metropolitan ambitions have inevitably concentrated on this single aspect of Bernard's career. This has led to the narrowly focused conclusion that the achievement of archiepiscopal status was the sole ambition of Bernard's later years. This conclusion was largely founded on an over reliance on, and overconfidence in, the accuracy of the works of Gerald as a source for the actions and ambitions of Bishop Bernard. Gerald clearly had strong motivation to create a Bernard in his own image, given his own clear ambitions regarding the metropolitan status of St. David's. But even though Bernard pursued his archiepiscopal claims with as much vigour and arguably more success than Gerald, he had clearly differing reasons for pursuing a similar course and it is Bernard's ambitions not Gerald's 'spinning' of them that is the focus here.⁸⁰ This question is particularly pertinent as, at first glance, Bernard had apparently reached some accommodation with the Welsh princes by November 1140 when they appeared to have recognised his metropolitan status. Bernard is likely to have realised that the recognition of the Welsh princes although a significant bonus did not represent the key to the matter: it was recognition by king or empress, Canterbury or pope that was vital to success. Bernard seems to be giving greater priority to the matter of his archiepiscopal status than he had at any previous time. The answer can be found in Bernard's clear need to secure his diocese, particularly the limited

⁸⁰ Richter, 'Professions of Obedience' and 'Canterbury's Primacy in Wales and the First Stage of Bishops Bernard's Opposition'.

financial resources and other temporalities, before embarking upon his political campaign for the empress. Bernard was doing no more than securing his diocese - a part of which it must be remembered was by this time under the protection of the Welsh princes of Deheubarth. Peace with the Welsh would have also enabled Bernard to use his military retainers, (which from the comments of Gerald of Wales were well provided for by Bernard). He had had these from the beginning of his episcopate to protect the diocese, in support of the empress or for his personal protection and during the campaign against Stephen, secure in the knowledge that the native Welsh would not use the opportunity to make trouble, or worse, assert complete ecclesiastical independence by installing a native bishop of Menevia in his absence.⁸¹ This also allowed him to make a political point by attacking the authority of the strongly pro-Stephen, Theobald of Canterbury. To sum up, the agreement with the Welsh freed Bernard to concentrate on the empress's campaign in England without fear of trouble in Wales; it also provided him with a relatively safe platform from which to make his support and ultimately ecclesiastical ambitions clear.

An aspect of the political situation which helps to confirm Bernard's priorities at this time can be found in the fact that the prevailing ecclesiastical power structure in 1140-1141 provided what were perhaps the most favourable conditions for Bernard to pursue his archiepiscopal ambitions. These conditions were provided by the relative weakness of the archbishop of Canterbury due to the political upheaval and the fact that between 1139-1143 Henry of Blois bishop of Winchester held the post

⁸¹ GC, *De Jure*, p.153.

of papal legate in the provinces of Canterbury and York.⁸² At first glance then it would seem that conditions were favourable for the independence movement within the Welsh church. Consequently, Bernard's failure to exploit the seemingly advantageous situation has brought heavy criticism from some historians. In choosing to play a role in the politics of the civil war in 1141 instead of primarily fighting for the rights of his diocese, Bernard 'failed the Welsh church in its hour of need'.⁸³

Drawing on his experience of the lengthy processes of the papal court (his border dispute with Urban of Llandaff had been with the curia for fourteen years), Bernard turned to those from whom he could expect most support. These were the tightly knit group of people he had known and worked with since his days as the queen's chancellor who were now the principal supporters of the Empress Matilda. He had advised one Queen Matilda successfully, now he would try and advise a second.

This was his dedicated fight for ecclesiastical independence from Canterbury. These last frenetic years were not the culmination of a long cherished ideal, at least not on Bernard's behalf. This was the best way that Bernard could assist the Angevin party by seeking to weaken the power and influence of the pro-Stephanine archbishop of Canterbury by installing a pro-Angevin archbishop, himself in the Angevin heartlands.

⁸² For the events of Henry of Winchester's legateship see, *Councils and Synods*, pp.781-810. With the legate too harbouring archiepiscopal ambitions it would indeed seem a good time for Bernard to make progress with his own claims. This having been said the legate's constant changes of political position, meant that even if Bernard had chosen to try to gain Henry of Winchester's help, it is highly unlikely in the author's opinion that this help would have been forthcoming.

⁸³ Saltman, *Theobald*, p.92.

The actions, which precipitated this last phase of Bernard's life, were beyond his control. In 1143 Theobald of Canterbury turned up the ecclesiastical heat in the battle with the Angevins. Theobald's power, which had been limited during the legateship of Henry of Winchester, was increasing. When Henry held a legatine council at Westminster in March of 1143, Theobald was influential in securing the excommunication of the Angevin bishop of Durham, William Cumin, who had replaced Jordan as chancellor of Scotland.⁸⁴ This move deprived the Angevin party of substantial ecclesiastical influence in two of their places of vital importance - the north where King David of Scotland was ruling from Carlisle, and Worcester where the royal castle was held for the empress and where Cumin was archdeacon. As discussed previously Theobald's other action was to consecrate the first Anglo-Norman bishop of St. Asaph.

Bernard's choice for the Angevin cause - Matilda

Whatever the extent of the agreement Bishop Bernard had reached with the native Welsh princes by November 1140 over his proposed archiepiscopal status, by February 1141 he felt secure enough to concentrate his efforts not within his diocese but to return to affairs within England. On the seventeenth of that month Bernard was to be found for the first time, recorded as being in the company of the Empress Matilda, '...the lady empress, King Henry's daughter, who was staying at Gloucester, was ecstatic at this turn of events, having now, as she thought, gained possession of the kingdom, which had been promised to her by oath. Therefore, after

⁸⁴ *Councils and Synods*, p.797.

taking counsel with her followers, she left the city on the fifth day after Ash Wednesday [17 February], accompanied by two bishops, Bernard of St. David's, and Nigel of Ely, and by Gilbert, abbot of Gloucester, many nobles, knights and officials and approached Cirencester. There after learning such good news, she first received hospitality, and then imposed her rule'.⁸⁵

Between 1141 and 1144, Bernard remained at or near the empress's court. Through his attestations to her charters it is possible to track his presence during the period of Angevin success following Stephen's capture at the battle of Lincoln, first at Gloucester, then Winchester, and finally to London, and also during the empress' retreat from London, firstly to Oxford, and then finally to Devizes, by the end of 1142. From this point, Bernard remained in the vicinity of the empress's court, until at some point in 1144.

The empress's arrival in England in the autumn of 1139 provided Bernard with another focus for his allegiance. According to William of Malmesbury, '... the whole district around Gloucester as far as the depth of Wales partly under compulsion and partly from good will gradually went over to the lady empress in the remaining months of the year'.⁸⁶

Bernard's support for the empress must be seen in terms of clear political reasoning, for often historians have attributed Bernard's loyalty to the empress purely in terms

⁸⁵ JW, vol.iii, pp.292-295

⁸⁶ WM HN, ch. 480, p.36.

of his desire to secure archiepiscopal status for St. David's.⁸⁷ To see it this way is convenient and indeed partially correct but simplistic.

The letter of the chapter of St. David's to Pope Eugenius III, written when Bernard was campaigning for full archiepiscopal independence for Wales provides a fuller answer to this question. The convergence of interests which had taken place between Bernard and the native Welsh princes which is demonstrated by the proposed meeting in November 1140 made sure that the objectives of St. David's were now to secure full metropolitan jurisdiction over Wales whereas his agreement with Stephen was merely to consecrate a bishop to St. Asaph. In searching around for a way to get rid of an unwanted bishop Owain and Cadwaladr asked Bernard to go beyond the realms of his agreement with Stephen which appear only to have concerned St. Asaph. Stephen's overtures concerning St. Asaph would have raised the expectations of the bishop and chapter of St. David's concerning their assertion of what they perceived as the ancient archiepiscopal traditions of St. David's. Bernard's motivation for changing sides in the civil war was not primarily to do with his archiepiscopal claim. It would have been impossible to pursue them outside of an alliance with Matilda and the native Welsh princes. He is likely to have taken the decision to change allegiances sometime before his accommodation with the Welsh in around November 1140. According to the surviving evidence presented by Gerald of Wales, there is after all a four-year gap in the correspondence with Rome concerning the archiepiscopal status of St. David's. This corresponds almost exactly to the time Bernard spent at the court of the empress in England between February

⁸⁷ Chibnall for example describes Bernard as an old friend of the empress who, moreover, was cherishing an ambition to secure a pallium for his see and was willing to act independently of Canterbury, *The Empress Matilda*, p.99.

1141 and 1144.⁸⁸ If Bernard had wished, primarily to secure archiepiscopal status for St. David's, one course of action open to him after Stephen's release in 1141 would have been, like most of the church in England and Wales, to follow the archbishop of Canterbury in retaining loyalty to Stephen in the hope of securing the agreement he had achieved with Stephen between 1136 and 1140. To the best of our knowledge he never returned to Stephen's court after 1140 and Bernard remained loyal to the empress until his death.

With hindsight it is easy to accept this criticism of Bernard but to do so without qualification would be again to misunderstand the man and his motives. To Bernard, the issue of primary importance between 1140-1144, was to secure the English throne for the empress Matilda. All his actions whether they involved the primacy of St. David's or not, were aimed at that single goal. Bernard's commitment to the case of the empress, even after the Angevin star had fallen from the heights it had achieved following the battle of Lincoln in February 1141, when so many others who had flocked to the empress in her hour of triumph returned to King Stephen's side, shows that this long-term aim was Bernard's primary goal at the time of the St. David's meeting with the Welsh. It would remain so for a long time to come. Those criticisms of Bernard ring true only in the light of the ultimate failure of the empress's party during his lifetime. In November 1140 Bernard was looking ahead to achieve his goals not in the light of the failure of his party, but was looking at how best to achieve its victory. It is in this light that Bernard's actions must be evaluated.

⁸⁸ See below, Appendix 7 - Bernard's attestations to royal charters 1136-1144.

As the agreement of St. David's appeared to meet Bernard's immediate political needs perfectly, it may therefore be deemed a successful piece of diplomacy.⁸⁹

Bernard had left Wales and joined the Empress Matilda at the royal castle of Gloucester at some point following his accommodation with the Welsh princes in November 1140 and February 1141.⁹⁰ Whether or not Bernard was with the empress before the capture of King Stephen at the battle of Lincoln on 2 February is not known but it is likely - joining the empress would seem a logical next step to his actions of November. It remains a possibility however that Bernard's actions were prompted by the empress's victory at Lincoln as Stephen's capture must have seemed to the empress and her supporters a vindication by 'trial by combat' of Matilda's rights as queen. The longevity of his commitment to the empress's cause, in contrast to so many others who joined her standard in the immediate aftermath of Lincoln, counts against this possibility. For the empress, winning the right to be queen was one thing, but becoming queen and furthermore ruling a divided country was quite another. But first there was time for triumph; the captive King Stephen was brought before Matilda and her court at Gloucester, before being transferred to Bristol to be held prisoner by Robert earl of Gloucester in what were at first honourable conditions. In order to secure her position as queen, Matilda needed the

⁸⁹ Saltman, *Theobald*, p.93

⁹⁰ Bernard arrived at Gloucester sometime between the meeting at Aberdyfi (1 November 1140) and the departure of the empress from Gloucester in the company of Bernard (17 February 1141), JW, vol.iii, pp.292. 295. The empress had chosen Gloucester as her residence because of its royal castle and she would not be dependent on the hospitality of any of her supporters however loyal, Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p.83.

support of Henry of Winchester and so on 17 February 1141 Matilda and the leading supporters set out for a meeting with the legate.⁹¹

The events that followed this meeting near Winchester on 2 March 1141 show that Bernard's role in the Angevin party was an important one.⁹² 'They came then on the third Sunday of Lent, a rainy cloudy day, as though the fates presaged a turn of ill fortune for their cause. The empress swore and gave assurance to the bishop (Henry of Winchester) that all matters of chief account in England, especially gifts of bishoprics and abbacies, should be subject to his control if he received her in holy church as lady and kept his faith to her unbroken. The same oath was taken with her, and assurance given for her, by her brother Robert, earl of Gloucester, Brian fitz Count, Marquis (*marchio*) of Wallingford, Miles of Gloucester and a number of others. Nor did the bishop hesitate to receive her as Lady of England and give her assurance, together with some of his followers, that as long as she did not break the agreement he would keep faith with her himself. The next day which was March 3rd, she was received in Winchester Cathedral in ceremonial procession, with the bishop, who was likewise legate, escorting her on the right side and Bernard bishop of St. David's on the left'.⁹³

The choice of Bernard to assist the legate so conspicuously at this important ceremony can only indicate that the empress trusted him as one of her most vital

⁹¹ WM HN, p.50. Although the king was at first honourably confined, a combination of goading from unnamed people and the number of escape attempts by the king eventually meant he was confined in 'iron rings'.

⁹² *ibid.* pp.50, 51. Malmesbury gives a good account of events in and around Winchester on 2 and 3 of March and Bernard's role in them. Although he is by no means an objective source on these events, the meeting is corroborated by other chroniclers, notably JW, vol.iii, p.295.

⁹³ *ibid.* pp.50-51.

clerical supporters. This is emphasised by the fact that there were present bishops from arguably more important English dioceses.⁹⁴ Not surprisingly there is a pro-Angevin feel to those in attendance at Winchester, but this is by no means universal. Of the bishops present only Bernard can be said to be truly pro-Angevin, although Nigel of Ely had also accompanied Matilda from Gloucester.⁹⁵ He and his kinsman Alexander of Lincoln was certainly not actively pro-king Stephen, following their arrest alongside their uncle Roger of Salisbury in 1139. But neither showed a great deal of activity in support of the empress either, reflecting the very minimal impact of the arrest of the bishops in 1139 on the politics of the civil war as a whole.⁹⁶ The bishops of Hereford and Bath remained almost entirely pro-Stephen throughout their time in office. Indeed Robert of Bath is the likely author of the *Gesta Stephani*, with its unmistakably Stephenine leaning.⁹⁷ To the abbots present there is a more distinctively Angevin feel. Gilbert of Gloucester was one of the empress's firmest supporters whose close relationship with Bernard will be examined later. The abbeys of Malmesbury and Tewkesbury lay firmly within the Angevin sphere of influence in the West Country. Both Reading and Abingdon had been houses founded or favoured by Matilda's parents. Matilda is known to have given at least two charters

⁹⁴ *ibid.* pp.50-51. The bishops, of Durham, Alexander of Lincoln, Robert of Hereford, Nigel of Ely and Robert of Bath; added to these were the abbots of Abingdon, Reading, Malmesbury, Gloucester and Tewkesbury.

⁹⁵ JW, vol.iii, p.295.

⁹⁶ K. Yoshitake's revisionist article on the subject does much to put this event into perspective and to explain why the English bishops continued to support King Stephen even after the arrest of three of their number. The article concludes that as the 'protagonists of extreme church freedom are always in the minority among the English clergy... It was in this milieu that the bishops and abbots continued to support the king.' Most of the English clergy it seems were anxious not to cause a breach between the church and state, 'The Arrest of the Bishops in 1139 and its consequences', *Journal of Medieval History*, 14, no.1 (1988), pp.97-114

⁹⁷ Potter and Davis make a convincing argument regarding the authorship of the *Gesta* in their introduction to their translation of the text, *Gesta Stephani*, pp.xxviii-xxxviii.

to Reading around this time.⁹⁸ The community at Abingdon is known to have assisted the empress in darker times during her flight from Oxford.⁹⁹

The empress and her party now stood at the height of their power, but the gathering at Winchester was hardly a ringing endorsement of the church's commitment to Matilda. The title of '*domina*' was agreed at the first council of Winchester (Sunday 3 March 1141). The bishops present such as Alexander of Lincoln, or bishops who held dioceses on or near Angevin territory such as those of Hereford and Bath, were on the whole men with a reason to be dissatisfied with Stephen's rule. These men presumably felt the need to recognise the reality of the situation, as it confronted them in March 1141. This mood of accepting the inevitable amongst the English clergy is emphasised by the appearance at Matilda's court of Theobald of Canterbury. He visited her at Wilton shortly after the Winchester ceremony before scurrying off to Bristol to check with Stephen whether, given the adverse state of the tide of battle, it might not be prudent to swear allegiance to Matilda - at least for the moment.

Meanwhile Bernard withdrew with the rest of Matilda's court to celebrate Easter at the royal castle at Oxford, which was to be the centre of Angevin operations for the next few months.¹⁰⁰ On Monday after Easter week, Bernard returned to Winchester for a legatine council held by Henry of Winchester from 7 to 10 April 1141.¹⁰¹ The purpose of this council was - in the best traditions of Gregorian reform - to 'proclaim

⁹⁸ See below, Appendix 7 – Bernard's attestations to royal charters 1136 - 1144.

⁹⁹ Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p.117.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*, p.99.

¹⁰¹ WM HN, pp.52-56; *Councils and Synods*, pp.788-792 where there is also a detailed account of proceedings.

that Stephen had been cast down by the judgment of God and to elect Matilda as Lady', before proceeding to London to her coronation in Westminster Abbey.¹⁰² Whether such a judgment accurately describes the feelings of the majority of the clerics present is doubtful but the title accorded to Matilda, 'Lady of the English', shows that most felt the coronation to be imminent.¹⁰³ It is quite possible that at this juncture the reform-minded Henry of Winchester had decided that Matilda's succession to the throne would be beneficial for the liberties of the church. He certainly took the trouble to emphasise the 'dishonoured holy church' that had resulted from Stephen's reign to the council and the representatives of the people of London who were petitioning the meeting.¹⁰⁴

The council also represented the high point of Bernard's political and ecclesiastical career. As he sat listening to Henry of Winchester, justifying the accession of the empress to the assembled clergy on the second day of the council, Bernard could only have viewed the victory of his party and its potential rewards for him as Matilda's leading ecclesiastical supporter. Had Matilda succeeded in becoming queen the consequences would have been disastrous for Theobald of Canterbury, as it seems likely that both Bernard and Henry of Winchester would have pressed their claims for archiepiscopal status.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² *Councils and Synods*, p.788.

¹⁰³ The title 'lady' or more commonly 'lord of the English' was used in relation to a monarch who had succeeded but had not yet been crowned. An example of its usage in this sense is a letter from the chapter of St. David's to King John written immediately after the death of Richard I, addressed to '*Johanni domino Angliae et Hyberniae, duci Normanniae et Aquitanniae, comiti Andegaviae*'; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera Omnia*, vol.i, p.110.

¹⁰⁴ WM HN, p.55. This was Henry of Winchester's justification of the succession of the empress to the people of London on the third day of the council.

¹⁰⁵ Poole, *Doomsday Book*, p.193. Henry of Winchester tried without success to persuade Innocent II to raise Winchester to the status of metropolitan in the west of England. Matilda had already shown herself capable of acting in the interests of Henry of Winchester when she had reaffirmed the rights of

Indeed for Bernard there was a realistic prospect of even greater promotion.¹⁰⁶ Whatever the future seemed to offer in the way of personal advancement, it is likely Bernard would have seen Matilda's succession and the return of the rightful and prosperous political order represented by the family of Henry I as the vindication of his lifetime of service.

If the council of Winchester saw the Angevin star at its height then it also offered an ominous portent of its ultimate eclipse. The third day of the council saw protests from one of the queen's clerks to the effect that she 'earnestly begs all the assembled clergy, and especially the bishop of Winchester her lord's brother, to restore to the throne that same lord, whom cruel men, who were likewise his own men, have cast into chains'.¹⁰⁷ More pointedly, given future events, the representatives of the city of London demanded the 'freeing of their lord the king from captivity'.¹⁰⁸ Although Henry of Winchester dismissed their protest and the Angevin court, with the legate in tow, moved to London in preparation for Matilda's coronation it was on the continuing loyalty of the citizens of London toward King Stephen that Matilda's best chance of becoming queen was to founder.

Glastonbury Abbey (of which Henry of Winchester was abbot) on the day of her reception at Winchester (3 March) a grant witnessed by Bernard amongst others.

¹⁰⁶ The archdiocese of York was vacant following the resignation of Archbishop Thurstan and Stephen had not yet appointed a successor. Bernard's connections with King David of Scotland who would in all probability have achieved a greater domination of the north in this eventuality as well as his experience and unquestioned loyalty to Matilda would have made him a strong contender for election to the northern archdiocese.

¹⁰⁷ WM HN, p.55. WM gives the appellant's name as '*Christianus*' whom he describes as the queen's clerk.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*, p.54.

The *Gesta Stephani* grudgingly admitted that the empress 'had brought the greater part of the kingdom under her sway'.¹⁰⁹ But her progress was by no means unimpeded for, despite the support of the legate, her power base remained narrowly dependent upon the few bishops and laymen, chief among them being King David of Scotland who had come south in anticipation of his niece's coronation, Robert Earl of Gloucester, Miles of Gloucester as well as Bernard and others. On their progress towards London the empress and the court had to avoid Windsor which was holding out for Stephen, and go by way of St Albans instead.¹¹⁰ The Londoners however, hesitated to offer the empress welcome. As the events of the council of Winchester have shown Londoners remained on the whole loyal to Stephen. Added to their natural sympathies was the pressure of Queen Matilda's army which was busy ravaging the south bank after, she had 'sent envoys to the countess [the empress] and made earnest entreaty for her husband's release from his filthy dungeon...but when she was abused in the harsh and insulting language...the queen expecting to obtain by arms what she could not obtain by supplication brought a magnificent body of troops across in front of London from the other side of the river and gave orders that they should range most furiously around the city to plunder, burn with violence and the sword inside the property of the countess and her men'.¹¹¹ Queen Matilda was helped to enter London by the defection of Geoffrey de Mandeville, keeper of the Tower of London. At a time when dubious loyalty and self-service were the norm, Geoffrey de Mandeville made this lack of virtue into an art form. He had done well from serving Stephen, who had granted him the earldom of Essex, as well as having been granted custody of the Tower. To Geoffrey and many other barons in the

¹⁰⁹ *Gesta Stephani*, p.121.

¹¹⁰ Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p.102.

¹¹¹ *Gesta Stephani*, p.123.

summer of 1141 Matilda appeared to be winning and being on the winning side was what mattered most. For her part the Empress needed Geoffrey for the Tower, and also because his extensive lands in Boulogne would be a useful counterbalance to the queen's influence there.¹¹² During her stay in London Matilda is supposed to have confirmed Stephen's grant of the earldom of Essex to Geoffrey de Mandeville under the style and supreme statement of her victory: '*Matildis Imperatrix Rom' et Regina Angliae*'.¹¹³ Sadly for romantics this charter is, in the author's judgement, spurious. The seal *legendare* is unique – she normally used the nomenclature 'Queen of the Romans'. This has not bothered those historians who have seen the charter as the ultimate expression of Angevin achievement in the summer of 1141. But this very uniqueness creates doubts which were confirmed by the following inconsistencies. It is unlikely that Matilda would have used the title of queen before a coronation which never took place, and Bernard's positioning is more reminiscent of charters of Henry I where seniority of diocese is more usually reflected. The argument for rejection is clinched by the assertion of Holt, in his review of RRAN iii: 'if Matilda had changed her seal before her coronation it was done without the knowledge of her chancellor and Robert earl of Gloucester'.¹¹⁴

In spite of the support of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Matilda could not hold London against its rebellious citizens. On the 24 June as final preparations for Matilda's coronation were being made, the church bells rang to call the citizens of London to arms in order to expel the Angevin party. The *Gesta Stephani* exultantly records

¹¹² Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp.102, 103.

¹¹³ RRAN, 3, no.274. J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville: a Study of the Anarchy* (London, 1892), p.300; also with reservations, Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp.102, 103.

¹¹⁴ J. C. Holt, 'Review of RRAN, iii and iv', *Economic History Review*, 24, 2nd Series (1971), pp.481-483.

how 'both bishops and belted knights, who had assembled in London with an overwhelming display for the enthronement of their lady, very rapidly made for various refuges. She with her brother the earl of Gloucester and very few other barons, for whom flight in that direction was the most convenient mode of escape, came at full speed to the city of Oxford'.¹¹⁵ The retreat was so sudden that most of the empress's baggage and that of her supporters had to be left behind for the London mob to loot. Whether Bernard retreated with the empress to Oxford immediately or found some other means of escape is not known, but it cannot have been easy for a man in his seventies to complete such a hasty journey. He managed to survive and had rejoined the empress at Oxford by 25 July when he witnessed her charter elevating Miles of Gloucester to the earldom of Hereford.¹¹⁶ Although the empress and leading supporters had managed to escape the clutches of the London mob, that city and the coronation chair would henceforth be out of the reach of the empress. There was still, despite the debacle at London, room for optimism amongst the Angevin camp. The empress's forces were growing and she was now able to field a substantial army encamped around her at Oxford made up of the military retinues of her principal supporters: David of Scotland, her half-brothers Robert earl of Gloucester and Reginald of Cornwall, Miles earl of Hereford, Roger of Warwick, Baldwin earl of Devon, William of Somerset and Dorset and Count Boterel of Brittany.¹¹⁷ Many other barons were also present as were the bishops, Bernard,

¹¹⁵ *Gesta Stephani*, p.127.

