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CULT OF PROPAGANDA:
MONASTIC DOMINANCE AS DISPLAYED IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL'S SAINTLY
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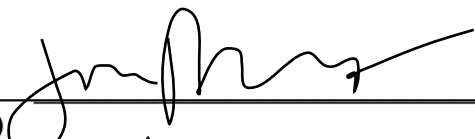
by

Jon Breazeale

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Fine Arts in Art History
at
Lindenwood University

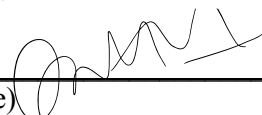
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Jon Breazeale  May 9, 2022
Author (and date)

Dr. Alexis Culotta  05/06/2022
Committee chair (and date)

Dr. Melissa Elmes  May 6, 2022
Committee member (and date)

Dr. Jeanette Nicewinter  5/6/22
Committee member (and date)

CULT OF PROPAGANDA:
MONASTIC DOMINANCE AS DISPLAYED IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL'S SAINTLY
ICONOGRAPHY

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Art and Design Department
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master in Fine Arts
at
Lindenwood University

By

Jon Talvin Breazeale

Saint Charles, Missouri

May 2022

ABSTRACT

CULT OF PROPAGANDA: MONASTIC DOMINANCE AS DISPLAYED IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL'S SAINTLY ICONOGRAPHY

Jon Breazeale, Master of Art History, 2022

Thesis Directed by: Dr. Alexis Culotta, PhD

This thesis examines the iconography in the windows of the Early English saints Dunstan and Alphege as depicted in England's Canterbury Cathedral. In the windows of St. Dunstan, one can see how the saint saves the monarchs from the flames of hell. It also shows what can happen to those that would question or challenge the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The windows of St. Alphege show a dedicated man of the church ready to give his life to help save the town's people from an unruly group of invaders. These windows were added to the eastern arm of the cathedral as part of the massive building campaign following fire damage in 1174. This renovation coincided with the rise of the Cult of St. Thomas. This thesis will argue that these windows are an attempt by the monks residing there to resurrect the cults of the Early English saints to show their power and might over the Church of England and the English monarchs. Dunstan was a known reformer and statesman who championed the cause of the Church of England as well as advised the monarchs in his various monastic roles. The monks would show their long history as the main Primate of England by including these saints. Alphege would give his life for the church and fellow countrymen only to be celebrated by the invaders of England that would eventually claim the throne of England.

Dedication

For my wife and family, who have had to hear all about my ideas and my excitement at finding new sources. The late nights I worked and the short time away in my studio writing, at times, spent working on this thesis; a big thank you to them for letting me continue to explore and pursue my love of art. A huge thank you to all those References, Librarians, and Writing Specialists who have helped me along this writing journey. All the search suggestions to help me find new sources for my various papers, but most all the ones for this thesis. All the help with corrections to my writing that I missed or the periods and misplaced commas. A big thank you to Dr. Hutson, who always answered my many questions and put me at ease when I was panicked and worried. Thank you to Dr. Stephanie Chapman, who started this journey as my guide. I am sure my ideas were all over the place seemed like I had no idea where I would finish. A tremendous thank you to my committee, Dr. Alexis Culotta, Dr. Jeanette Nicewinter, and Dr. Melissa Elmes, who have helped shape and guide me through the last major leg of this journey. All of the comments and suggestions help to shape the thesis into what it has become, another chapter in my love of Canterbury Cathedral.

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Introduction/ Background Information

In the history of Canterbury Cathedral, it is hard to escape the story of St. Thomas Becket. His cult was one of the fastest-growing and widely popular in the 12th and 13th centuries. Chaucer even wrote his book, *Canterbury Tales*, about a group on their way to see the shrine of St. Thomas. With the first lines from Chaucer's tale of a pilgrimage to Canterbury, this paper is also off to Canterbury to see the windows of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, two saints that were enshrined in Canterbury Cathedral before the Norman Conquest, whose cults and images grew out of the popularity of St. Thomas.

WHEN that Aprilis, with his showers swoot*, *sweet
 The drought of March hath pierced to the root,
 And bathed every vein in such licour,
 Of which virtue engender'd is the flower;
 When Zephyrus eke with his swoote breath
 Inspired hath in every holt* and heath *grove, forest
 The tender croppes* and the younge sun *twigs, boughs
 Hath in the Ram <1> his halfe course y-run,
 And smalle fowles make melody,
 That sleepen all the night with open eye,
 (So pricketh them nature in their corages*); *hearts, inclinations
 Then longe folk to go on pilgrimages,
 And palmers <2> for to seeke strange strands,
 To *ferne hallows couth* in sundry lands; *distant saints known*<3>
 And specially, from every shire's end
 Of Engleland, to Canterbury they wend,
 The holy blissful Martyr for to seek,
 That them hath holpen*, when that they were sick. *helped

Befell that, in that season on a day,
 In Southwark at the Tabard <4> as I lay,
 Ready to wenden on my pilgrimage
 To Canterbury with devout corage,
 At night was come into that hostelry
 Well nine and twenty in a company
 Of sundry folk, *by aventure y-fall *who had by
 chance fallen
 In fellowship*, and pilgrims were they all, into company.* <5>
 That toward Canterbury woulde ride.¹

The St. Dunstan's and St. Alphege's stories are also a part of the rich history of
 Canterbury dating far back in England's history (410-1066) and still held power and importance
 following the Norman Conquest and the rise of the cult of St. Becket. Archbishop Thomas
 Becket recognized their importance as he compared his fate to St. Alphege. "You already have a
 martyr here," Becket said; "Alphege, beloved of God, a true saint. The Divine Mercy will
 provide another for you; it will not delay."² Archbishop Thomas Becket said this during his
 sermon just days before his martyrdom, December 29, 1170, at Canterbury Cathedral. St.

¹ Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales, and Other Poems*, (p. 29). Kindle Edition.

² These sources have Thomas Becket mentioning St. Alphege by name days before his death and in his final prayer while being attacked by the four men loyal to King Henry II.

Guernes, dePonte-Sainte-Maxence . *A Life of Thomas Becket in Verse*, Translated by Ian Short. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013, 59

Robert Hugh Besen, *The Holy Blissful Martyr, Saint Thomas of Canterbury*. (London: MacDonald and Evens, 1908.), 127

Dr. Eleanor Parker, "An Early English Prayer to St. Alphege", A Clerk at Oxford. Accessed June 10, 2019.

<https://aclerkofoxford.blogspot.com/2014/11/an-Early-English-prayer-to-st-alphege>.

Alphege was the original martyr of Canterbury for several decades before the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket. These two share the distinction of being martyrs in a time centuries removed from the early martyrs of the Christian Church. Another early saint from the Early English period is St. Dunstan; like St. Thomas, he had political and some monastic issues that he would deal with during his life. Through the iconography of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, the monks of Canterbury would use to help show their authority over all of England, both the monarchs and the churches.

This thesis will analyze the windows of St. Dunstan, 909-988, (Figures 1 and 2) and St. Alphege³, 954-1012 (Figure 3) found in the lower choir window of the eastern arm of Canterbury Cathedral in England.⁴ The windows were created as part of the massive building campaign to rebuild the eastern arm of the cathedral that was damaged by a fire in 1174.⁵ Encouraging this renovation was the growing popularity of the Cult of St. Thomas Becket, with whom the monks wanted to build a relationship to revive St. Dunstan's and St. Alphege's cults.⁶ These saints' stories have been lost or overshadowed by the popularity of St. Thomas. This thesis

³ The spelling of St. Alphege has many different variations. I have decided to go with the spelling that is most often found during general searches. The origins of his name from Early English spelling of Ælfheah. One of the other common spellings is Elphege. This spelling came about post conquest as noted by Richard W. Paff in his book *The Liturgy in Medieval England* on page 105.

⁴ The windows of St. Dunstan are commonly listed as N:X and N:XI and St. Alphege window is listed as N:IX in the books and writings of Caviness and Koopmans.

⁵ M. F. Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket", *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 19. Accessed March 4, 2019. doi:10.2307/3046001.

⁶ This idea is brought up by Madeline Harris Caviness and M.A. Micheals. The monks following Becket's ideas that the church is the ultimate power in England. The rebirth of the two Early English saints would help show that Canterbury has always had this authority.

will analyze the visual iconography in the windows currently located on the north side of the choir of the eastern arm in Canterbury Cathedral, not far from the site of the shrines of the two Early English saints interred by the high altar in the presbytery of Canterbury Cathedral. There is visual evidence in the windows that the monks created a connection between the two martyred saints of Canterbury through iconography by displaying four figures with swords as signifiers of four invading Danish soldiers in the St. Alphege Windows. Many images of the murder of St. Thomas have the four knights that entered the church to murder the archbishop. The images of St. Dunstan show his relationship with the Saxon kings and the power he had over them and the power he had as the archbishop over the other churches of England. These mimic some of the images in the “Miracle Windows” of St. Thomas that are in the Trinity Chapel that surrounded the site of the shrine of St. Thomas. These windows help to show the monks of Canterbury began a campaign to display their power over the churches and monarchs of England. The story of Thomas Becket is such a powerful and intriguing story it overshadows the other stories of the cathedral. Many of the stories often take a backseat and, in a way, are lost. These two former archbishops have stories that parallel the story of St. Thomas, coming from an early period of the church long lost through the cathedral’s rebuilding and remodeling as well as the political, both with the monarchs and the church, taking place after the conquest by the Normans.

It is through the images of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege that the monks of Canterbury Cathedral displayed their importance, particularly to the history of the cathedral. Namely, they used the iconography of these images to showcase their power over all of the Church of England, and the monarchy, a symbol amplified through a careful assessment of the imagery, including the shared images of dreams, the use of four knights in both St Alphege and images of St. Thomas, and images that are compared to Biblical stories. The chroniclers wrote of the importance of St.

Dunstan and St. Alphege. At the time, their life stories would read much like modern-day superheroes with the acts and miracles they would perform.

Canterbury Cathedral, or Christ Church as named by St. Augustine when he came to England to help spread Christianity to the Early English in 569 CE, has a long and colorful history filled with tragic events.⁷ Augustine was given a building that was said to be an early Roman Christian church. With the help of King Ethelbert, the establishment of Augustine's Episcopal see was established.⁸ While many stories and books about the church and some of its more famous archbishops were written, the most famous subject featured among them is St. Thomas Becket. To this day, his story keeps many researchers going, and artworks are still being made to honor him. His murder in the cathedral created a special area known as the Martyrdom, and his popular cult helped shape the building when it came time to repair/redesign the eastern arm of the church. Many of the images in the eastern arm relate to Becket's cult. At the height of St. Thomas's cult following, Canterbury Cathedral was just behind the churches of St. Peter's in Rome and St. James in Spain, a primary pilgrimage destination.

The stories of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege come from the Early English period of 410-1066 CE, but at Canterbury Cathedral, the monks capitalized on his story's popularity to bring back the cults of St. Dunstan (909-988 CE) and St. Alphege (954-1012 CE) beginning in the twelfth century up to 1538 when Canterbury Cathedral was hit by Henry VIII's reformation. Both were former archbishops from the Early English period that had stories of disagreeing with

⁷ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Leo Shirley-Price, (London, England. Penguin Books. 1990), 73-74.

⁸ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 96.

the monarchs of England; St. Dunstan, who also, like Thomas, was in exile because of the strains on the relationship with the king of England, and of course, like St. Thomas would be a martyr for the church. St. Alphege died at the hands of the Danes for declining to be ransomed, while St. Thomas died at the hands of those loyal to Henry II. The stories of the three saints, at times, mimic each other it would be an easy way for the cults of the Early English saints to be brought back to the spotlight shared with St. Thomas. The cult of St. Dunstan was still strong leading up to the beginning of St. Thomas's cult. The cult of St. Alphege was seen as diminishing.

Background on the Cult of Saints

Saints played a specific role in the practice of Christianity during the Medieval era. Saints are a vital link to God, as they were once human.⁹ The saint helps to connect the followers to God. It is the saint that listens and hears the prayers of the faithful and then takes them to God. The saints understand the pains, needs, and suffering of the visitors at their shrine; specifically, the martyrs who died for the church such that, as one scholar positioned them, they were akin to superheroes.¹⁰ As a result, saints were the central attraction at cathedrals like that at Canterbury, one of the most visited pilgrimage sites in Europe during St. Thomas's Cult.¹¹

The sainthood of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege is a bit different than St. Thomas. The Early English practice of making one a saint was through devotion to that person and veneration.

⁹ Elizabeth Johnson, "May We Invoke the Saints", *Theology Today*, 44 no 1 (April 1987): Accessed June 6, 2019, 36.

¹⁰ Johnson, "May We Invoke the Saints", 37.

¹¹ Sara Salih "Saint and Sanctity in Medieval Europe", British Library Article (Jan 31, 2018) Accessed April 12, 2012, <https://www.bl.uk/medieval-literature/articles/saints-and-sanctity-in-medieval-england#authorBlock1>.

The saints of Early England underwent a less formal canonization process through veneration rather than that of the post-Conquest saints, such as St. Thomas, who went through a more formal process that involved the resignation from the Vatican. The early canonization practices in England were through the person being holy or pious, and the local bishop would make this decision. The practice of the Early English in the making of saints was closer to the Orthodox church's practice.¹² The local bishops canonized saints, who needed a list of recorded miracles. Both of the Early English saints were originally canonized by the more formal process after the conquest. Both Jay Rubenstein and Rachel Koopmans point out that the early collections of miracles, records kept for the formal process taken to the pope, were written to help save the saints of the Early English church. St. Dunstan was canonized in 1029; meanwhile, St. Alphege was canonized in 1079, after the Norman Conquest, thanks to the help of St. Anselm 1033/4-1109 for his efforts to keep St. Dunstan and St. Alphege in the official calendar of Canterbury. St. Dunstan was considered a very popular saint across England and even more critical at Christ Church. St. Alphege was not as popular but seen as important enough for Anselm to fight for his cult to remain in the church's calendars. Anselm said his death to save the townspeople of Canterbury was worthy of his status as a true martyr.

The stories of the saints played out in the stained glass windows of the cathedral. The visitors would see a display of their power through their miracles both during their lives, in the case of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, and after their death when they could help heal the sick and

¹² This is a topic of debate. The works by Vladimir Moss and Jack Turner have the idea that the practices of the Early English were more in line with the Orthodox. Their ideas stem from Christians left from the Roman occupation and the later Saxon Kingdoms that convert keep with some of the early practices of Church before ideology divided Christian Europe. Saints were deemed holy through veneration and the local bishops.

the lame. The monks would make connections between the three saints as part of their plan to display their power over all of England.

