

MAKING THE MARTYR: THE LITURGICAL PERSONA OF SAINT THOMAS BECKET IN  
VISUAL IMAGERY

BY

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## **Abstract**

Saint Thomas Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral in December of 1170. In life, many of his actions did not fit tightly conceived notions of sainthood, and several members of the English nobility and clergy probably would rather have forgotten him after his death. To bridge the gap between what people knew of Becket and their conceptions of what a saintly martyr should be, the promoters of Becket's cult used biographies, visual imagery, and above all, the liturgy. This thesis explores the ways in which the liturgy shapes the public persona of Saint Thomas Becket, and the ways in which the stained glass narratives depicting his life at Sens and Chartres Cathedrals make use of this image and work in tandem with the liturgy to present an image of Becket as an ideal Christian martyr. However, rather than adopting the ideas present in the liturgy wholesale, the stained glass cycles often choose one or two aspects of Becket's constructed persona on which to focus. This thesis also explores this phenomenon, and describes the social and political context of each work as an explanation of why this may have happened.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: LITURGIES IN HONOR OF THOMAS BECKET .....	7
CHAPTER 3: THE LIFE OF SAINT THOMAS BECKET AT SENS CATHEDRAL.....	12
CHAPTER 4: THE LIFE OF SAINT THOMAS BECKET AT CHARTRES CATHEDRAL.....	19
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	32
NOTES.....	33
FIGURES.....	44
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	73

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Saint Thomas Becket, famed martyr and Archbishop of Canterbury, was not a popular saint; at least not in his lifetime. Murdered by English King Henry II's knights on the paving stones of Canterbury Cathedral in 1170, had been heavily criticized by contemporary church leaders, who did not consider him a particularly holy or saint-like man. Henry II appointed Becket chancellor of England 1154, and by all accounts, he was better suited to the position of chancellor. Becket had a shrewd sense of politics and had amassed enough material wealth to rival the French king. His peers often described him as extremely "arrogant, extravagant and vain."<sup>1</sup>

Once elected to the See of Canterbury in 1162, Becket and the king eventually began to fight. Due to the harsh conflict between Becket and the Crown over the laws regarding criminal clergy, Becket left England for France and exile in 1164, a move that many of England's faithful interpreted as the abandonment of his flock.<sup>2</sup> In 1170 when he returned to Canterbury, he had placed anathemas on a number of his fellow English bishops and had excommunicated several of the king's confidants. Overhearing the king cursing Becket one evening, four of his knights set out for Canterbury to force the Archbishop to repeal his interdicts. On December 29, 1170, the knights entered Canterbury Cathedral, and, failing to convince Becket to relent, they attacked and killed him. Benedict of Peterborough reports that the citizens of Canterbury, upon learning of Becket's death, came throughout the night to sop up the cleric's blood and take pieces of his clothing and locks of his hair.<sup>3</sup> Within the week, there were reports of Becket's blood performing healing miracles, and popular support of the archbishop grew.<sup>4</sup>

How was the historical figure of the worldly chancellor reconciled to the saintly archbishop who was martyred for his faith on the floor of Canterbury Cathedral? One of the most important vehicles of expression in the Middle Ages was the liturgy. It is impossible to overestimate its power and influence in the Medieval period; because of the liturgy's central place in Catholic ritual meant that it had an enormous impact on the daily lives of all European people. The liturgy divided the seasons into days and the days into hours, formed the basis for community gatherings, and was the model for the ideal Christian life. Not only did the liturgy guide Christians in their faith, it shaped their perceptions of medieval saints. Though the daily office was celebrated primarily by members of the clergy and monastics, the influence of the liturgy inevitably extended beyond this limited audience, since it helped to determine which ideas about a given saint would be incorporated into sermons, vernacular literature, and artworks.<sup>5</sup>

By the time of Becket's canonization in 1173, letters had already spread the sensational story of the martyred prelate throughout England and the Continent.<sup>6</sup> However, it was not until the liturgies in honor of Thomas Becket first appeared circa 1173 that the church sought to define his "official" image.<sup>7</sup> Visual narratives built on the liturgical representation of Becket's character, and fed the growing fervor surrounding his cult.