¹¹⁶ *RRAN*, 3, no.393

¹¹⁷ A number of these earls were Matilda's own creations: Miles earl of Hereford, Baldwin earl of Devon and William earl of Somerset and Dorset. Much has already been said of Miles earl of Hereford. The men concerned with regard to the other two earldoms are Baldwin de Redvers to whom King Stephen had laid siege at Exeter in 1136 where Bernard was present. William de Mohun who is referred to as both earl of Somerset and earl of Dorset, as both counties shared a sheriff it is likely they shared an earl as well. These creations show the strength of Angevin power in the south-west of England and the Welsh Marches, *Gesta Stephani*, pp.128-129.

Nigel of Ely and Alexander of Lincoln.¹¹⁸ Added to this growing military strength must be two further factors, the backing of the church (at least in theory) and perhaps most importantly the fact that the King Stephen remained a prisoner in Bristol. This all gave the Angevins cause for hope that the situation could soon be recovered.

In July 1141 Matilda nominated Robert de Sigillo, one of her father's clerks, as bishop of London. Robert had been a monk of Reading and the election was done with the full consent of Abbot Edward. Both candidate and process must have been acceptable to reformers, as Bishop Robert was later to maintain his position with the support of both Bernard of Clairvaux and Pope Eugenius III, in spite of a concerted campaign by King Stephen to secure the removal of the bishop who had refused to swear him allegiance.¹¹⁹ What role Bernard had, if any, on advising the empress and her followers on matters relating to the church is not clearly known. The indication is however that Bernard either influenced or was influenced by the empress's pattern of patronage. Bernard had always been a patron of the Augustinians, in which he was probably strongly influenced by the example of Matilda's mother. Now in his later years he gave strong support to the development of the Cistercian order in South Wales at Haverfordwest within his own diocese.¹²⁰ There are also strong indications from Bernard's life and career, which identify him as being closer to the ideals of Gregorian reform than the majority of the English episcopate. There is every

¹¹⁸ These three bishops attested to Matilda's charter which created Miles of Gloucester, earl of Hereford, *RRAN*, 3, no.393. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury who could never be included among the empress's supporters and certainly would not have contributed to her military establishment, joined them for the one and only time. Whether any of the above bishops contributed to Matilda's military forces is unknown but the likelihood that Bernard contributed his knights to the service of the empress remains strong. No bishop is recorded to have accompanied Matilda's forces on the Winchester campaign though whether their forces took part under the command of a secular baron is unknown.

¹¹⁹ Chibnall, 'The Empress and Church Reform', *TRHS*, 38, 5th series (1988), pp.114, 115.

¹²⁰ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp.21-23, and above ch.3 pp.44-47.

indication to suggest that Bernard remained celibate throughout his life - a state normally indicative of reform minded bishops such as Anselm of Canterbury or Thurstan of York. His support for the new orders of monks such as the Augustinian canons with the Cistercians, as well as his immediate personal supervision of the reorganisation of his diocese taking just two and a half years at the beginning of his episcopate, all point towards a man dedicated both professionally and personally to a church founded on reforming ideals. Politics were influential in Bernard's thinking, but this was equally true of Queen Matilda, Anselm, Thurstan and Henry of Winchester. For church reformers a strong state was necessary for a strong church to exist. Therefore the prevalence of Henry I in the affairs of Wales allowed Bernard to maintain control over his diocese; this would have been more difficult if Henry I had not been so dominant. It is quite possible that Bernard saw a continuation of Henry's direct line as the best hope for preserving the powerful relationship between the state and patronage of the church, which characterised the relationship between the family of Henry I and the service of God, particularly the family's women. A man of Bernard's political experience would have foreseen clearly enough the potential problems of a queen regnant in the first half of the twelfth century but he had also seen at first hand the political abilities of the family's female line. During his time as the queen's chancellor Bernard would have seen Queen Matilda govern independently and effectively during Henry I's absences from England and the empress herself had been both popular and influential during her time in Germany. It is therefore possible that Bernard's past experience had given him more confidence in the political abilities of women than was generally accepted. A careful respect for the rights of the church may well have been calculated by the empress and her leading supporters, including Bernard, to gain the support of powerful reformers such

as Bernard of Clairvaux. But in the minds of both the empress and a leading bishop there appears to be the genuine belief in the creation and maintenance of a strong church with the reformed ideals under the patronage, protection and influence of a strong state.

As the only bishop to maintain a consistent loyalty towards her cause, it would seem logical that Matilda and her supporters would turn to Bernard on matters of an ecclesiastical nature. There is a convincing body of evidence to uphold this contention. With regard to the empress herself, the only direct, though limited evidence linking Bernard to ecclesiastical policy, is Bernard's attestations to the empress's grants to a number of monasteries: Glastonbury (Benedictine), Reading (Benedictine), Godstow (Benedictine nuns) and Oseney (Augustinian). Of the six charters falling into this category, Bernard attests first on four occasions. The two attestations where Bernard is not placed first were both dated no later than July 1141 when the empress's start was at its height, it is therefore not surprising that the witness list for both are headed by very eminent people. The Reading Charter (699) by Henry of Winchester and the other (629) to Oseney by King David of Scotland. The others who attest ahead of Bernard in these charters are one or both of the nephews of Roger bishop of Salisbury, Nigel of Ely and Alexander bishop of Lincoln.¹²¹ Bernard's involvement with one of the empress's supporters is more fully documented. He was asked by David I of Scotland in 1141 to settle the dispute between the abbeys of St. Peter's Shrewsbury and Sées, over the church of Kirkham in Lancashire in King David's newly acquired honour of Lancaster. The relationship

¹²¹ *RRAN*, 3, Bernard placed in attestations as: 697 1st Reading 1141, 699 4th Reading 1141; 343 1st Glastonbury 1141; 629 3rd Oseney 1141; 371 1st Godstow 1143; 372 1st Godstow 1144.

between David I, Henry earl of Northumberland and Bernard is one of the more interesting oddities of Bernard's career. Bernard had undoubtedly become acquainted with David through his sister Queen Matilda and had granted the stewardship of St. David's to Henry, probably before David's accession to the throne of Scotland in 1124. The choice of Bernard as the bishop to resolve the dispute reflects both the closeness of the relationship between Bernard and the Scottish royal family and the leading role Bernard must have played in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Angevin party. The fact that Bernard was able to act so far outside of his episcopal jurisdiction as a mediator is an indication of the regional control prevalent in England at the time and the lack of episcopal support given to the Angevin cause after the early months of 1141.¹²² Bernard settled the dispute thus: Sééz, on behalf of its dependent priory of Lancaster, renounced their claim on Kirkham, and also the connected tithe of Walton and these were then granted to Shrewsbury. Shrewsbury, in exchange, gave Sééz a ploughland from its own demesne in Bispham (Lancs.) along with the tithes of Leyton and Warbeck.¹²³ A writ of Henry I, dated 1129x1133, commands Stephen, as Count of Mortain, to allow the monks of Shrewsbury to hold Bispham free of all dues, pleas, and services.¹²⁴ The confirmation of this settlement was not given by King Stephen in England but by King David of Scotland.¹²⁵ In the same charter, David confirms his protection for Shrewsbury, and the land of Bispham. David acquired the honour of Lancaster north of the Ribble in 1139, by the Treaty of Durham, as his price of peace from

¹²² *St.D.Ep.A.*, pp.37, 48, 49; see also, G. W. S. Barrow, 'King David I and the Honour of Lancaster', *EHR*, 70 (1955), pp.85-89; and *The Charters of David I: The Written Acts of David I of Scotland 1124-55 and of his son Henry Earl of Northumberland 1139-52* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp.32, 33, 107, 108.

¹²³ *St.D.Ep.A.*, no.20, and Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, pp.374, 375, for the text.

¹²⁴ Before becoming king, Stephen was count of Mortain which lay within Henry I's dominions.

¹²⁵ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p.106.

Stephen.¹²⁶ The date of Bernard's involvement is highly significant as it shows that he was an active and trusted member of the Angevin party in 1141 and there appears to have been no period after his change of allegiance where leading Angevins were hesitant to put their trust in him. It appears then, that David's involvement in the dispute between Séz and Shrewsbury in 1141 and Bernard's settlement of it were political in nature. John of Worcester records for that year, 'Stephen, king of the English, after endless toil and sieges of castles, which he endured for five years and six weeks, for the preservation of the kingdom, was at length, by the just judgement of God, surrounded and captured at the siege of Lincoln castle, by Robert, earl of Gloucester'.¹²⁷

Henry of Winchester was becoming a cause for concern for the Angevin party; he had been in contact with Matilda of Boulogne, Stephen's queen and was showing signs that he meant to return to Stephen's cause. The empress therefore decided to force the issue and marched with all her strength on Winchester where she took up residence at the royal palace. The campaign was an unmitigated disaster. In fighting during August, the empress's army was besieged by Matilda of Boulogne's army and an army of Londoners and was forced to flee, having suffering numerous defections and, worst of all, Robert of Gloucester's capture.¹²⁸ By the autumn of 1141 the empress had returned to Oxford, still Lady of the English in name if not in fact,

¹²⁶ *ibid*, p.373.

¹²⁷ JW, vol.iii, p.293.

¹²⁸ *Gesta Stephani*, pp.128-37; WM HN, pp.57-62; Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp.112-115. The defectors included the earls of Dorset, Warwick and Geoffrey de Mandeville earl of Essex. The empress escaped to Devizes escorted by Brian fitz Count where she was said by the *Gesta* to be 'more dead than alive'. Robert of Gloucester was in prison at Rochester until his ransom. Bernard's whereabouts during these events are unknown, but it is probable that he remained at Oxford where the empress had returned to by November and where she was joined by Robert of Gloucester who had been exchanged for King Stephen.

although she came slowly and reluctantly to accept this fact. It was becoming apparent that a more long-term strategy based around Matilda's son Henry, offered the best hope of ultimate Angevin victory. Support for Matilda's case in England fell away, but success on the continent brought new converts to the Angevin cause such as Waleran of Meulan. The empress also received a boost from the return of Robert of Gloucester in November, but this came at the high price of the release of King Stephen. Further disasters followed.

Henry of Winchester called another church council, the second council of Westminster on 7 December 1141 which returned the loyalty of the church back to King Stephen: 'in the name of God and the pope, he bade them aid zealously to the utmost of their power the king appointed by the goodwill of all people and the approval of the apostolic see; those disturbers of the peace who supported the countess of Anjou must be sentenced to excommunication, all except the Lady of the Angevins herself'.¹²⁹ This pronouncement met with general acceptance: 'no one refuted them.... The clergy bridled their lips from fear or respect'.¹³⁰ For Bernard who did not attend the council, its conclusions must have been a bitter pill to swallow. It marks the end of his involvement in the ecclesiastical affairs of the province of Canterbury. Henceforth he would concentrate solely on promoting the rights of his own diocese. For a man who had been so active in the councils and synods of the English church for a generation and had so recently been so eminent in discussions and ceremonies, the personal impact, although sadly unrecorded, must

¹²⁹ WM *HN*, p.62-3

¹³⁰ *ibid*, p.62-3

have been devastating. For a man seemingly with a genuine piety, excommunication would have seemed a terrible prospect.

There is no evidence that the threat of excommunication was ever carried out against any significant member of the Angevin party. Bernard would continue to co-operate with individual English bishops on matters of mutual interest, as well as exercising his episcopal functions at both diocesan level and on the international stage. Bernard is known to have co-operated with other bishops particularly in areas where Angevin influence was strong such as the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford.¹³¹ This was especially so on matters which directly affected members of the Angevin party, such as the dispute between St. Peter's, Gloucester, and the Augustinian priory of Llanthony, over the possession of the right to bury Miles, earl of Hereford.¹³² On an international level, Bernard continued to petition the pope and attend international councils of the church. But from the end of 1141 he was truly the empress's bishop, for she had no other in attendance upon her. It is yet another indication of the strength of Bernard's loyalty to the family that made him who he was and also of the strength with which he held his convictions until 1139. He had always been prepared to go against the grain of political and ecclesiastical opinion even at the danger of damaging his own reputation. Now he would go out on a limb to keep faith with the empress.

¹³¹ *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, p.143.

¹³² *Cartularium Gloucestrie.*, vol.i, appendix to introduction, no ii, pp.lxxv-vi. The settlement is dated 28 December 1143 and is said to have been reached at the chapter house of the Augustinian canons at Gloucester. See also Chapter 3, p.146, note.98.

Whilst not present at the battle of Lincoln, Bernard was, by this time, a leading player in the Angevin cause. At this moment of ascent for the Angevin star during the civil war, Bernard's authority in those areas controlled extended far beyond the limits of his own diocese. Bernard was also instrumental in obtaining permission from the pope for David to install a chapter of Augustinian canons in St. Andrew's cathedral in 1144.¹³³

Bernard also appears to have a trusted relationship with other leading Angevins. Brian fitz Count places Bernard first among the witnesses of bishops and laymen who can testify on his behalf in a dispute which arose between him and Henry of Winchester in Sept 1143 x 2 Jan 1144.¹³⁴ Bernard is also known to have testified on behalf of Gilbert abbot of Gloucester at a synod of the archdeacon of Buckingham circa 1141.¹³⁵ Only Bernard's death prevented him undertaking a similar function on behalf of Gilbert at the Council of Rheims in 1148 in a property dispute with Sherbourne Abbey.¹³⁶ Such varied actions on behalf of leading members of the Angevin court show that Bernard must have carried some weight with both the Angevin party and the ecclesiastical world at large. He was by now an old man with much experience and his authority may well have been boosted by two other factors. The first of these was that since the resignation of Archbishop Thurstan of York early in 1140, Bernard was the longest serving bishop in England and Wales; the

¹³³ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.32, see also Chapter 3 above, p.153-154.

¹³⁴ H. W. C. Davis, 'Henry of Blois and Brian fitz Count', *EHR.*, 25 (1910), pp.297-303. The list of bishops is impressive: Bernard of St. David's, Robert of Hereford, Simon of Worcester, Robert of Bath, Robert of Exeter, Siegfried of Chichester, Robert of Chester, Aethelwulf of Carlisle, Everard of Norwich, Robert of London and Hilary dean of Christ Church. Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury heads the list but Brian fitz Count shows little respect for the archbishop.

¹³⁵ *Gilbert Foliot*, pp.416, 417. To these must be added the charters given by Bernard in favour of St. Peter's Gloucester.

¹³⁶ *ibid*, pp.108, 109.

second was that the Angevin party appears not to have fully recognised the authority of Archbishop Theobald.¹³⁷ In the absence of an archbishop of York, Bernard with his claim for archiepiscopal status could perhaps, at least in Angevin circles, have been seen as a legitimate leading churchman. Clearly his experience of ecclesiastical affairs and his creditable reputation in the Anglo-Norman world and beyond was considered a valuable asset by his allies.

By Lent 1142 support for the Angevin cause was largely confined to the west-country and the Welsh Marches, although there was some remaining support in the Thames valley centred on Brian fitz Count's stronghold at Wallingford. The empress chose to hold a council of her followers at Devizes to decide on future strategy.¹³⁸ The loss of Oxford in December 1142, in the absence of Robert of Gloucester, brought a critical response from contemporaries particularly William of Malmesbury, presumably because the Angevin cause did not fare well in Gloucester's absence.¹³⁹ The arrival of her son, nine-year old Henry was of more long-term significance for the Angevin cause. This was not because of any immediate impact that he could have on the battlefield, but because it signalled a change of emphasis for the Angevin party, from seeking to win outright military victory, thus placing Matilda on the

¹³⁷ Davis, 'Henry of Blois', p.302. Brian fitz Count refers to Theobald in the above charter as the so-called archbishop of Canterbury '*quem uocant*'. This suggests that the leading members of the Angevin party did not recognise Theobald's authority as archbishop of Canterbury, presumably because of his strong support for King Stephen.

¹³⁸ Chibnall *The Empress Matilda*, p.116, says that this council asked for help from Geoffrey of Anjou, who sent back the envoys at Whitsuntide saying he would only negotiate with Robert of Gloucester whom he knew personally. Robert hesitated at the thought of leaving his sister so unprotected, but it was decided that since King Stephen had been ill since Easter it was safe for him to go. He returned with 400 men in 42 ships, including the empress's son Henry. His absence however did substantially contribute to the loss of Oxford in December 1142. Robert returned in time to save the vital channel port of Wareham, and thus Angevin cross-channel communications, *The Empress Matilda*, p.116.

¹³⁹ *ibid*, p.116.

throne, towards emphasising the rights of her son Henry to succeed, whilst attempting to hold onto what they had got in the way of English possessions. This strategy was combined with a strong offensive on the continent, which recovered Henry I's possessions in Normandy for the Angevin cause.¹⁴⁰ After the loss of Oxford and for the remainder of her stay in England, which lasted until 1148, the empress moved her headquarters to Devizes where the castle built by Roger Bishop of Salisbury offered both protection and excellent communications with the empress's remaining principal castles, virtually all of which were located in south west of England or Wales.¹⁴¹ Whilst Matilda based herself at Devizes, Robert of Gloucester and his nephew Henry held court at Bristol. Bernard's movements during 1143 and 1144 are sketchy at best but we know that three of his attestations to Matilda's charters in these years are at Devizes.¹⁴² The fact that two of the three are joint charters between the empress and her son may indicate that Bernard based himself with Robert of Gloucester and accompanied the boy Henry, on his occasional visits to his mother. It is also probable given his frequent dealings with St. Peter's Gloucester and the Augustinians of Llanthony Seconda that Bernard spent some time in Bristol.¹⁴³

By the beginning of 1143 those who continued to support the empress in England represented a party declining in numbers but intimately connected by ties of blood

¹⁴⁰ This campaign is largely outside of the scope of this present work, but most general works on the Civil War carry some comment on this aspect of the campaign.

¹⁴¹ By January 1143 these were Worcester, Gloucester, Cirencester, Bristol, Trowbridge, Marlborough, Devizes, Ludgershall, Salisbury, Sherborne, Taunton, Exeter and Wallingford in England and Abergavenny, Cardiff and Monmouth in the March of Wales, Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p.119.

¹⁴² *RRAN*, 3, nos.111,371,372.

¹⁴³ See *St.D.Ep.A.*, nos. 9-15, for details of Bernard's connections with these foundations.

and service. These were: Bernard of St. David's, Robert of Gloucester, Reginald of Cornwall, Miles and Roger of Hereford, Brian fitz Count, Robert de Dunstanville, Humphrey de Bohun, Walchelin Maminot and Herbert the chaplain.¹⁴⁴ Other continuing supporters of the empress also fit in with this close-knit interrelated picture of the Angevin party. Two of the most consistent supporters were Matilda's uncle, King David I of Scotland, along with his son Henry, earl of Northumberland and Gilbert Foliot, abbot of St. Peter's Gloucester. Both were close not only to Bernard but to other members of the Angevin party. Gilbert was a nephew of Miles of Hereford, whose influence gained him his position as abbot of Gloucester. Moreover Gilbert's father Robert Foliot was steward of the earldom of Huntingdon for both King David and Earl Henry. Earl Henry performed the same function for Bernard at St. David's, leading at least partially to Bernard's strong Scottish connections.¹⁴⁵ Bernard's strong personal relationship with Gilbert which lasted until Bernard's death may well have emanated from their mutual Scottish connections, and indeed may explain Gilbert's strong Angevin feelings. Bernard may well have been the model Gilbert was thinking of when he sought to separate his diocese of London from the control of Thomas à Becket later in his career.¹⁴⁶

For forty-four years Bernard as clerk, chancellor and bishop had attested to the charters of the rulers of the Anglo-Norman world. Few had done so in such quantity

¹⁴⁴ All who attested to at least three charters of the empress after 1142 are included. All Bernard's attestations date from 1143-1144. Herbert the chaplain became bishop of Avranches (1152-60). See Matthew, *King Stephen*, p.257, note 7.

¹⁴⁵ For Gilbert Foliot's family, see *Gilbert Foliot*, pp.8-32. Robert Foliot appears to have been steward of Huntingdon 1114-1141, when the Scots royal family lost control of the honour. For his attestations to the charters of David and Henry see Barrow, *The Charters of David I*, pp.55, 82, 83, 87-89 and 103-105. These attestations date from circa 1114-1141,

¹⁴⁶ *Gilbert Foliot*, pp.152, 155, 156, 158. Bernard may have influenced the career of this extraordinary bishop. Certainly Bernard paid more attention to the interests of Gilbert and his abbey than any other Benedictine, an order that he did not normally favour and had offended in the past.

or with such longevity. Bernard's combined attestations numbered over one hundred in forty four years. Only figures such as Roger bishop of Salisbury and Henry bishop of Winchester could match Bernard in quantity and consistency. None of Bernard's contemporaries save perhaps Henry of Winchester can match Bernard's longevity of influence and consistency of attestation. Recognition of this will lead to a greater appreciation among historians of Bernard's historical significance, not only as a rebel bishop, but also as a figure of great political influence in the Anglo-Norman world of the first half of the twelfth century.

Bernard versus Theobald:

The Metropolitan Case of the Church of St. David's

'Dedecorosum erit enim et precipue dolendum, si sublimitas regni Britannici tantis temporibus in honore habita, nunc in nouissimis ancilletur, et mater tua, sublato titulo libertatis, captiuetur, et Cantuariensium ludibrio siue libidini perpetualiter deputetur'.¹

(Bishop Bernard to Simeon, archdeacon of Bangor 1147 x 1148).

This work's primary concern has been to present a wider picture of the available evidence concerning the life and career of Bishop Bernard. By re-examining the evidence which has been left uninterpreted by other historians, it has been possible to create a picture very different to the picture of Bishop Bernard which pre-dated this work. When we come to examine the metropolitan claims of St. David's much of the available evidence has already been examined by other historians. We are forced to rely almost completely on the work of one author, Gerald of Wales, whom other historians have used to build a coherent but distorted view of the career of Bernard, which this work has striven to correct. Anyone hoping to use this work, particularly this examination of the metropolitan dispute, to bolster the established view of Bernard as a bishop convinced of his metropolitan rights by conversion to the semi-mystical Celtic traditions of his diocese, and therefore driven by force of conviction to fight the Norman church from whence he came and in whose tradition he was so deeply rooted, will be disappointed. If the picture of the man created in the previous chapters is valid the claim was advanced by a man of political standing and influence

¹ GW, *De Invect.*, p.142

in the Anglo-Norman world of the 1120's and 30's. Through his powerful connections Bernard had been able to dispossess great abbeys at the expense of the king in order to further his own foundations. On behalf of the emperor and his king, he persuaded the pope to grant the pallium to William de Corbeil of Canterbury against the wishes of the cardinals. Such was his position that he had even been able to resist the direct instructions of successive popes to yield part of his diocese to the neighbouring see of Llandaff until he was able to take advantage of a favourable situation which was liable to produce a judgement in support of his cause. This was a man of the world whose horizons were far wider than those of Wales. Those who seek to demonstrate that by the end of his life those horizons had shrunk to the borders of his diocese and that Bernard had somehow 'gone native', have been taken in by the gloss Gerald has put in his writings on the metropolitan case conducted by Bernard, which for him has far more to do with the politics of the Anglo-Norman civil war than with the independence of the Welsh church.

Rhigyfarch's *Life of St David* and the metropolitan traditions of Menevia

Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*, written circa 1095, may be called a manifesto for the independence of the Welsh church. Its significance resides in the 'regime of the truth' it constructed around the events of the life of St. David. It was the major literary source from which Bishop Bernard would have gained much information about the traditions of his new diocese. At the time of his consecration his knowledge of his diocese was little better than that of his Anglo-Norman colleagues who, it is to be remembered, had to be informed by the scribes of Canterbury of the location of the cathedral church. Where his knowledge would have been better was due to his time as custodian of the see of Hereford 1100 – 1102. Hereford's

proximity to the diocese of St. David's, would have afforded him some prior knowledge of its eminence and antiquity.

Bernard's own knowledge of the *Vita* is readily demonstrated. Its modern editor found that the earliest extant versions of the text, dating from c.1150, were in turn derived from two copies owned by Bernard from an early stage in his episcopate.² Even though Rhigyfarch was almost certainly dead by the time Bernard arrived in Wales, the other sons of Bishop Sulien, Ieuan and Daniel, who were prominent in the internal affairs of the diocese and became some of the first archdeacons of the diocese, would have introduced the foreign bishop to such a central text. Sulien died in 1085, his sons Rhigyfarch in 1099, Daniel in 1127 and lastly Ieuan in 1136.

Rhigyfarch assigns to St. David and his diocese strong links not to England but to other parts of Britain, notably Ireland. He relates how St. Patrick, after being made bishop, had come to Dyfed, and seeing the eventual site of St. David's cathedral, tried to found his own church in which to serve God. 'Reaching the place called Vallis Rosina and seeing that it was a pleasant spot he vowed to serve God faithfully there. But as he was turning this thoughtfully over in his mind, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and said; not to you has God assigned this place, but to a son who is not yet born and will not be born until thirty years pass'.³ Rhigyfarch then goes on to explain that St. Patrick became patron saint in Ireland but not before acknowledging 'that one not yet born had been set above me'.⁴

² Rhigyfarch, *St.D.*, see Preface.