Stained Glass

In September of 1174, a fire broke out and destroyed much of the east end of Canterbury Cathedral. This was an opportunity to expand the church and make room for the fast-growing cult of St. Thomas.¹³ With the rise of the French Style, now known as Gothic, the designer William of Sens, later finished by William the English after Sens left England, was able to bring this new modern style of architecture to England. Not only did it allow for more space to help with the growing crowds that were visiting the shrine of St. Thomas, but it also afforded the monks of Canterbury access to the relatively new medium of stained glass (Figures 4 and 5), a mode of decoration that could be used to establish their authority over the churches of England.¹⁴ There is a long history between the cathedrals of York and Canterbury as to where the main power comes from; this was part of the issues between Henry II and Archbishop Thomas Becket. Even after the Conquest by the Normans, Lanfranc had issues with York.¹⁵ He wrote to the archbishop that York is to submit to the authority of Canterbury. Augustine established the supremacy of Canterbury to be over all the English churches. There is visual evidence of St. Dunstan expressing his power as the primary primate over all the churches of England. This power and authority are what the monks would decide to show through the windows.

¹³ Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530*. (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1990), 74.

¹⁴ Willison, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530*, 74.

¹⁵ Lanfranc, *The letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*. Translated by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 79-81

York Cathedral was once the primary Episcopal church of the northern half of England during the years of the Danish Conquest (980s-1016). After Cnut I took control of all of England, York would question the authority of Canterbury, as noted through Lanfranc's letters, as well as step into the role that was the right of Canterbury, the crowning of the monarchs, that Roger Archbishop of York did during the years of Thomas Becket's exile.

This new purpose of stained glass originated in the vision of Abbot Suger, who at St. Denis, in France, aimed to fill the church with light as a metaphor for experiencing God's divineness.¹⁶ From the light in the cathedral, one could feel and see God present in his earthly house. Another take on the presence of light in the churches is the visitor becomes the Son of God through the Incarnation by virtue of the divine light bathing the church and the Christians.¹⁷ Canterbury being a pilgrimage church meant the monks wanted to give the pilgrims and local visitors something extra special to see. Accordingly, stained glass windows revealing the stories of saints and biblical tales, both Old and New Testaments, are shown. At Canterbury, there are the windows of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, along with the windows dedicated to Becket, as well as the other saints whose relics are part of the collection of Canterbury. Looking at the various images in the windows of the Early English saints, can also be compared to the images of St. Thomas, which was the attempt of the monks to link all the stories of the saints together. Working with the ideas of Madeline Harrison Caviness that Canterbury, the monks

¹⁶ Otto Von Simpson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture & the Medieval Concept of Order*, 51-55.

¹⁷ George Duby, *Medieval Art, Europe of the Cathedrals 1140-1280*. (Geneva: d'Art Albert Skira S.A., 1995), 162

created all the images and stories to be related to Christ.¹⁸ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the saints were seen as a modern allegory to the biblical stories of Christ. These allegories are mainly on the windows in the eastern arm of the Cathedral.

Historical Background

Understanding the life of the saints and their stories becomes key to reading the iconography used in the cathedral's windows. The monks took the highlights of the life stories to create images to help convey their authority over England. The life stories of St. Dunstan date back to just a few years after his death with the vita written by the author known as B. Two other vitas come after the Norman Conquest as ways to help promote these early saints by making them seen as super-heroes of their day. The works of Osbern and Eadmer are the most famous of the vitas that the monks of Canterbury would have access to. These two authors spent time at Canterbury during their monastic careers.

The life of St. Dunstan began in 909 with his birth near Glastonbury, England. He was fully invested in monastic life by 943 when he was placed as the Abbot of Glastonbury; however, soon after being appointed abbot, he fled into exile in Gaul thanks to a plot against King Edwy insinuated the abbey's monks (including Dunstan himself).¹⁹ Part of the retaliation against Dunstan stems from when the newly crowned King Edwy left his celebration on Coronation Day and was found by Dunstan in his bed-chamber with two women. Dunstan then

¹⁸ Madeline Harrison Cavines, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral (Circa 1175-1220)*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 104-105.

¹⁹ B, *Early Lives of St. Dunstan*, Translated by Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge. 69-73

dragged the young king back to the celebration.²⁰ He was called back to his former position in the church by King Edgar. In 959, Dunstan was appointed Bishop of Worcester, and in two years' time, he was deemed the Archbishop of Canterbury. As Archbishop, he initiated notable reforms, among which was his push to transform Canterbury into a central pilgrimage church. The rise of the saint cults began in the Early English period, and it can be said that it was with Dunstan that the idea of collecting saintly relics as a means to promote pilgrimage began.²¹

Making Canterbury a place of pilgrimage, started by Dunstan, was continued by Alphege during his time as archbishop, especially after his death and the installation of his remains in the cathedral by King Cnut I, who also added to the collection of relics and gave great charity to the church. This period marks the beginning of the saint cult's most popular time before the various reformation across Europe, but most notably the English Reformation of Henry VIII. Born in 954, Alphege began his monastic life at the abbey in Bath. It was his decision to live as a hermit, though, beyond the abbey's walls that allowed word of his teaching to spread. Many sought him out for his wisdom. In 984, he was appointed as bishop of Winchester by Archbishop Dunstan. He was appointed as Archbishop in 999 by King Ethelred. At the time, trouble was mounting with the Danes, who would turn their raids towards the kingdom of Kent (where Canterbury is located) in 1101. There, the Danes laid siege to the city. It was Alphege who pleaded with the Danes to end their siege and to take him as a hostage to be ransomed. The Danes received their ransom payment but kept Alphege nevertheless. They attempted to ransom him again, but

²⁰ B, 67-68

²¹ Thacker, 235

Alphege declined; outraged, the Danes started to throw rocks and bones at the archbishop, with his death finally coming from a blow to his head by the blunt end of an ax.²²

The next day, the idea of throwing his body into the river was being discussed. It was then that the first miracle took place. A dead piece of wood, which was placed in the pool of Alphege's blood, began to sprout leaves. This was when they knew he was a holy man. They took his body to St. Paul's in London, to be laid to rest. Several of the Danes converted to Christianity on the spot because of the events they witnessed. It was later, in 1023, when King Cnut took the throne of England, that he had the body of the saint taken from St. Paul's, in London, to Christ Church in Canterbury.²³ His remains are now entombed in the floor on the north side of the high altar. This is a place of very high honor for a man who gave his life for justice.

A brief background on St. Thomas Becket helps show how the life stories play on each other between the saints. Becket was put into monastic schools at an early age. He quickly rose as a clerk and became knowledgeable about politics and law. He served as the clerk to Archbishop Theobald and began to make a name for himself.²⁴ During his time as a monastic clerk, he held

²² There is a debate as to what actually happened. Some sources claim he was killed out of mercy by a Dane that had already converted to Christianity and did not wish to see Alphege suffer any further. Other accounts claim a drunken Dane was angry that Alphege had not died yet from the objects that had been thrown at him. From Moss he gives the name of Thrum, *The Saints of Early English England Volume III*, 51. *The Early English Chronicles*, 67 gives no name of the Dane that struck Alphege. In Osbern's *Life of St. Alphege*, 76-77 no name is given as well.

²³ The official name of Canterbury Cathedral is Christ Church that was consecrated by St. Augustine. Often with many cathedrals it is more recognized by the name of the town or city it is located in. *The Early English Chronicles*, 19

²⁴ Frank Barlow *Thomas Becket*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 16

the position of an archdeacon. He caught the eye of a young Henry, who was working to secure the throne of England from his uncle King Stephen, which he did with the help of Becket. Shortly after, Becket left his daily monastic life to work for the new King Henry II. During this time, he was appointed Chancellor of England.²⁵ When the Archbishop of Canterbury died, Henry II had the brilliant idea of appointing Becket as the new Archbishop. As holding the office of Chancellor and Archbishop, Becket could wield enormous power under the direction of Henry. Henry already had issues with the courts of England divided between Ecclesiastical, Roman (Civil), and Royal.²⁶ Becket, of course, tried to talk the king out of this ploy since he told Henry that he would no longer serve him but serve God the true king. Over time this friendship began to dwindle since Becket chose to serve the church over the king, something he warned Henry about. The idea of the complete authority of Canterbury could have come from a sermon that Becket gave in 1163. In his sermon, he quoted from letters written by St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In these letters, Bernard was expressing his displeasure with King Louis of France. Bernard suggested that Louis should submit to the authority of the church. It can be seen as Becket making a case for his authority over Henry. This would give the idea to the monks of Canterbury to have their authority over the church and monarchs of England. This is something even Lanfranc wrote about when he was appointed as archbishop by William I.²⁷ As the friendship crumbled, Becket left England to go into exile for a few years.

²⁵ Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 42

²⁶ Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 94

²⁷ John Guy, *Thomas Becket: Warrior, Priest, Rebel*. (New York: Random House 2012), loc 3037 of 7184, Kindle.

Henry decided to continue running his kingdom without the aid of Becket, driving the two apart further. Part of the issue Thomas had was King Henry the Younger was to be crowned during Henry II's lifetime. With Thomas in exile, the Archbishop of York decided to crown the young prince, a duty that was meant for the Archbishop of Canterbury. Finally, the two reconciled, and Becket returned to England to take up his role as Archbishop of Canterbury. However, once Becket returned, he quickly went to work to punish those that went against him. Becket's new mission to punish those only made the tension between Henry and Becket worsen. On December 29, 1170, it all came to a boiling point, and a group of men loyal to Henry II Entered the cathedral and murdered Thomas Becket. One knight struck Becket on the head, knocking him down, and the final killing blow sliced the top of Becket's skull.

Because the murder took place in the cathedral, time was needed for the monks to collect themselves before they attended to the body of Becket and cleaned up the area now known as the Martyrdom. Those few in the cathedral went to collect his blood and what was left of the top of his head and brains. He was placed by the high altar for the night.²⁸ The next day when the monks finally began to prepare Becket's body by removing the layers of his blood-stained vestments, they discovered under his gowns, he wore a hairshirt. This was something worn by priests that were doing penance for their sins, typically not something is worn every day as it appears Becket had been doing. This helped to change the attitude of many of the monks. With this hairshirt, Becket was seen as a more pious man and a defender of the church. With his miracle collection that started within hours after his murder, Becket's path to sainthood and his canonization was fast.

²⁸ Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 248

Once the needed miracles were collected to send to Rome for the proper documentation, the monks of Canterbury opened the tomb of Becket for pilgrims. The monks took it upon themselves to venerate his body and start his cult before he was officially canonized by Rome.²⁹ Henry II did help to fast-track the process. With his fast-growing cult and the small, cramped space of St. Becket's tomb, the monks were feeling overwhelmed. The fire in 1174 destroyed part of the east end of the cathedral. It helped the monks expand the Trinity Chapel and make room for a much larger area for a more spectacular shrine, as well as a better means to allow a good flow for the masses coming to see St. Thomas.

With all the close-knit images in the windows of Canterbury Cathedral, the monks used the stories of the saints to help keep the old (Early English) church and new (post-Conquest) church buildings together. By recalling the cults of the Early English saints, these stained-glass windows maintained the importance of both the ideas and history this church to all of England. Specifically, the narrative images of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege are part of a campaign set up by the monks to show their authority of the churches, as well as their control of the monarchs of England, by linking the saints to St. Thomas and resurrecting their cults. In short, the images propagandize the power of the saints, their importance in English history, and their supremacy over the English monarchy. Taking the arguments Becket brought up with the authority of the Church of England over the monarchs in his quarrels with Henry II, the monks would uphold these ideas with allowing the cult of St. Thomas to begin before his official canonization. They see this as one of their own violated by the overbearing king. Looking at the collection of saints already within the cathedral St. Dunstan and St. Alphege also shared similar stories and events

²⁹ Rachel Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 144

with St. Thomas. Together the monks would weave a visual story to link the monks and display their power and might.

Literature Review

Building on these scholarly foundations, my thesis aims to position the monks' revival of the cults of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege in the stained-glass imagery at Canterbury as an effort to bridge a gap between the Early English saints and those of post-Conquest England to underscore the relevance, importance, and power of the Church in England and its authority over the monarchy. These acts are much like the acts that took place at Bury St. Edmund. Because of the popularity of St. Thomas, more is available about his story; finding sources for St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, however, can be a challenge. Comparing what is available becomes the key to understanding the windows and the iconography interpreted.

Window History and Iconography

While no such in depth studies have yet been performed on these specific cycles featuring scenes from the life of Saints Dunstan and Alphege, there has been ample scholarly inquiry into the lives of these saints and the iconography incorporated into their imagery. Helpful here is the work of Madeline Harrison Caviness, in her book *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1175-1220*, which examines and explains the iconography that was used in the windows at Canterbury Cathedral. Caviness states that the saints have importance to Canterbury itself. Their cults and images were mainly in Canterbury and not as far spread across England, and the monks would use them for political gains.³⁰ Through her examination of the windows,

³⁰ Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral (Circa 1175-1220)*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 145-146.

she gives the background stories needed to understand the iconography used in the windows. M.A. Michael also wrote a book on the windows at Canterbury, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*. In his book, he agrees that the monks had political reasons to include the early saints. His idea is based on the image cycle of Dunstan saving King Edwy from hell. Michael explains that Edwy was a king who defied his archbishop and needed his help to be saved. Michael also compares this story with the relationship between St. Thomas and King Henry II.³¹ He brings up the works of Caviness's ideas of the windows having an interplay with each other about the biblical stories. He also points out that the window of St. Alphege is one of the oldest surviving windows in Canterbury.³² Caviness shares that the windows of the two Early English saints have similarities to biblical stories and images.³³ In a 1964 article on a recently acquired window for the Fogg Museum, Madeline Harrison examines the window and explains it is from the same period and style as the windows of Dunstan and Alphege. This gives an order of production to see when the windows would have been made and to get a better idea of the locations the original Early English saint's windows could have been located. She brings this window up in her book to establish a timeline for the windows and their creation during the period of the rebuilding at Canterbury Cathedral.

In the essay by Caviness, "Conflicts between Regnum and Sacerdotium as Reflected in a Canterbury Psalter," the use of biblical stories of the kings in the Old Testament are used as allegories of monarchs who behaved in an unworthy manner. This psalter, along with the

³¹ M. A. Michael. *Stained Glass Windows of Canterbury Cathedral*, (London: Scala Art and Heritage Publishers, 2014), 45

³² M. A. Michael, 44

³³ Cavines, 145-146.

writings of William of Malbury, shows that the church wanted to find ways to control the monarch, which led to issues, such as the ones with St. Dunstan and St. Thomas. The book *The Allegory of the Church*, by Calvin B. Kendall, examines and describes the use of allegories in the portals of the churches in Europe. This, again, carries the ideas of the psalters and some of the writing of the time. Kendall looks further into how the monks across Europe used sculpture to make their political differences seen through the various use of sculpture programs, mainly in the entry portals. These would be some of the first images a visitor would see when entering the church. Kendall points out that this was more prevalent in the pilgrim churches.³⁴ He also writes about the shift away from allegory to symbolism during the Romanesque period.³⁵ With the multiple images and stories of Dunstan outside the windows of the cathedral, it follows the ideas brought up about St. Edmund's cult.³⁶

An essay by Emma Cowine, "The Cult of St. Edmund in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: The Language and Communication of a Medieval Saint's Cult", brings up the notion that under the guidance of Abbot Baldwin, the cult of St. Edmund grew from a multi-media campaign to ultimately help the church by expanding the cult.³⁷ St. Edmund, once a Saxon king of East Anglia, was killed by the Danes. Later he was venerated through prayers which began his cult following as a saint and martyr of the church. After the Norman Conquest, his cult was questioned along with many other saints across England by the new leadership appointed by

³⁴ Calvin B. Kendall, 165.