In what ways did the liturgy construct Becket's persona and make the chancellor a saint? The liturgies propagated the image of Becket as an ideal Christian man and martyr; his life mirrored that of Christ, he performed his pastoral duties with the utmost care, and he defended the church in times of crisis. Most visual narratives follow this image of Becket closely, though they often diverge dramatically from each other in emphasis. This phenomenon is clearly illustrated by two monumental French glass cycles depicting Saint

Thomas Becket; one in Chartres and the other in Sens. Both visual cycles work in tandem with the liturgies written in honor of the saint, but they focus on very different facets of the Becket liturgies, despite being produced within fifty years of Becket's death in artistically and ecclesiastically connected centers. Each cycle emphasizes a single aspect of Becket's character featured in the liturgy. This, I will argue, has to do with the circumstances of the production of the windows, which were meant to resonate with specific viewers in a specific place, unlike the liturgies, which were composed to serve a broader community.

While the cult of Saint Thomas Becket and the visual images produced in the early years following his death have been studied extensively in recent years, few scholars use the liturgy as a basis for interpretation. Extant scholarship on the Thomas Becket windows at the cathedrals of Sens and Chartres has considered the windows in terms of traditional art historical questions such as style, iconography, and dating, within site-specific iconographical analyses of the cathedrals; within a larger historical context; or as part of extensive studies of the visual representations of Thomas Becket or hagiographic studies of his cult.

Many analyses focus primarily on traditional questions of style and iconography. For example, Madeline Caviness provides a thorough description of the style and condition of both the Sens and Chartres glass.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the most influential iconographic study of the windows of Chartres Cathedral was conducted by Yves Delaporte and Étienne Houvet in 1926; it is still consulted for the identification of individual scenes in each of the windows, including the narrative *Life of Thomas Becket*.<sup>9</sup> Delaporte and Houvet are also responsible for dating the Becket window at Chartres to the later phase of glass painting, around 1225, whereas more recent scholars suggest a date range of 1205-1235.<sup>10</sup> The earliest work on

Sens Cathedral was conducted by Abbé Brulée in 1861.<sup>11</sup> In the course of describing the entire cathedral, the author lists the scenes depicted in the windows. Like the work of Delaporte and Houvet at Chartres, Abbé Brulée's identification of the iconography in the Becket window is generally accepted. The windows have been dated as early as 1190 by Eugène Chartraire, though Louis Grodecki, Madeline Caviness, and Alyce Jordan now agree that the Becket window at Sens was certainly produced after 1190, but before 1225, with 1210 being the consensus.<sup>12</sup>

More recent studies in iconography have further shaped the study of the visual imagery of Saint Thomas Becket. Tancred Borenius provides a careful description of every image of Becket known in the 1930's throughout Europe, and catalogues which works contain single images of Becket and which contain full narrative cycles.<sup>13</sup> More recently, Richard Gameson analyzes the iconography of the early images of Thomas Becket, including the Sens and Chartres windows.<sup>14</sup> Gameson is primarily concerned with how the visual arts shape saintly identity. He uses Thomas Becket as his model to explore briefly the main themes of the two windows of Chartres and Sens in conjunction with several other images: the wall murals found in the Church of Santa Maria in Terrassa, Spain (1180-1220), a font found at the church of Lyngsjö, Sweden (1190-1200), the Gospel of Henry the Lion from Braunschweig, Germany (1188), and, of course, the stained glass of Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral (1200-1220). Gameson concludes that the early iconography of Becket and the overall visual promotion of Becket's cult served to smooth over the less-than-saintly aspects of Becket's life and emphasize his ability to intercede on behalf of pilgrims.