³ *ibid*, p.30.

⁴ *ibid*, p.30.

This is a clear attempt to place St. David as being among the important Celtic Saints. It is important to note that there is nothing in Rhigyfarch's text which suggests a unified Celtic church, but that apart, the orientation of the work is clear. It is not Anglo-centric and it is designed to imply that the destiny of the Welsh church was placed directly into the hands of St. David by God. Therefore no other religious organisation, whether Irish or English, could hold it in subjection. St. David is portrayed as a messianic figure divinely pre-ordained to save the British (Welsh) from paganism and heresy. Indeed, the parallels drawn by Rhigyfarch between the life of St. David and the life of Christ are clearly visible. St. David's mother is portrayed as a virgin divinely chosen for the task and only forgoing a life of total celibacy in order to conceive St. David.⁵ Rhigyfarch also reports St. David's ability to heal the blind and resist temptation from the pagans.⁶ These qualities are common to many medieval hagiographies which seek to establish the saint's *virtus*. Rhigyfarch's comments surrounding the events and consequence of the Synod of Llanddewi-Brefi, (c.a.569) make a further statement on the independence of the Welsh church.⁷

The 'Britain' Rhigyfarch was referring to was not synonymous with the concept of 'Britain' referred to by the monks of Canterbury. The Welsh chronicles at this time regularly used the term Britain when referring to the Welsh. 'And after that they assembled hosts and called together the Britons and made plundering raids and returned home joyfully'.⁸ So when Rhigyfarch gives St. David the title of archbishop

⁵ *ibid*, pp.30,31.

⁶ *ibid*, pp.32,35.

⁷ *ibid*, pp.45,46. The date of this second synod, sometimes known as the synod of victory, is thought to be around 569. *Councils and Synods*, pp.115-120.

⁸ *Brut*, p.43, s.a.1102

of the entire British race, he is asserting the separate metropolitan status of Menevia. However, for about eighty years after 1070 the Norman archbishops – Lanfranc, Anselm and their successors – recurrently flaunted titles such a ‘primate of the whole of Britain’. This clearly shows the differing perception of ‘Britain’ between the Welsh and the Anglo-Normans. Bernard would have initially taken the Anglo-Norman perception of ‘Britain’ with him only to find the Welsh version was prevalent in his new role.⁹

Some passages in the *Life of St. David* suggest that Rhigyfarch may have envisaged even wider boundaries for St. David’s influence: among the twelve monasteries, that St. David founded were Glastonbury and Bath.¹⁰ In addition, Rhigyfarch describes the gathering at Llanddewi-Brefi, as ‘a general synod of all the bishops of Britain. In addition to the gathering of one hundred and eighteen bishops was present an innumerable multitude of priests, abbots, clergy of all ranks, kings, princes, laymen and women so that the very great host covered all the places round and about’.¹¹ One hundred and eighteen bishops seems an extraordinary large number to include, if the Britain referred only to Wales, especially as he also refers specifically to the presence of additional abbots and priests, given that abbots and priests of large *clas* churches were sometimes referred to as bishops by some Welsh sources.¹² However in Romanised areas, one can see more readily the connection between *episcopus* and

⁹ Davies, *The First English Empire*, p.38. Davies notes that ‘it is interesting to note how Bede’s phrase ‘all of the church of England’ was transmuted by Eadmer *HN* into ‘bishop of all Britain’.

¹⁰ Rhigyfarch, *St.D.*, p.33.

¹¹ *ibid*, p.44.

¹² Ellis, ‘The Catholic Church in the Welsh Laws’, pp.1-66. In the prologue to the texts of the various versions of the law books Ellis points out the proliferation of Welsh ‘bishops’ in the pre-Norman period. For example in a 13th century manuscript of the Laws of the 10th Century, *Cyfraith Hywel Dda* states 140 ‘croziers’ are present at the meeting which formed the Laws, p.7. This makes the 118 bishops mentioned by Rhigyfarch more believable.

civitas. In Wales the two *civitates* identified (thus far) are Caerwent and Carmarthen, neither had a bishop in the pre-Norman period.¹³

There is however no evidence that Bernard or anyone else used these parts of the text to argue that St. David's possessed anything more than metropolitan status over Wales. Furthermore there is some doubt over the accuracy of Rhigyfarch's account of the synod of victory. According to Rhigyfarch the purpose of the synod of victory at Llanddewi Brefi was to act against the fifth-century Pelagian heresy. However, the surviving record of the provisions of the synod of victory, which is recorded by Rhigyfarch as having 'confirmed the decisions of its predecessor', tells a different story.¹⁴ Both synods concern themselves with dictating the length of penance necessary to be performed by a penitent after committing a number of sins including theft, adultery, perjury, sodomy, and bestiality.¹⁵ This is far from the purpose of the synods as suggested by Rhigyfarch. That the synods confirmed *Romana auctoritas* is also in doubt, particularly as Rhigyfarch states that all records of the synods were lost due to Norse raids.¹⁶

There is also the strong possibility that certain parts of the text of *The Life of St. David* were altered under the auspices of Bishop Bernard to add prestige to his diocese's spiritually and economically valuable saint, and validity to his metropolitan ambitions. Whilst recognising this James states that 'there is only internal but not

¹³ T. M. C. Edwards, 'Seven Bishops Houses of Dyfed', *Bulletin Board of Celtic Studies*, 24 (1971), pp.247-262

¹⁴ Rhigyfarch, *St.D.*, p.46.

¹⁵ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford, 1869-1878), vol.i, pp.116-118.

¹⁶ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, p.117.

manuscript evidence for this'.¹⁷ Evans suggests that a comparison between Rhigyfarch's lost original and the text of the mid-twelfth century would find 'some (but not many) features which seem to reflect bishops Bernard's policy and attitude', which may reflect the need to win papal support for his metropolitan ambitions. As evidence, Evans states Bernard's need to 'play down the significance of the visit to the Patriarch in Jerusalem (cc. 44-48), while the wording in c. 58, which tells of David being constituted archbishop, may betray acquaintances with forged Canterbury charters produced during the primacy dispute between Canterbury and York'.¹⁸ If Bernard did indeed have the text of *The Life of St. David* altered, it is not possible to fully comprehend what comprises Rhigyfarch's original text and which parts of the text may have been subject to alteration. There is a need to be sceptical about some of the claims made. Both Rhigyfarch and his later followers may write of happenings which seem to the modern mind fantastic, but when judging the significance of this or any medieval saint's life it is necessary to remember that in many ways the medieval world gave credence to events fantastical more readily than our own. To Bernard and his contemporaries the events, such as the coming of an angel to St. Patrick and the miracle performed by St. David would have been as real as any other important event in the history of the diocese, such as the death of a bishop, and just as worthy of record. Given the significance of Rhigyfarch's work, why did he choose this moment in time to relate the ancient tradition of his diocese?

By the last two decades of the eleventh century, the Welsh church was coming under increasing pressure from Norman expansion, both in secular and ecclesiastical terms.

¹⁷ Rhigyfarch, *St. D.*, preface.

¹⁸ *The Welsh Life of St. David*, ed. D. S. Evans (Cardiff, 1988), introduction - p.xli

Archbishop Anselm was beginning to assert his authority over the bishops of Llandaff and St. David's. When Rhys ap Tewdwr was killed in battle at Easter 1093, Bishop Wilfred of St. David's supported the Welsh in the subsequent fighting. Anselm responded to this action by promptly suspending Wilfred from his bishopric. These events may have well inspired Rhigyfarch's work, particularly his chapter relating St. David's journey to Jerusalem with all this implies for independence from Canterbury.¹⁹ By linking St. David's elevation to another apostolic see that of Jerusalem (a see that is traditionally associated with one of the apostles), Rhigyfarch immediately creates an impression of independence from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, similar to that achieved by Thurstan of York when he received direct consecration from the pope. This could be viewed as circumventing Canterbury's claims for a profession of obedience. It seems likely that the coming of the Normans did indeed form the impulse to the writing of the *Life of St. David*, as clearly it did in the case of Rhigyfarch's 'Lament'.²⁰ It is even more remarkable that the first Norman bishop should have been so affected by this work.

Bernard's record of litigation or Gerald's literary creation? The Evidence

Gerald's literary works which contain the most detailed evidence and comment on the events of Bernard's metropolitan claims, are *Itinerarium Kambriae* (The Journey Through Wales, 1191) and in more detail his two later works *De Invectionibus*, (The Book of Invectives, 1216) and *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*, (The Rights

¹⁹ Rhigyfarch, *St. D.*, p.xi.

²⁰ Lapidge, 'The Welsh Latin Poetry of Sulien's Family', pp. 68-106

and Status of St David's, 1218).²¹ The latter two works were written after Gerald had had some bitter experience to guide his thoughts on the matter of the status of his diocese. After he had failed in his own metropolitan case before Innocent III, *De Jure* was written to Cardinal Archbishop Stephen Langton 'to introduce him to this diocese and the people who lay within his province and pastoral care'.²² *De Invectionibus* is a history of the diocese of St. David's, and its dignities and rights as seen by Gerald. The copy we have been left was copied by two scribes, which may account for the double copying of some of the letters contained within it. Gerald's history of the case has therefore to be pieced together from these and other works.

How is it possible to use the evidence provided by Gerald of Wales in a way that sheds light on Bernard's original motivations? As much of the evidence we have regarding Bernard's claim comes from Gerald's works, particularly *De Invectionibus*, it could be argued that Bernard's motivations are presented in a manner which furthers Gerald's own claims for the status of St. David's, particularly if *De Invectionibus* is seen as a construct for these purposes. Are his writings, as with Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*, a mixture of reality, expanded truth and wishful thinking? What will be attempted here is an interpretation of the internal evidence in the documents presented by Gerald in the context that Bernard and his chapter originally intended them to be used. In this way Gerald's own polemical deployment of them can be identified and categorised. The genuineness of all the documents presented by Gerald is accepted but one must have regard for the context which

²¹ Roberts, B. F., *Gerald of Wales*, (Cardiff, 1982), p.95-96

²² *ibid*, p.48

Gerald places them in order to create the impression that Bernard believed as he himself did in the inalienable right of St. David's to be a metropolitan see.

Before examining the documents themselves let us examine Gerald's recontextualisation of Bernard's claim. For Gerald, a man who held an intrinsic belief in the metropolitan rights of St. David's, Bernard presented a problem. This problem was that although the rights of St. David's were ancient and longstanding, it had taken Bernard twenty years, according to Gerald, to start claiming them.²³ Gerald explains this by suggesting that under Henry I Bernard exercised a degree of authority over the other Welsh dioceses which satisfied his desire to maintain the rights of the see:

*'Tribus igitur fultus auxiliis, tam formidabiles tantæ causæ conflictus confidenter est aggressus; Regis videlicet Henrici primi familiaritate subnixus plurima et favore, tempore pacifico gaudens, et pacis sequela sufficienti. Adeo quidem, ex nimiae securitatis audacia, debito de jure [confidebat] quandoque [et] praesumpsit, ut et crucem interdum sibi præferri per Kambriæ fines attemptasset'.*²⁴

Taking Gerald at face value would lead to a conclusion similar to that of W. S. Davies who states that 'so long as he [Bernard] was able, with the king's support to carry his crozier through the boundaries of Wales, [he was willing], so far as the king and the archbishop were concerned, to rest content with this informal recognition of his authority'.²⁵

²³ GW, *De Invect.*, p.134. Gerald gives two dates for the start of Bernard's metropolitan case, 20 years and 26 years after the start of his episcopate.

²⁴ GC, *Opera Omnia*, vi, *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, pp.105-106

²⁵ GW, *De Invect.*, p.32

This study has revealed extensive evidence that Bernard was indeed supported by the ‘favour and intimacy’ of Henry I.²⁶ This was at a level which was on a par with the highest in the land and was far in excess of that enjoyed by any other Welsh bishops, making Bernard a powerful force in Wales. This power was not personal and could only be exercised with the knowledge of that royal authority. The clearest example of this is the Llandaff dispute during which Bernard was able to resist both his opponent in Wales, Urban of Llandaff, and papal wishes until conditions were favourable to have the dispute resolved favourably for St. David’s.²⁷ Such was Bernard’s authority that he exercised ecclesiastical power over more of Wales than did any other bishop of St. David’s before the disestablishment of the Church of England in the 1920’s and especially before the creation of the bishopric of St. Asaph. It was not at any point a metropolitan authority, either tacitly or officially. Bernard’s ‘authority’ was based on two facts. The large see of St. David’s with its relative wealth and traditional association with St. David was the most important in Wales at the time of Bernard’s arrival.²⁸ Secondly, and more importantly, was Bernard’s close relationship with Henry I and the archbishop of Canterbury, particularly Archbishop William.²⁹

With the death of Henry I and Archbishop William in consecutive years 1135 and 1136, Bernard needed to find another way to ensure that as a foreigner in his own diocese, his position would continue to be secure. Given the resurgence the Welsh enjoyed after Henry’s death, this was especially needed.³⁰ This security could have

²⁶ *ibid*, p.32

²⁷ See above, Chapter 2, pp.88-108.

²⁸ *History of Gruffud ap Cynan* pp.124-130 in *Ep.Acts* D.7

²⁹ Gervase of Canterbury, vol.i, p.97,98

³⁰ See above, Chapter 5, pp.207-210.

come from the new king, Stephen, who according to a letter reproduced by Gerald appears to have offered a simulacrum of metropolitan status to Bernard by allowing him to consecrate the new bishop of St. Asaph around 1136-1140.³¹ But the combination of the reassertion of his authority by the new archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, and the breakdown of the relationship between Stephen and Bernard made this an impossibility and may well have left him vulnerable, an ageing Anglo-Norman, in an increasingly hostile environment. In England he found protection and briefly success, by aligning himself with the cause of the Empress Matilda. But in Wales, the Empress could not hope to provide Bernard and his diocese the protection by which his affinity with Henry I had afforded.

What he did to ensure and perhaps strengthen his position in Wales as well as to do damage to Theobald of Canterbury who was a strong supporter of King Stephen, was to use the traditions, real and invented of his diocese, to construct a case for the creation of a metropolitan diocese at St. David's.³² This brought the security he desired. Gerald records a meeting which he says took place on 1 November 1140 between Bernard and the most powerful of the Welsh princes where they agreed to support Bernard in his metropolitan case.³³ So this work will argue, began the metropolitan case of St. David's under Bishop Bernard which Gerald records in some detail. What can a detailed examination of the letters presented by Gerald tell us about the case and more importantly, can what he says on this matter be trusted?

³¹ *ibid.*

³² See above Chapter 5, pp.219-239.

³³ *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, ed. Pryce, pp.322-323

Chronologically the first letter presented by Gerald as evidence of Bernard's metropolitan ambitions is a letter written to Pope Honorius II (1124-1130) by the chapter (*conventus*) of St. David's.³⁴ Parts of this letter have marked similarities to the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth.³⁵ If genuine and sent, and meant as an assertion of St. David's metropolitan rights, this will expose a problem to the thesis which will be presented below, that the metropolitan case was begun in earnest by Bernard around 1139-1140 in response to the breakdown of his relations with King Stephen, which required Bernard to find new allies and make trouble for his political opponents in England. It must therefore be demonstrated that this letter is not part of the metropolitan dispute.

The first clue that this would be a correct assumption is the way the chapter chose to describe itself. The word *conventus* is different to that used by the chapter in the later letter to Eugenius III in which the word *capitulum* is used.³⁶ The explanation for this change of style lies in the change of form within the chapter itself. The change from a traditional *clas* church into a more conventional chapter of secular canons brought about this change in style.³⁷ The evidence that this change took place is most clearly demarcated by the '*Dedicatio Menevensis ecclesiae*' recorded in the *Annales Cambriae* in 1131.³⁸ The language used would indicate that the letter may well come from the period when the changes to the chapter of St. David's had not yet taken full effect, perhaps before 1131. This would correspond well with possible dates of a genuine letter 1124x1130. But the question remains. If it was

³⁴ GW, *De Invect.*, p.143

³⁵ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.4

³⁶ GW, *De Invect.*, pp. 139-141

³⁷ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp.172-177.

³⁸ *AC*, p.39

genuine, why was the letter produced with a seemingly strong argument for the archiepiscopal status of St. David's, when by Gerald's own admission the case was not taken up by Bernard until at least ten years after the letter was written?

One answer clearly presents itself, namely that the letter was first produced to satisfy a different need - that of the Llandaff dispute. As part of that case, Urban of Llandaff had claimed that his see was pre-eminent amongst the Welsh dioceses, but that since the coming of Saint Augustine they had been loyal to the archbishop of Canterbury.³⁹ Here the chapter of St. David's set the record straight from their own perspective. It is difficult to prove this argument, but there is clear circumstantial evidence. The letter purports to have been written at a time when the dispute was at its height and reaching its conclusion (1125-1131). Both sides were going backwards and forwards to Anglo-Norman church councils and the papacy in order to reach a favourable conclusion.⁴⁰ So we have a letter that was written at a plausible date when the chapter of St. David's had need to write to the pope on matters which are contained within the document. There is internal evidence to suggest that that early date is correct. There is no reason why the letter could not be used to support a case for the metropolitan status of St David's, when the issue arose in the 1130's. But if Gerald were to be constructing an entirely fake document, it would surely be better to produce a letter that was within his own time frame for the date of the dispute (1135-1148). All the evidence suggests this is a genuine letter which was later used to support an argument for which it was not originally intended. This may also explain

³⁹ Crouch 'Urban: First Bishop of Landaff.', p.11.

⁴⁰ See above, Chapter 2 pp.88-108.

the link with Geoffrey of Monmouth, for if Gerald uses it as historical proof of the status of St. David's why not Geoffrey of Monmouth?

The anonymous biographer of David Fitz Gerald claims that Bernard pursued his metropolitan claims under three popes - Honorius II, Innocent II and Lucius II.⁴¹ This confirms that the bishop and chapter of St. David's used the letter to Honorius II as part of the metropolitan case. It therefore comes as no surprise that Gerald produces letters about the case from both popes, Innocent and Lucius.⁴² These differ from the letters from Honorius II in that they are especially related to a specific case brought by Bernard to papal jurisdiction. A copy of any letter sent to the pope by the chapter would be housed at St. David's. There is no reason to doubt their authenticity, for although Gerald leaves out some of the details used to authenticate the documents of the time, such as dating and location clauses at the end of both documents - something which has caused their authenticity to be doubted - it should be remembered that it is the content of the papal documents that Gerald was interested in. *De Invectionibus* was not designed as a book of evidence to be presented at a legal trial of the case of St. David's. Like most historians Gerald was interested in presenting to the reader what was needed to be seen in order to accept or reject his arguments. Acceptance of the genuineness of the evidence was, perhaps foolishly, taken for granted by Gerald who was genuinely convinced of the credibility of both the evidence and therefore the argument presented in his work. The counter-argument of this is that Gerald forged or made up the evidence presented. Why do this? Given that there was a case proceeding during the time

⁴¹ GC, *De Jure*, p.431.

⁴² GW *De Invect.*, pp.141,142,136,137

period into which the evidence fitted, it would be absolutely incredible if during that time there were not letters produced on the subject by both the popes and the chapter of St. David's. Documents of the type which Gerald reproduces were almost certainly sent between St. David's and Rome, and vice versa - the two places where Gerald says that he found the documents. This provides a circumstantial case that the documents presented by Gerald are genuine.

It is possible to question the validity of the documents produced by Gerald because they are certainly not totally accurate copies of the original documents they are drawn from and they cannot be cross-referenced within the existing papal registers of the chapter muniments at St. David's to evaluate the degree of authenticity reproduced.⁴³ It is therefore possible but for these reasons perverse to reject them as evidence. Where it is possible to cross-reference incidents described in these letters with other evidence, for example the biography of David Fitz Gerald, the events fit well.⁴⁴ Secondly, if going to the trouble of faking the document from a pope, surely a scholar as thorough as Gerald, would have gone to the trouble of making it look as authentic as possible in order not to attract suspicion. The lack of attention to diplomatic detail in the reproduction of the documents, far from betraying a lack of authenticity, would suggest a genuineness of substance, if not of originality.

We may now turn to two documents that are neither papal nor *capitular* but which show something of the role played by the native Welsh in Bernard's metropolitan

⁴³ *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085*, ed., H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002); *Pope Urban II, The Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)*, ed., R. Somerville (Oxford, 1996)

⁴⁴ GC, *De Jure*, pp.431-434; M. Richter, 'A new Edition of the So-called *Vita Davidis Secundi*', *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, 22 (1966-68), pp.245-249.

ambitions. The first is a letter from the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan pledging support for Bernard now that he had decided to fight for the metropolitan status of St. David's.⁴⁵ The second is (seemingly) a letter from Bernard asking for the help of Simeon, archdeacon of Bangor, in presenting the case of St. David's to the council of Rheims in 1148.⁴⁶ Curiously both appear twice within a matter of pages, why should this be so? It is difficult to interpret, but this work will argue that it is yet another sign of authenticity of content within Gerald's work, but also that he may not have been working from originals in this case. In both cases, the content of the two documents is virtually identical, and there is no disagreement in overall meaning that would require the production of both sources and also an explanation from Gerald, as to why those differences occurred.⁴⁷

The logical explanation for the reproduction by Gerald of two versions of these documents is that there were two extant copies of each document and wishing to give as full an account as possible of the content of the original documents, Gerald produces them both. This explanation would give further weight to the view that Gerald was not seeking to deceive with the documents he presents but to reproduce the content of the documents he found in both Rome and St. David's in order that people might be persuaded of the righteousness of the case which he presents. So here at least Gerald seems not to be working from originals. In the author's view neither of the documents produced by Gerald in this case are originals, otherwise why not produce only the single original. In the letter to Simeon, we may choose to find that Gerald has dramatised the original text, but as he had no original text to

⁴⁵ GW *De Invect.*, pp.146-147; *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, ed., Pryce, pp.322,323.

⁴⁶ GW *De Invect.*, p.142

⁴⁷ *ibid*, pp.143,146

work from, a little artistic licence may well have seemed acceptable to Gerald in order to emphasise his point. This was after all Bernard's 'last gasp' comment on the case, dramatic feeling was therefore called for, and was perhaps added to emphasise the basic meaning of what Bernard actually expressed in the letter.⁴⁸

The weight of internal evidence would support this conclusion; this must be taken into account when using the letter as evidence for the events surrounding the metropolitan dispute. Even if we dismiss this letter altogether, it would not significantly affect either the chronology of the dispute or have sufficient weight to greatly alter the conclusions which the evidence as a whole suggest. What will significantly affect these conclusions are the documents reproduced by Gerald relating to the last phase of the metropolitan dispute of Bishop Bernard, which began around 1146 during the pontificate of Eugenius III and ended with Bernard's death in April 1148. Gerald begins to tell this concluding chapter in both Bernard's metropolitan claim and his life, in the short ecclesiastical history of the see of St. David's he includes with the documents in *De Invectionibus*. He writes:

'Bernardus ille pro reuocanda ecclesie sue dignitate laborans, demum per multas uexationes Meldis in Francia coram Eugenio papa, Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo super questione status controuersiam mouit, et cum dies partibus super libertate et dignitate Meneuensis ecclesie prefixus fuisset, morte preuentus ulterius non processit, prescriptionem tamen interruptit, sicut in registro Eugenii pape continetur. Quo inspecto et hoc tandem Deo dante reperto, curiam inde Romanam premuniuimus, sicut etiam bulla eiusdem Eugenii testatur, quam postea Meneuie quesitam cum diligentia, per Dei gratiam inuenimus, ac domino pape et cardinalibus,

⁴⁸ *ibid*, pp.143,146

simul cum bulla Lucii II, super eodem similiter a nobis inuenta, secundo ad curiam reuersi, in publico auditorio ostendimus et legi fecimus.

Successit ei episcopus tempore regis Stephani, cui nomen Daud, uir generosus et nobilis, a Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo similiter per regiam uiolentiam consecratus, cuius anno penultimo, cum per xxvii annos in episcopatu durasset, canonici Meneuenses coram Huguicione cardinali et sedit apostolice legato Londoniis per litis contestationem aut sinodalem proclamationem contra archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Ricardum factam, inerruperunt prescriptionem'.⁴⁹

Unfortunately the register of Pope Eugenius III and Lucius II are now lost and the letter to Archbishop Theobald does not appear in the extant registers of the archbishops of Canterbury. The location of the meeting of the curia which decided the case in June 1147 can also not be independently verified but its location in the Île-de-France in the vicinity of Rheims, has a ring of authenticity. Other St. David's sources, such as the anonymous biography of David Fitz Gerald add to the feel of authenticity of Gerald's accounts, but this is hardly surprising as they come from the same stable, but not the same author.

What can be concluded therefore regarding the authenticity of Gerald of Wales's account of Bernard's metropolitan dispute? For the purposes of this work the content on the whole will be treated as accurate if not entirely facsimile copies of the documents they purport to be. In some cases, it is likely that Gerald copied them from the original documents and we may place in this category the papal bulls found in Rome and also the letters of the bishop and chapter of St. David's. More problematic are the Welsh letters of the princes and from Bernard to Simeon

⁴⁹ *ibid*, p.134

archdeacon of Bangor. These are more likely copies of copies hence their appearance twice in the same account and the slight differences. The letter to Simeon in particular lacks genuine authenticity, although it may well be the ghost of real correspondence between the two men. Even with these problems, the group as a whole still represents the most authentic and extensive evidence on the metropolitan claim available to modern historians, therefore it will form the backbone of the evidence for this work.