³⁵ Kendall, 185.

³⁶ Emma Cowine, "The Cult Of St Edmund In The Eleventh And Twelfth Centuries: The Language And Communication Of A Medieval Saint's Cult." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 99, no. 2 (1998): 177–97. Accessed January 28, 2022. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43345112>, 180

³⁷ Emma Cowine, 177

King William I. Very much like the events at Canterbury with the cults of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege. The newly appointed Abbot Baldwin went to work to make sure this important saint to the people of East Anglia would not fall out of favor. Part of what took place is that images of St. Edmund were used widely in the area, the use of the life story of the saint, including the use of miracle collecting, so his life and story could live on in the liturgy. With this idea from Cownie on the cult following of St. Edmund, the monks of Canterbury would share this idea with the cults of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege.

The use of saintly stories— like those of St. Dunstan and Alphege— as allegories of the power of the monks over the Church of England and the ruling monarchy has been well studied in past scholarship. For instance, similar themes have been discussed regarding stained-glass windows devoted to the miracles of St. Thomas. Rachell Koopmans’s article, “Visions, Reliquaries, and the Image of ‘Becket’s Shrine’ in the Miracle Windows of Canterbury Cathedral,” examines the images in the Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral. These windows contain images dealing with the cult of St. Becket. In the images, examples of the shrine and different relics and reliquaries can be seen that are associated with St. Becket and the foundation of his cult. The stories from the window help to lay the foundation of the cult and some of the early miracles associated with the saint. Koopmans points out that the power of St. Thomas Becket can be seen since these miracles take place outside of Canterbury Cathedral.

Koopmans’s essay discusses how the pictorial representation of St. Becket’s early miracles helped to lead to his canonization. Understanding the importance of St. Becket’s cult, the image-making for his cult, and the destruction of his cult, will help the reader understand the monks’ need to use the cults and iconography of the Early English saints. Another essay by Koopmans, entitled “Kentish Pilgrims in Canterbury Cathedral’s Miracle Windows,” examines

the iconography used to show the common person receiving visits and miracles from St. Thomas. This is also shared by Cownie's essay, that images of the followers having prayers answered through the miracles of St. Edmund, mainly from the locals.³⁸ There are some images that Koopmans examines that could continue this visual link between the saints. One of which is the image of St. Dunstan and the story of the cup he used at a banquet that never seemed to empty. In the "Miracle Windows," a bowl with the mixture of St. Thomas's blood and water was commonly used in some of the miracle stories. This bowl also never emptied. As Caviness claimed, these windows and stories could be related to Jesus feeding the masses where there was plenty of bread and fish. Koopmans's argument of showing the miracle stories of more common people, can help build a better relationship between the saints and the followers. With shared imagery between the saints, she feels it helps to link them through image and story.

Rachel Koopmans also wrote a book on the use of miracle collecting that would be used to help prove that the person in question was worthy of being canonized with the recorded miracles. In her book, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*, she looks into what all went into the collection of stories and how they were used. She takes a critical look at the works of Osbern and Eadmer, who wrote to elevate the stature of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan, as well as other Early English saints. When it comes to her take on St. Thomas, the monks of Canterbury seem to jump the gun with his new rising cult following even before he became officially canonized.³⁹ Throughout her book, she also helps to show the connections between the three saints; again, this shows a political move by the monks

³⁸ Cownie, 178-179

³⁹ Koopmans, 144

of Canterbury.⁴⁰ With the monks taking matters into their own hands, they are acting in their interest by jump-starting the cult of Becket before officially being canonized by Rome. This points out their eagerness to show their superiority over England. One could get the idea that Canterbury gets to play by their own rules when it comes to their saints, saints are made holy by the veneration of the faithful, and that the official pathway through Rome is merely a formality. The shared story of St. Alphege being deemed holy the morning after his death with the miracle of the oar sprouting new growth, miracles began to happen the next day with blood stained clothing taken from Thomas's body.

Essential to this premise is the work of Caviness, who, as mentioned previously, gives a complete view of the current windows throughout the cathedral. While she breaks down some of the iconographies, she provides the basics of the images. She does not delve into some of the reasons why the images of the Early English saints are brought back other than showing the history in general. Her take is giving the information on how to read the windows as a narrative coming from the literary works of Eadmer, Osbern, and William, the chroniclers from the churches in England. In her essays, Caviness breaks down some of the images in the psalters she is writing about but does not give the same treatment to the windows of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege. Caviness, as well as Koopmans, explain some of the relationships between the stories of the saints and the shared images, but they stop there. While, as mentioned, the windows today are only a fragment of what is left of the original windows, there is only the basic information to explain the narrative of the iconography. While they do agree there was much for Canterbury to gain politically, the interpretations of the three authors do not go that deep into the meanings of the iconography. My goal is to show why these two saints' cults were brought back to popularity

⁴⁰ Koopmans, 145

by the monks. These saints were important to Canterbury to help establish the history of being the main primate over the churches in England; plus, the saints had power and authority over the monarchs. Through the archbishops, England can be saved from horrible monarchs and foreign invaders. Looking at what Canterbury had to gain through the saints and St. Thomas, the monks made a collection of images that go above and beyond, showing that saints are special. They are special in the way they are displayed to show why they are better and that Canterbury has the authority over England. An example would be looking at the works of William of Malsbury that comes in, around the time Eadmer is no longer writing as much. Looking at the works of William, Eadmer, and B, share the idea that the monarchs needed the church to help save them from themselves and give them moral guidance, especially the ones that turned their back on the church, were to be failed leaders.⁴¹ Bjorn Weiler explains this in his essay on the kings written about in William's writings, with William pushing the idea of the church's dominance over the monarchs. Taking this into consideration—the windows of Canterbury, the psalters from Canterbury, and many other churches, discussed by Kendall—the monks across Europe had the idea of creating allegories of kings behaving badly. The church was needed to help them with their moral judgment and to keep them on the right path to good kingship. Caviness and Kendall both agree images were created specifically to point out the wrongdoing of the kings. While kings might not be named specifically, the carefully chosen images illustrating biblical stories were often used. This would be why Caviness brings up the wide use of biblical stories used throughout Canterbury's windows and being able to relate stories of the saints to the same biblical stories.

⁴¹ Bjorn Weiler, "William of Malsbury on Kingship." *History* 90, no. 1 (297) (2005), 18.

A book put out by the Cathedral in 1897, as part of the churches' way to help generate income for window restoration, adds insight into the history of the windows. While the book does not get into the use of iconography, it does give descriptions of the windows, and in the case of the St. Alphege window, it mentions that the window is incomplete and out of place. The preface of the book, written by F.W. Farrar, brings up that some of the glass predates the 12th-century building campaign and the sinless destruction of the windows.⁴² Much like what Caviness also explains, viewing the early saint windows today that are "in situ" since they are out of place where they originally would have been. When Mr. George Austin begins his task of restoring the windows, he uses what he has on hand as far as the original glass left in the church. It is mentioned he repeats some of the images throughout and reformats windows to fit into the new location.⁴³ This is also echoed in the writings of both Caviness and Koopmans. With the wars and reformation in England, the windows were destroyed, and some were removed, causing further issues with the restoration of the glass. What we see today is not the same as what the pilgrims would have seen; this makes the idea of a hermeneutic reading impossible. The windows have been moved around, and some are out of their original place. We are left to speculate from what Caviness gives as far as locations and possible original format and the narratives of the vitas of the Eadmer and Osbern on the saints.

⁴² Farrar, *Notes on Painted Glass*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1897 (Kindle 2013)), Location 7 of 1533, Kindle

⁴³ Farrar, *Notes on Painted Glass*, Location 113 of 1533, Kindle

Cathedral History

With the overall history of the cathedral, which includes the windows, Robert Willis's book looks at the architecture of the church through the primary sources of firsthand accounts of the long history. *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* aids in seeing the order of the buildings and the transformation that took place throughout the history of this cathedral. This would help with areas of the history on the windows as part of the building campaign of the eastern arm of the cathedral. While the focus is more on the general history of the church and building phases, it is useful to get a history of what happened to the cathedral, which in turn would affect the glasses' history as well. Using descriptions from Eadmer and Osbern, Willis shows the importance of the Early English saints and their placement in the cathedral. The shrines are placed in a prominent space flanking the high altar. The most important information from Willis's book is the mention of windows being destroyed or lost in the 1630s-1640s, as well as the altars being relocated and finally removed in 1704.⁴⁴ This information explains why there is only one window showing the story of St. Alphege. The viewers are left to wonder what the rest of his story could be. No doubt, the monks would use images that would connect Alphege and Dunstan and certain other aspects of the iconography to connect with St. Thomas. Taking the information from Willis's book and the book from the cathedral on the glass gives a longer history than what Michael, Caviness, and Koopmans give us in their works. All three point out the destruction of the windows that are covered in the cathedral's book as well as in Willis's. In the end, it is only a fragmented set of cycles left of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege.

⁴⁴ Roger Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*. (New York: Andesite Press, 2017, First published 1845, Longman and Co), 103-104.

The sudden rise of the cult of St. Thomas in Canterbury brought new iconography. The rebuilding of the eastern arm made space for the shrine and new windows. With this, the monks would make connections between the saints on many levels. To help better understand the iconography shared by the Early English, looking at and dissecting the iconography of St. Thomas becomes important. Tancred Borenius wrote the book *St. Thomas Becket in Art*, which is a collection of the majority of the known images of St. Becket in a wide variety of mediums. The author discusses known painted images, reliquaries, and sculptures of St. Becket from all over Europe. This becomes necessary to understand the associated images used in the images of St. Thomas Becket by his murder by four knights in the cathedral, in addition to the iconography of St. Thomas. Borenius also goes into the iconoclasm of the images of St. Thomas during the English Reformation. Some of the images and ideas behind St. Thomas's imagery can be comparable to the remaining window dedicated to St. Alphege. The images of St. Dunstan are more comparable with the St. Thomas windows in the Trinity Chapel.

Robert E. Scully's article, "The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation," is about the cult of St. Becket from its early days to its destruction during the time of Henry VIII and his reformation of the Church of England. His essay continues through the years and the events that led to the English Reformation. For Scully, the story of Becket is a powerful story of the relationship of the church and state:

The long and complex relationship between Church and State in Western Christendom-both creative and destructive-is particularly well illustrated by examining the history of England, especially the relations between various English monarchs and the Church. More specifically, by focusing on the rise, the importance, and, especially, the fall of the cult of St. Thomas Becket from the twelfth century through the sixteenth century, we can gain some valuable insights

into the complex series of events known as the English Reformation.⁴⁵

Scully gives a brief explanation of the popularity of St. Becket, even up to the eve of the removal of his images from the official seal of the church and any likeness in the form of painting or sculpture. Of course, there was the dismantling of his shrine and how all the gold and jewels were taken from the church and given to the crown. This plays into the overall story of the saints' cults and the events at Canterbury. The Reformation of Henry VIII was the beginning of the end of the shrines dedicated to St. Dunstan and St. Alphege being destroyed. To get an idea of what the window could have looked like, one can turn to the primary sources of Eadmer and Osbern to get the narrative from those who looked at the windows of St. Dunstan and St. Thomas. This will give a complete idea of the iconography and how the three saints would be connected visually.

Life Stories of the Saints

Texts of St. Alphege are less plentiful. In part because after the Norman Conquest of England, many of the existing Early English saints were thrown to the side in favor of saints with closer ties to mainland Europe. The main biography of St. Alphege was written by Osbern, translated by Frances Shaw, at the request of Archbishop Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury appointed by the new king, William I. Lanfranc initially questioned the sainthood of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan but was convinced by his protégé, Anselm, to accept early saints and leave the feasts day in the church calendar.⁴⁶ Osbern was given the task of writing the life story of St.

⁴⁵ Scully, "The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation", *Catholic Historical Review* (October 2000), Vol. 86 Issue 4, 579.

Alphege. The images of St. Alphege in the windows are a direct visual translation of what Osbern wrote. The different scenes in the roundels relate to the story of St. Alphege, mainly his last days alive. The windows start with the invasion of Canterbury. The last roundel shows Alphege being taken aboard the Dane's ship to go back to their main camp in Greenwich. Unfortunately, this is the only window we have of St. Alphege. The others were most likely destroyed at a later date. Solving this mystery is noted in Willis's book. At some point, there was damage to the windows of Canterbury.

For sources on St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, a book that is about St. Anselm, originally, written by Eadmer (1060-1126), *The Life of St. Anselm*, and translated by R. W. Southern, contains information on both Saints Dunstan and Alphege. Anselm came to England after the Norman Conquest of England, and he was a champion of these two saints. He felt that they both were very important to the Early English population of England, chamfered pillars and to rid the church calendars of them would be to get rid of their legacy.⁴⁷ The article by Jay Rubenstein, "Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury," uses this book as a source to give an understanding of the cults of the Early English saints and how Anselm was the force that helped to keep them valid as saints when Lanfranc, who as appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by the newly crowned William I, was in the process of ridding the church calendar and churches of saints that he felt were not in line with the church and practices

⁴⁶ Jay Rubenstein, "Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury", *Speculum*, Vol 74, No. 2 (1999): 284. Accessed May 12, 2019. doi: 10.2307/2887048.

⁴⁷ Eadmer. *The Life of St. Anselm: Archbishop of Canterbury*. ed.by R.W. Southern. (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1972), 50-54.

he was bringing from continental Europe. Rubenstein points out that the work of Eadmer is what helped shape our understanding and knowledge of Early English saints.⁴⁸ The works of Eadmer and Osbern helped to revive the saints that Linfranc was ready to dismiss because of the practices of the Church of England. In Eadmer's *Recent Events in England*, believed to be written around 1115, he starts his recording of English history during the reign of King Edgar (959-957) up to the reign of Henry I in 1102. R. W. Southern compares the work of Eadmer to the works of Bede.⁴⁹ Eadmer is the next great historian of the English. His works were meant to save the Early English tradition and cultures that Rubenstein points out.

Earlier life stories of St. Dunstan, the collection of his life story, *The Early Life of St. Dunstan*, are edited and translated by Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge; these were written shortly after Dunstan's death in 988. The more formal life story text comes from the source of an author simply known as B and thought to be written late 990s. This source is valuable, since we get early details and the life story of St. Dunstan, one of the main reformers of the Early English church during his time. This book is based on the works of one of the first Vita (Life Story) written on St. Dunstan shortly after his death. Alan Thacker points out in his essay, "Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and his Successors," how the stories from B differ from Eadmer's stories. He explains that the number of miracles is significantly lower in B's version of the events.⁵⁰ He was not as ambitious as Eadmer since Dunstan was still

⁴⁸Rubenstein, "Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury", 284.