Other scholars interpret the Thomas Becket windows at Sens and Chartres in a local cathedral context. Collette and Jean Paul Deremble, for example, argue that the glass program at Chartres is a result of a systematic effort by the canons of Chartres to present specific messages through monumental art.<sup>15</sup> They read the Becket window in particular, in the context of its chapel and surrounding windows depicting the lives of Saints Margaret and Catherine, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Remi as a commentary on good and bad kingship (see Figure 1 for a map of the setting). Abel Moreau undertook comparable research at Sens Cathedral.<sup>16</sup> He argues that the Becket window, when taken with the window depicting Saint Eustace next to it and the Prodigal Son window closer to the apse, presents the theme of the changed man- the sinner who is then redeemed (see Figure 2 for a map of the setting).

Still others study the Becket windows in the larger historical context of the cathedral, town, or region.<sup>17</sup> Claudine Lautier, for example, argues that the program of the windows at Chartres stems from a desire to promote saints whose relics the Cathedral houses.<sup>18</sup> Because the cathedral owned two vials of Thomas Becket's blood, the window would act as a sort of advertisement of this fact. More recently, Alyce Jordan has interpreted both the Sens and Chartres windows on the basis of works written by Becket's circle of friends, clergy at each individual cathedral, or church leaders at the time the windows were completed. She interprets the Sens window as an Episcopal exemplum; Becket is an ideal model for the modern prelate, and, as Jordan argues, upholds the reform ideal extolled by Stephan Langdon, the archbishop of Canterbury who taught at the University of Paris from 1170 to 1206, and was in exile in Sens during the years 1207-1213.<sup>19</sup> Thus, at Sens, Becket is depicted primarily as an emblem of pastoral care. Jordan

has also worked on the window at Chartres, using the writings of John of Salisbury, particularly his *Politicraticus* (c. 1159), and the choice of scenes to propose that the Chartres window emphasizes the theme of ecclesiastical authority and the responsibility of kings to protect and defend the church.<sup>20</sup>

Like the interpretations of Mahnes-Deremble, Lautier, and Jordan, my approach to the Becket windows at Chartres and Sens is contextual, but it is grounded in the liturgy. I will argue that we can gain more insight into both glass cycles if we consider the liturgy and the ways in which the visual narratives work in tandem with it. After a discussion of the themes brought out in the liturgy written for Saint Thomas Becket, I will describe how these themes are clearly present in the visual depictions of the saint in the windows of Chartres and Sens Cathedrals. Finally, I will suggest that the selection of one or two different themes to bring out in these stained glass narratives relates to the social and political contexts in Chartres and Sens.

## Chapter 2: Liturgies in Honor of Thomas Becket

How were the liturgies for Thomas Becket's feast day composed? Kay Slocum suggests that these liturgies were likely written by one of the authors of his *vita*.<sup>21</sup> This is hardly surprising; Becket was canonized so quickly after his death, that the *vitae* and early liturgies were appeared around the same time. There is firm evidence that the author for these offices must have been Benedict of Peterborough, who knew Becket and also wrote a biography, today only surviving in fragments.<sup>22</sup> Benedict is the only one of Becket's biographers to have written rhymed chant in the past, and a chronicler of Peterborough noted that "Benedict made the whole office, and I say the whole thing because he noted the poetry excellently with chant."<sup>23</sup> Though there is no further evidence conclusively connecting him to these offices, Benedict is the most likely candidate for their composition around 1173.<sup>24</sup>