‘He is consecrated archbishop of the entire British race, his city is also declared metropolis of the whole country so that whosoever ruled it should be regarded as archbishop’.⁵⁰ Thus Bernard’s diocese was an amalgam of the identities and traditions of the Welsh church and those of its new Norman masters. When Rhigyfarch claimed that the saint had been ‘created archbishop of the entire British race’, he may have had in mind that St. David had been the metropolitan of the church in Wales.⁵¹ The pre-Norman Welsh tradition had a much looser conception of hierarchy than did the Normans. It is probable that there were in pre-Norman Wales a much greater number of bishops than the four that became the fixed in the course of the twelfth century. The term ‘archbishop’ was applied to the holder of more than one Welsh bishopric: for example, Elbod (Elfoddwy), archbishop of Gwynedd, who had archiepiscopal authority over the sees of Gwynedd, St. David’s and Morgannwg. Gwynedd and Morgannwg are the future post-Norman dioceses of Bangor and Llandaff.⁵² The term ‘archbishop’ when placed in its Welsh context

⁵⁰ Rhigyfarch, *St.D.*, pp.45, 46, 1080x1090’s - on the consecration of St. David as archbishop of Menevia.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² *AC*, pp.10,11.

referred to men who, at a given point in time were of special influence or of special spiritual significance. Elfoddwy for example was the bishop responsible for the Welsh church adopting the Roman dates for Easter.⁵³ The 'hierarchy' of the pre-Norman Welsh church does not appear to have been as uniform as that which came into existence after the coming of the Normans though there were some seemingly permanent features such as bishopric at St. David's. The evidence suggests that bishoprics conformed to political or dynastic hegemonies and that their jurisdictions waxed and waned with the political success of the particular dynasty with which they were connected.⁵⁴ The major ecclesiastical centres of organisation in pre-Norman Wales were the *clas* churches. These were also often connected with a particular dynastic family such as the Sulien family at St. David's and Llanbadarn Fawr immediately prior to the Norman Conquest. The *clas* churches were monastic in organisation with the lands of the church supporting a community of canons who ran both the affairs of the *clas* and its surrounding chapels. The heads of a major *clas* church may have been regarded as 'bishops', hence the large number of bishops mentioned in some sources.⁵⁵ There is a strong case for saying that the idea of a metropolitan Wales was further developed by Bernard who brought with him a rigidly structured idea about the hierarchy of the clergy.

When the preconceived ideas of the new Norman bishop met with the traditions of his diocese, a process of synthesis appears to have happened when Bernard recognised the prestige and power exercised by his saintly predecessor. It is important to realize that Bernard would have conceptualised such an archbishopric in

⁵³ *ibid*, p.11.

⁵⁴ Crouch, 'The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan', pp.20-41

⁵⁵ Ellis, 'The Catholic Church in the Welsh Laws', pp.1-66

terms of his own understanding of church hierarchy. Thus the traditions of the diocese of Menevia were given a makeover of meaning. Both supporters and detractors advanced the metropolitan case upon this new Norman conception of Menevia's traditions. This is graphically shown with reference to the supporters of the right of Menevia/St. David's. For Yardley, who clearly distinguishes between the archbishops of Menevia and bishops of St. David's, the change between bishop and archbishop occurred with Bernard's arrival.⁵⁶ The cultural differences evident in the Welsh and Anglo-Norman concept of ecclesiastical hierarchies had a profound effect on the history of Bernard's episcopate and those of his successors.

The Metropolitan Case of St. David's

Since becoming bishop, Bernard without exception attested as bishop of St. David. This suggests that Bernard saw himself as the apostolic successor to the Welsh saint.⁵⁷ Bernard's last fight would be to retain for him and his successors the dignity and privileges attributed to his ancient predecessor. In his previous legal cases Bernard had always been able to count on the political and ecclesiastical support of the leaders of the Anglo-Norman world; now he would go up against them. His own Angevin and Welsh allies may have protected Bernard's position at St. David's, but essentially Bernard would have to fight his final case at the curia alone.

⁵⁶ *Menevia Sacra*, pp.32,33. Yardley, in common with the tradition at St. David's, refers to all of St. David's successors up to Bernard's arrival as 'archbishop'. Following Bernard's consecration the term bishop is used. This follows the argument put forward by Bernard and his chapter during the metropolitan dispute.

⁵⁷ The Latin '*Sancti David*' or '*Sancto David*' is usually translated as 'bishop of St. David's' but is clearly in the first person singular and so 'bishop of St. David' is more accurate. Bernard must have seen himself a successor to St. David in much the same way as the popes are successors of St. Peter. This is similar to how the King James Bible translates *filio David*, (son of David) from the Vulgate bible, as both are in the first person singular. www.latinvulgate.com, Matthew 21 v 9.

The first recorded appearance of the case for the metropolitan status of St. David's being made during Bernard's episcopate is a letter written by the chapter of St. David's to Pope Honorius II (1124-30). As calendered by Conway Davies, from the convent [*conuentus*] of the church of SS. Andrew and David and the whole synod of the same church, as given by Gerald is:

'Our church was, and had been, metropolitan from the very first beginnings of Christianity, which Lucius, monarch of the whole kingdom of Britain, and all his people received from the preachers Fagan and Duuian, sent to him by Pope Eleutherius, A.D. 140. To propagate the sacrament of the Christian faith, he reformed archbishoprics in this kingdom, with twenty-seven bishops, as many, namely, as there had been officers among them in pagan times. Of these archbishops, that of their church was found in historical fact to be third in number, but in position of the provinces of the kingdom, first.⁵⁸ To that see, St. David was in course of time elevated, by the common election of the council of clergy and laity of the whole kingdom of western Britain, and afterwards consecrated archbishop by St. Dubricius, his predecessor, and by his own synod, as the custom was in that church. His successors, also, as long as peace and prosperity lasted in the church and kingdom, enjoyed the archiepiscopal dignity in all things, until this most recent time, when by all manner of accidental despites of many disputes and tribulations, the church has been cruelly and miserably deprived of its privileges and possessions. They read also in the history of the English, that preserving its own due liberty their church did no obedience to St. Augustine, because in the time of his predecessors of the church of Trinovantum [London] (which before his coming had been metropolitan, which church now was of his doing made suffragan to Canterbury), it has been subject only to the church of Rome. The church of Canterbury cannot demand to be made primate in respect of anything, from its secondary place, as Eleutherius when he gave the original rank [to St. David's] made it immune from all exaction of obedience. For the original authority of the

⁵⁸ 1. St. David's, 2. Canterbury, 3. York.

papal grant could not be taken away, as he himself had given the dignity, by a new arrival, especially as Pope Gregory had corroborated all nature of awards of his predecessors. Nor has Canterbury the presumptuous right to claim to itself the promotion of the prelates of their church, because Archbishop Ralph had consecrated as prelate their Bernard, saving the dignity of their church, for he ought to have been ordained in the customary way. Of this they have the certain proof in that each of his successors, laying aside the exercise of pastoral care, appointed their successors, who were consecrated by them and by their own synod. This was so done until his predecessor, Wilfred, who, fearing the coming of the Normans (*nostrae gentis*), did not dare to appoint his successor, according to the custom of his predecessors. By this unusual event, it so happened that Bernard was lawfully elected to their church and consecrated in the aforesaid manner. For the histories of their province, and of other nations, state that it is established in the said right by the authority of great antiquity that this incident alone is not sufficient to make them subject to him [Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury]. Also it is true that several archbishops and bishops ordained by that church to the office of preaching the Catholic faith were sent to the island of Ireland and also to many nations of other lands, as will be shown more fully later on. Among those, St. Samson, born in the parts of the region of their Demetia and consecrated in that same church, as may be read in his Life, fleeing from the imminent danger of the plague, crossed over to the monastery of Dol, of the people of Brittany, with the honour of the pallium. Before his coming that place did not have that distinction, but afterwards, for all succeeding time, it was honoured by the dignity of the pallium. Wherefore they begged the pope that their pristine dignities should be restored and their possessions recovered. Besides, they published as the undoubted truth of the histories that from their see St. Patrick was sent to the island of Ireland as the first preacher to preach the faith of the name of Christ. Thereafter, St. David sent across frequently several of his disciples after him to preach there at various intervals of time. These, together with St. Patrick, in the institution and doctrine of their disciples preached continuously in that island in the faith of Christ and the catholic name.

Everywhere the church prospered so that by the due right of their authority bishops were ordained in that land by them, and were appointed in diverse places, as the reason of their holy deeds required, whose names still remain in writings. For these causes they beseech that their dignity should again be restored to them so that, as in that land and in diverse nations of other lands under the Roman church, it should stand as a chief seminary of the Christian faith. Thus, by the pope's grant, they should recover their prosperous dignity in its said most ancient right'.⁵⁹

There is no other evidence of the metropolitan status of St. David's being raised with the papacy before the mid 1130's at the earliest. Why does this comprehensive letter appear so far out of context with the rest of the evidence regarding the metropolitan dispute? Barrow has suggested an interesting solution. She points out a marked similarity between the *capitular* letter and an entry in the text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, iv, 19, written 1136-8.⁶⁰ The *Historia Regum Britanniae* relates the history of Lucius who wrote to Pope Eleutherius to ask for reception into the Christian faith. The pope sent Fuganus and Duvianus and after the conversion of Lucius he converted Wales's pagan hierarchy into a christian one.⁶¹ For Barrow it was Geoffrey's writing which inspired the chapter of St. David's to think about the possibility of an archbishopric for Wales. This idea has merit but needs qualification especially given the fact that a case for the metropolitan status of St. David, and therefore by implication the see of St. David's, had been set out by Rhigyfarch in the 1090's.

⁵⁹ GW *De Invect*, pp.143-6, in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.80.

⁶⁰ *St.D.Ep.A.*, p.4.

⁶¹ *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. A. Griscom (London 1929), book 4, chapter 19.

Brooke for example, argued that although the letter bore a 'remarkable resemblance to Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* in its use of similar sources', this does not mean that one was necessarily constructed from the other.⁶² He argues convincingly that each of the three periods, during which the archiepiscopal status of St. David's was raised in writing – that of Rhigyfarch circa 1081, Bernard in the 1130-40's and Gerald of Wales in 1203 - had its own distinctive version of the 'St. David's legend'.⁶³ As the text in the letter to Honorius II resembled none of the 'legends' corresponding to the above dates the letter must according to Brooke represent a fourth version of the legend. He explains its existence thus: 'This seems most easily explained if we suppose it to represent the state of the legend in fashion at St. David's in the late 1120's, when the dispute with Llandaff caused the chapter of St. David's to resurrect its ancient traditions and claims'.⁶⁴

As argued above, the seeds of the idea to pursue archiepiscopal status were probably sown at the time of the unfulfilled proposal between King Stephen and Bernard concerning the consecration of the first bishop of St. Asaph. The non-fulfilment of this led to Bernard turning to the princes of Wales in November 1140 and defecting to the Angevin party.⁶⁵ The possible agreement between King Stephen and Bernard and the publication of Geoffrey of Monmouth's book are relatively concurrent in date. There is therefore nothing to reject Barrow's suggestion that Geoffrey of Monmouth's text was additionally used to bolster the archiepiscopal case of the see.

⁶² Brooke, C. N. L. 'The Archbishops of St. David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk' in *Studies in the Early British Church*, by N. K. Chadwick, K. Hughes, C. Brooke, K. Jackson (Cambridge, 1958), p.233.

⁶³ GW *De Invect.* Gerald's work contains material for both Bernard's and Gerald's metropolitan cases.

⁶⁴ Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St. David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', p.233.

⁶⁵ *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, pp.194-197. See above Chapter 5, pp.219-239.

But it seems likely that Geoffrey's text assisted rather than initiated the chapter's endeavours.

To summarise St. David's case, Pope Eleutherius had sent a mission to Britain in 140 in order to spread Christianity. This mission created three archbishoprics. These were St. David's, London and York. In the fullness of time St. David had been duly consecrated archbishop. He and his successors had enjoyed archiepiscopal status until the coming of the Normans. Furthermore St. David's could not be subject to Canterbury as the former archbishopric had been created by Pope Gregory I who recognised all the awards of his predecessors. By this argument because the archiepiscopal status of St. David's conferred by Pope Eleutherius predated the creation and authority of Canterbury it could not be made subject to that authority. The subjection of St. David's to Canterbury had been achieved through the ignorance of Bishop Bernard and fear of Norman power prevented Bernard's predecessor Bishop Wilfred from holding a proper election. The lack of a pallium at St. David's could also be explained by its removal by Archbishop Sampson of St. David's who had, fearing the plague, travelled to the monastery at Dol in Brittany, to which he had transferred the pallium of St. David's. As history has shown, the true place for St. Sampson's pallium was St. David's which they now wished the pope to restore.

Not everyone in Wales agreed with the claims made by the chapter of St. David's. Bernard's rival Bishop Urban of Llandaff in a letter to Pope Calixtus II (1119-24) asserted the historical pre-eminence of his see among Welsh churches. Llandaff's status and privileges were set forth in the *cyrographum* of St. Teilo, which forms part of the *Book of Llan Dav*. The *cyrographum* of St. Teilo, circa ninth century, is a

document describing the life of St. Teilo with all his rights, privileges and lands under his control. This document was used by Urban to demonstrate the rights and privileges of the see of Llandaff. There is an important difference between the attitudes of the two sees, for Bishop Urban specifically states that since the coming of St. Augustine, Llandaff had been subject to that see and had not been an independent archbishopric. In the *Book of Llan Dav* there is also a life of St. Samson but, in contrast to the St. David's version, this records that St. Samson transferred his archiepiscopal authority from St. David's to Dol in Brittany and only refers to St. Samson being an archbishop after his arrival in Brittany. The Llandaff text goes on to argue that far from being the independent leader of the Welsh church, St. Samson received his legitimacy through the leaders of the church in southeast Wales. Naturally the standing of Llandaff would be enhanced by any connection to the famous St. Germanus of Auxerre.⁶⁶

The events of the mid 1130's and the boundary dispute between Urban and Bernard which was resolved largely in Bernard's favour in 1133 have been discussed earlier in this work.⁶⁷ It has been argued that Bernard began pursuing the metropolitan claims in the late 1130s. The historical record shows that Bernard began claiming metropolitan status and receiving the support of most of the important Welsh princes by the time they suggested a meeting between the princes of north and south Wales with Bernard at Aberdyfi, November 1140.⁶⁸ Why did Bernard choose to repudiate

⁶⁶ J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaff and the Norman Church in Wales*, pp.64-65. Davies's main source in these pages is the *cyrographum* of St. Teilo. St. Germanus (St. Germain of Auxerre) was sent into Britain by Pope Celestine I and Leo I (years 429 and 447) to combat Palagianism -The same role with which St. David's associates the elevation of St. David; popular in Celtic Britain, he had been tutor to St. Patrick. www.newadvent.org - St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre.

⁶⁷ See above, Chapter 2, pp.88-108.

⁶⁸ See above, Chapter 5, pp.230-231 for details of this meeting.

his loyalty to the archbishops of Canterbury i.e. to break his vow of obedience taken in 1115, and plunge the Anglo-Norman church which he had served so faithfully for forty years into an ecclesiastical conflict?

Bernard's reasons were pastoral and political as well as personal. Bishop Bernard had always steadfastly defended the rights of his diocese as he saw them and deployed much personal skill and political influence to overcome the threat posed by Bishop Urban of Llandaff to the coherent existence of the diocese of St. David's. Bernard is known to have commanded at least two powerful magnates, Maurice fitz Gerald and Robert earl of Hereford, to desist in their harassment of the church or face excommunication.⁶⁹ It is also generally accepted that Bernard was able to limit Norman encroachment in his diocese more effectively than other contemporary Welsh bishops, partly due to his extensive political influence.⁷⁰ A picture therefore emerges of Bernard as being determined and able to protect the rights of his diocese when they were violated either in his eyes or in the eyes of those he protected both against Norman and Welsh alike.

⁶⁹ *St.D.Ep.A.*, nos.5-1143 x 1148, and 6-1125 x 1148. Both are warnings against encroachment on monastic land within the diocese of St. David's - the earl of Hereford against the Benedictines of Brecon and Maurice fitz Gerald against the Augustinians of Carmarthen. Although Bernard only mentioned excommunication explicitly against Maurice fitz Gerald in support of his own canons at Carmarthen, the intent behind both messages is clear.

⁷⁰ Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p.173: 'The figures obtained from the *Taxatio* and other relevant evidence reveal that in the diocese of Llandaff between a quarter and a third of the churches had been appropriated to religious houses before the end of the thirteenth century. In the diocese of St. David's the proportion was a good deal less, more in the region of a fifth of the total number of churches. Had the cartularies of all the religious houses in the diocese survived, the percentage obtained would probably have been higher, but hardly higher than that for the diocese of Llandaff. The diocese of St. David's was a large one. The religious houses within it were more evenly spread and Anglo-Norman influence was less extensive than within the diocese of Llandaff'. As these churches were normally granted to the monasteries by Anglo-Norman lords, it would therefore suggest that proportionately less church land was acquired by Anglo-Norman lords in the diocese of St. David's than other Welsh bishoprics.

If a pastoral defence of the rights of his diocese formed any part of Bernard's thinking in making his case for metropolitan status it was by no means his only consideration. Bernard was intimately involved in the affairs of the Anglo-Norman 'Civil War' between Stephen and Matilda. This conflict created a greater impetus and urgency in Bernard's actions relating to the defence of his diocesan rights at least in terms of the timing which lay behind Bernard's prosecution of this case. By 1143 Angevin fortunes had declined to a level where there was no prospect of immediate success in England. Furthermore Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury since 1139, was beginning to assert his authority independently of the legate Henry bishop of Winchester who had in any case returned the largely grateful English church to its loyalty to Stephen.⁷¹ Bernard as a strong supporter of the Empress Matilda had no longer the high place therefore within the councils of the church and state he had always served. With his diocese safely protected behind the bulk of Angevin territory in the March and south west England and with the support of the Welsh princes and their ecclesiastical followers Bernard felt sufficiently emboldened to answer Theobald's attempt to reassert his authority in Wales. This was precipitated by Theobald's consecration of the first bishop of St. Asaph in 1143 a territory that had previously lain within the sphere of influence of St. David's.⁷² (In the first two decades of the twelfth-century Powys prospered at expense of Gwynedd and Deheubarth and had annexed both Ceredigion and Meirionnydd at the expense of the former.) This consecration had previously been promised to Bernard by King

⁷¹ See above, Chapter 5, pp.256-257.

⁷² The archdeaconry of Powys had previously lain within the power of the family of Sulien bishop of Menevia: 'At the close of that year died Daniel, son of Sulien, bishop of Menevia, the man who was arbitrator between Gwynedd and Powys in the strife that was between them ... And he was archdeacon of Powys', *Brut*, s.a. 1127, p.111. For more information, see J. E. Lloyd, 'Bishop Sulien and his Family', *NLWJ* 2 (1941-2), pp.1-6

Stephen. Bernard immediately appealed to Pope Lucius II claiming complete metropolitan jurisdiction over Wales. Given that the date of Lucius II's reply to Bishop Bernard is given as 14 May 1144, Bernard cannot have sent his letters much later than December 1143. Bernard's original appeal to Lucius II does not survive and the thrust of his appeal can only be guessed at but must have been fierce indeed and also sufficiently persuasive to elicit a favourable response from the pope. We can only surmise its content from the pope's reply in which he 'acknowledged the receipt of the bishop's letters' and stated that by the sins of the inhabitants and the overwhelming malice of depraved men, the dignity of the church [St. David's] had elapsed, he proposed to direct his legates to those parts soon for the affairs of the churches, to whom the bishop should expound that cause by ancient men and the authentic writings of his church'.⁷³

The reason for the plural in Lucius' reply can be explained by the fact that Bernard was not the only bishop seeking metropolitan status for his diocese. Henry of Winchester had applied to the pope for his own metropolitan see, with Bath, Exeter, Hereford, Worcester, Salisbury, Chichester and Hyde Abbey as suffragans.⁷⁴ With the death on 24 September 1143 of Innocent II, Henry of Winchester's legateship lapsed, but hearing in December 1143 of the succession of Celestine II (26 September 1143), he determined to go immediately to Rome to press his claim for his reappointment.⁷⁵ Being unsuccessful in this he changed tack and used his

⁷³ For a fuller explanation of the events leading up to Bernard's prosecution of his claims, see above, Chapter 5, pp.219-239. A version of Lucius' letter is to be found in GC, *De Jure*, p.187 and GW, *De Invect.*, pp.136, 137, see also *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.123.

⁷⁴ Davies, 'Materials', p.317.

⁷⁵ See, Saltman, *Theobald*, pp.19-21.

interview with Pope Lucius II, who had succeeded the short lived Celestine II on 12 March 1144 to argue for a more permanent solution to the problems.

In these circumstances it may be inferred from the pope's reply to Bernard that the latter had put forward a credible case for the creation of an archbishopric in Wales centred upon the church of St. Andrew and St. David. Popes generally did not send a legate - an expensive and time-consuming business - to investigate a case they thought without merit. This being the case, there was insufficient evidence for the pope to make a judgment and he decided therefore to send his legate from the curia to decide not only this question but also the relationship between the churches of Canterbury and Winchester. This matter Bernard had alluded to in his earlier letter (1132-43) to Pope Innocent II by stating 'between the provinces, namely ours (St. David's) and that of Canterbury, there lies the province of London with eight counties'.⁷⁶ Davies suggests the naming error of London for Winchester. If Winchester is substituted for London, the reference to eight counties makes better sense. A second argument, which is not picked up by Davies, explains the substitution of London for Winchester by Gerald more plausibly. Whilst it makes no sense for Bernard to have referred to a possible archbishopric in London, it makes every sense for him to have referred to the claim of Henry for Winchester which if successful would have strengthened his own claim immeasurably. The opposite is true for Gerald. By his time there was no archiepiscopal claim emanating from Winchester but there had been a recent claim emanating from London, where Gilbert Foliot had made a claim as part of his battle with Thomas Becket. For Gerald, who was writing in support of his own claim, it made more sense for the third English

archiepiscopal claim to come from London rather than Winchester, but Bernard's original letter would have undoubtedly made use of the Winchester claim.⁷⁷ Any reference to a map of twelfth-century dioceses in England would show just how advantageous an archbishopric of Winchester with the suffragans suggested would have supported the argument for the creation of a separate archbishopric for Wales. For all this there is no direct evidence of any co-operation between Henry and Bernard on this issue. With Canterbury and Winchester at loggerheads and a new relatively pro-Angevin pope in Rome it is likely that Bernard with all his experience of the papal curia would have recognised that now would be a good time to raise his own metropolitan claim with or without the co-operation of any other bishop.⁷⁸

After 1144 there is no firm evidence that places Bernard in England or Wales.⁷⁹ His departure from the Angevin court at Devizes after this date may have been connected with the coming of the legate, Bishop Imar of Tusculum, who had been empowered to examine the cases of the two churches. Ralf of Diceto (d.1210) states that 'Pope Lucius sent a pallium to Henry bishop of Winchester to whom he proposed to assign seven bishops'.⁸⁰ This would fit in well with historical record for at around the time of arrival of the bishop of Tusculum in England, Lucius II died (15 Feb 1145). The

⁷⁶ Davies, 'Materials', pp.317, 318. GW, *De Invect.*, pp.141, 142.

⁷⁷ Davies, 'Materials', pp.317, 18.

⁷⁸ Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, p.194

⁷⁹ There is much debate as to whether Bernard's letter written to Eugenius III 1145x1147 concerning a request for the canonisation of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (see below, p.302) refers to an event witnessed contemporary to the letter 1144x1145 or an earlier fire recorded by John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury as 1113; it therefore cannot be taken as firm locative evidence. *Saints' Lives*, p.122, note 2; Indeed J. Crook suggests 1113 as the most likely date, 'The physical setting of the cult of St Wulfstan' in *St Wulfstan and his World*, eds., J. S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (Ashgate, 2005), p. 207.

⁸⁰ Ralf of Diceto. *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, in *Opera Historica*. ed. W. Stubbs, vol.i (RS 1876), p.255; see also Saltman, *Theobald*, p.22. Further credibility is added to this by the fact that the number of suffragans mentioned is the number mentioned by Bernard in his reference to the Winchester metropolitan claim in his letter to Innocent II, if the counties mentioned in the letter can be taken as a reference to bishoprics.

news would have taken some time to reach England - long enough for both bishops to have received their palliums. But when the news of the death of the pope eventually became known, any grants of the pallium became questionable as the mandate of the legate would have lapsed. The departure of the bishop of Tusculum soon after 10 June 1145 would suggest that litigation did indeed end at Lucius II's death.⁸¹ As events transpired the new pope, Eugenius III chose to pursue a different course of action and the claim to archiepiscopal status by both Winchester and St. David's was once again put into abeyance.