⁴⁹Eadmer. *History of Recent Events in England*, ed. Geoffrey Bosanquet. London: The Cresset Press, 1964, vii.

⁵⁰ Alan Thacker, "Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and his Successors", from *St Dunstan : His Life, Times, and Cult* / Edited by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, Tim Tatton-Brown. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK ;: Boydell Press, 1992), 221.

fresh on the minds of monks of Canterbury and decades before the conquest. The second group of texts in the book comes from the works of Adelar, a monk of St. Peter's in Ghent. His work is believed to be commissioned by Alphege from 1006 to 1012, during the years when Alphege was the Archbishop of Canterbury. Much like the writings of B, the vitae read more like a collection of life stories about Dunstan.

Taking the events from the three different sources, one can find they often mirror each other; in the events of Dunstan's life, we see the life story play out in the two windows. While the images in the roundels can be more closely related to the stories of Eadmer, viewing them instead from the perspective of the life of Dunstan can give a deeper understanding of what the monks wanted to show.

Another useful book that is a collection of essays on the life and cult of St. Dunstan is *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, edited by Nigel Ramsay, Margret Sparks, and T.W.T. Tatton-Brown in 1992. St. Dunstan seems to have had longevity and is a subject of interest. Many other texts do exist on St. Dunstan that tell his story, but they are based on the primary texts. This book is a collection of essays on Dunstan and examines the different lives that he had.⁵¹ Their lives can be seen as his different positions in the church and his role with the monarchy. His cult and following are also discussed in the essays. The essays that deal with the cults and relics at Canterbury look back in time to what the visitors would have seen after the

⁵¹ Alan Thacker, "Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and his Successors", 221-245; Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks, "The Cult of St. Dunstan at Christ Church, Canterbury", 311- 323; Michael Lapidge, "B. and the Vita S. Dunstani", 247-272.

completion of the eastern arm in 1220. Looking at different aspects of his cult will help to shed light on the minds of the monks that showcase St. Dunstan.

Chronicles of Kings of England: From the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen, originally written by William of Malmesbury (1095-1143) and translated by John Allen Giles and John Sharpe,⁵² gives the stories of the period of Dunstan and Alphege from the stories about the different early Saxon Kingdoms, to the Danish conquest of England, and then the Norman Conquest of England. This is useful in seeing the political world of England during the Saxon period. From this, it is learned how the once Archbishops played into the political realm and how their sainthood is used as a political tool.

The main stories of the saints are taken from the different *vitas* and chronicles, mainly written after the Norman Conquest and much debate. As Rubenstein and Koopmans point out, part of the goal was to help save the history and culture of the conquered Saxons. Stepping back and looking at other works that Canterbury produced helps to show what the monks were up to. The story of Becket is hard to overcome and get away from, but it is because of him that the monks would use his cult as a springboard to promote their authority over England. The images speak louder than words in the case of Canterbury. With the images in the windows and the psalters paired with the writings, the use of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege become part of a bigger story that the monks would weave with the story of St. Thomas Becket. The three become metaphors for one another.

⁵² William of Malsbury. *Chronicles of Kings of England. From the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen*. Translated by John Allen Giles and John Sharpe. (Amazon eBook: Perennial Press, 2016), 164-192, 194-226

Analysis

I will you tell a little tale in prose,
 To knit up all this feast, and make an end.
 And Jesus for his grace wit me send
 To shewe you the way, in this voyage,
 Of thilke perfect glorious pilgrimage,
 That hight Jerusalem celestial.⁵³

This excerpt from the Parson's Tale is when the group of pilgrims have reached Christ Church and have stepped into the cathedral for the final part of the journey. They will begin the full pilgrim's experience that was set up. The pilgrims would enter from the south transept and head north to the opposite side of the cathedral to the area of the Martyrdom. Then they would go down through the crypt to pray at different locations, back up to the main level that would have the visitors loop around the choir, presbytery, then finally through the rebuilt Trinity Chapel that housed the massive shrine of St. Thomas that was surrounded by the "Miracle Windows" showing his power of healing. It would be in the presbytery the pilgrims would be able to see the windows of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege.

Glass at Christ Church

When looking at the windows of Canterbury, one would need to consider which windows were around at the time of the popularity of St. Thomas's cult. There are little to no records of the glass from the earliest church that was found by St. Augustine in the 6th century (Figure 6) up to the first rebuilding from a fire in 1067. At that point, the church was heavily damaged from all the years of the hostile Danes. Koopmans mentioned that St. Dunstan had many visits in dreams

⁵³ Chaucer, Prologue Parson's Tale from *Canterbury Tales*, 590.

to the monks and archbishop of Canterbury because he was displeased with the son of Harold being unbaptized and placed in the church. Some speculate St. Dunstan intervened and caused the fire so the child could be removed, resulting in a new building that would need to be cleansed of this sinful act.⁵⁴

The result would be Lanfranc building an entirely new church, completed in 1070 (Figure 7). This one was much larger and more to his liking. It is well-known Lanfranc disliked many aspects of the Early English saints. Lanfranc desired to bring England more in line with what was going on in Normandy and the rest of Europe; this was his main goal when he took the office of Archbishop of Canterbury. His new church brings the cruciform plan to Canterbury with the additional chapels in the east wing of the church. When his protégé, Anselm, became archbishop, he extended the choir and presbytery of the eastern arm of the cathedral. This was completed in 1097 (Also seen in Figure 7). It would be in this church that the murder of Thomas Becket would take place in 1170 on December 29th. Caviness writes that some of the windows still seen today could be from this building phase.⁵⁵ It would be the growth of the cult of St. Thomas that would cause another remodel of the church.

In 1174, a fire caused damage to the Trinity Chapel of Anselm's church. At the time, the shrine of St. Thomas was down in the crypt just below the Trinity Chapel. Monks complained that the crowds that were coming to visit the shrine of St. Thomas were beginning to get too large. With this fire and damage, this would allow the Trinity Chapel to be expanded to allow more room for the relics and a more fitting shrine for St. Thomas. In 1220, this new section of

⁵⁴ Koopmans, 84-85

⁵⁵ Caviness, 67

the cathedral was completed. The first design came from the well-known builder William of Sen, who fell from a high level of scaffolding and was not able to complete the project; later to be finished by William the Englishman. In this new section, the miracle windows of St. Thomas, St. Dunstan, and St. Alphege come to life. Caviness, in her research, has dated these windows coming from the same building program.⁵⁶ They share many style characteristics as well as the colors used.

The windows, though, have a bit different of a story within this history; as mentioned before, the windows have suffered the most. Starting with the English Reformation that would remove images and shrines and caused much destruction through the other times of civil unrest in the history of England. The abbey churches suffered the most under Henry the VIII. Other periods of civil unrest also would see the destruction of the churches. Farrar points out that Richard Culmer took much joy in the destruction of the windows of St. Thomas; Culmer is quoted saying, “Rattling down proud Becket’s glassy bones” as he destroyed the window.⁵⁷ While the structure of the cathedral was mainly intact, the windows had the greatest destruction. As mentioned, some windows were destroyed and never replaced. This is the case with the images of St. Alphege. It could also be argued that there could have been additional images for St. Dunstan, but due to the destruction, scholars cannot know for sure.

Analyzing the windows today leaves much to fill in the blanks to get a better picture of what the other windows could have been. For the content, an understanding of the vitas of the saints becomes crucial. The images that are still surviving are pictorial representations coming

⁵⁶ Caviness, 67

⁵⁷ Farrar, Location 18 of 1533

from the stories of the saints and what they did during their lives. The manuscripts of B, Osbern, Eadmer, and William of Malsnury help to give life to the saints and the life events that would be useful to be shown by the monks and their power play. Many of the scholars that have studied the windows and/or history of the saints of Canterbury, Caviness and Koopmans agree that the cults were used for a political purpose.⁵⁸ Caviness comments that the images of St. Dunstan are comparable to images of Christ, while the images of St. Alphege are comparable to the iconography of the Old Testament.⁵⁹ Her overall statement of the windows creates the visual experience of the Bible being laid out for the visitors going to the main attraction of the shrine of St. Becket. The art coming from Canterbury in psalters, as well as the stained-glass, has both. The monks appear to want their position to be known. While not as many people would have access to the psalters, let alone be able to read them, the windows would be seen by the many visitors to Canterbury. Through the windows, the monks would be able to display their might. These ideas of the bad behavior of the monarchs would be seen in the image of St. Dunstan saving King Edwy. Looking at this psalter coming from Canterbury helps to establish the idea of the monks' intention, not only in the windows but also in the books, to show the kings are in their service. The monks of Canterbury appear to be following the monks of St. Edmunds with a multi-media campaign of their dominance. In the case of the psalter, their authority over the king.

⁵⁸ Caviness, 65-67; Koopmans, 84-85

⁵⁹ Caviness, 144-147

Analysis of St. Dunstan Window

The two windows dedicated to the life and events of St. Dunstan today are located on the north side of the choir, closer to the west end of the choir. In the time of the newly completed arm of the cathedral in the twelfth century, the windows would have been on the south side and overlooking his shrine, next to the high altar that would be a little to the east. The colors used in the stained-glass windows are red, blue, yellow, green, white, and brown. They are a trefoil arrangement with three roundels in each window and surrounded by decorative scrolls of flowering vines. Starting with the first window and working around clockwise, the lower-left scene is of Dunstan in full vestment with a chalice. The next top roundel shows the image of King Edwy⁶⁰ being saved from Hell. The lower right is an image of Dunstan dividing the monks from the secular clerks. In the second window, starting with the lower left roundel and working clockwise, the image of Dunstan after casting the Devil out and praying before the altar is depicted. The top roundel is a dream image of Dunstan where God comes to speak to him. The lower right roundel is a scene describing the Miracle of Calne, the floor of the building collapses, and Dunstan, standing by a column, is saved from death.

These images selected by the monks would show that Dunstan was simultaneously a statesman, a symbol of monastic reform, and a miracle worker. The image of Dunstan saving the king from the depths of Hell is along with the idea that the kings are corrupt and need good moral guidance from the clergy of the Church of England. This is also written about at great lengths by William of Malsbury. It could also relate to the relationship between Dunstan and

⁶⁰ Some sources of research have the king listed as King Edwy. It should be of no surprise that the kings also have a change of name spelling the same that Alphege has different spellings.

Ethelred. From the primary sources, it is said that Dunstan gave the name “Unready” to him for his plot with his mother, which led to the death of his brother Edward the Martyr.⁶¹ Ultimately, Aethelred would be the king that lost the throne of England to the Danes. Of course, by that time, Dunstan had died, and Alphege was the archbishop that would be killed at the hands of the Danes. This image is from the story of Dunstan seeing Edwy being dragged off by demons. Dunstan, being a man of forgiveness, cries a great flood of tears to help save Edwy from the flames of Hell.⁶² Even with their rocky relationship that led to Dunstan’s exile to Flanders, Dunstan being a man of morals, feels it would serve him best to save the king from the flames of Hell.

The image of Dunstan dividing the clergy shows the reform that he brings to the church of England. His days at Glastonbury are when he followed the order of St. Benedict, after his exile and return from Flanders, called back by the new king Edgar. It was Edgar who would place Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury. He immediately began his reform of all the churches that he had begun in Glastonbury.⁶³ During his later years, the popularity of relics and cult followings would start to increase. Dunstan was known to help expand the relics housed at Christ Church. Another take on this could be Dunstan is teaching the clergy. Part of his reform would be to help share the ways of the order of St. Benedict. In the vita written by B, Dunstan has a dream he is to teach the clergy the new songs and what to sing during the services.⁶⁴ This

⁶¹ William, 192

⁶² Eadmer, 109

⁶³ B, 77

⁶⁴ B, 87-89

could be a way of unifying the church under one monastic order to become a whole church and not fragmented.

Dunstan as a miracle worker that can be seen in the lower left of the first window of the cycle. Dunstan is shown next to the chalice or cup. The story of King Aethelstan takes place at a fest hosted by his niece, Aelfgifu. During this fest or banquet, the cups never run dry of drink.⁶⁵ Aelfgifu is said to be close with Dunstan as her spiritual leader. This story could be a way to connect Dunstan with the first miracle of Christ at the wedding, where he turns the water into wine so that the celebration can continue. This story would explain the use of a chalice or cup in an image with Dunstan, and since it was a royal affair, he is dressed in his finest vestments. This makes sense as Caviness makes the connection between the iconography of the saints in the windows of Canterbury to the stories of the Old and New Testaments.⁶⁶ This shows that St. Dunstan is like Jesus when he performs his first miracle turning water into wine and the miracle of the feeding of the masses when the baskets of bread and fish did not run out. The monks would want the saints to be seen as a higher caliber of saints. Koopmans points out in the windows of St. Thomas an image with a similar story.⁶⁷ In her analysis, the image in window NIV is a mixture of ‘Saint’s Water’, water mixed with the blood of St. Thomas that was collected; it was used to help cure ailments is shown being held by one of the monks. One of the miracles that took place was the mixture replenishing each time it was poured out; the “Saint’s

⁶⁵ B, 37, also see Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, 71

⁶⁶ Caviness, 145

⁶⁷ Koopmans, 21-23

Water” appears to have no end of use by refilling the bowl after each use. Again, this links St. Dunstan and St. Thomas through a miracle that would also link them to the stories of the Bible.

The top image of the cycle to analyze is the image of Dunstan and his dream of visitation by God. This would relate to the images of St. Thomas, that was seen visiting people he cured in their dreams. In many of the miracles described by Eadmer, Dunstan was known to appear in dreams of the individuals he had cured. Dunstan was also said to have appeared to Lanfranc on different occasions, which led him to change his mind about his sainthood and cult following. In the life stories of Dunstan, he has a dream that he visits Heaven before his death. He is greeted by God and a host of angels that follow him.⁶⁸ In the roundel, Dunstan is lying on his bed, and an image of three heavenly figures appear above him. In the story from B, he mentions the visitation from the Holy Trinity that are the ones that greet Dunstan. This could explain the use of the three figures.⁶⁹ The monks pulled from both B, Adelard, and Eadmer. This would show that God wants to speak with the Archbishop of Canterbury. This implies that God would favor this church above the others in England; after all, it was dedicated to Christ when St. Augustine consecrated it with the name of Christ Church and made it the head of all the Church of England.

Compared to the St. Thomas windows, there are several dream images shown. In these, it is St. Thomas visiting the faithful to help cure them of various ailments. The monks would want to create visual links to go along the shared storylines. While only a small fragment remains of the St. Alphege windows, it can only be speculated that there would have been some type of dream images in the missing/destroyed cycles. This would help to combine all three saints

⁶⁸ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, 157

⁶⁹ Adelrd, 137

through the dream imagery. As pointed out, saints that can appear in dreams are some of the most powerful saints. The monks would want to show that they have three such saints that are able to perform this feat.