Benedict's offices for the Feast of Saint Thomas Becket were written primarily for a monastic audience at Canterbury. They included an antiphon, verse, response, and collect after Vespers on the eve of St. Thomas' feast day; thirteen antiphons, twelve lessons and responsories at Matins on the feast day; six antiphons with psalms at Lauds; and an antiphon for the Magnificat at Second Vespers.<sup>25</sup> This office, known as the *Studens Livor*, was quickly adapted for secular use, although it is primarily extant in breviaries.<sup>26</sup> The Sarum Use, or divine offices practiced at Salisbury Cathedral, adapted the office for Becket's Feast Day composed at Canterbury to a form more appropriate for use within non-monastic cathedrals. It included a responsory, procession, and *prosa* on the eve of St. Thomas after Vespers and nine antiphons, lessons, and responsories at Matins.<sup>27</sup> Although the more secular *cursus* does include less material than the monastic *cursus*, this does not



mean that the lessons are necessarily condensed; in fact, the nine lessons recorded in the *Sarum Breviary* are longer than a few of their monastic counterparts.<sup>28</sup>

The Sarum Use was followed with only slight variations over most of the British Isles, and, as Andrew Hughes, Kay Slocum, and Sherry Reames all note, its office for the 29<sup>th</sup> of December was as widely distributed on the Continent as it was in Britain.<sup>29</sup> For example, The *Studens Livor* was celebrated on the feast day of Saint Thomas Becket in Chartres Cathedral as early as the final quarter of the twelfth century, as evident in Chartres MS 500, a breviary now in the library of the cathedral chapter.<sup>30</sup> This is hardly surprising, as material from Becket's *vita* composed by John of Salisbury, companion of the martyred archbishop and Bishop of Chartres (1176-1180), is heavily utilized in this office.<sup>31</sup> Although no manuscript survives containing similar information about the liturgy performed at Sens, as a city cathedral, it was likely to adopt the office for Thomas Becket that resembles Sarum Use. Further, though it is unlikely the *Studens Livor* was performed in exactly the same way in every location, certain themes are prevalent in nearly every extant version of the office.<sup>32</sup>

The Sarum Use office for the feast day of Saint Thomas Becket uses antiphons, responsories, and lessons written for Becket's feast to emphasize six major themes in his life. The author casts Becket as the *novus homo* and the *bonus pastor*, stresses his roles as the defender of the church and a Christian martyr, and portrays him as a miracle worker and Christ-like figure. Becket is first a *novus homo*, a new man, who turned away from his worldly existence as chancellor of England and became entirely devoted to God the day he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Lesson 1 of Matins in the *Sarum Breviary* stresses "Blessed Thomas... after accepting the pastoral office, he became devoted to God beyond human estimation. For when consecrated, he was suddenly transformed into

another man."<sup>33</sup> As soon as he is consecrated, he puts on not only a hair shirt but breaches as well, with a monastic habit over it, all hidden under the vestments of his office.<sup>34</sup> The same lesson, describes Becket as the *bonus pastor*; the good shepherd who looks after his flock and protects them from wolves. "And recognizing that he was the husbandman placed in the field of the Lord, custodian of the vineyard, shepherd in the sheepfolds, he zealously carried out the ministry entrusted him."<sup>35</sup>

He is also cast as a great defender of the church, who made great personal sacrifices for the rights of the church that were threatened by secular authority. The hardships endured by Becket at the hands of King Henry II are emphasized in the lessons in the *Sarum Breviary*, and generally center on the confiscation of his lands and the exile of his family. Becket's perseverance is stressed throughout these trials. For example, Lesson 1 of Matins states that Becket was "abused with great insults, weakened by graver misfortunes, and wounded with innumerable injuries."<sup>36</sup> Lesson 2 of Matins builds on the theme of hardship: "by a newly invented form of punishment, Thomas's entire family was outlawed at the same time (as Thomas). Also, all his friends or companions."<sup>37</sup> The abuse does not end there: "as many who reached adulthood were compelled to swear on holy relics that they... would present themselves to the archbishop of Canterbury, so that, pierced as many times by the sword of compassion, he might bend his rigid way of thinking toward the will of the king."<sup>38</sup> Not only does Becket endure the trials with grace, but also he steadfastly defends the church. "But the man of God, placing his own hand to brave deeds, steadfastly endured exile, loss, insults, and abuse, proscription of his relatives and friends for the name of Christ."<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the liturgy established Becket as the hero at the expense of the secular authority in England.