With the succession of Eugenius III, Theobald had managed, more by luck than judgment, to hold onto the position he had held at the death of Innocent II. Canterbury had also managed to retain primacy over all its suffragans. Theobald was therefore *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, head of the church in England and Wales. The reactions of Theobald's two rivals, Bernard and Henry, were very different. Henry realised he could not hope to gain the favour of the new pope, who was strongly influenced by and a former pupil of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, given that many Cistercians and other reformers disliked Henry for his pluralism, his wealth and his lack of regard for clerical celibacy.⁸² With men of that mind in control of the papacy

⁸¹ *Councils and Synods*, p.1145. The editors suggest that the cardinal bishop never acted for Lucius but for his successor Eugenius. This conclusion fails to take into account that an arrival date of March or April would not have left sufficient time for the news of Pope Lucius' death to arrive in England. As an illustration of the time period necessary for news to journey from England to Rome, the journey of Archbishop Theobald in 1143-1144, can be used as an example. Theobald began his journey around Christmas 1143 and arrived in Rome on 8 March 1144. This time lapse would leave sufficient time for the events mentioned in the chronicles to have taken place. Once the death of the pope became known, and with the situation again in flux no formal consecration would have taken place. As the conditions never arose to complete either consecration - hence the minimal record of these events.

⁸² For Bernard of Clairvaux's views on the role of bishops and the effect on the church see, W. Williams, 'Episcopal Ideals', in *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Manchester, 1935), pp.159-189.

Henry could not hope to prevail in his case and the project was shelved for seven years.⁸³

For Bernard there were no such problems; although not a monk, evidence would suggest that he led a life more pleasing to the Cistercian reformers. He was an active patron of the Cistercian movement working in close co-operation with no less a person than Bernard of Clairvaux's younger brother Nivard who negotiated between Bernard and the Cistercian order as well as assisting the empress and Robert of Gloucester in their patronage of the Cistercians.⁸⁴ Bernard had another reason for optimism. Since the death of Innocent II the papacy had been increasingly leaning towards the Angevin cause. Celestine II is said to have been a 'disciple of the Angevins' and Eugenius and Bernard of Clairvaux both opposed Stephen.⁸⁵ In such a political environment Bernard had the experience and his alliances with the Angevin and Welsh princes to make success possible. In view of his advancing age (he is likely to have been well over seventy) an early resolution of his case was also imperative; unlike Henry, Bernard continued to pursue his case with increased determination.

Between 1145 and 1147 the battle between Bernard of St. David's and Theobald of Canterbury to secure their positions as metropolitan of the church in Wales reached its most crucial and intensive stage which culminated in June 1147 in a legal case before the Roman Curia argued personally by both men. By the beginning of the

⁸³ Saltman, *Theobald*, p.22.

⁸⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Cowley for his ever-helpful comments regarding Bernard's connections to, and patronage of, the Cistercians, especially in bringing to my attention the role-played by Nivard. For more on Nivard brother of Bernard of Clairvaux, see Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, pp.4, 11 sq., 29, 46, 51 sq., 80 sq., 83 sq.

twelfth century there were two main bodies assisting the function of the papal curia: a financial office (*camera*) and a secretariat or chancery (*cancellaria*). The latter department, in particular, developed during the course of the twelfth century shaped by the need to provide for the flood of petitions that effectively began in the 1130's. The growth of petitions was to some extent the result of Rome's increased initiative in the life of the Western church under the Gregorian papacy, for, when an instruction of a privilege had come from Rome, disputes about it would naturally have involved the questioning of papal authority. Paschal II, at the beginning of the century, had informed King Henry I of the two types of causes which should be heard at Rome: *causae maiores* (greater causes), and appeals from all who believed themselves to be oppressed.

The most detailed report of a judicial hearing in the papal curia in the twelfth century is that of Hariulf, Abbot of Oudenbourg, concerning his litigation in 1141 against the claim of the Abbot of St.-Medard of Soissons that Oudenbourg was a priory of his house. The eighty-year-old Hariulf went to Rome to protect the independence of his abbey. The day after his arrival in Rome, he sought an interview with the papal chancellor, Haimeric, cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova. Haimeric told Hariulf that 'although the examination of every case is in the care of the lord pope, the chariot of Israel and its horsemen have rightly been given to you'. Haimeric warned Hariulf not to accept bribery in the curia, for 'if I learn that you have [offered bribes], then you will lose both my counsel and the help of the lord pope'. The chancellor then took Hariulf to the *consistorium palatii* (probably the public audience chamber), 'where the lord pope sat on the judgement-seat with the cardinals at his right hand,

⁸⁵ Symeon of Durham, p.315; [Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, p.194].

while the greater Roman noblemen, with curled hair and clad in silk, stood or sat at his feet'. Welcoming Hariulf, the pope said, 'come to us tomorrow or the next day and we shall hear from you'. Hariulf came every day to the palace, but no opportunity occurred for the pope to hear his case. Whenever the pope saw Hariulf he said with a smile, 'it is not the custom of our curia to dismiss a venerable visitor in a hurry; let him linger and wander among us, let him improve his mind and learn to bear the dominion of Romans with equanimity'. Hariulf eventually prevailed on the chancellor and the more influential cardinals to persuade the pope to fix a day for the hearing, which he did on the ninth day after Hariulf's arrival in Rome. The hearing took place in the pope's bedchamber in the presence of the cardinals. Hariulf was ordered to sit on the pope's footstool where the chancellor also sat. The pope himself directed the proceedings which consisted of the abbot's statement of his grievances and the reading of several diplomas, and then retired with the cardinals to reach a judgement in secret. On the following day, Hariulf was summoned to hear the judgement which was in his favour, pronounced by the chancellor'.⁸⁶

This was a system which Bernard, the Anglo-Norman bishop with the greatest experience of the papal curia, would have known well. He had already taken part in three lengthy hearings before the curia, and prevailed in two: the Llandaff case, and the papal recognition for William de Corbeil. Only in the 1123 hearing on the Canterbury-York dispute, had Bernard lost a case, but now, like Abbot Hariulf, he was ageing. By the 1140s, he was most probably seventy-plus, and thus, in medieval terms, venerable indeed. To have any chance of success he saw that action was needed now.

⁸⁶ Davies, *The Book of Llandaff and the Norman Church in Wales*, pp.34-37.

As the dust settled following the dramatic events which surrounded the futile legateship of the Cardinal bishop of Tusculum, both he and Theobald had cause for optimism. Bernard, having come close to achieving his metropolitan ambitions over the Welsh in church, also had reason to believe that he would receive at the very least a fair hearing from the Pope Eugenius III. For Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury his objective was simple and more straightforward: to hold on to what he already had. With the support of King Stephen (at least for the moment) and the powerful apparatus of the English church (even, however grudgingly, Henry of Winchester), firmly behind him Theobald had good reason to feel confident of his position at home. Theobald was able to exercise his metropolitan authority even in areas still under Angevin control. Here it was Gilbert Foliot who acted as the archbishop's main agent and judge delegate.⁸⁷ The grant of the primacy to Theobald by Eugenius III in June 1145 was a further boost for the archbishop and reflects the influence of Theobald's advocates at the papal curia - chiefly among the growing English contingent headed by the papal chancellor Cardinal Robert Pullen to whom Gilbert Foliot attributes Eugenius's favourable decision.⁸⁸

Sometime between the election of Pope Eugenius III and the hearing of Bernard's metropolitan case before the pope in June 1147, Bernard appears to have written to the pope requesting the canonisation of the revered Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester.

⁸⁷ *Gilbert Foliot*, nos. 47-78, gives much evidence of this, particularly in the period after the grant of primacy to Theobald by Eugenius in June 1145.

⁸⁸ *ibid*, no.48. Cardinal Pullen went to Rome as a Cardinal in late 1144 and was promoted chancellor in January 1145; he died in the second half of 1146. He was among the first of an influx of English clerics into papal service at around this time, probably reflecting the increasing importance of the papacy in English church affairs. Others to enter papal service around this time included John of Salisbury and Nicholas Breakspear, the future Hadrian IV.

He was apparently prompted to do this through his personal experience of the miraculous survival of Wulfstan's tomb during a fire at Worcester.⁸⁹ The letter expresses Bernard's astonishment at the survival of the tomb and that as a consequence Wulfstan's name should be celebrated throughout the whole church.⁹⁰ This raises three questions: is the letter genuine? When was it written? Why was it written?

The doubts over the letter's authenticity come from the fact that it is only recorded in one source, the abridged version of William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani* which was produced by Senatus, the literary prior of the twelfth century, 1172x1174.⁹¹ By the time this was produced Bernard had been dead for more than twenty years and would therefore not be in a position to contradict any forgeries. His strong connections with the papal court and high-profile clash with the English ecclesiastical authorities were well within living memory. These would both resonate well with a potential supporter of the case for Wulfstan's canonisation. On the balance of probabilities the letter is probably genuine. The reason for this is that it stands alone as a document; it is not reproduced as one of many mutually supporting accounts on the incident and so it is likely that the letter does indeed originate from Bernard himself.

The second question surrounding this document is: when was it written? The date given in the *Vita Wulfstani* is 1147x1148. This date is extremely unlikely, for

⁸⁹ See above p.296.

⁹⁰ WM, *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. R. Darlington, Camden Society 40 (London, 1928), p.106.

⁹¹ E. Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester c.1008-1095* (Basil Blackwell, 1990), p.311

Bernard was probably on the continent between the summer of 1146 and his death in April 1148. It is most likely that between 1144, Bernard's last attestation to a charter of Empress Matilda and his hearing before Eugenius in June 1147 that he began to vigorously pursue his metropolitan claims for St. David's. Much of his time would have been spent in his diocese or at least in Wales and the Marches where communication with his chapter would have been easy, and his Angevin sympathies would have attracted little comment. Mason's more realistic dating of 1145x1147, would leave a satisfactory, if inexact, window of between 1145 and the middle of 1146 as the likely date of the letter.

The third question is why Bernard chose to write the letter. Mason rightly points out that Bernard was 'not a man lightly impressed'.⁹² But while she also points to Bernard's extensive political and diplomatic record as evidence for his credibility in this matter, perhaps the most telling aspect of Bernard's character in connection to this event is that in relation to saints and relics he was apparently more discerning than most in what he gave credence. While he enthusiastically and successfully embraced the spirituality of St. David, gaining for his see's founder, papal recognition of the existing Welsh tradition of David's sanctity c.1123, as well as vigorously asserting his predecessor's supposed metropolitan rights, he was also careful to protect the legitimacy of his spiritual inheritance. As William of Malmesbury asserts, Bernard searched for the body of Saint David continually but did not find it. It would have been easy and very beneficial financially and spiritually for Bernard to have 'found' that body as happened later in the middle-

⁹² *ibid*, p.276

ages. That he did not do so suggests a man who was careful to ensure the legitimacy of his claims. His experience of the papal court would have also taught him that the papacy needed some convincing to do anything at all. Also it was not in Bernard's financial interests to spend time and money necessary to ensure the pope would indeed be convinced.

But is there a political reason why it may have been in Bernard's interest to promote Wulfstan in the mind of the pope? If one views Wulfstan as another prelate with a cause against the machinations of king and Canterbury, was Bernard sanctifying the former bishop of Worcester in order to aid his own ascent to the archbishopric of St. David? Perhaps, but to ascribe this as the only reason would be overly cynical. Bernard's letter does not push this aspect of Wulfstan's life and the experienced ambassador to the papal curia would have known that Wulfstan's case would have aided him little in his own campaign. The most we can say is that Bernard's experience by 1146 may well have given him an affinity with the trouble experienced by his deceased episcopal brother. What this incident does is to give another glimpse of the man of genuine piety behind the figure of power and influence that Bernard undoubtedly was.

In June 1147 Pope Eugenius III convened a hearing at the curia, which was then at Evreux, to enquire into St. David's metropolitan case. Before the start of the hearing both Bernard and Theobald of Canterbury sought to reinforce their cases by directing further letters to the pope. Two letters putting forward Bernard's case survive from this period. One comes from Bernard himself and a second from the chapter of St. Andrew and St. David - both addressed to the pope himself. In addition, given

Bernard's later use of the clergy of the native Welsh princes, particularly Archdeacon Simeon of Bangor, it is possible that they too participated in the literary efforts on Bernard's behalf, but all that survives is a letter to Simeon in 1148 in which Bernard asks for Simeon's help with the case. The letters to Eugenius III, both *episcopal* and *capitular*, contain no new arguments but merely restate the case made to Pope Honorius II and his successors Innocent, Celestine and Lucius. As the letter from Bernard's chapter represents the final position taken it is worth quoting the calendar of this in full:

'Letters from the chapter of SS. Andrew and David and all committed to it to Eugenius III. It was always agreed that their church was metropolitan of the whole of Wales, and for that reason their province (*prouinciam*) was called the greatest country amongst provinces of the realm of Britain, and that the bishops of Wales were suffragans of their church, and were accustomed to make profession, as established by the holy fathers, to their archbishop and were for that reason alone promoted to the rank of bishop. It was manifest to them that that dignity [*dignitate*] belonged to their church. Joseph, archbishop of that see promoted to episcopal rank first Mogleis, and after him Duuan, to Bangor; their Sulien instituted to the same rank Reuedun, to Bangor; their Bedwd ordained Melan to Lanelu [St. Asaph]. In the same manner, their archbishop Joseph promoted Herewald to the rank of bishop of Landau [Llandaff]. Always from the time of the synod of Breui, at which were gathered the holy fathers of the whole of Britain, when St. David brought low the Pelegian heresy, for which the privilege of the complete province was there granted to him, it was so. This was confirmed by the Roman pope, and at the confirmation the dignity of the pallium was given, David himself being present with his two suffragans, Theliano [Teilo] and Paterno [Padarn]. That pallium decorated their church from the time of St. David, until the time of St. Samson, who was at one time a archbishop (*pontifex*) of their see, until fleeing from the plague, taking with him the pallium and other archiepiscopal ornaments, he landed in Brittany, and being

honourably received in the monastery of Dol he remained there. From that time, indeed, their church being oppressed by the hostilities of the Saxons and Danes and English, and afterwards the Normans, it was not worth recovering the pallium [*pallium recuperare non ualuit*], but nevertheless, the metropolitan dignity and ministry was not vacated, but continuously, at all times, enjoyed, until some year of the reign of Henry, king of the English. Then Wilfrid [Wilfred], at that time archbishop of their see, sorely pressed by the great hostility of the Normans, was at length made captive by the men of Arnulf of Montgomery, and detained by them for forty days. After this, Bernard succeeded, a man of great religion, whom they elected to their church, to the former metropolitan position, which see and head is first and greatest of the provinces of the whole of Britain, whom was consecrated without any contradiction or claim. Against this, Theobald, now archbishop of Canterbury, sent three person of their parts, who less than justly he promoted unlawfully to the rank of bishop, namely, Huctrer of Landau, who was almost illiterate; Maurice of Bangor, who took away a pastoral staff and ring from the church; Richard elected to Lanelu, elected to the church by the officials of the church and other clergy, by letters of the king and the earl of the land, was designated for consecration by Bernard, their metropolitan. But the time of his consecration was necessarily delayed by the capture of King Stephen, so the archbishop of Canterbury presumptuously promoted him, as the other. They begged the pope to restore the dignity of their church. Whatsoever is contained in these letters, at the brethren of their chapter were ready to corroborate by the ecclesiastical law pertaining to a matter of this nature, and many or all of them would come to the pope's presence to swear the same were it not for the poverty of their church, so oft oppressed and so oft despoiled'.⁹³

At the same time Bernard and his chapter were petitioning Pope Eugenius, Archbishop Theobald was gathering support from his loyal suffragans. The bishops

⁹³ GW, *De Invect.*, pp.139-141 [in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.131]. This letter was probably written sometime in late 1145 or 1146.

of Norwich, Winchester, Hereford, Bath, Exeter and Ely wrote letters. Their similar nature suggests that they were in fact '*exempla*' produced by Canterbury and given to these bishops to endorse and send to the curia. An example of the type is the letter from the bishop of Hereford.⁹⁴

'He has now heard that to the peril and diminution of the mother church of Canterbury, his brother and fellow bishop, Bernard of St. David's, is said to wish to withdraw the obedience due from his profession of subjection. Considering therefore that the matter is safe in the hands of the pope, he attests that in the past it stood incontestable, as he has heard, and as he has seen in his own time it has stood unbroken. Accordingly their said metropolitan has flourished exceedingly with many and great dignities over the other churches of their kingdom from the time of St. Augustine, Apostle of the English. Before the present time, he had not heard other than that Bernard's predecessors were suffragans obedient to the archbishop of the metropolitan see, and consecrated by him, and were bound to them by written professions. So too it was in modern times and he himself had seen Bernard himself promoted by the laying-on of the hand of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and to have been bound by a written profession, which was said to be kept in that church. Later, namely, after his own promotion, Robert had frequently seen Bernard, at the [*iussionibus*] summons of William, archbishop of Canterbury, come to his canonical councils, one of the several suffragans, obedient to him, and without making any contradiction. He had also come when the cardinal bishop of Ostia, the legate, had presided over the consecration of Theobald, who was now archbishop of Canterbury, called thereto, and had stood with Robert as a suffragan and minister and assistant. On this occasion and on behalf of that same archbishop he begged the pope to disregard Bernard's suggestion,

⁹⁴ *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, D.132-37. There may have been more of these letters that have not survived. It is interesting to note that Theobald took care to include the bishops from parts of the country under Angevin control, e.g. Bath and Hereford.

which was based on ancient fables or on an ancient falsehood, but to preserve their mother in the status of her dignities'.⁹⁵

Bernard is unlikely to have been ignorant of the existence of these letters and the possible harm that having so many bishops pleading against him could do to his case if left unanswered since they expose the two fundamental weaknesses in his case. Firstly he had acted as a suffragan bishop of Canterbury for most of his episcopal career and had certainly made a profession of obedience to Archbishop Ralph and his successors, as was the normal practice prior to consecration.⁹⁶ Secondly, the invalidity of his claim that Wilfred, his predecessor at St. David's, had been consecrated bishops in Wales. The fact was fully exploited by Canterbury and its supporting bishops in their submission to the pope. Something had to be done to counter this potential damage. Therefore probably in the summer of 1146 Bernard made his way to the papal curia to plead his case with the pope in person.⁹⁷

There is no firm evidence of Bernard's arrival at the papal court before June 1147. Pope Eugenius' account of the hearing which took place in June 1147 before him, attended by both Bernard and Theobald suggests that Bernard had been present at the curia for some considerable time before the arrival of Theobald:

⁹⁵ Dean and Chapter, Canterbury, *Cart. Antiq.*, D.108; attested copy, Bodl. *Tanner MS.* 127, p.340; *Hist. MSS. Com. 5th Report*, App.(1876), p.453, [*Ep. Acts*, vol.i, D.133]; All the bishops used by Theobald of Canterbury were amongst those who took part in the consecration of the archbishop in December 1138: Roger of Salisbury, Henry of Winchester, Alexander of Lincoln, Nigel of Ely, Geoffrey of Durham, Robert of Hereford, Robert of Bath, Simon of Worcester, Bernard of St. David's, Adelold of Carlisle, and Seffrid of Chichester, *Council and Synods*, p.770.

⁹⁶ Richter, '*Canterbury Professions*', p.200.

⁹⁷ As the letter of Pope Eugenius III quoted below, pp.309-10, makes clear. The Latin reads: '*Cum autem circa petitionem istam inuigilans diu in curia nostra commoratus esset, tu frater archiepiscopo, tandem eo presente ex aduerso consurgens, in presentia nostra aduersus eum querelam deposuisti, quod debitam tquam proprio metropolitano obedientiam subtraxisset*'. GW, *De Invect.*, p.136.

‘Our venerable brother, Bernard, bishop of St. David’s, coming into our presence, asserted verbally that the church of St. David’s was of old a metropolitan see and humbly requested that the same dignity should be restored to him by us. Moreover after he had remained in attendance at our court for a long time in connection with that petition, at last, brother archbishop, arising against him in his presence, you put forward a complaint against him before us, that he withdrew the obedience he owed to his own metropolitan and became disobedient and rebellious towards you, alleging that he was consecrated by your predecessor, as by his own metropolitan and made verbal and written profession of obedience to the church of Canterbury, and obeyed and assisted you in many things just like the other suffragans, went on to say that Bernard did not deny the consecration, but altogether denied that he had made a profession or offered any canonical obedience. When you heard this, you brought two witnesses to court giving evidence that they saw and heard that after his consecration, he made both a verbal and a written profession to the church of Canterbury. We, therefore, having heard and diligently examined the arguments of both parties, and after examining the witnesses and hearing the advice of our brethren, have accepted the testimony of the witnesses. The bishop personally should be obedient and reverent to you as to his own metropolitan, according to the dictates of justice. Since, however, we wish to conserve to the several churches and ecclesiastics their dignity and rights, we have appointed 18 October of next year (1148) for both of you, in order to find out then, in the presence of both parties, the truth about the dignity of the church of St. David’s and its liberty, and to ordain thence by divine intercession what shall be just. Given at Meaux, 29 June’.⁹⁸

Bernard’s decision, arrived at around the middle of 1146, to take his petition to the curia in person is the more readily explained by an examination of his career. The author believes that Bernard, frustrated in England, would have fallen back on his

⁹⁸ *ibid*, p.135, 136

long years of experience and particularly his experiences of being on the other side of the fence, during the Canterbury –York dispute between 1119-1123. Bernard knew just how effective seeking papal support in person had been for Thurstan of York in counteracting Canterbury's case, which rested very largely on documentary evidence. Bernard arguably made an error by denying that he had ever made a profession of obedience or offered any type of canonical obedience to Canterbury. This was leaving him open to an obvious line of attack as it was well documented that Bernard had quite happily acted as a suffragan of Canterbury for many years and indeed during the time of Archbishop William de Corbeil he had often acted as one of the archbishop's principal advisors. Perhaps he thought that the nature of the testimony, predominately written, would disguise this fact. This would seem a strange strategy however, to repeat the unsuccessful strategy of the Canterbury party in 1123 for a man who, after all on that occasion, had been presenting the written testimony. He himself knew from experience, particularly in the Llandaff case, that the bishop with greater support in England in this case Archbishop Theobald would most likely have the advantage if the case did not go to the curia, where it was almost certain to be determined being a '*causa major*'. In the absence of further evidence this claim must remain conjecture, but conjecture based on the experiences Bernard would have relied upon to make these crucial judgments.

The pope admitted that Bernard had been with the curia 'a long time' by June 1147. At the hearing, which took place on June 15 1147, Bernard lost his personal claim to archiepiscopal status but that the claim of his diocese remained unresolved. Michael Richter in his excellent examination has demonstrated that Bernard did not lose the

case but that the production of the Canterbury witnesses merely delayed the pope's judgment to October 1148. Richter's conclusion that Bernard counteracted his profession of obedience by claiming that he had not made his profession as bishop of St. David's because his profession had been made before his consecration is persuasive: also that the temporary retention of the status quo between Canterbury and St. David's which was in force until Bernard's death did not alter the legal position with regard to the metropolitan status of St. David's and therefore Bernard could not have lost his case.⁹⁹ Bernard did not lose his institutional claim; he was merely prevented from winning his personal claim by what the anonymous biographer of David fitz Gerald (possibly a follower of Bernard) called the testimony of 'a false monk and a layman'.¹⁰⁰ It is impossible to verify the validity of his comments as neither of the names of these two witnesses appears in any source. The pope overruled Bernard's protests at these witnesses.

Bernard's ambitions had once again been thwarted but Theobald had not beaten him entirely. He planned to use the papal council of Rheims in March 1148 to restate his case before the October hearing. Probably already ill by the beginning of 1148, he nevertheless pushed his supporters (chiefly Simeon archdeacon of Bangor) to petition the pope on his behalf 'for it would be unbecoming and especially sad if the greatest glory of the realm of Britain, held the honour for so long a time should now be brought to naught anew and his mother, suffering in the name of liberty, should be made captive, and for other subject to the game or lust of Canterbury'.¹⁰¹ These passionate words mark the end of our story, as according to Gerald they are

⁹⁹ Richter, 'Professions of Obedience', pp.197-212.

¹⁰⁰ GC, *De Jure*, p.413.

¹⁰¹ GW, *De Invect.*, pp.142, 146 in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.139.

Bernard's last recorded thoughts. We are told by the anonymous biographer of David fitz Gerald that Bernard died after an episcopate of thirty two years six-months.¹⁰² With his death Theobald not only quickly installed as Bernard's successor, David fitz Gerald, but also added a clause to the profession of obedience of David fitz Gerald and his successors stating that they would not raise the matter of the metropolitan status - so close had Bernard come to breaking away from the control of Canterbury.¹⁰³ However this was not the end of the matter, Gerald of Wales began a second claim for metropolitan independence in 1198 during the pontificate of Innocent III. It was during this period that Gerald claims to have found many of the letters and documents with which historians can seek to illustrate Bernard's initial claim. But it was not until the disestablishment of the church in Wales eight hundred years after Bernard's pontificate that St. David's finally achieved this status. So the result of Bernard versus Theobald for the archbishopric of Wales was a win for Canterbury by default. Bernard had done much in his career of which he could be proud but in the final analysis his long life and career were not quite long enough to achieve a definite result to his metropolitan claims.