The devil image of Dunstan's images also can be inspired by both the works of B. and Eadmer. The image in the roundel on the lower right of Dunstan resting after his ordeal with the devil can be from different stories. The most famous of all the stories is Eadmer's accounts of Dunstan when Dunstan was working as a smith, and the Devil came to request work. While Dunstan is working on the commission, he comes to realize he is working for the Devil and stops his work and grabs a pair of tongs (Seen in figure 9). He then grabs the Devil by the nose and leads him away.⁷⁰ Through both B. and Eadmer's *vitas*, the Devil comes at different times to tempt or torment Dunstan. Each time, Dunstan calls him out and sends him away. This shows his mighty power as a holy man because he can cast out the Devil as well as defeat him one on one. Taking into consideration Dunstan's relationship with some of the monarchs, the Devil is an allegorical form of the Early English kings he had to deal with. In the Eadmer version, the Devil takes on different forms. The different forms could be a way to show the various kings that Dunstan dealt with during his time. With all the stories of the monarchs coming from William of Malmesbury, several of the monarchs needed to be saved, mainly from themselves. Dunstan tried and tried to make peace and find ways to guide them, but, ultimately, they went astray from Dunstan's advice. While space in the windows is limited, a single image of the devil is all that is needed to represent the monarch. The monks would use this as a blanket statement. This also ties into the image of Dunstan saving King Edwy from Hell.

⁷⁰ Eadmer, 67

The last image of Dunstan is from the Miracle of Calne. From Eadmer's account, Dunstan attended a meeting with the king and a group of clerics and their sons. They pressed Dunstan to have the king restore ancient deeds to them. Dunstan responds that it had already been done. When the group grew angry with Dunstan, the floor beneath them collapsed. Dunstan was next to a column at the time and was spared.⁷¹ Eadmer explains that this led to some reforms in the church. Those clergy that had issues against Dunstan's reform left the church, and the Church of England began to argue. This can also be tied to the roundel that shows Dunstan dividing the different clergy members. These windows combined show the idea of authority. Dunstan is shown dividing the clergy and assigning them to their respected sees. Dunstan is saved by the grace of God, and those that challenge his authority are punished, resulting in injury or worse, their death.

These collections of images help to show the authority over the church and monarchs of England. The image of Dunstan saving Edwy from the flames of hell is a clear example of the monarch's need for moral guidance. The fact Dunstan wants to help save the man who ran him into exile shows that Dunstan can forgive those that want to do him harm. This is not the case for the image of the meeting at Clain. Here those that want to do harm or question the authority of Dunstan are punished. Their deeds have led them to this fate. Questioning Canterbury can end in grave results. The same would go with Ethelred's story. He would not rule over England for the crimes he committed. Ethelred and Edwy are the two most noted monarchs that had issues with Dunstan. In the story of "Dunstan and the Devil," the devil takes many forms. The Devil becomes an allegory of the monarchs. Dunstan is not fooled by the tricks of the Devil, and in the

⁷¹ Eadmer, 143

end, Dunstan is victorious over him. Looking at the psalters full of allegories coming from Canterbury that deal with the king's behavior, extending these ideas into the windows would help to illustrate the ideas of the monks.

Analysis of St. Alphege Window

The one remaining window at Canterbury dedicated to St. Alphege is next to the two windows of St. Dunstan. It has the same layout and design as the St. Dunstan windows. It would make sense that the window, along with the destroyed window, would be still on the north side of the eastern arm but further east to look over his shrine on the north side of the high altar. Examining the window of St. Alphege, the window is made up of three images of the events around the time of the Danish forces laying siege to the city of Canterbury. Reading in a clockwise motion, the first image, the top center circle in figure one, is of the Danish army and the Early English fighting during the siege. The second window, the lower right circle in figure one, is the moment that Alphege was said to have helped end the siege and save the lives of the inhabitants by working the arrangement for him to be ransomed, but this attempt failed. The last of the images, lower left in figure one, is the Danish army taking Alphege away to their camp, by boat, up to Greenwich.

There is the idea that there was another set of images to the story windows that would possibly have images of his death at the camp of the Danes.⁷² There would have been a window

⁷² When doing general research for this paper I was looking at the Canterbury Historical and Archaeological Society for general information and images that I could use for this paper. They mention that it could be possible another set of windows would have completed the story of St. Alphege but, may have been destroyed or removed during the English Reformation or other times of civil unrest in England and churches were vandalized. There is not enough hard evidence to say for sure that another set of windows were there in the cathedral. This is also mentioned by Rober Willis's book *The Architectual History of Canterbury Cathedral* on page

of the first miracle of the dead wood coming back to life and sprouting. It is typical to see the miracle images of saints to help further the cult following and show the stories of the saint. Showing this miracle would help link St. Dunstan, St. Alphege, and St. Thomas together. The cycles of Alphege, being incomplete, would include a miracle to give additional ties to St. Dunstan's chalice image and the floor at Calne miracle windows, and the numerous windows dedicated to St. Thomas.

Images of miracles can be seen in the Trinity Chapel (Fig. 4) around the site of the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. These images are used, in his case, to display the power that the saint has to help cure the sick. Many of the images are miracles that took place outside of the cathedral.⁷³ St. Thomas was said to have very strong powers as a saint, and the fact he was a martyr in a time when martyrs were very rare. Miracles related to St. Thomas started within minutes of his murder.⁷⁴ Some of the archbishop's final prayers are said to be calling on St. Alphege as he was being struck down by the four knights who entered the cathedral with the intention to murder the archbishop. The miracle images all have some type of relic present in the images of the St. Thomas miracles. The images help to show the visitor the stories and the power of the saint by creating an experience that would help to better associate with the saint and the

103-104. Nigel Ramsaey and Margret Sparks's essay, "The Cult of St Dunstan at Christ Church, Canterbury" page 317, there is mention of the new set of four windows, two for each placed on the respected sides looking over the sites of the shrines of the two saints.

⁷³ Rachell Koopmans, "Visions, Reliquaries, and the Image of 'Becket's Shrine in the Miracle Windows of Canterbury Cathedral." *Gesta* 54, no. 1(2015), 40. Accessed March 4, 2019. doi:10.1086/679400.

⁷⁴ Robert Hugh Benson, *The Holy Blissful Martyr, Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, 156

visitor.⁷⁵ This is what made the saints so special, and part of their use in the practice of Christianity. After all, the saint was once flesh and blood just like the people coming to the churches to pray at the sites of shrines or relics. The saints were used as a closer connection between humans and God.

With the background information of St. Alphege, looking at the windows and reading through the iconography commonly used during the medieval period, it is easier to understand what the monks are doing. The iconography of saints is used to help further the connection between the heavenly host and the humans that pray to them. The images that are present in Canterbury Cathedral tell the story of the time of the Danish army came to Canterbury and started their siege of the city.

A certain image in the case of the windows of St. Alphege is the use of four Danish soldiers. In the top scene of the set of three images, then working clockwise, we can see the Danish army surrounding the city of Canterbury. To help make the connection to St. Thomas, there are four Danish troops are shown.⁷⁶ During the days after the siege had ended and the

⁷⁵ Cynthia Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines." *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (1997): 1102. Accessed May 12, 2019. doi:10.2307/2865959.

⁷⁶ Many images of St. Thomas contain the images of the four knights that came to murder him in Canterbury. Already there is the part of his sermon where he mentions St. Alphege by name and that he is a martyr, also St. Thomas was said to have asked for his help in his final prayers while he was being stuck down by the knights that came to murder him. Naturally part of the St. Alphege images would have a similarity to images of St. Thomas, in this case the use of four troops representing the Danish forces. Borenius book *St. Thomas Becket in Art* has several examples of St. Thomas with the knights during the act of his murder.

Danes broke through the walls, the cathedral and other buildings were severely damaged. When Lanfranc began rebuilding a new cathedral to replace the damaged cathedral, the baptistery was no longer left standing. Since the early building originally given to St. Augustine was destroyed along with countless other buildings, it really is hard to say for sure which building the monks would want to represent in these sets of images. It would make sense that the monks would want to illustrate the idea of the baptistery being placed back into the history of Canterbury since it was used for the burial location of many of the archbishops after the monks of Canterbury Cathedral broke the tradition of having them buried at the Abby of St. Augustine. Also seen in the middle of the scene are four troops that would represent the troops that would defend against the Danish invaders. This can simply be showing an equal force size. There would not be a reason that would link or have a connection to the history of the Cathedral or any of its archbishops. Figure two helps to illustrate this need to compare and build a better association between the two martyrs. In this window, we clearly see that St. Thomas is being confronted by the four knights there with the intention of murdering him. In the next window of the cycle, the four knights are placed on top of each other. This could be a comparison also to the second scene in the St. Alphege Window.

Going clockwise to the lower right is the scene of the plunder and pillage of the city. In this scene, there are, again, four images of Danish troops. In the upper right, a tree can be made out. This can be read as the first miracle after the death of St. Alphege that is to come. The association of a tree sprouting branches and leaves for St. Alphege would make sense because that is what made a large number of Danish troops convert to Christianity. Along with Alphege, shown in the lower left, there are two other people in this scene. Alphege is shown in a kneeling position; he is shown in prayer and begging the Danes to spare the citizens of Canterbury and to

kill him instead or take him prisoner for ransom, which is the final scene to the left.⁷⁷ Whichever the case may be, he would be portrayed in a kneeling position for either one of the acts he was said to do during this time. Like the St. Thomas window, the Danish troops are placed on top of each other. This could be because of space limitations that the glassworkers had to deal with. The use of four other people, Danish troops or Anglo-Norman knights, is still clear; this way, the connection remains between the two saints. Along with a kneeling Alphege and the Danish troops are two other men. These can simply be seen as the town folks of Canterbury that the Danes had planned to murder and steal from, which they did for a few more days. A connection between these figures appearing can also be seen as images of St. Thomas and the witnesses, seen on the left side of the image at the cathedral. In figure two, it would be the monk that was with St. Thomas as the knights chased him through the various buildings of the cathedral complex and finally met in the area known as the Martyrdom since the time of his murder.

Ultimately, Alphege allows himself to be taken as a hostage to spare the lives of the remaining townsfolk. He is ransomed off by the Danes in order to get more money. This is what St. Anselm used as part of his case to justify his cult to Lanfranc when Lanfranc wanted to remove all the Early English saints from the English church calendar. We see the Danes leading Alphege away in the last of the scenes, in the lower-left circle. Here, there is simply Alphege, still on the left, with the four Danish troops led aboard a boat. The Danes had plans to take Alphege to their main camp in Greenwich, just outside of London. The only iconography to point out is that, again, there are the four Danish soldiers shown. In all three of the images, the

⁷⁷ Osbern, 63-64

connection is kept between St. Alphege and St. Thomas through the use of four knights or Danish soldiers.

Other Possible Window Images

As stated, the current windows seen today are just a sample of what the original windows would have looked like. George Austin pieced together the fragments and made them fit in the triforium in the choir section. Caviness feels they would have been located further east as I have claimed that would put them in the area of their resting places next to the high altar. Caviness feels the original windows would have in the location of windows S:XI and N:XI.

Farrar's book notes that some windows were moved around and some pieced together at different points of the church's history to help save the glass. With the massive restoration orchestrated by George Austin, some windows were made to fit some areas so that openings could be filled.⁷⁸ Farrar argues this is the case with the window of Alphege. Originally, the three images were meant to be part of a quadrefoil arrangement. As mentioned before, there was a second window that dealt with the story of Alphege. It would make sense to have two windows that would correspond to the two windows of Dunstan. Farrar does not mention this in his book, but Caviness does bring up in her book that it is most notable that the three windows are very much out of place.⁷⁹ Both explain the signs of the additional borders, and the arrangements don't completely add up. They both argue Mr. Austin made room for them in the choir.

⁷⁸ Farrar, Location 188 of 1533

⁷⁹ Caviness, 65-66; Also see Ramsay and Sparks, "The Cult of St. Dunstan at Christ Church, Canterbury," 317. Their essay includes that at one point four windows once placed on the north and south sides overlooking the area of the shrines by the high altar.

The main issue would be the windows are out of location. The resting place for the saints is on each side of the high altar that is just in front of the Trinity Chapel. The windows make more sense to be in that location as they would overlook the site, much like the miracle windows wrap around the space where the shrine for St. Becket once stood. With having the windows over the choir, they are removed from the line of sight over the shrine sites. In the days after the rebuilding of the eastern arm, visitors would have seen the site of the main altar flanked by the shrine of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, with the chair of the archbishop viewed just behind the altar. Behind the chair, the visitors would see the towering view of St. Becket's shrine. It would be a more impressive sight to behold by any visitor. The monks want to show a part of their campaign to prove the church's authority. The essay by Ramseys and Spark mentions that there were the four windows that tell the life story of the two Early English saints that overlooked their shrines by the high altar.⁸⁰ Their idea came from Caviness, who mentions in her book that it would make more sense if the windows were in a different format.⁸¹ They claim the windows would be located in the transept arms in the presbytery. This is the location of the high altar just before the seat of the archbishop.

Another issue is the roundel of St. Dunstan. The images of St. Dunstan dividing the monks and of him praying after casting out the devil appear to have a different border around it. Caviness supports the idea that these windows are out of place. The various civil unrests that resulted in the destruction of the windows, as well as the restoration of the windows in the 19th century, appear to have thrown off some of the windows. The removal of the windows during the wars also led to reworking and misplacing glass. With all of this coming into play, a completely

⁸⁰ Ramsay and Sparks, "The Cult of St. Dunstan at Christ Church, Canterbury," 317

⁸¹ Caviness, 26-27, 65-67

accurate reading of the windows could be difficult, especially St. Alphege, whose present-day storyline is cut short.

With the windows being moved, rearranged, and some completely or partially destroyed, it would be very hard to recreate what was seen during the height of the pilgrimages to Canterbury Cathedral. There can only be speculation on what the images could be from reading the *vitas* written about the saints and the other chronicle books. Which story the monks drew from to create the images seen in the windows is not important, as the inclusion of the two saints from a much earlier chapter is still deemed essential and included in the windows and display of the saints to show the power of Canterbury. However, it can be seen the three saints were celebrated across England together, not just at Canterbury. Pfaff points out several churches and monasteries that celebrate the feast days of the saints, and some also include them in the liturgy in various forms. In his book, he notes that pre-conquest England celebrated the feast days, and these days were widely popular.⁸² The rise of the saints because of the growth of St. Thomas's cult is when they again became celebrated across the land. Images of St. Dunstan began to appear in the margins of the manuscripts. Examples of these can be found at the British Library. These images often show Dunstan grabbing the devil by the nose with his smithing tongs. The story of his fight with the devil is shared in Eadmer and B's *vitas*. This story is widely popular that it came back into English literature in the 19th Century. In the later versions, Dunstan nails a horseshoe to one of the Devil's hooved feet.