Becket is most often portrayed as the martyr who gave his life for his faith on the paving stones of Canterbury Cathedral. The knights who murder Becket are cast in the role of demons and often described as "the accomplices of Satan."<sup>40</sup> Becket however, is strong: "When they were threatening him with death, he said 'I willingly will accept death for the Church of God, but I warn you in God's name you will not injure any of my companions.'<sup>41</sup> Because of his protection of the church and his martyrdom, Becket has God's favor and is able to work miracles for those that venerate him; "At first, at the time of martyrdom, the martyr began to glisten with remarkable miracles, restoring sight to the blind, walking to the lame, hearing to the deaf, speech to the mute, then cleansing lepers, restoring paralytics, curing dropsy and all varieties of fatal, incurable disease, even resuscitating the dead."<sup>42</sup>

The miracles described above are similar to those performed by Christ. Becket's life as an imitation of the life of Christ is the final theme emphasized in the liturgy. Beyond emphasizing his role as a martyr, this association with Christ is established through the types of miracles discussed in Lessons 5 and 7, as well as several antiphons and responsories. Though Becket's imitation of Christ is more emphasized in his *vitae* than in the liturgy, these passages clearly demonstrate that this *imitatio* was a prominent part of Becket's liturgical persona.<sup>43</sup> Further, the connection is stated explicitly more than once in the lessons, for example, Lesson 5 states "Indeed, imitating Christ in his suffering, he said, 'If you seek me, allow these men to go.'<sup>44</sup> This phrase refers to Becket's words to his attackers in Canterbury Cathedral. Though his death is imminent, his first thought is for his men. This is a clear reference to Christ's arrest, firmly casting Thomas in the role of Christ and his companions in the role of disciples.

Like the liturgy, monumental visual cycles place Becket in a number of different roles; all emphasize his status as a changed man, his pastoral care, and his Christ-like sacrifices. Each glass cycle, however, tends to focus on a few aspects of Becket's character extracted from this constructed liturgical persona. The aspects of Becket's liturgical persona that the glass designers choose to emphasize resonate with the placement of the windows in their cathedral context, and often address the particular concerns of their ecclesiastic patrons. Two of the earliest stained glass cycles containing the life of Becket, at Chartres and Sens show the range of these resonances. Both of these cycles were made within about fifty years of Becket's death, and appear within ecclesiastically connected centers; the bishopric of Chartres was located within the archbishopric of Sens. Further, Guillaume aux Blanches Mains, archbishop of Sens between 1169 and 1176, had been the bishop of Chartres between 1165 1169. His predecessor at Chartres was John of Salisbury, a companion of Becket's who was also exiled in Sens between 1164 and 1170. This locus of ecclesiastic interrelations suggests that the differences in the stained glass cycles are not the result of an iconographic change of the motifs but rather have to do with the concerns of the patrons. The liturgy is a useful frame for understanding these visual cycles, as it most clearly represents the "official" version of St. Thomas Becket's life as it was presented by the church. It is interesting to see the ways in which the windows of Sens and Chartres conform to Becket's official persona, and parallel the way it is constructed in the liturgy yet particularizes Becket's life to meet local institutional needs.