¹⁰² This would mean Bernard's death occurred in March or April of 1148, during or after the papal council.

¹⁰³ Richter, 'Professions of Obedience', p.207.

Conclusion:

The History of Bishop Bernard Reconsidered

To conclude this study of Bishop Bernard of St. David's it will be necessary to reconsider the significance of Bernard's life and career in the light of the evidence and arguments put forward by this work.

Firstly a brief recap of what historians had previously concluded about Bernard's place in the historical record. Many of the basic building blocks of Bernard's story were in place. Historians such as Hollister and Crosby had commented on Bernard's significant position among the political elite of the court of Henry I. Brett had outlined Bernard as a prominent figure within the Anglo-Norman church and discussed Bernard's frequent diplomatic and legal visits to the papal curia. Unsurprisingly it is among the historians of Wales that Bernard had received most extensive coverage. J. Conway Davies had collected together many of the sources mentioning the significant events of Bernard's episcopate for his *Episcopal Acts Relating to the Welsh Dioceses*. His work also contained a brief overview commentary which attempted to put these varied sources into context. R. R. Davies placed Bernard as a leading figure in the history and development of the Welsh church in his authoritative survey of medieval Wales, *The Age of Conquest Wales 1063 – 1415*. It is perhaps in connection with the work of Gerald of Wales that historians have most frequently found occasion to comment upon Bernard's actions.

This has led to a disproportionate concentration on Bernard's attempts to secure a metropolitan status for St. David's. Historians such as Richter and Walker have produced noted work in this area.

If according to Kealey, Roger of Salisbury and his contemporaries' paths to greatness were frequently hidden, then Bernard's path is more hidden the most. Nothing is known of Bernard before he becomes a royal chaplain at some point before 1102. He then embarked on a varied, and given regard to the passage of nine hundred years, a relatively well recorded life and career. This thesis has been the first full-length study of Bernard in the round, piecing together the varied and sometimes seemingly contradictory stages, events and motivations of his life as it has come down to historians in the remaining historical records of the twelfth century. The figure that emerges from the darkness of this distant time is a man of longevity. At first sight this may seem a strange word to use; certainly it can be used to refer to the length of Bernard's life, both physically (he is likely to have been in his late seventies or early Eighties when he died) and clerical, after all, his recorded career in church and state lasted nearly half a century. But this is not the only reason why the use of longevity is appropriate here. In an age when falls from grace could be sudden and sometimes, not least in the tangled maelstrom of twelfth century Welsh politics, fatal, both mortally and or in terms of standing Bernard seemed to manage to convince himself and others that he was adding his breath to the prevailing wind not blowing against it. In 1115, to the authors of the *Brut* he was a resented, yet unchallengeable symbol of the *Pax Henrica* over south Wales. In 1148 to the same authors, he was the venerated champion of the rights and ancient dignity of his

diocese. Solving the dichotomy of the *Brut* is the key to any historian who seeks present an accurate picture of Bishop Bernard. Longevity is the key to the dichotomy itself. It is possible to answer the question this poses with simple but perhaps overly cynical clarity - Bernard unable by birth to rest on his own power base of land, family or title, bent to the wind of whoever held the most power over the land or issue he himself wished to influence. For a young man with ability, where better to go at the dawn of the twelfth century than the king's court? If your career path lies in the church, where better to spend most of one's time than as Chancellor to one of the best respected and saintly queens of England, who also was one of the most powerful women of her time? If you are going to be a bishop in Wales, why not under the close protection of the king of England, who dominated Wales perhaps more effectively than any other before Edward I's imperial interventions? On Henry I's death align first with Stephen, the man quick enough to seize the throne, and then in her hour of triumph the Empress, all the while in Wales dancing to the tune of the resurgent Welsh taking on their dreams of an independent Welsh church, that might just with luck, win an old man new glory. It did however guarantee that most vital and elusive of factors in the troubles of Britain in the mid twelfth century, security. Such an assessment would require Bernard to have had not only razor sharp political instincts, which there are good grounds to believe that he possessed, but also good diplomatic skills. These too he appears to have held as Henry I frequently used him as a diplomat to popes and legates. These commissions cannot have been easy ones as in the early to mid twelfth century the papacy was increasingly asserting its leadership of the Church eroding the *de facto* control of the great lords of western Europe over the churches within their dominions. The extent

of this *de facto* control can be clearly shown in the careers of clerics like Bernard, and other *curiales* who owed their positions, clerical and secular, to their perceived usefulness to their king. Alongside the able political survivor is a man of integrity, importance and perhaps even passion for the individuals, causes and institutions with which he was involved.

The character of the man, 'a worthy and honourable priest' in Eadmer's words, chosen to walk alongside the Empress into the cathedral in Winchester at the high watermark of Angevin success in 1141 when there were many more bishops from more prestigious sees present, added gravitas and respectability to the role that Bernard played, suggesting that there was some measure of loyalty and integrity in the motives of his actions rather than just survival. As for passion, even allowing for possible Geraldine dramatisation of Bernard's words, for example in Bernard's letter to Simeon Archdeacon of Bangor, he pursued with focus and vigour, even as an old man, his metropolitan claims.

To complete this sketch of Bishop Bernard, it is necessary to consider the personal abilities which have become evident in this study. It is likely that Bernard was a man of administrative and diplomatic ability, combined with persuasive eloquence. Bernard was the first Anglo-Norman bishop in Wales to successfully administer his diocese and die in his episcopal chair. The only other man to attempt this feat before Bernard, Hervé bishop of Bangor, had been evicted from his diocese, steadfastly refusing to return to his cathedral despite being caught between the hostility of the people of his diocese and an unimpressed Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury. In his

early years the hegemony of King Henry I would have been useful, but even allowing for this factor Bernard showed diplomatic and cultural sensitivity in his reforms of his diocese. In 1123 he persuaded Pope Honorius II to go against the advice of his cardinals and accept the election of William de Corbeil. He also persuaded Henry I to give him the lands of the abbey of Battle in order to found his own priory at Carmarthen and compensate Battle out of crown lands. Bernard was evidently a man of influence who was also able to persuade those who were in power of his point of view. With this portrait in mind, what further conclusions can be drawn from the evidence evaluated and uncovered in this thesis?

Bernard leaves no writing of his own for the historian to comment upon. All sources are therefore second hand - interpretations of Bernard and his actions, rather than the view of the man himself. Almost all of the charters which were issued by Bernard as bishop of St. David's have survived as copies, only one is original. Bernard's surviving letters to popes and princes, whether considering metropolitan status of St. David's or requesting the sanctification of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester are contained within the works of Gerald of Wales and William of Malmesbury. This may rightly provoke in the reader questions as to whose voice is reflected in these letters, Bernard's or the author of the work within which they are contained, especially as both the works containing these letters were produced after Bernard's death. The reason this work has chosen to accept the sentiments expressed within the letters accredited to Bernard by Gerald of Wales as authentic is that they can be largely collaborated and interpreted along with other evidence to form a credible picture of events, although the exact words reported may not have been those used by

Bernard and his clerks. The letter within William of Malmesbury's work concerning Wulfstan is more problematic, as it only appears in a version of the work which probably post dates the death of both the author and Bernard. The historiographical process used within this work has wherever possible tried to place evidence within a wide a context as possible rather than forming conclusions on isolated pieces of evidence.

There is strong evidence to suggest that Bernard was able and respected by his contemporaries. It is possible to gain a picture of Bernard's character not only from what was said of him but also from whom the comments came. Eadmer, Gilbert Foliot and Gerald of Wales, three people who were unafraid to express strong views even on the most powerful of clergy, all make positive judgements. Eadmer comments of Bernard that he was:

'quidam capellanus reginae, vir probus et multorum iudicio sacerdotio dignus. Electus est autem sabbato jejunii septimi mensis, et eodem die ad presbyteratum a Wentano pontifice'.¹

Gilbert writes in a letter to the chapter of St. David's after Bernard's death:

'Vnde si mandatum aliquod a domno et patre uestro bone memorie episcopo Bernardo'.²

While Gerald of Wales says of Bernard that he was 'polished and fully lettered'.³ If Bernard was able to hold the approval of these men then it is possible to conclude that he was not only a man of administrative and political ability but also achieved

¹ Eadmer, *HN*, p. 235.

² Gilbert Foliot, p. 109.

³ GC, *De Jure*, pp. 152, 153, in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.152.

high standards in his clerical conduct. Further evidence for this comes from William of Malmesbury who states that in relation to the body of St. David, 'Bishop Bernard sought his body many times, but despite the many claims could not find it'.⁴ It would have been very easy and profitable for Bernard to have acknowledged as genuine one of the claims.

Perhaps the key to understanding Bishop Bernard was not to concentrate on his relative piety but his political career. After his spell administering the see of Hereford Bernard became chancellor to Queen Matilda in December 1102. She can be rightly regarded as a lady of piety but also political significance. It was in her service that Bernard was given the opportunity to demonstrate the necessary administrative and political skills which would shortly elevate him to membership of the political elite. The partnership proved to be successful only ending with Bernard's elevation to St. David's in September 1115. During this period Bernard was, along with Roger Bishop of Salisbury, the most frequent attester to the Queen's charters and therefore one of her frequently consulted advisors. The queen's approval and influence, which is most clearly demonstrated by her attendance at Bernard's consecration, were useful when it came to further advancement, but of arguably more value was the proximity his position gave him to the centre of all patronage King Henry. This gave Bernard the chance to demonstrate to the king, consciously or otherwise, skills which might prove valuable to the monarch in more important appointments. Consequently when in September 1115 Henry got the chance to place his man in the most important of the Welsh bishoprics, thereby

⁴ WM, *GR*, vol.i, p. 28, in *Ep.Acts*, vol.i, D.143.

helping to secure the western frontier of his dominions and his newly expanded influence in Wales, Bernard with his experience in the marches at Hereford and long term administrative service at court proved the ideal choice.

Henry did not lose the opportunity to make sure that the Welsh knew that their new bishop was his choice by provoking an argument with the archbishop of Canterbury over where the new bishop should be consecrated, in the king's chapel or the archbishop's. This argument was settled by the queen who had the archbishop move the consecration from Lambeth to Westminster to enable her to attend. This solution does perhaps look a little engineered as the issue of the consecration of bishops had been settled for some years and continued to remain settled throughout the rest of Henry's reign. The attendance of both king and queen at the ceremony was also unusual.

Bernard apparently set about reforming his diocese very quickly after arriving in Wales changing it to a more recognisable continental model. It seems likely that he also administered the royal lordship of Carmarthen, an entry for which appears in the *1131 Pipe Roll*.⁵ South-west Wales, which had been in a state of considerable ferment in 1116 the year of Bernard's arrival, also calms down, whether this is directly connected with Bernard cannot be proved but the presence of this new symbol of Henry's real, albeit informal, hegemony over Wales cannot have done any harm.

⁵ *PR 31, Henry 1*, p. 90.

Conclusion

Up to 1120 Bernard had no doubt proved useful to Henry but events in that year coincided with Bernard's apparent elevation to the political elite. The white ship disaster in which Henry lost his only son and heir, William, caused a crisis in royal government. In 1121 Henry felt the need to issue the greatest number of charters of his reign, of which ninety are extant. Bernard has been shown as being very close to the king in that year attesting to his greatest number of charters in a single year, thirteen, after this point Bernard is seen increasingly at the centre of events as well as well as attesting to a large number of charters for the remainder of Henry's reign at a rate comparable only to the highest in the land. Bernard also takes an active diplomatic role from 1119 particularly in connection with Henry's relations with the papacy which assumed greater importance given Henry's lack of an heir. Examples of Bernard's new diplomatic role included his 1121 leadership of the party to escort the papal legate. In 1123 Bernard was entrusted with insuring papal acceptance of the new Archbishop of Canterbury, William de Corbeil, and led an unsuccessful attempt to reopen the Canterbury - York dispute on behalf of the archbishop. Later, in 1131, Bernard may well have conducted diplomatic negotiations over the recognition of Pope Innocent II in England on behalf of the king. Along with Roger of Salisbury Bernard also intervened to attempt to restore the authority of the royally appointed Abbot of Westminster in a dispute over the introduction of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary which had not yet been sanctioned by a church council.

As a leading member of the royal court Bernard would have had to have undertaken a great deal of travelling as the court was rarely in one place very long. Judging

from Bernard's charter attestations there were places the court visited very frequently particularly those royal centres of government close to London such as Westminster and Windsor. There is some evidence from the Pipe Roll that Bernard maintained a permanent residence in Middlesex in order to be close to the centre of the royal administration in England.⁶ For all the evidence connecting Bernard to an important role at Henry's court Bernard also travelled extensively outside of Henry's dominions mainly in connection with his frequent visits to the papal curia in France and Italy. These trips were sometimes connected with royal business as in 1119, 1121, 1123 and 1131 and sometimes related to his own legal cases connected with his diocese, notably his dispute with the neighbouring diocese of Llandaff or after Henry's death in 1135 in pursuit of his metropolitan ambitions. So often did Bernard visit the curia that he visited more frequently than any other of Henry's bishops.⁷

Bernard's frequent presence at court and curia left little time for visits to his diocese. He made a probable lengthy visit between 1116 and 1119 during which there is no evidence of his attendance at Henry's court or indeed any evidence of his exact location. During this period a major reform programme was begun of the diocese which transformed St. David's into a diocese with an organisational structure which would have been recognisable anywhere in Henry's dominions. During this process Bernard's administrative and diplomatic abilities are both in evidence. He would have had to have mastered the political and physical geography of his large diocese very quickly; this is shown by the use of both Anglo-Norman and Welsh political geography when creating administrative units. For example basing two of his new

⁶ *ibid*, p. 152

⁷ Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, pp. 234-246.

archdeaconries on the Anglo-Norman lordships of Brecon and Carmarthen whilst using some Welsh cantrefws for the formation of rural deaneries such as Maelienydd and Cemaes. Bernard's diplomatic skill helped with his ability to maintain his control over his diocese and carry with him both Anglo-Normans and Welsh within his diocese, this allowed him to become the first Norman bishop of a Welsh diocese to maintain his authority and not be removed by Welsh rebellion.

Bernard may have devoted much of his time and effort to the service of Henry I and his family but this relationship was one of mutual benefit. Bernard's strong royal associations have been shown here to be beneficial for Bernard in protecting the lands of his diocese from over exploitation by Marcher lords and English monastic foundations. Gerald of Wales, for example, remarks upon the positive effects of the relationship for Bernard, 'the friendship of Henry I, with whom he was in great favour' which brought about 'a time of peace, and the sufficiency which follows peace'.⁸ Bernard also used his importance to Henry in order to resist the implementation of the judgements in favour of Urban of Llandaff by successive popes in the course of the Llandaff dispute. Added to this the final settlement in the case which was largely to Bernard's advantage was arguably secured by Bernard because Pope Innocent II, whose authority was uncertain, had delegated judgement to the case to Henry's Anglo-Norman archbishops who were more likely to favour their fellow Norman bishop over his politically insignificant Anglo-Welsh opponent.

⁸ GC, *De Jure*, pp. 152, 153, in *Ep. Acts*, vol.i, D.152.

The death of Bernard's patron, Henry I in 1135, would eventually bring great changes to Bernard's settled outlook, but initially he maintained his influential position at court attesting to nine charters, more than any other year, other than 1121. There was also the prospect that the new royal regime offered Bernard the chance to increase his spiritual power within Wales. The reason for this was his involvement in the plans for the creation of the new diocese of St. Asaph whose bishop King Stephen initially asked Bernard to consecrate. Added to this was the fact that by chance Bernard was the only bishop in Wales after the death of Urban of Llandaff in 1133. This virtual independence, especially after the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, William de Corbeil, in 1136 would be developed by Bernard and his chapter into their metropolitan case in the following years, but for now there was no reason at all to rock the boat. Bernard also continued his good relationship with William de Corbeil, upon whose death in 1136 Bernard attempted to carry out the terms of his will, in trying to create a community of Augustinian canons at the archbishop's church in Dover.

Bernard's turbulent later years began with the consecration of the new archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald of Bec. In contrast to Bernard's good relationship with the previous archbishop, he was soon heading for conflict with Theobald. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, Theobald moved quickly to reassert Canterbury's authority over Wales by consecrating two new bishops to the sees of Llandaff and Bangor. By this action Theobald effectively ended any possibility of Bernard exercising any increased authority over the church in Wales. The second area of disagreement was over the foundation of the Augustinian canons at Dover; the

Benedictine monks of Canterbury had always opposed this foundation as they perceived this infringed their property rights. Theobald now backed his fellow Benedictines against the Augustinians at Dover and therefore by implication, Bernard.

England and Wales meanwhile were entering a period of political uncertainty which offered Bernard opportunities to expand his power and influence both politically and ecclesiastically. The lack of effective royal authority in England after the death of Henry led to a resurgence of the power of the Princes of Wales who were also unhappy with Theobald's imposition, without consultation with them, of new bishops with authority over their territories. By November 1140 they were offering to recognise Bernard as archbishop of Wales, a position which Bernard could not accept whilst staying loyal to Stephen, to whom Theobald was a leading supporter. It is therefore no surprise that by the time of the Battle of Lincoln in 1141 Bernard was at the side of the Empress Matilda, Henry's daughter, who had returned to enforce her claim to the throne in 1139. Bernard's decision may well have much to do with conscience as well as convenience. After his long years of service with the Empress' mother, Bernard was well connected with leading Angevins and may well have had fewer reservations with a female ruler than many, having been in a position to closely observe the effectiveness of Queen's Matilda regency government during Henry I's absences from England.

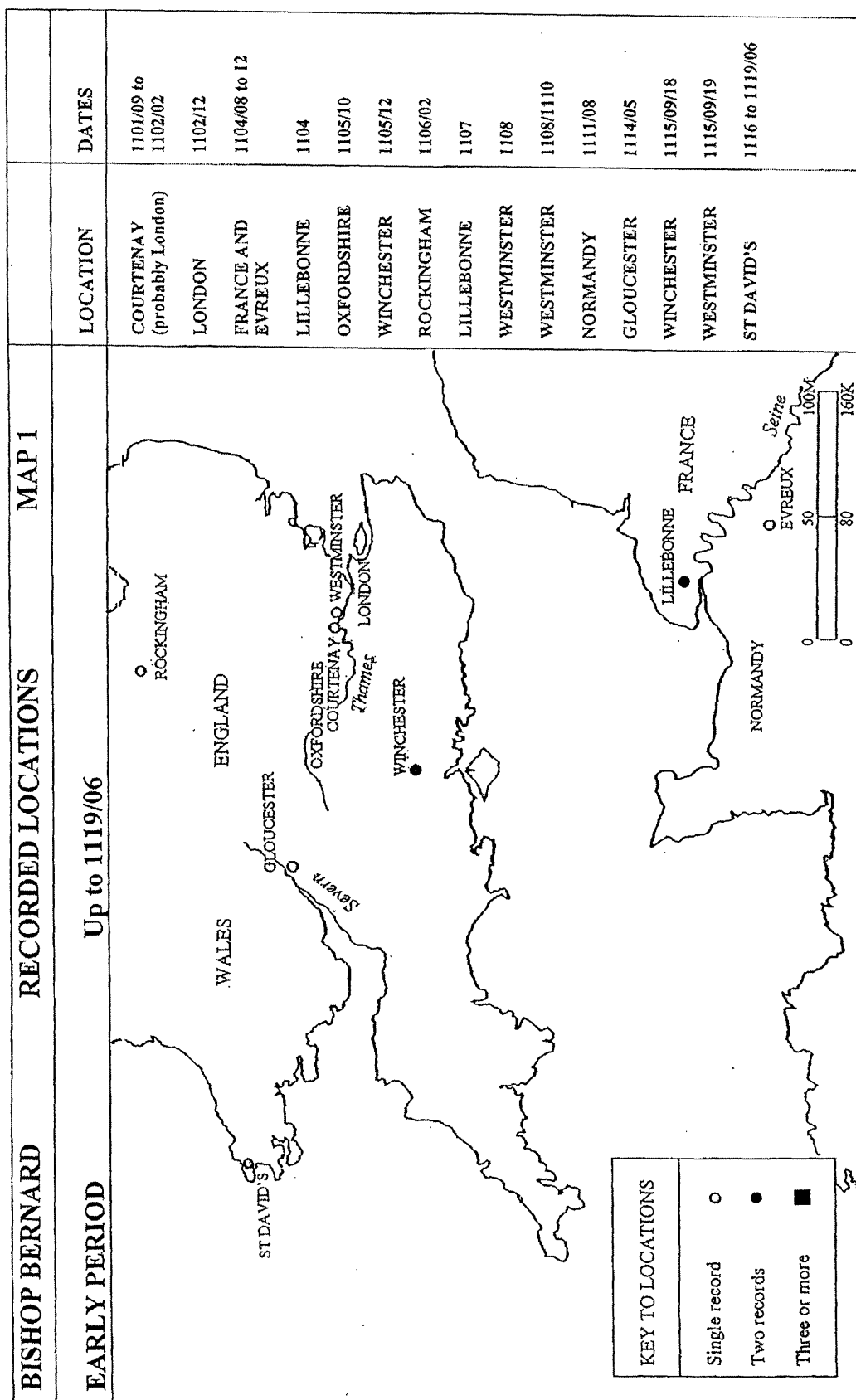
During the short period of Angevin supremacy Bernard played a central role, for

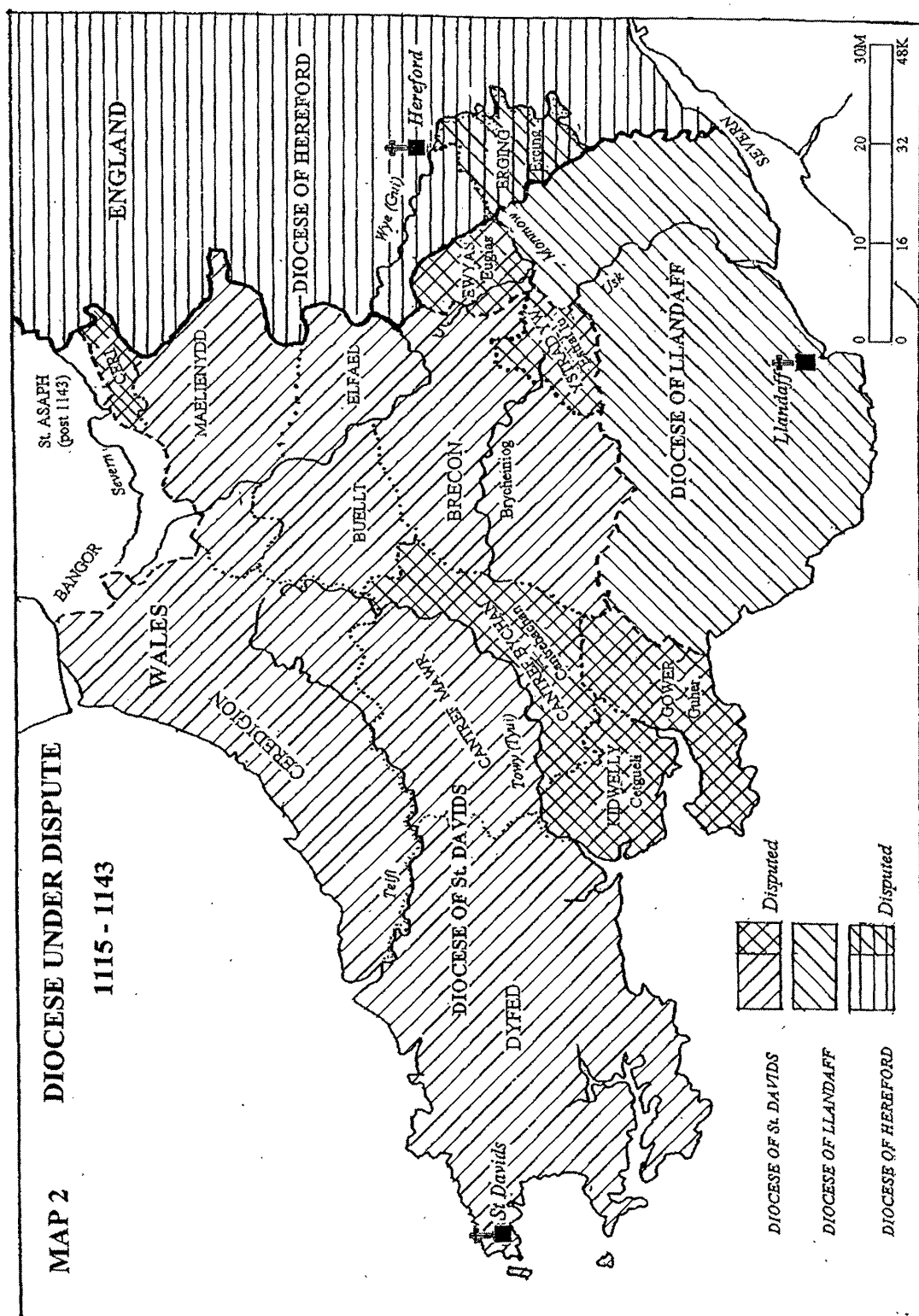
example, escorting the empress along with the papal legate, Henry of Winchester, during her reception as Lady of the English at Winchester cathedral. Had Angevin power endured it is likely that Bernard's last years would have been ones of increasing influence rather than struggle, but it was not to be. After 1142, as Angevin power declined over most of the country, Bernard was one of few men, and the only bishop, to continue his presence at the Angevin court. At some point after 1144 he left to concentrate solely on his archiepiscopal claims. It is easy to see both Bernard's archiepiscopal claims and his Angevin loyalties as attempts to increase his power and influence, such judgements would be harsh. The single mindedness with which the aging Bernard pursued his claim convey that he had probably been convinced of the righteousness of the position by his chapter and works such as Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*, which Bernard is known to have had at least two copies.