To complete the missing portion of St. Alphege's story, the additional images could be the following: One should look at the text from Osbern as a main source, since that his book on

⁸² Pfaff, 91-92

the life of St. Alphege would have been the primary source to pull images from for the visual story to use in the windows. The possible images that could have once been a part of the story of St. Alphege might have depicted his period of captivity in Greenwich, where Alphege is said to have been freed by the Devil to tempt him away from his Christian beliefs. According to Osbern, Alphege was set loose and led away from the camp by what appeared to be an angel of the Lord. Only after Alphege gets a taste of freedom does he realize it is the Devil who has come to tempt him. He then returns to the Danes to continue his imprisonment so that he may help to save lives.⁸³ The image of the window could show Alphege with the Devil while the four Danish soldiers are sleeping. It was written that the Devil put the guards in a light sleep so he could help Alphege escape. The image in the window would have the same number of soldiers to continue the connection that was started in the first three-story scenes of the window. This would also tie together Dunstan and Alphege since many images and stories of Dunstan taming the Devil. Here is St. Alphege's turn to tame the Devil and avoid his temptation.

One scene that is most likely to have existed is one that would tell the story of Alphege's vision of St. Dunstan. This would help link the three saints through images showing visitations through dreams. Part of the story from Osbern is that the Danes put Alphege back into his cell and lit a fire. It was described that the fire was to heat up the room as well as material that would cause a great odor that was a form of punishment. During this time of punishment, St. Dunstan appears before Alphege to remind him of his duty to his people and God, to stand up to the pagans. He would be joining the rest of the martyrs soon, but he must endure the pain that lay ahead.⁸⁴ This image would have Alphege next to a fire, with an image of St. Dunstan above, or

⁸³ Osbern, 70-73

⁸⁴ Osbern, 73-74

in, the fire. This image would be important since St. Dunstan was also once an Archbishop of Canterbury; in fact, Dunstan was one of the teachers of Alphege in the early days of his monastic life. This would also connect the dream and vision windows of St. Dunstan and St. Thomas. By helping to link them more visually and shared stories of their dreams and visions. Both St. Dunstan and St. Alphege get buried in a place of high honor in the cathedral. St. Dunstan is resting on the south side of the high altar in Canterbury. St. Alphege is on the north side of the high altar. To help convey this idea, the image would have Alphege on the left side of the scene and St. Dunstan on the right side. It would be a logical choice to compose an image of the two saints together. The need for four soldiers could be questioned, but there could be some standing guard and some tending to the fire. Having the soldiers performing different duties within the image, there could be a way to keep the connection with St. Thomas going. Having the dream image would tie in the dream window of St. Dunstan, who is seen being visited by God, as well as the Miracle Windows of St. Thomas, who was said to visit in dreams of the sick that the saint cured.

For the image of the death of Alphege, it could be as the following: Alphege would be shown tied to a tree or wooden stake, as this fate was mentioned in later accounts of his death. Osbern's version, however, does not mention what he is tied to, or if he is even tied up at all. At his feet would be piles of rocks and bones; that is what the upset Danes threw at him during their drunken rage.⁸⁵ The four Danish soldiers would be around or off to the right side of the image holding rocks and bones. In the other images, St. Alphege is seen on the left side. Again, this could be since his remains are on the left, north side of the high altar. One of the soldiers or

⁸⁵ Osbern, 76

possibly a fifth person, could be seen with an ax, or they could have this person hitting Alphege with the ax, as that was the final blow that caused his death. There would be a good reason to have a pool of blood under Alphege as well to be a part of the image to tell the story of his death. An oar or dead wood was placed in this pool of blood from Alphege and came back to life the following day.

Since the text of Osbern would be followed, the next image would be an oar that was put in the ground, where the blood of Alphege was spilled. The oar could be placed in the middle of a tree image as Osbern said the dead piece of wood came back to life and spouted branches and leaves. The pool of blood would need to be carried over into this image, to convey the act of placing the oar in the spot of his death.⁸⁶ Around or to the right of the tree would be the Danish soldiers that realized that the man they killed the night before was, indeed, a holy and just man of the Christian God; they converted to Christianity on the spot. Above the tree, an image of Alphege would be something to consider as necessary. This is said to be the beginning of his cult. The two images of his death and the tree could be combined into a single narrative image, if space was limited. The image could be composed to have the death scene on the left and the tree on the right. Under the body of St. Alphege, hands could be shown supporting his body and possibly a crown. This would tie into the story of King Cnut I that helped translate his body from London to Canterbury. With his body placed in St. Paul then translated to Canterbury, two church buildings could be included in the background. Or an additional window could show the translation seen from St. Paul to Christ Church.

⁸⁶ Osbern, 77-80

A final image of King Cnut I, praying at the shrine of St. Alphege, would fill the last roundel. This image of the king praying to the saint, it would show that the kings of England need the help of the saints of Canterbury Cathedral. The shrine most likely would be displayed in a similar fashion as the one seen in the Becket windows. This creates a visual link again like so many other of the images that play off each other and repeat each other. From Osbern's vita that includes the translation of St. Alphege from St. Paul to Canterbury, he speaks of a prophecy that no Dane shall be victorious in battle unless the body of the martyr is returned to his home, being Christ Church in Canterbury. This is what prompted Cnut to carry out the act of paying respect and homage to St. Alphege and the church.

Along with Cnut I, could be his new wife Emma, former wife of Ethelred "The Unready" (given that title by Dunstan⁸⁷), along with their son Hardacnute holding the gifts that were said to be given as described by Osbern and in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*.⁸⁸ The image would play into the idea of the kings of England paying tribute to the saints of Canterbury.⁸⁹ Eleanor Parker writes about Cnut I and his spiritual campaign across England, paying tribute to the saints of his new kingdom.

⁸⁷ William of Malmebery, 192-193 Speaks of the coronation where Dunstan explains his displeasure with him. Following this Dunstan speaks of Ethelred unable to repel the attacks of the Danes and will lose his kingdom for his sinful act of killing his brother to take the crown in a selfish act.

⁸⁸ Giles and Ingram, lxxi

⁸⁹ Parker, Eleanor. "Pilgrim and Parton: Cnut in Post-Conquest Historical Writing." *The Medieval Chronicle* 9 (2014): 271–296, Accessed: January 07, 2022 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48579517>, 278-279

The monks at Canterbury used the windows as their main media because it was the most accessible of the various media seen by the public. The stories of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege play out in the glass seen by the masses visiting the church, many on a pilgrimage to visit St. Thomas. Their stories were told to the monks in the liturgy read daily. Images are also shown in the manuscripts and psalters at Canterbury. The three saints' stories echo each other in many aspects. By highlighting Saints Dunstan and Alphege help the monks to show the historical aspect of the authority the monks are showing. The windows of St. Dunstan show the authority of Canterbury over church and state. The archbishop was the advisor to the kings that would help guide them to make moral decisions. With the political and religious structure, the king had to rely on the church for many other aspects. Part of the quarrel between Henry and Thomas was Thomas knew the laws and history. He would not let Henry simply use his title to walk over him and the church. Images of St. Dunstan saving and forgiving, in this case, King Edwy, from the immoral decisions he had made, part of which was sending Dunstan into exile. The allegorical image of Dunstan defeating the Devil. The Devil is an allegory of the monarchy of England. The Devil tries to trick and deceive the monk as many kings have misled and deceived the church for their own political needs. Since there is only a fragment of St Alphege's window cycles left to see, it must be speculated. Taking the *vitas* and chronicles as a source for the visual stories that would have in the originals, St. Alphege gives his life to save the church and kingdom at the time, Kent. His death would cause many Danish heathens to convert to Christianity. Those that did not convert suffered the wrath of God.⁹⁰ If there was an image of this taking place, it could be similar to the image of Dunstan and the miracle of Calne, when the Danish king Cnut I takes all of England after the death of Ethelred, "The Unready," who defied the guidance of Dunstan,

⁹⁰ Osbern, 80

he must pay homage to St. Alphege by translating his remains from London to Canterbury. Once at Canterbury, the king gives many gifts to the cathedral. Cnut I must do this to be the true king of England. Dr. Parker states, Cnut I did not wear a crown since God was the true king and had authority over him. The same message Thomas spoke of comes from the writings of St Bernard.⁹¹ The church gives them authority to Henry II to be king, and the same could be applied to Ethelred “The Unready” after he helped plot to kill his half-brother, Edward “The Martyr,” to take the throne of England.

Authority over the church is displayed in the image of Dunstan dividing men or could be teaching the different clergy. Either story would be part of Dunstan's reform over the church. As the Archbishop of Canterbury, he would have authority over all the churches of England. He would lead and guide the church. Another look at the question of Canterbury's authority could be the Danes in the Alphege windows become an allegory for York Cathedral. York attacking and questioning the authority of Canterbury. This is an argument that Linfranc even wrote about years before when he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. When Roger, Archbishop of York, helps to crown Henry the Young King during Becket's exile, York opposes Canterbury's authority. In the story of Alphege giving his life to save the church and town, those responsible for his death would convert, or died. Royals make a pilgrimage to Canterbury to pay tribute, and as an act of penance, Henry II made a public act of penance for the murder of Becket. In all the stories, Canterbury and the saints within are the authority of church and state in England.

⁹¹ Parker, 286. Dr. Parker mentions that Cnut I, who was a great patron of many churches, left his crown at Winchester or Canterbury. The stories she references are not clear on which cathedral, but all the stories agree that he left his crown as a tribute and his submission to the authority of God.

Conclusion

Canterbury Cathedral, at the time of Thomas Becket's role as archbishop, had a popular saint in the cult of St. Dunstan and a small following for St. Alphege. The two saints were also used in the liturgy around England as pointed out in the book by Pfaff. If Becket did bring up the name of St. Alphege in one of his last sermons and again at the time of his death, that shows one of the reasons to link the two martyrs of Canterbury in the windows. St. Dunstan's cult, with its following, was also put in the spotlight by the monks. Dunstan and Becket both had political issues with the monarchy and the nobility. By linking the three saints, Canterbury shows it has the authority over all of England. St. Dunstan, being shown as a controversial statesman and the martyr death of St. Alphege, both from an older period in the history of the cathedral, their lives and stories would be connected with the stories and lives of Becket. The three are connected through the images seen in the windows as well.

There is no doubt that St. Thomas of Canterbury is by far the most popular saint that once was housed in the cathedral and that his cult following overshadowed all the other saints. Given this popularity, it seems logical that the monks would try to help increase their other saints' popularity by making a connection to St. Thomas. It would benefit the cathedral by having the extra feast days and helping to draw in more pilgrims. It could also have been a way to help with crowd control by this saintly connection, a prayer to St. Alphege could be just as effective as a prayer to St. Thomas, of course this is speculation, and there is no real evidence that the monks did this. The connection between the two martyrs of Canterbury Cathedral can be seen in the windows through the iconography of the saints. At the same time, the relationships between Dunstan and the monarchy echo the relationship between St. Thomas and Henry II. Dunstan also had some issues within the church community as well. He was not always a popular person to

some. They did not agree with his views on the reforms he was pushing through. Likewise, some of the clergy had issues with Thomas Becket being named an archbishop, with no long monastic career as some, and is the Chancellor of England. Many felt it was a conflict of interest for the church to be linked to political matters.

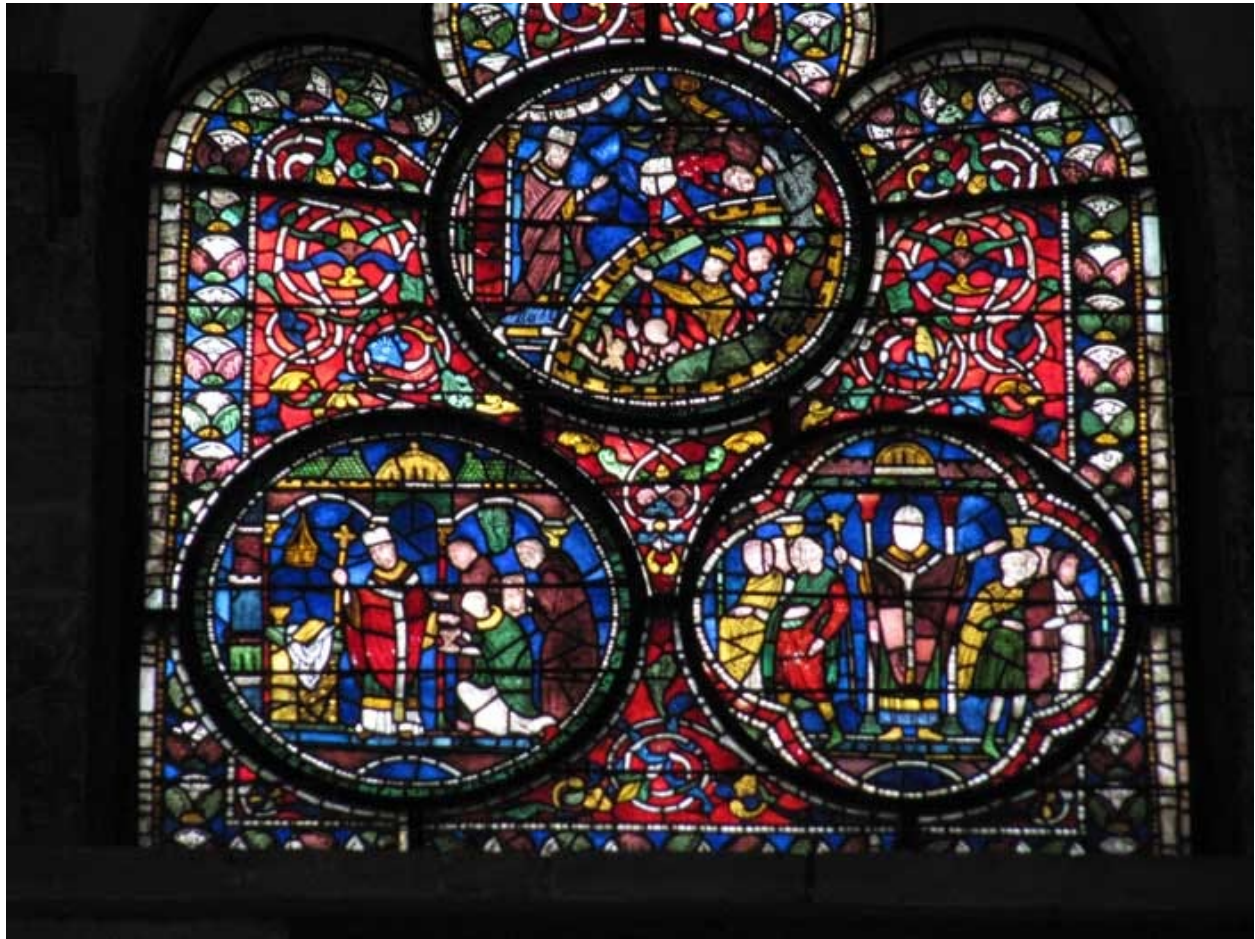
The monks of Canterbury saw the connections between the saints and took advantage of them. They decided to use the Early English saints to show all of England, churches, and monarchs where the real power rested. With Dunstan and his stories from Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, the kings would listen and follow the advice of Dunstan. Those that choose to defy Dunstan would suffer the pains of hell, like Edwy, who had to be saved or lose their kingdom, such as Ethelred II “The Unready” and his war with the Danes. To show the churches of England where the power lies, with Canterbury, that the archbishops have a long history of miracle-working, such as saving a king from hell, talking directly with God on several occasions, and most of all defeating the Devil himself and always has the power to defeat him. At the same time as the greatness of Dunstan, Alphege being a wise and just holy man, would give his life to save the church and his followers. Not only did he save the church and parishioners, but his death and fast veneration also led to the conversion of countless pagan Danes to Christianity. Because of their greatness, they should be allowed to have their cults continue and to help watch over and protect the church they deeply loved and are connected to at Canterbury.