### Chapter 3: The Life of Saint Thomas Becket at Sens Cathedral

The surviving window at Sens is a narrative cycle that presents the last year (1170) of the life of Thomas Becket in thirteen scenes (Figure 3).<sup>45</sup> Borenius and Jordan argue there were originally two windows containing the life of Saint Thomas, and postulate that the beginning of the narrative was depicted in the first window.<sup>46</sup> Although this is an unfortunate loss, it is still possible to examine the themes found within the extant window, as the surviving scenes have a clear point of emphasis. Each scene is set in a roundel, and the cycle unfolds roughly chronologically from left to right and bottom to top. The cycle begins with the reconciliation of Becket and King Henry II at Fréteval, with King Louis VII of France in attendance, long after the original dispute and Becket's flight into exile (Figure 4). It ends with Becket's murder and burial (Figures 14 and 15). The remainder of the window contains a disproportionate amount of scenes depicting Becket's role as a shepherd to his flock; five of the thirteen scenes contain distinctly Episcopal actions. This emphasis on Becket's pastoral care is a unique feature of the Sens narrative cycle. There is no parallel in other visual sources for the scenes selected in this window; yet Becket's role as *bonus pastor* visible here is a major theme taken up in the liturgical offices composed for the feast day of Saint Thomas Becket. The iconography in the visual narrative corresponds to the persona of Becket constructed by the liturgy, particularly the theme of the *bonus pastor*.

The narrative opens with several scenes containing images of Thomas Becket's return trip to England from Sens. After his reconciliation at Fréteval, Becket and his entourage land in England ending his years in exile greeted by a group of men on the shore (Figure 5). This scene is also emphasized in Matins, Lesson 4 as a clear act of a *bonus pastor*: "Therefore the noble shepherd returned to England in the seventh year of his exile,

so that he might either liberate the sheep of Christ from the vicious attacks of wolves, or expend himself on behalf of the flock entrusted to him.”<sup>47</sup> The phrasing here makes it clear that Becket’s life is in danger, but, like a good shepherd, he will return to his flock regardless. Becket’s return from exile is seen as a triumphant event for the English, as the lesson continues: “He was received, consequently, by the clerics and the people with inestimable joy.” The close parallels between the liturgical account and its rendering within the Sens window is clearly evident. “The flock” that Becket has returned to protect takes up the right third of the roundel, cutting off the tail of Becket’s boat and pushing one figure in his entourage into the margin of the scene. Significant space dedicated to the crowd of people waiting for their Archbishop, and equal space is given to crowds of people in most of the other scenes.<sup>48</sup> These are Becket’s subjects, the flock to whom he will play *bonus pastor*. Further, the crowd waiting for Becket is clearly composed of the “the people” described in Lesson 4; seven men are dressed in lay attire and hold implements of work, indicating their class.

In the third roundel, Becket, along with a large entourage (likely his disciples), makes his way to Canterbury, which is represented by a tall, thin city wall next to short, crenellated towers at the left (Figure 6).<sup>49</sup> There, Becket is received by the “clergy” described in lesson 4. This time, the flock is composed of monks from Canterbury Cathedral, who come to greet him carrying books, scrolls, and a crosier while one censures the newly returned archbishop (Figure 7). Again, particular attention is paid to the crowd greeting the archbishop; the population of Canterbury Cathedral takes up a full two thirds of the roundel.

The next few scenes do little to advance the action of the narrative, focusing instead on Becket's role as a *bonus pastor*. Scene 5 begins this sequence of images, and shows Becket preaching with a large crowd standing below him, craning their necks, gazing at him intently, some resting their heads on one hand to demonstrate their attentiveness (Figure 8). The placement of this scene directly after Becket's entry into Canterbury makes it clear that Becket resumes his ministry as soon as he set foot in England. Again, the large crowd is emphasized, taking up the bottom half of the roundel. Scene 6 then depicts Becket sitting on his cathedra, a symbol of his office, receiving a letter from an emissary clothed in yellow. It is possible that the emissary is from King Henry, and that this image is meant to refer to the letter Henry wrote after Becket's landing. After Becket's return from exile, the king wrote to him, instructing him to remain in Canterbury, thus keeping him from the care of his flock outside the city (Figure 9).<sup>50</sup> However, as Alyce Jordan suggests, it may also simply be another scene depicting Becket at work, because receiving correspondence and attending to the needs of his archbishopric and subordinates was part of his duty as archbishop.<sup>51</sup> Scene 7 continues with Becket celebrating mass in front of an altar with two tonsured attendants, perhaps demonstrating that though he has been confined to Canterbury, he still attends to his duties as archbishop (Figure 10).