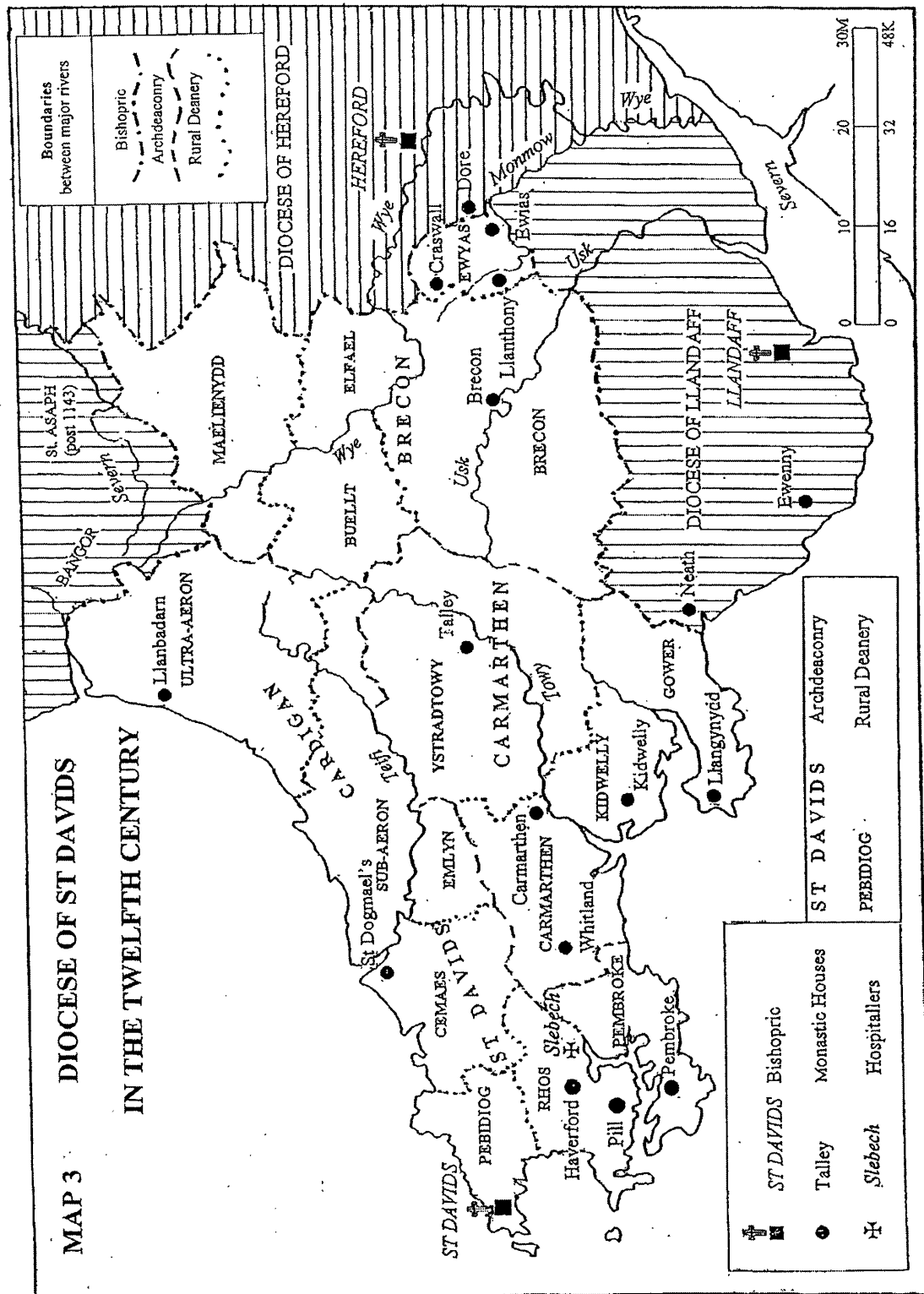
Bernard's death before the final conclusion of the metropolitan case deprives historians of knowing whether he would have been ultimately successful. Theobald made it a condition of his successor's consecration that the claim was not to be pursued. But this matters little when assessing Bernard's achievements during his career and his place in history. Bernard's significance as a political and ecclesiastical figure should be recognised beyond the turbulence of his last years. For almost half a century Bernard played an important role as an administrator, advisor, politician and diplomat in the service of Henry I and his family. His political connections and his own administrative ability allowed him to be the first effective Norman bishop in Wales and whilst he was not above using his political

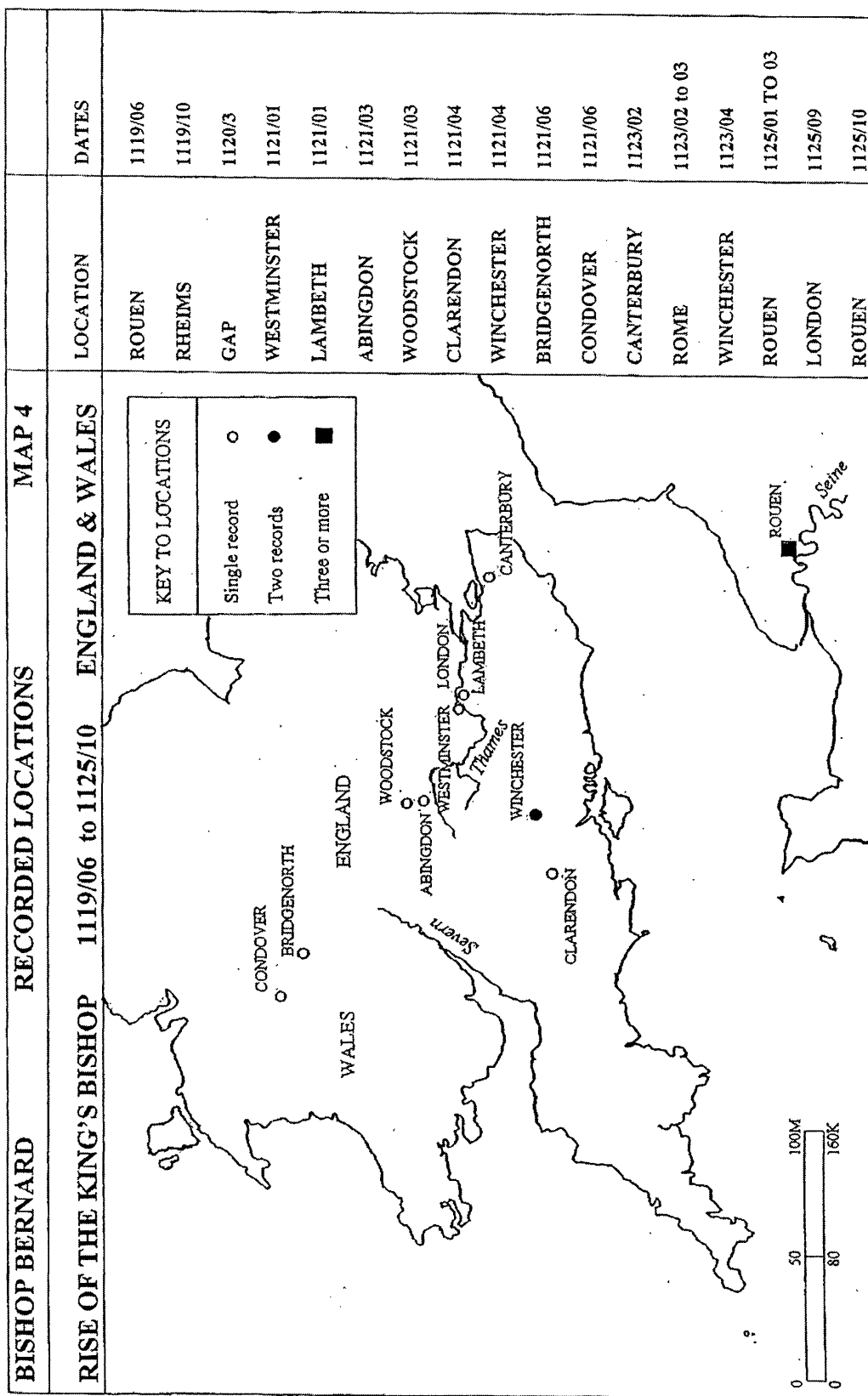
Conclusion

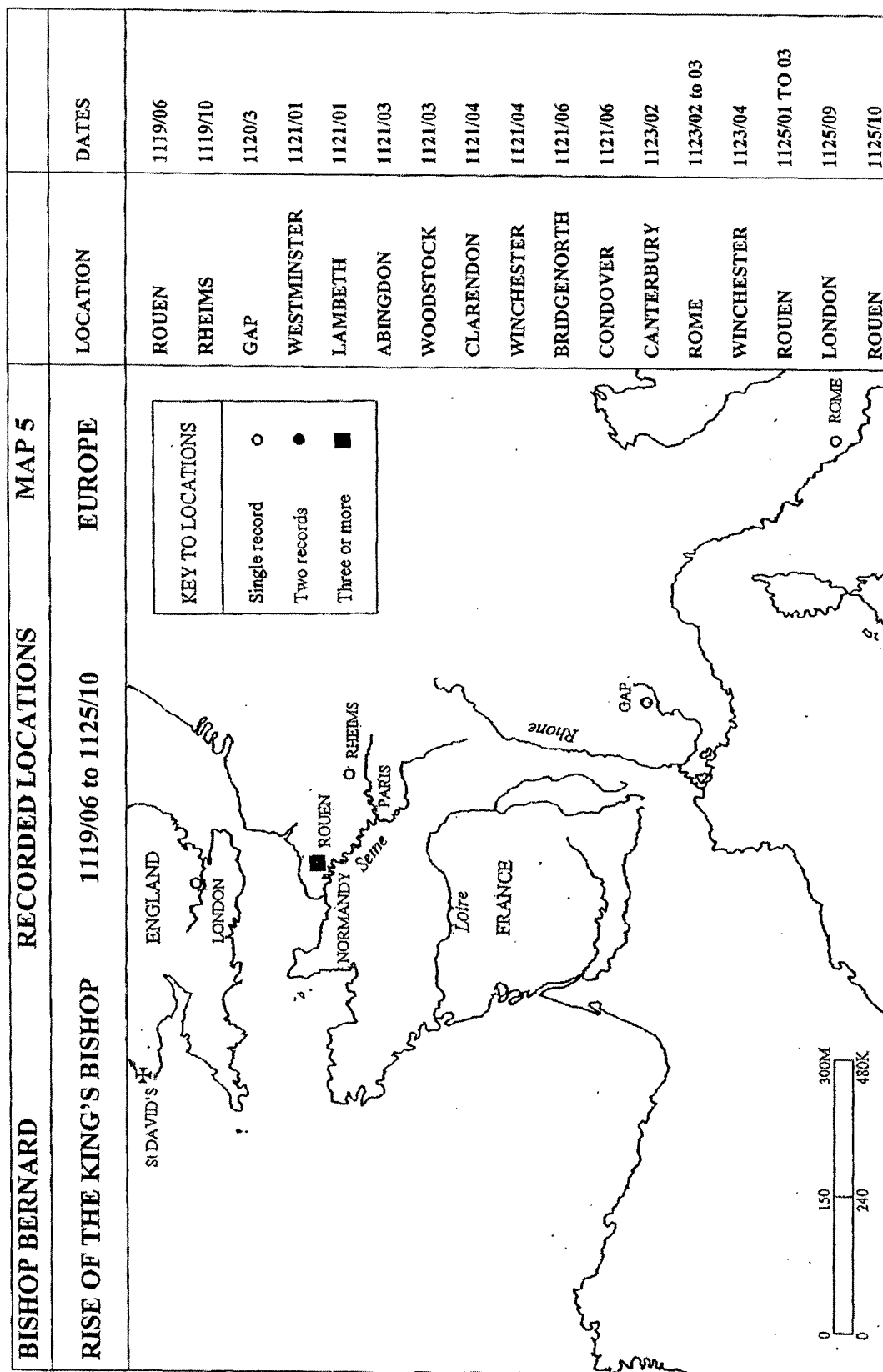
influence for his own ends he was always a loyal servant of the family which gave him support and position. Bernard had the ability to effectively balance the often conflicting demands of patronage, politics and piety and therefore appears to have achieved the respect of king and clerics during his long and successful career.

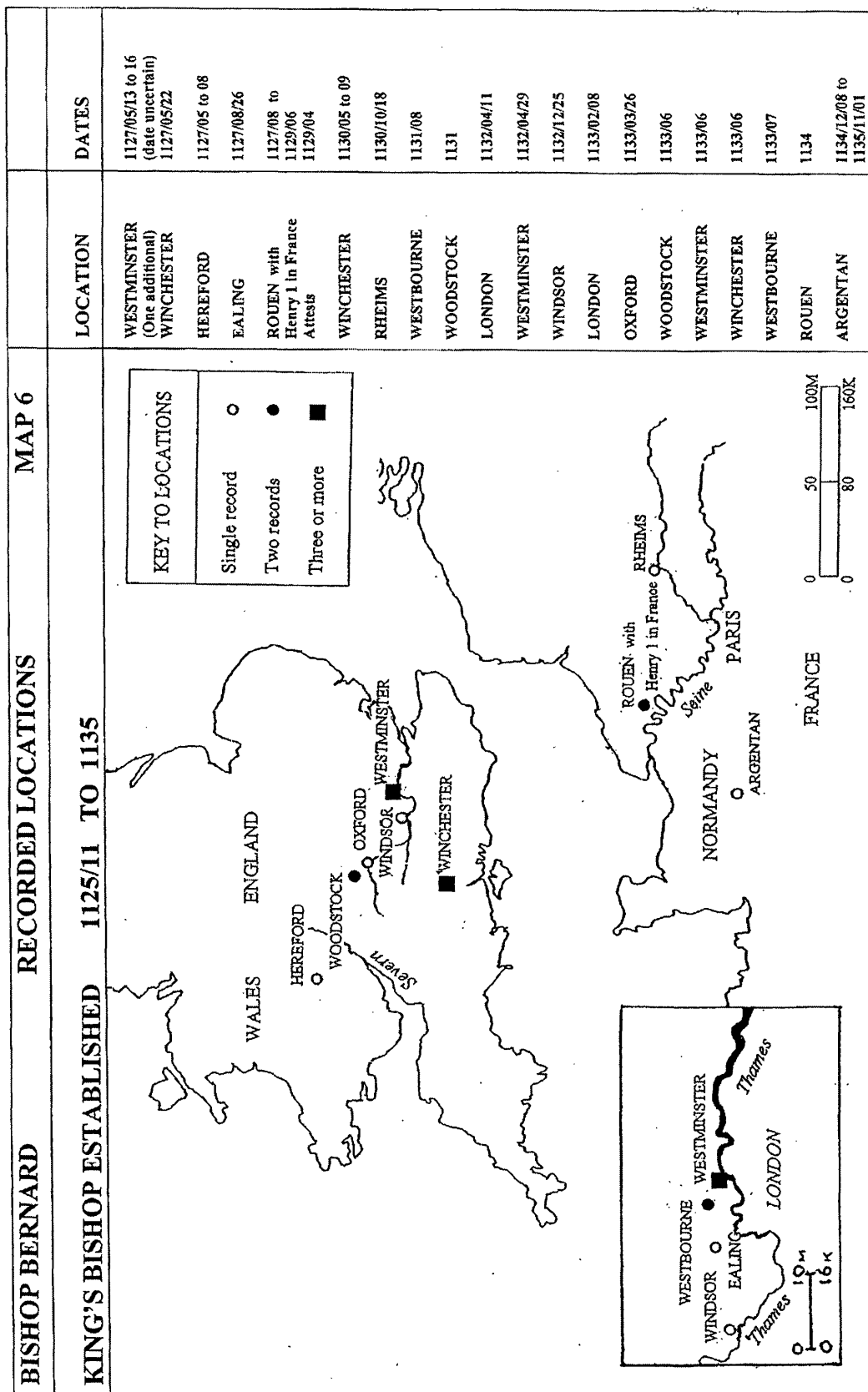


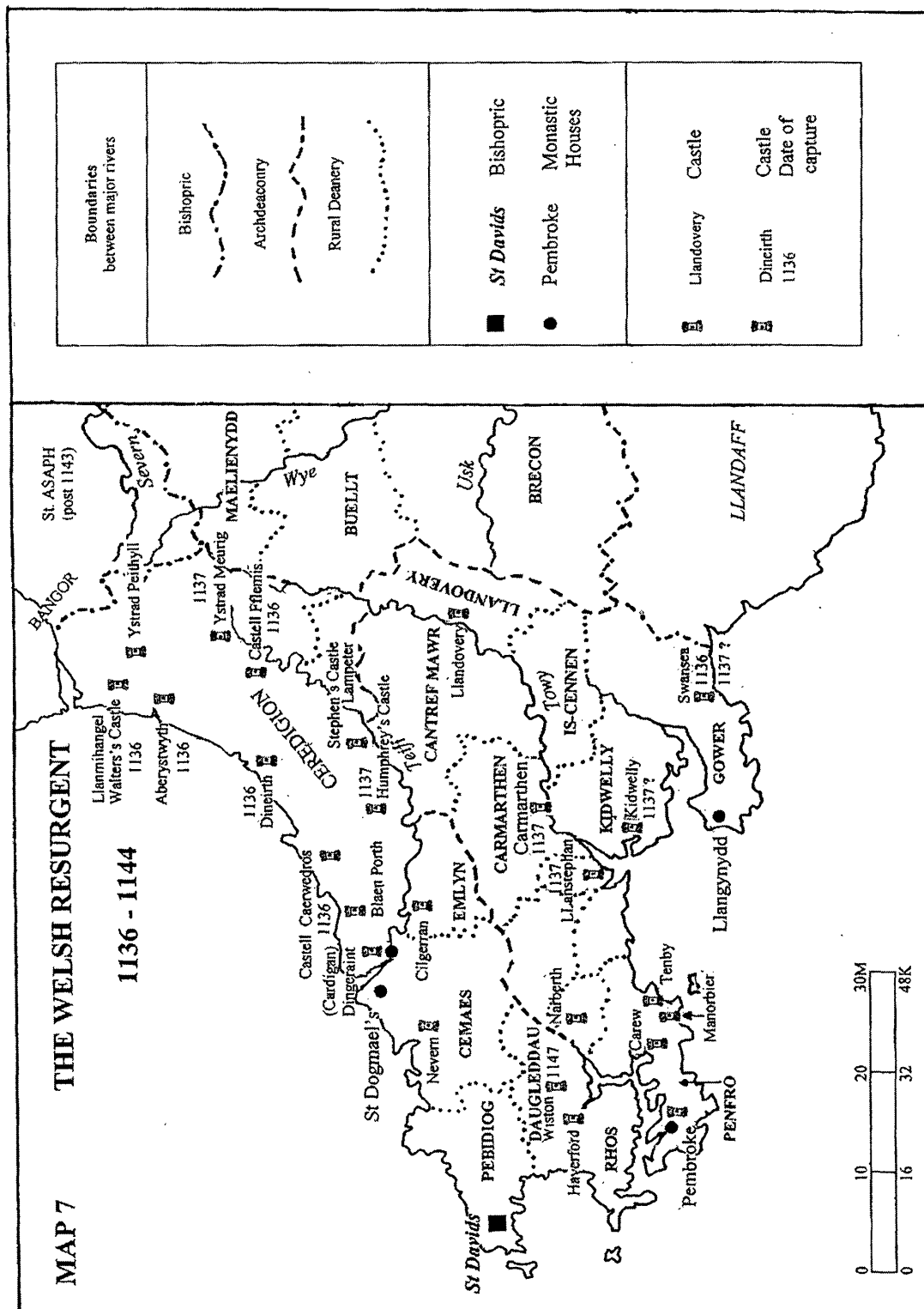


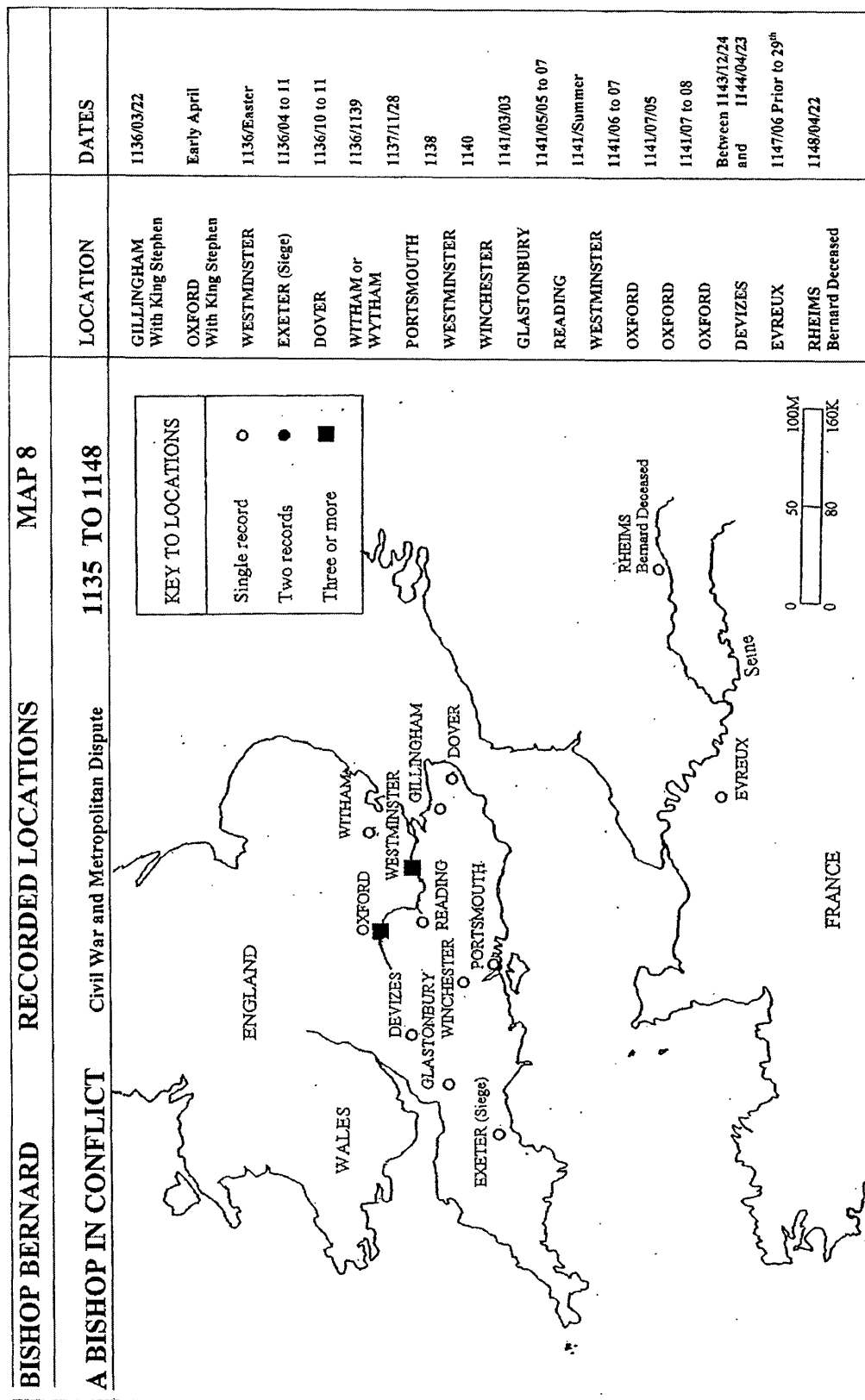












Appendix 1 - Itinerary of Bishop Bernard of St. David's

DATE	PLACE	EVENT	SOURCE
Circa 1075		Birth of Bernard?	
1101 to 1102		Bernard the King's chaplain has custody of the See of Hereford during the vacancy.	<i>CDF</i> , D.1138
September 1101 x February 1102	Courtenay (London)	With Queen Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.565
December 1102 x 18 September 1115		Chancellor to Queen Matilda.	
December 1102	London	With Queen Matilda as Chancellor.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.624
4 August x December 1104	France and Evreux	Accompanies the King and Queen to France and attests to a charter of Queen Matilda at Evreux.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.675
October 1105	Oxfordshire	With King Henry.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.698
Christmas 1105	Winchester	With the court.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.720
February 1106	Rockingham	With Queen Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.743
Easter 1104 x 1107	Lillebonne	With Queen Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.808
1108	Westminster	With Queen Matilda.	Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate, p.225
1108 x 1110	Westminster	With Queen Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.971
8 August 1111	Normandy	Bishop Waltham with the court ' <i>In transitu regis in Normanniam.</i> '	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.988