St. Alphege, unfortunately, suffers from having the majority of his windows destroyed. His images would reflect his love and dedication to his church and the town. We only get part of his story with what was left of the window. St. Alphege and St. Thomas become connected through their shared martyrdom. St. Thomas’s final great sermon and final prayer are said to contain the name of St. Alphege.

With the way the monks wove a story of shared events and shared imagery, the three saints can be seen as the Holy Trinity of Christ Church. The Father, St. Dunstan, who help lead the church in a new and better direction. He was a teacher to St. Alphege. He wanted to unite his church under one order. He tried to help bring good spiritual advise to the monarchs to help them make good and moral decisions. In his windows, we see his miracles, wisdom, and power of a just man. The Son, St. Alphege, would give his life to save the people of his land. He would overcome the temptation of the Devil and face his death as a true follower of the Christian God. Those that brought about the end of his life came to understand their hateful act and find ways to atone for their sins by becoming followers of the man they had just killed. Unfortunately, only a small sample remains of his windows. Considering his vitas the destroyed windows would show his sacrifice with his life soon after, the masses would pray to him. The Holy Ghost, St. Thomas, through his powers he, is able to heal the masses both near and far. His power is seen in his ‘Miracle Windows’.

Illustrations

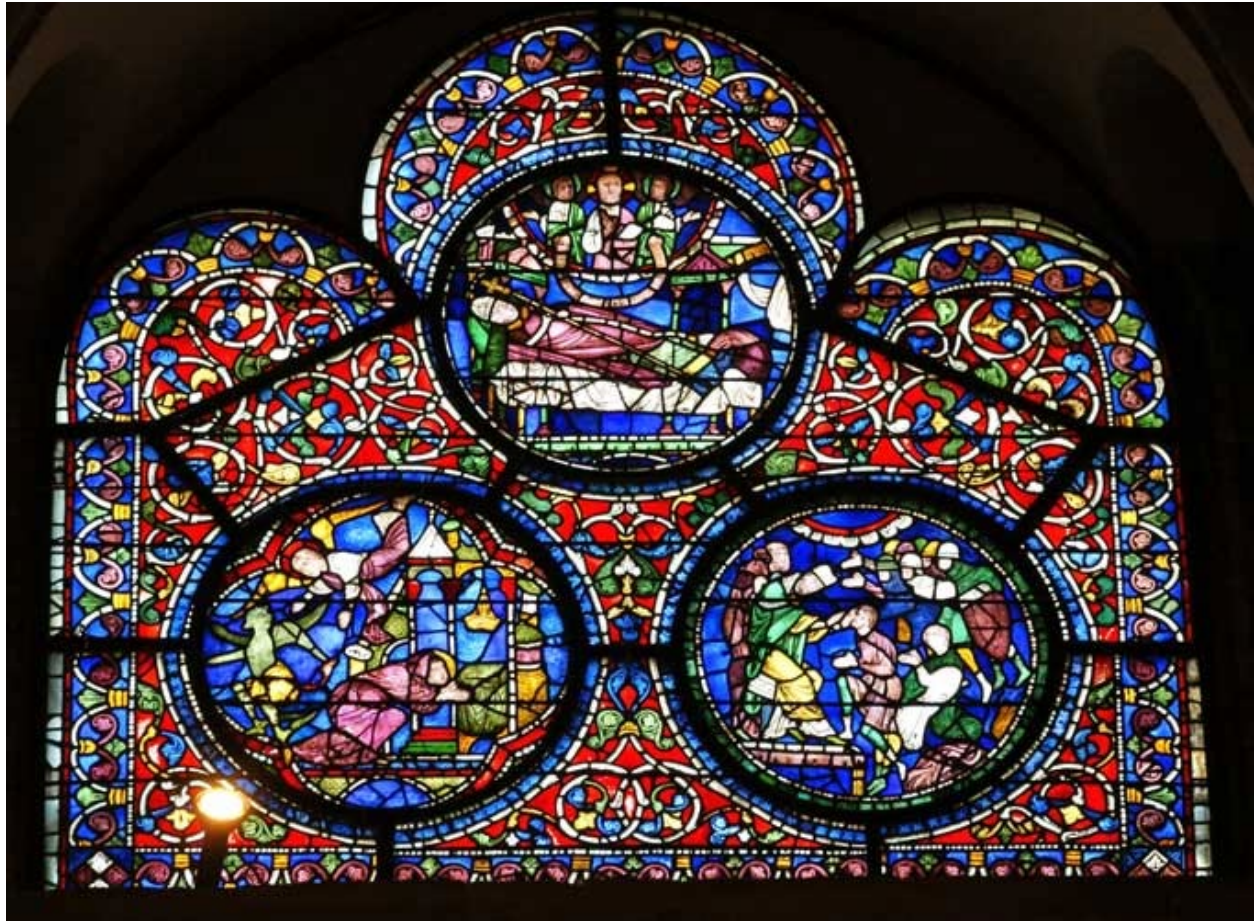
Figure 1



Canterbury Cathedral, St. Dunstan Window Canterbury Cathedral (Nt:XI)

<http://www.canterbury-archaeology.org.uk/dunstan-window/4590809655>

Figure 2



Canterbury Cathedral, St. Dunstan Window Canterbury Cathedral (Nt.X)

<http://www.canterbury-archaeology.org.uk/dunstan-window/4590809655>

Figure 3



Canterbury Cathedral, St. Alphege Window Canterbury Cathedral (Nt:XI)

<http://www.canterbury-archaeology.org.uk/alphege-window/4590809601>

Figure 4

Window are located in the north choir aisle at triforium level. Highlighted in Blue.
 Location of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege by the High Alter. Highlighted in Red.

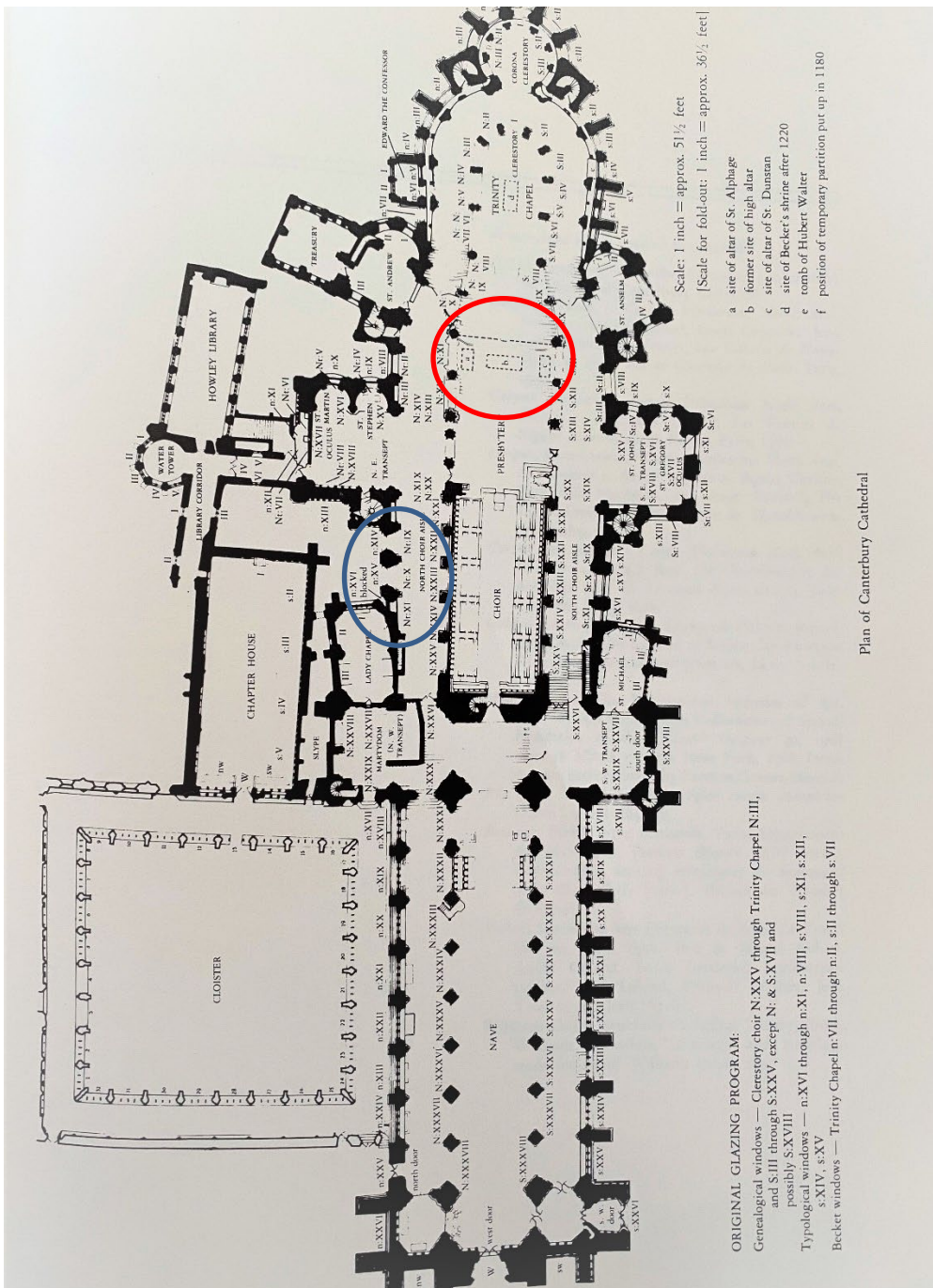
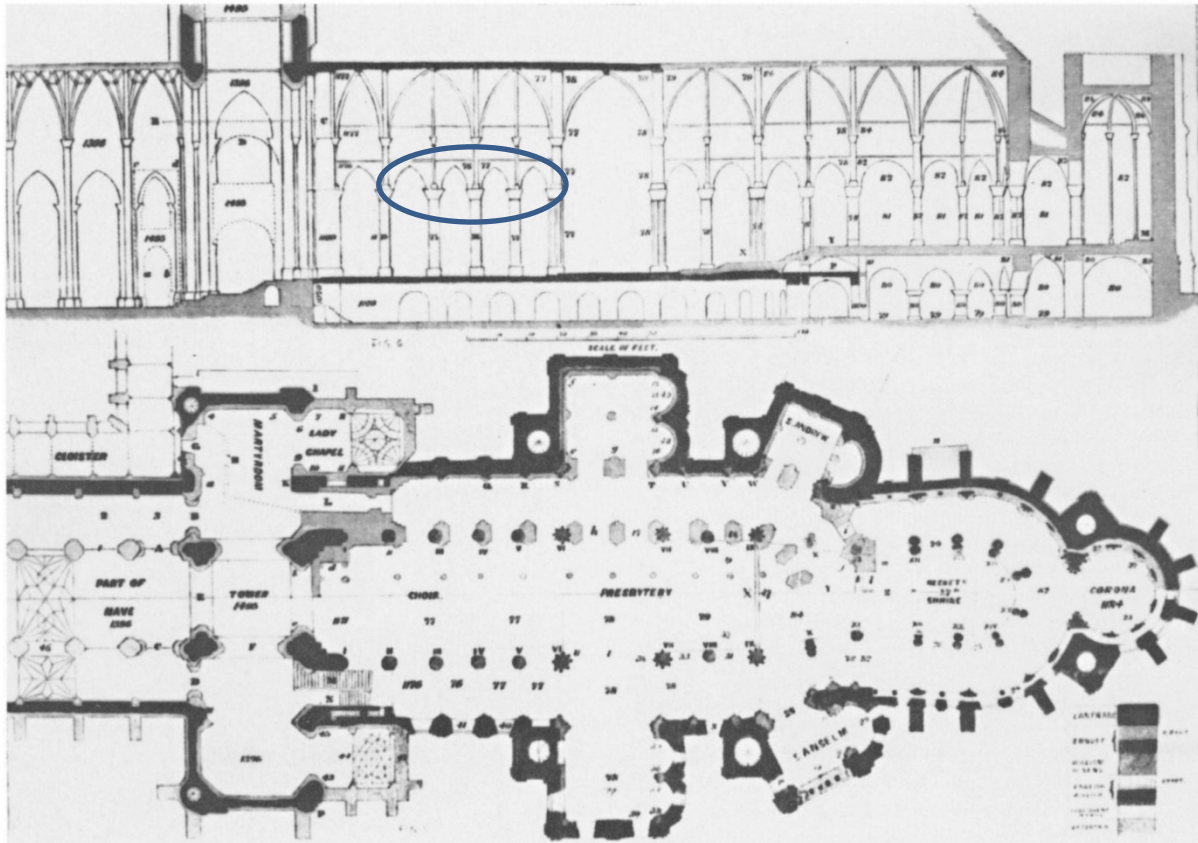