Scene 8 shows Becket meeting Henry's envoys, knights, carrying swords, who come to threaten and later decapitate him (Figure 11). This scene breaks the chronology of the narrative, as Scenes 9 and 10 depict Becket consecrating a church and officiating at a confirmation ceremony (Figures 12 and 13).<sup>52</sup> If these are the four knights who confront and then martyr Saint Thomas in his own cathedral, then it is likely that the order of events was changed purposefully to draw out Becket's quarrel with the King's knights over a

period of days rather than hours. The rearrangement of scenes may indicate that there was a strong desire to show that Becket's pastoral care continued, even in the face of extreme danger and violence.

Finally, Scenes 11, 12, and 13 render Becket's martyrdom, burial, and Christ blessing (Figures 14, 15, and 16). These are the most typical in terms of the choice of scenes in Becket imagery; no narrative cycle failed to include these moments, and in cases where only one scene is depicted, it is invariably the martyrdom of Saint Thomas. The way in which the martyrdom is represented, however, is extremely atypical. First, the altar is missing. As Ursula Nilgen has demonstrated, the earliest images of Saint Thomas Becket almost always depict his martyrdom in front of the altar, which is a slight fabrication, as Becket was not murdered while saying mass.<sup>53</sup> This change in the story is meant to contrast the heinousness of the crime perpetrated by Henry's knights with Becket's piety. The only other extant depiction of Becket's martyrdom lacking an altar is found in the Church of Santa Maria in Terrassa, Spain, and given that Santa Maria is a small monastic church in isolated in another kingdom, it is unlikely the designers at Sens knew of this image.

This variation in chronology and narrative detail can be explained by the liturgy; Matins, Lesson 5 clearly records a chain of events that have generated the portrayal in the Sens window. First, the liturgy recorded in the Sarum Breviary does not place Becket at the altar saying Vespers at the exact time of his death. Lesson 5 states that Becket was saying evening prayers as the knights left to arm themselves, he is interrupted: "Although the entrance to the church was blocked by the monks, the priest of God, soon to be the sacrificial victim of Christ, came running up and opened the door for his enemies."<sup>54</sup> In the liturgy, Becket is by the door (where he was, in fact, actually murdered) and not at the altar



when he dies. Further, the exact moment depicted may also be a reference to the story as told in the liturgy. Lesson 6 continues the story of Becket's martyrdom, stating that he "did not give forth a groan, did not raise his arm or clothing to anyone striking him; but holding his head, which he had bowed and exposed to the sword, immobile until the deed was finished."<sup>55</sup> Becket's posture in the Sens window reflects the actions described in the liturgy; Becket leans forward slightly, his hands are lowered displayed palm up as if in prayer or supplication, and he presents his head for the knight's sword. Becket's serene acceptance of death idealized in the liturgy is here depicted clearly in the glass of Sens Cathedral, and closely parallels Christ's life in his willing and calm sacrifice.

There are several ways in which the Sens window parallels the liturgy, particularly emphasizing Thomas Becket's role as a *bonus pastor* in scenes depicting him attending to his duties as an archbishop and defender of his flock. Saint Thomas says mass, preaches to the people, and welcomes newcomers into the fold through confirmation. Because these are the roles typically assigned to a confessor-saint, this may not be any special indication of Becket's individuality.<sup>56</sup> However, I do not believe these scenes were selected as generic representations of a good archbishop. As Becket's biography indicates, it was *particularly* important that he was seen as a *bonus pastor*; Becket had abandoned the English church to be subjugated by King Henry II when he fled into exile at Sens, an act which earned him harsh criticism from his contemporaries.<sup>57</sup> This extreme need to construct Thomas Becket as the ideal of pastoral care is even more evident in the liturgy than in his *vitae*, as the majority of lessons and a significant number of the antiphons and responsories constantly refer to Becket as "the noble shepherd," "the shepherd in the sheepfolds," or "the confessor of Christ." This aspect of Becket's persona is most evident in Lesson 5, the most dramatic of