DATE	PLACE	EVENT	SOURCE
May 1114	Gloucester	With the court.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1041
18 September 1115	Westminster	Bernard's election to St. David's.	Eadmer, pp.235-6
18 September 1115	Winchester	As bishop of St. David's attests a charter of Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1097
19 September 1115	Westminster.	Consecrated as Bishop of St. David's.	Eadmer, <i>HN</i> , p.235
After 15 September 1115	Winchester	Attesting charters of Henry I	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, nos.1099, 1100
1116 to mid 1119	St. David's	Beginning the reforms of his diocese.	
June 1119	Rouen	With King Henry.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, nos.1204, 1205.
22 October 1119	Rheims	Attending the papal council with other English Bishops.	Eadmer <i>HN</i> . p.225
10 March 1120	Gap	Travelling with the papal court	HC, p.149
7 January 1121	Westminster	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1243
16 January 1121	Lambeth	Assisting at the consecration of Richard Bishop of Hereford.	Eadmer <i>HN</i> , p.291
13 March 1121	Abingdon	Assisting at the consecration of Robert Bishop of Chester.	Eadmer <i>HN</i> , p.293
March 1121	Woodstock	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1261
April 1121	Clarendon	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1270

DATE	PLACE	EVENT	SOURCE
April 1121	Winchester	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1281
Summer 1121	Bridgnorth	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1296
Summer 1121	Conover	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1297
18 February 1123	Canterbury	Welcoming the new Archbishop. William de Corbeil.	<i>ASC</i> p.252
February x March 1123	Rome	With William de Corbeil as 'Proctor and Spokesman'.	HC pp.188-9, 192-3
15 April? 1123	Winchester	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, nos.1301, 1393
January x March 1125	Rouen	With Henry 1	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1425
8 x 10 September 1125	London	Attending Legatine council.	HC, pp 204-5
1126	Nr. Rouen	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, nos.1427, 1430, 1431, 1439
13 x 16 May 1127	Westminster	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, nos.1483, 1484
22 May 1127	Winchester	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1485
May x August 1127	Hereford	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1490
26 August 1127	Ealing	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1507
September 1127	France – Rouen	With Henry 1. Attests at Rouen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1547
April 1129	Rouen	With William his Archdeacon. Discussing the Llandaff case with the pope.	<i>BLLD</i> , p.30
1129	Rouen	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1578

DATE	PLACE	EVENT	SOURCE
March x September 1130	Winchester	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1642
18 x 29 October 1130	Rheims	At a papal council which discusses the Llandaff case	<i>BLLD</i> , pp. 66-7
August 1131	Westbourne	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1710
1131	Woodstock	With Henry I.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1721
11 April 1132	London	Discussing the Llandaff dispute.	HH <i>HA</i> , p. 489
29 April 1132	Westminster	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1739
25 December 1132	Windsor	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1740
8 February 1133	London	Discussing the Llandaff dispute.	HH <i>HA</i> , p.489
26 March 1133	Oxford	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1754
June 1133	Woodstock	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1757
? June 1133	Westminster	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1761
? June 1133	Winchester	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1765
July 1133	Westbourne	With Henry 1.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1786
August 1133 – November 1135	France	Henry crosses to Normandy. Bernard attests at Rouen 1134 and between 8 December 1134 and 1 November 1135 was ordered to execute the judgement of Henry's court at Argentan.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1896; <i>English Lawsuits</i> , p240
1136	Gillingham	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.434
22 March?	Gillingham	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.818
Early April	Oxford	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.271

DATE	PLACE	EVENT	SOURCE
1136	Westminster	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, nos.948, 949
Easter 1136	Westminster	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, nos.46, 944
April 1136 x November 1136	? At the siege of Exeter.	With King Stephen	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.284
June 1136 x August 1136	At the siege of Exeter.	With King Stephen	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.337
October x November 1136	Dover	With John of Rochester on behalf of the archbishop of Canterbury.	Gervase of Canterbury, vol.i, p.98
1136x1139	Witham (Essex) or Wytham (Berks)	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.609
28 November 1137	Portsmouth (in transit)	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.827
13 December 1138	? Westminster	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.928 (a forgery)
1140	Winchester	With King Stephen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.991
3 March 1141		With the Empress Matilda granting a charter to Glastonbury abbey.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.343
2 February x 7 April 1141	Reading	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.697
5 x 7 May 1141	Reading	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.581
2 February x 25 July 1141	Reading	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.699
Mid Summer 1141	Westminster	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.274
June x July 1141	Oxford.	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.629
25 July 1141	Oxford.	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.393

DATE	PLACE	EVENT	SOURCE
25 July x 1 August 1141	Oxford	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.68
c 1143	Devizes	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.371
c 1144	Devizes	With the Empress Matilda.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.372
24 December 1143 x 23 April 1144	Devizes	With the Empress Matilda. Last known attestation to a royal charter.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.111
Before 29 June 1147	Evreux	Puts his archiepiscopal case to Pope Eugenius III.	GC, <i>De Jure</i> , pp.180,181
22 April 1148	Rheims	Bernard dies.	<i>Gilbert Foliot</i> , p.108

Appendix 2 – Bernard's attestations to royal charters before 1115

DATE	PLACE	PRECIS	ATTESTS AS:	SOURCE
September 1101 x February 1102	Courtenay London	Precept by Queen Matilda to Hugh Bocland (sheriff of Berks.)	Clerk	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.565
December 1102	London	Writ by Queen Matilda to Roger Picot.	Chancellor	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.624
August x December 1104	Evreux	Notification by Queen Matilda to Richard [son of Gotse], Roger de Lovetot, and the barons of Blyth.	Chaplain	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.675
October 1105	Handborough [Oxfordshire]	Precept by Henry I to Ulger and Goisfred de Bortona and all his foresters in Shropshire.	Chaplain	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.698
Christmas 1105	Westminster	Notification by Henry I to Gerard archbishop of York and Osbert the sheriff and Richard sheriff of Nottingham	Chaplain	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.720
February 1106	Rockingham	Notification by Queen Matilda to the abbot of Peterborough, Earl Simon [of Northampton], Robert de Pavilli sheriff [of Northants], Michael of Hamslope, and all of Northants.	Chaplain	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.743
Easter 1104 x 1107	Lillebonne	Precept by Queen Matilda to William Peverel of Nottingham, Richard the son of Gotse, and Roger de Lovetot.	Chaplain	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.808

DATE	PLACE	PRECIS	ATTESTS AS:	SOURCE
1108	Westminster	Notification by Queen Matilda to Richard bishop of London and all faithful sons of Holy church.	[Queen's] chancellor	Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate, p.225
1108 x 1110	Westminster	Notification of Queen Matilda to Roger, bishop of Salisbury and Walter son of Edward and all the barons, Humphrey de Bohun and all the king's ministers of Wiltshire and Malmesbury.	[Queen's] chancellor	RRAN, 2, no.971
8 August 1111	<i>In transitu regis in Normanniam</i>	Charter of Henry I, confirming to God and John, bishop of Bath, the city of Bath	Chaplain	RRAN, 2, no.988
May 1114	Gloucester	Charter of Henry I, confirming to St. Peter's, Gloucester, gifts.	Chaplain	RRAN, 2, no.1041

Appendix 3 – Persons attesting Queen Matilda's grants to religious houses, 1101-1115

Name	No. of times attested	% of total	Year range
Bernard (later bishop of St. David's)	7	37	1101-1110
Roger, (later bishop of Salisbury)	6	32	1101-1115
Robert Malet	3	16	1104-1106
Michael of Hamslope	2	11	1103-1106
Waldric (later bishop of Laon)	2	11	1103-1106
Eudo <i>Dapifer</i>	2	11	1103-1106
Aldwin the chamberlain	2	11	1104-1115
Odo Moire/Morius	2	11	1104-1115
Ralph of Tew	1	6	1101
Grimbold the physician	1	6	1101
Reinhelm the queen's chancellor (later bishop of Hereford)	1	6	1102
William de Warrelwast	1	6	1103
Robert de Courseulles (Corcelle?)	1	6	1104
John of Bayeux	1	6	1104
John of Séez	1	6	1104
Hervé, bishop of Bangor	1	6	1104
Everard the chaplain	1	6	1104
William Peverel	1	6	1106
Nigel the constable	1	6	1103?
Roger Bigod	1	6	1103?
William Pincerna (d'Aubigné)	1	6	1103?
John de Sagio	1	6	1104?
Ranulf, bishop of Durham	1	6	1107?
Thomas fitz Count	1	6	1107?
Thomas the chaplain	1	6	1107?
Thomas de Sancto Johanne	1	6	1108
Jordan Le Say	1	6	1108
William bishop of Winchester	1	6	1108
Robert bishop of Lincoln	1	6	1108
Richard bishop of London	1	6	1108
William de Curci	1	6	1108
Nigel D'Oili	1	6	1115
Ranulf the chaplain	1	6	1115
Geoffrey the queen's chaplain (later dean at Waltham)	1	6	1115

**Appendix 4 - Persons attesting to charters of Bishop Bernard of
St. David's**

Person	No of times attested	Approximate Dates
Jordan, archdeacon of Brecon (Referred to in 1141 as Chancellor of Scotland)	5	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48 1141
Canon John of Ysterlwyf (Osterlof)	4	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48
Master John (canon)	4	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48
Cadwgan, (canon)	3	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48
Gwalter, chaplain	3	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48
John, son of Daniel (canon)	3	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48
Richard, priest	3	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48
Symon, son of Daniel (canon)	3	1125 - 48 1125 - 48 1126 - 48
Walter, chaplain ? Gwalter as above	2	1125 - 48 1141
Bernard de Newmarché	1	1115 - 20
Edward, canon	1	1137 - 48
Elias, archdeacon of Brecon	1	1115 - 20
Hubert (nephew of Bernard)	1	1125 - 48
Hubert Edgar	1	1125 - 48
Hugh, priest	1	1141
Jordan, steward (of St. David's?)	1	1125 - 48
Lirience, clerk of King Henry	1	1115 - 20
Prior Augustine	1	1125 - 48
Richard, son of Puncius [fitz Pons?]	1	1115 - 20
Stephen, steward of abbot of St. Dogmael's	1	1125 - 48
William, archdeacon of Kermerdin (Carmarthen)	1	1115 - 20
William, prior of Lanthony	1	1137 - 48

Appendix 5 - Bernard's attestations to royal charters, 1115 - 1135

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
after 18 Sept 1115	Winchester		Confirmation to the bishop of Lincoln, re: an abbey confirmed to Ralph the monk.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1097
after 18 Sept 1115	Winchester	Benedictine	Church of St George de Boscherville and the monks.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1099
after 18 Sept 1115	Winchester	Benedictine	Abbey of St. George de Boscherville (France?)	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1100
Nov-Dec 1115			To the bishop of Hereford	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1101
June 1119	Rouen	Benedictine	To St. John's Colchester - confirmation of possessions given by Eudo Dapifer and others. The abbey is given the same privileges as St. Peter's Westminster. Confirms future land endowments.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1204
June 1119	Rouen	Benedictine	To St. John's Colchester - grant of the liberties and rights possessed by St. Peter of Westminster (specified).	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1205
1120		Tironian	Request to Bishop Bernard to install the first abbot of the new independent abbot of St. Dogmaels, also witnessed by Bernard.	<i>Mon.Ang.</i> , p.130

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
7 Jan 1121	Westminster		Notification to Adam de Port and his other barons, of Herefordshire, Shropshire and Gloucestershire. Richard has been granted the bishopric of Hereford and all privileges enjoyed by his predecessors	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1243
c. 7 Jan 1121		Benedictine	To St. Peter's Abbey, Shrewsbury of the gifts made by Earl Roger, Earl Hugh, Robert of Belesme, Roger of Poitevin.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1245
Mar (?) 1121	Woodstock	Augustinian	To Holy Trinity, London Confirmation of gifts and privileges given by Symon de Moulins.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1261
April (?) 1121	Clarendon	Benedictine	To Beaubec- No monks are to implead respecting any of their possessions. The King claims nothing in the aforementioned possessions except the prayers of the monks.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1270
April – May 1121		Benedictine	Settlement of a dispute between the abbot of St. Augustines, Canterbury and the bishop of Lincoln concerning Royton. St Augustine's, Canterbury. Notification of the settlement of the legal case (in his favour) concerning the manor of Lenham.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1283
April - May 1121	Winchester	Augustinian	To St. Stephen's, Launceston Confirmation of Bishop William's placement of regular canons at St. Stephen's.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1281

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
April – May 1121		Augustinian	To St. Peter's of Plympton Confirmation of the bishops of Exeter's foundation of the house.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1288
Summer 1121		Benedictine	To Shrewsbury Abbey. Notification that Shrewsbury Abbey has been given the mill-right to the whole city.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1289
Summer ? 1121	Bridgnorth		Grant to Shrewsbury Abbey of the whole city [town]	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1296
Summer 1121	Condover	Benedictine	To the abbot (Godfrey) of Shrewsbury Abbey. Confirmation that Godfrey holds his lands and goods in peace and quiet and maintains all entitlements given to his predecessor.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1297
1121		Benedictine	To the abbot of Shrewsbury Abbey. Confirmation to the Bishop of Hereford that Shrewsbury is to hold its property indefinitely without any prior disputes.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1300
after 5 Aug 11	Winchester	Augustinian	To St. Mary's Merton. Notification that the church is to be in the King's hand, saving only the rights of the diocesan.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1301
1120 x 1		Benedictine	To St. Peter's Abbey Gloucestershire. Notification that the monks of Gloucestershire are to hold the rights to all the land which Roger of Bayeux held from Archbishop Thomas of York in the manor of St. Peter of Standish.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1305

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
April 1121 x 1122		Benedictine	To St. German of Selby. Notification that the king has confirmed the grant by Osbert the sheriff of Alcaster [co. Yorks)	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1373
15(?) April 1123		Benedictine	To Exeter Cathedral. Notification of the restoration of the churches of St. Peteroc [Bodmin], St. Stephen Launceston], Perranabuloe (S.Perani Tohou), and Probus, in Cornwall; and in Devon, the churches of Plympton, Braunton (Branchtona), St.Stephen at Exeter and the church of Cloyton (Culiton) as the King formerly gave to Bishop William.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1391
15 April 1123		Augustinian	To St. Mary's of Southwark. Notification to confirm the canons rights to their landholdings.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1393
1120 x 1123			To Geoffrey, Archbishop of Rouen and the canons	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i> , Membrane 6, 1324 INSP, March 24, p.462
1109 x 11 or 1115 x 1123			Confirmation of lands and liberties and that the royal sheriff has no rights to interfere.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1411
Jan x Mar 1125	Rouen	Benedictine	To St. Peter's Winchester. Confirmation of land holdings.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1425

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
Oct 1125	Nr. Rouen	Benedictine	To Reading Abbey. Foundation charter of Reading Abbey.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1427
Oct 1125		Augustinian	To St. Mary's Kenilworth. Confirmation of the permission given to Geoffrey de Clinton for the foundation of the church of St. Mary's Kenilworth and confirms to the canons all the lands churches, which they have acquired or they may acquire thereafter.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1428
Oct 1125	Nr. Rouen	Benedictine	To the abbot of Bury St. Edmund's. Confirmation that the abbot is to have in the vill of St. Edmund his mint and his moneyer and his right of changing money, as heretofore, after justice has been done upon his moneyer, as it has been done upon the moneyers of England.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1430
Oct 1125	Nr. Rouen	Augustinian	To St. Mary of Carlisle. Notification that the churches of Newcastle on Tyne and Newburn and those churches which Richard de Orville holds from him, after Richards death Upon the death of Richard and his subordinates these churches are to pass into the hands of the canons whilst the clerks who serve them are to have a maintenance.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1431

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
1126	Nr. Rouen	Benedictine	Legal case concerning two churches in the territory of Belesme, settled by the mediation of King Henry I. Bishop John of Sees should desist from his claim on the condition that the monks made proper provision for the serving of the two churches in question	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1439
13 x 16 May 1127	Westminster	Benedictine	Appointment to Hugh, monk of Rochester the Abbey of St. Augustines, Canterbury	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1483
13 x 16 May 1127	Westminster		Notification by the archbishop of Canterbury that the king has confirmed, the gift of Earl Anrulf of the churches and tithes of the churches in Wales, to the monks of St. Martin's sees in Pembroke	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1484
22 May 1127	Winchester		Confirmation of lands to St. Peter's, Gloucester.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1485
22 May 1127			To Great Malvern Priory. Notification that the king is taking under his protection Great Malvern Priory	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1489
May – Aug 1127	Hereford		Confirmation of lands granted to St. Mary's, Great Malvern.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1490
26 Aug 1127	Ealing	Augustinian	To the canons of St. Denis. Confirmation of lands granted.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1507

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
26 Aug 1127			To the canons of St. Denis. King's grant for the souls of various members of his family.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1508
Sept 1127	Rouen	Benedictine	To the monks of St Mary's Bec. Confirmation of lands located near Dover.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1547
1123 x 8		Benedictine	To the monks of St. Mary's Bec. Charter of Stephen granting the monks the lands given to them by William Pevrellus of Dover.	<i>CDF</i> , 378
1123 x 8		Augustinian	To the church of Guisborough. Notification to the canons of Guisborough that they maintain the vill of Guisborough and no-one in the area is to make mills without the permission of the canons.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1568
1123 x 8		Benedictine	To the abbot of the house of St. Mary at St. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive. Confirmation of the grants which the countess Lescelina made after the death of her husband and those made by the king in his previous charter and the grants which the abbey has received.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1569
1129	Rouen	Secular Canons	To the cathedral church of St. Mary, Evreux. Notification that it is to receive the church of Emalleville as a gift from his majesty.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1578

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
1129		Benedictine	To the Abbey of St. Mary's, Fontevrault. Notification that the king has given to the nuns and monks of Fontevrault a sum of money to be given to them for various expenses throughout the religious year.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1581
1115 x 1129		Benedictine	To St George's de Bocherville. Grants of lands concerning Avebury and Weston.	<i>CDF</i> , 199
1116 x 1129		Benedictine	Notification of the king's grant to the new abbey of St. Georges de Boscherville of his port in the farthest part of his forest of Fecamp.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1596
March x Sept 1130	Winchester	Benedictine	To St. Edmund's, Bury. Confirmations of liberties.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1642
1130		Benedictine	To the monks of St. Martin's, Battle. Notification that they have received the land of 'Langeherst' in his manor of Meon in part exchange for the land of Carmarthen.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1649
August 1131	Westbourne		To William de Beauchamp. Stating that he is rightfully entitled to the lands and liberties held previously by his father Walter de Beauchamp.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1710

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
1131 (?)	Woodstock	Cluniac	To the church of cluny. Confirmation that the king has granted to the church the manor of Tixover, the half-manor of Manton, and Offord-Cluny which Emulf de Hesding gave.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1721
29 April 1132	Westminster		Benedictine - To the nuns of the church of St. Mary, Wix.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1739
25 Dec 1132	Windsor		Cisterican- To the church of St. Mary, Rivelaux. Confirmation that they are to receive nine carucates of land which Walter Espec gave them.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1740
26 March 1133	Oxford	Benedictine	Grant to St. Peter's Gloucester. Concerning the grants of the Wiseco family.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1754
1133 (?)		Benedictine	see above	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1755
June 1133	Woodstock		Grant to the abbey of reading of the manor of Rowington. Which manor Adelia de Ivry gave them.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1757
June 1133	Westminster		Grant to St. Bartholomews and hospital priory, freedom from all earthly servitude.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1761
June 1133	Winchester	Augustinian	Notification of the foundation of the Augustinian at Missenden	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1765

DATE	PLACE	ORDER	EVENT	SOURCE
July 1133	Westbourne	Augustinian	To the Canons of the Holy Trinity, London Offers permission to hold their churches, tithes and parishes and customs as freely as they had held in the time of Bp. Richard.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1786
July 1133		Augustinian	Confirmation of the king's own foundation of St. Mary's, Porchester	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1787
1130 x 1133			To St. Mary of Everaux. Confirming that the land of Bramford [Co. Suffolk] had given in alms to that particular church.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1830
1121 x 1133		Tironian	To the monks of Tiron Confirmation that they have complete control over the church of St. Dogmaels, and certain lands in Wales (specified) to the monks of Tiron.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1874
1121 x 1133		Tironian	To the monks of Tiron Confirmation of the grants of Adam de Port.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1875
1134 ?	Rouen	Benedictine	Confirmation to St. Martin's, Battle and the liberties of the Abbey.	<i>RRAN</i> , 2, no.1896
1115 x 1135		Secular Canons	Confirms the gift of Richard de Herescort to the church of Evreux as a prebend.	<i>CDF</i> , 284
1129 x 1134			Grant and confirmation of gifts to Carmarthen Castle	<i>Cartularium Prioratus de Caermarthen</i> , no.33

Appendix 6 - Appointments to the English Episcopate, 1070 – 1189¹

Reign	Royal clerks	Monks	Ecclesiastical clerks	Total
William I	10	4	1	15
William II	6	2	0	8
Henry I	16	8	4	28
Stephen	1	8	10	19
Henry II	10	5	13	28
Total	43	27	28	98

* Five bishops are of unknown background (three under William I and one each under William II and Henry I)

¹ From Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.397

Appendix 7 - Bernard's attestations to royal charters, 1136-1144

DATE	PLACE	ACTA OF	REASON FOR CHARTER	SOURCE
1136	Westminster	Stephen	Restoration of Wargrave Manor to Winchester Cathedral and See	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.948
1136	Westminster	Stephen	Restoration of the Manor of Meon (Hants) and Wargrave (Berks) to Winchester Cathedral and See	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.949
1136	Gillingham (Dorset)	Stephen	Confirmation to William, bishop of Exeter and the Justices (justit(iis)) and sheriffs and barons and all the sons of the Holy church and bishopric of Exeter, regarding Launceston Priory.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.434
22 March x 22 Dec 1136	Gillingham (Dorset)	Stephen	General Confirmation	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.818
Early April 1136	Oxford	Stephen	Charter of liberties for the Church	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.271
Easter 1136	Westminster	Stephen	Granting of the bishopric of Bath to Bishop Robert	<i>RRAN</i> , 3.no.46
Easter 1136	Westminster	Stephen	Grant of the manor of Bishop's Sutton (Hants) in exchange for Steeple Morden (Cambs) to Winchester Cathedral and See	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.944
April x 21 Nov 1136		Stephen	Confirmation of churches to Exeter Cathedral and See	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.284

DATE	PLACE	MONARCH	REASON FOR CHARTER	SOURCE
June x August 1136	At the Siege of Exeter	Stephen	Confirmation of grants made before Stephen was king	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.337
1136 x 1139	Witham (Essex) or Wytham (Berks)	Stephen	Granting of fines to Norman bishops regarding breaches of the Truce of God.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.609
c 1 Dec 1136		Adeliza	Gift by Queen Adeliza to Reading Abbey of 100s annually at Christmas from her hithe in London, for the commemoration of the anniversary of Henry I.	Reading Abbey Cartularies 1, no.459
c 28 Nov 1137	Portsmouth (in transit)	Stephen	Grant to the abbey of St. Denys, Southampton, of land in Portswood, Hants	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.827
13 Dec 1138	Westminster	Stephen	General confirmation of land and liberties (a forgery)	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.928
1140	Winchester	Stephen	Freedom from lawsuits till a new archbishop (York) is consecrated to St. Peter's hospital, York	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.991
2 Feb x 7 April 1141	Reading	Matilda	Granting of land to Reading abbey	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.697
2 Feb x 25 July 1141	Reading	Matilda	Confirmation of gift of land to Reading abbey	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.699
3 March 1141 (or soon after)	Winchester	Matilda	Confirming the possessions of Glastonbury abbey	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.343
5 – 7 May	Reading	Matilda	Granting Borrowden (co. Rutland) to William	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.581

1141			Mauduit	
DATE	PLACE	MONARCH	REASON FOR CHARTER	SOURCE
June – July 1141	Oxford	Matilda	Granting of land to Oseney Abbey	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.629
25 July 1141	Oxford	Matilda	Creating Miles of Gloucester, earl of Hereford	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.393
25 July x 1 Aug 1141	Oxford	Matilda	The granting of the shrievalty of Worcester to William de Bellocampe	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.68
Mid-summer 1141	Westminster	Matilda	To Geoffrey of Mandeville, earl of Essex	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.274
24 Dec 1143 x 23 April 1144	Devizes	Matilda and Henry Plantagenet	The Empress grants her stewardship to Unfredo de Bohun	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.111
c. 1143	Devizes	Matilda	To Godstow abbey - confirmation of grants	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.371
c. 1144	Devizes	Matilda and Henry Plantagenet	Confirming the land previously held by Ralph the scribe at Shillingford (Oxon) to Godstow abbey.	<i>RRAN</i> , 3, no.372

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