Figure 5

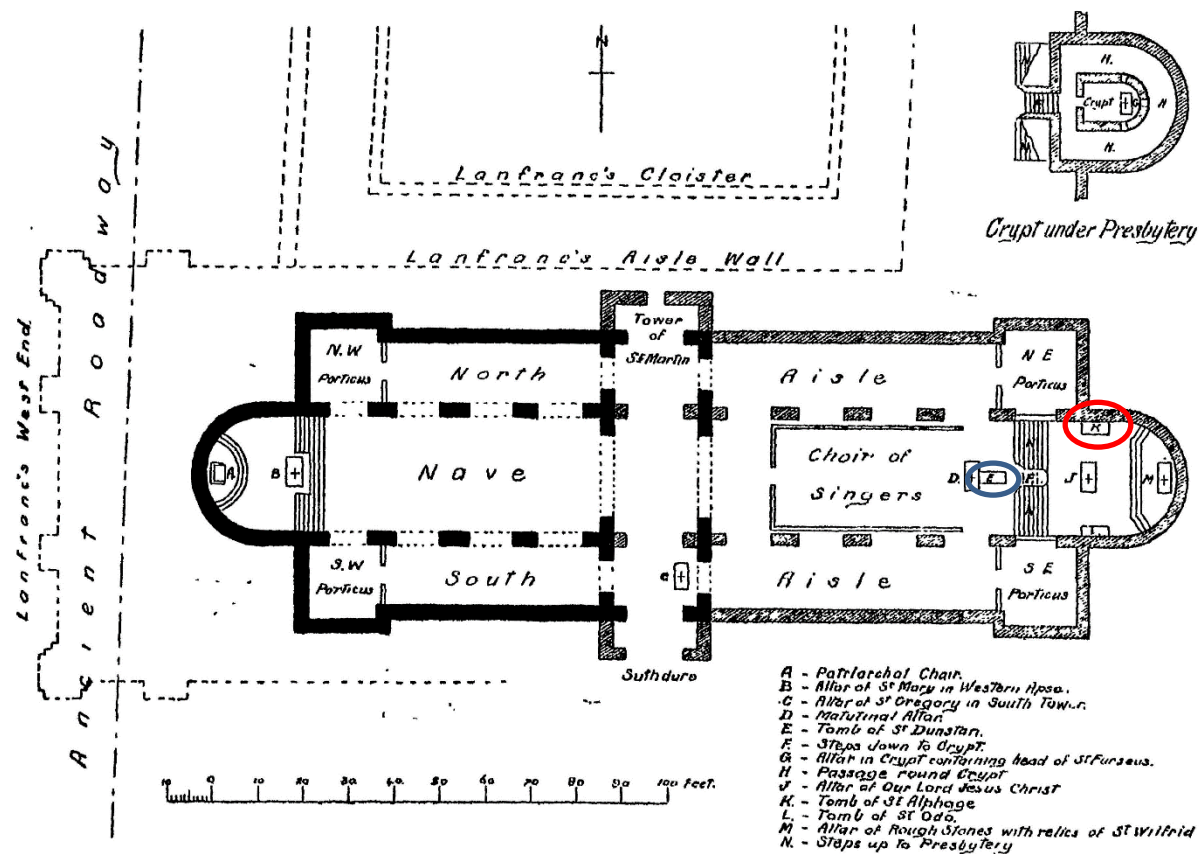


Canterbury Cathedral Eastern Section with Cross Section.

Trefoil windows currently located in the choir highlighted in blue.

Hearn, M. F. "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket." *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 19-52. Accessed April 1, 2021. doi:10.2307/3046001. Page 4

Figure 6



Early English building 597-1067

St. Dunstan located in front of main altar. Highlighted in blue.

St. Alphege north side of aisle. Highlighted in Red

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Conjectural_Plan_of_St._Austin%27s_Cathedral_showing_the_original_Church_and_the_added_portion.png

Figure 7

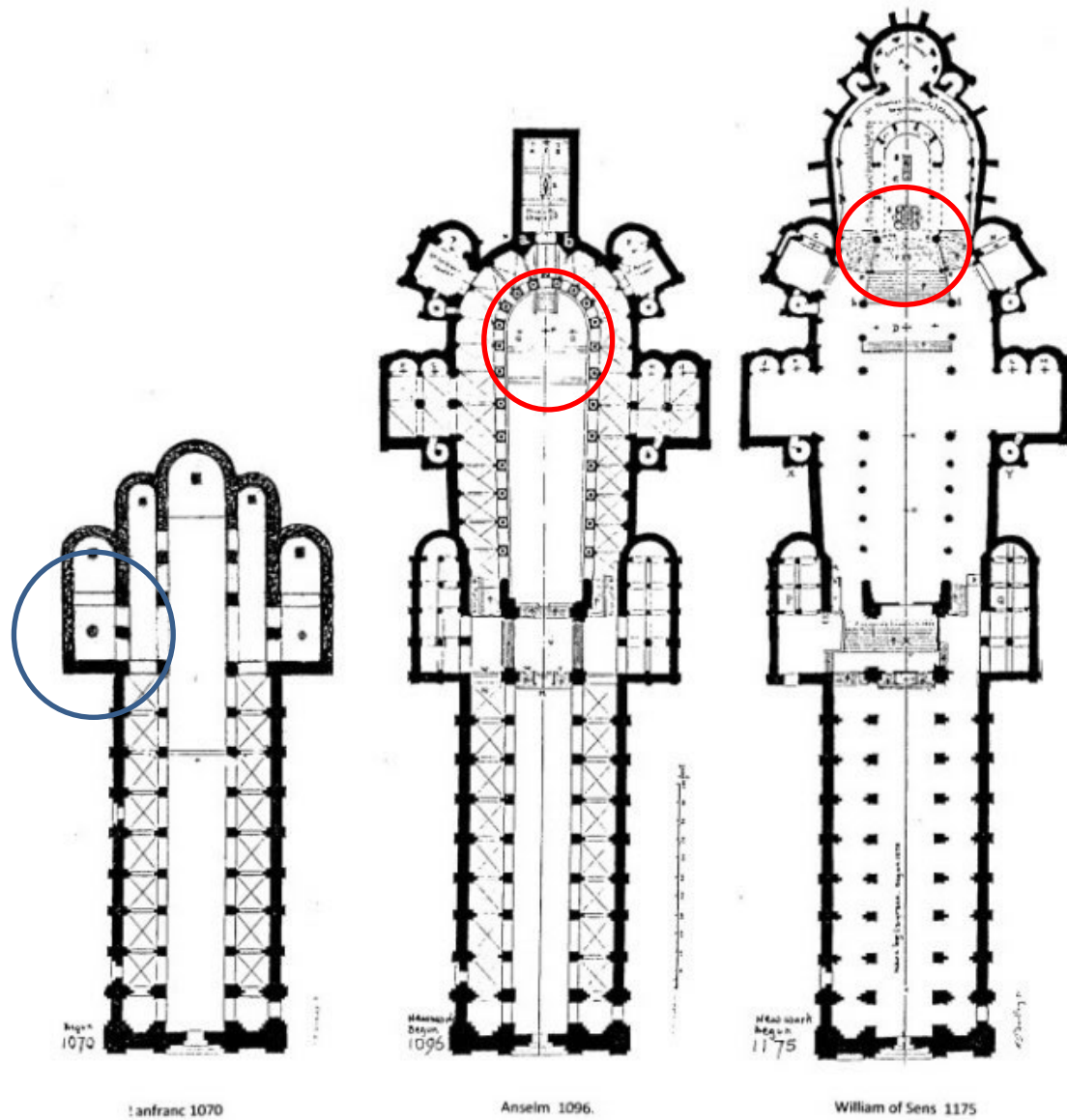


Fig.C1 The development of the ground-plan of the cathedral from 1070 to 1400.

Post-Conquest Buildings

Location of saints in Lanfrac's church. Highlighted in blue.

Location of saints in Anselm's church. Moved to area of the High Altar. Highlighted in red.

Location of saints in William of Sens eastern arm rebuild. Highlighted in red.

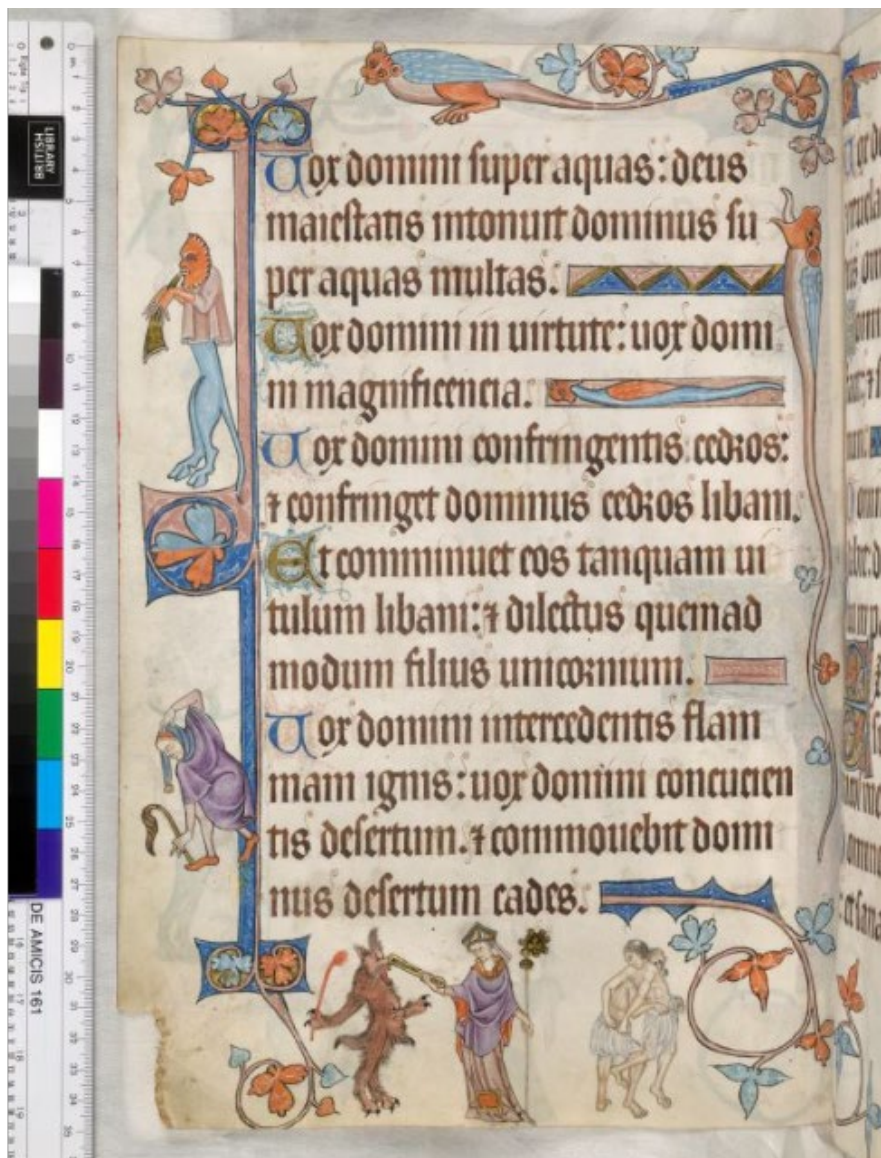
Dudley, Colin Joseph. 2010. *Canterbury Cathedral: Aspects of its Sacramental Geometry*. United States of America: Xlibris Corp.

Figure 8



The Shrine of Saint Thomas de Cantilupe (1218-1282) at Hereford Cathedral in England.

Figure 9



Dunstan taming the Devil

Psalter ('The Luttrell Psalter') with calendar and additional material

British Library Digital Manuscripts

Figure 10



Miniature of Dunstan as a bishop, writing a commentary of the Rule of Saint Benedict, with an inscription 'S[an]c[tu]s Dunstanus'.

Royal 10 A XIII

British Library Digital Manuscripts

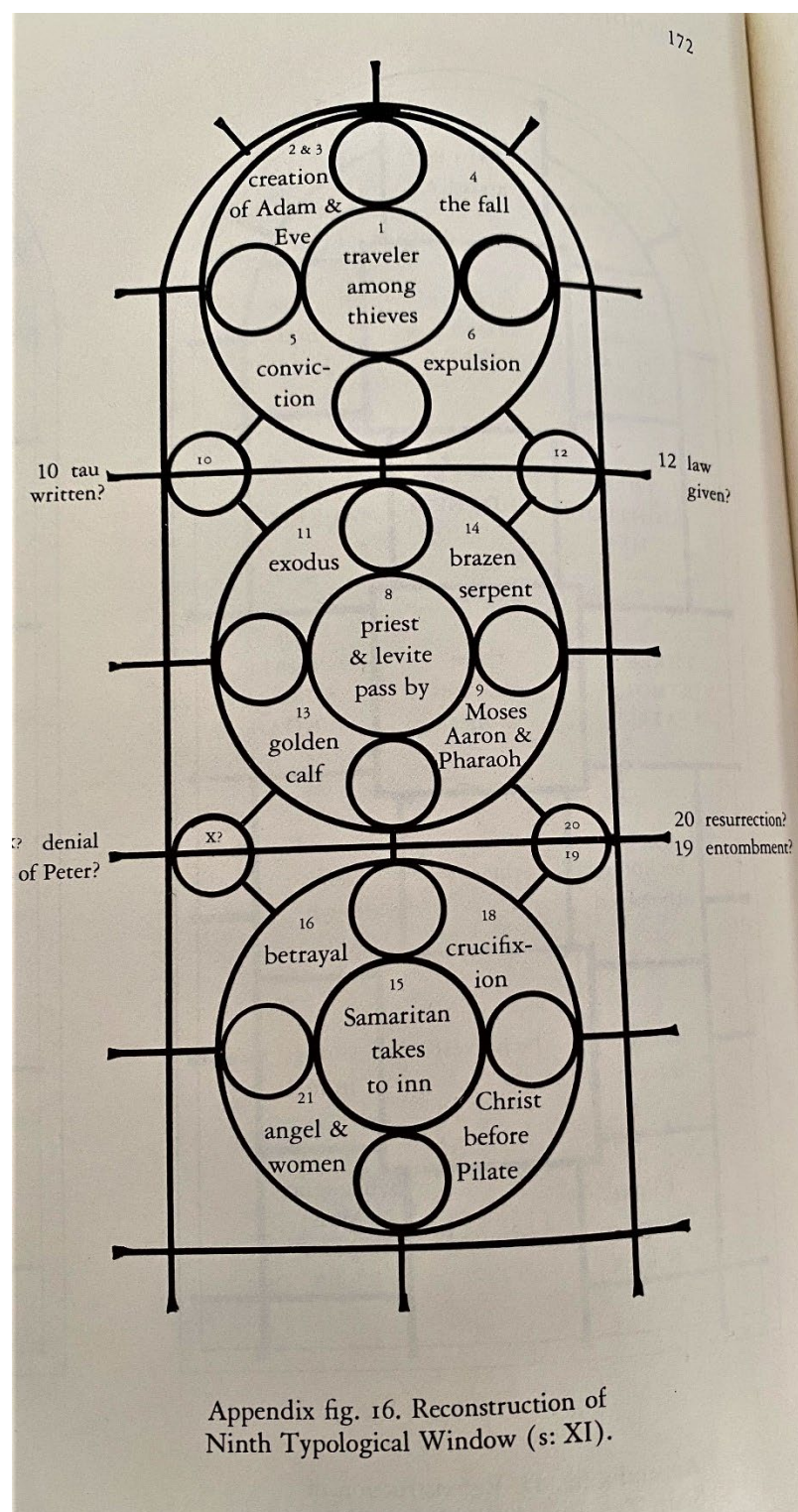
Figure 11



Altar, Canterbury Cathedral
Photograph of Peter K Burian

Wikimedia Commons

Figure 12



Proposed format of the original windows of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege by Caviness
 Page 172 from Madeline Harrison Caviness *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*

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