all the lessons which recounts Becket's murder at the hands of Henry's knights. When confronted by the knights, Becket states that "he was neither willing nor able to pretend that he should not exercise the duty of his pastoral guardianship."<sup>58</sup> In the same passage, he is referred to as *bonus pastor* either directly and metaphorically not once, but five times, first as the "fearless confessor of Christ" and then as "the custodian of the vineyard among the vines, the general in the camp, the shepherd in the sheepfolds," and finally as "the husbandman in the in the threshing floor."<sup>59</sup>

There is a similar need at Sens to depict Becket as a *bonus pastor*, which may explain why this theme was developed more thoroughly in the Sens window than in others. The roundels displaying Becket saying Mass, preaching, confirming, and consecrating a church have no precedents in other monumental cycles of Thomas Becket. Their inclusion here indicates the desire of the patrons of the Sens glass to communicate clearly this aspect of Becket's life, and there are several reasons for this. The fact that Becket spent six years in the diocese of Sens was certainly one important motivation to portray Becket as a *bonus pastor*. Sens was, after all, the site where Becket spent most of his career as archbishop (he spent a total of about two years in Canterbury itself), and most of his pastoral acts would have taken place not in England, but in France. The cathedral also boasted the vestments worn by Thomas Becket during his time at Sens. These extremely important relics are a symbol of Becket's office and his duty to undertake pastoral care.

The emphasis on Becket's pastoral care is also a reflection of the personalities involved in the window's creation. Guillaume aux Blanches Mains, archbishop of Sens, had been a staunch defender of Becket in exile, taking a leading role in negotiations between Becket and Henry II. He even went so far as to pronounce an interdict on all of Henry's

continental lands in January of 1171 after Becket's death because of Henry's failure to repent. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1207 to 1228 was also exiled in Sens from 1207 to 1213, around the time when the glass was completed. As Alyce Jordan notes, both Langton and Guillaume, who were avid supporters of Becket the martyr, were also avid proponents of the Gregorian Reform, which was addressed in the Lateran Council of 1179 and codified at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.<sup>60</sup> Both Councils called for the elimination of abuses and laxities on the part of the clergy, but also reaffirmed the importance of pastoral care, with special emphasis placed on preaching.<sup>61</sup> Becket, already known as a champion of church rights, must have seemed like an ideal model for a devoted cleric. As Jordan states, Becket "effectively encompassed the reform ideal of a Church free of secular interference and committed to its early apostolic mission."<sup>62</sup> His role as the *bonus pastor* in the Sens window thus demonstrates the reformist zeal particularly present in Sens around the time of the window's creation in addition to emphasizing a popular liturgical theme.

#### Chapter 4: The Life of Saint Thomas Becket at Chartres Cathedral

The Thomas Becket cycle at Chartres Cathedral presents a decidedly different aspect of Thomas Becket's persona. Rather than identifying Becket as a *bonus pastor* as in the Sens glass, the designers at Chartres chose rather to depict Becket as the defender of the church, another theme made prominent in the liturgy. This aspect of Becket's identity is primarily developed in liturgical lessons; it is depicted in the glass at Chartres through the juxtaposition of the figures of Becket and Henry II and by the emphasis on Becket's sufferings at the hands of the crown. As with the window at Sens, the parallels between the liturgical persona of Becket and the visual narrative in Chartres' glass is striking.

The scenes depicted in the Chartres window were first numbered and described by Yves Delaporte.<sup>63</sup> The greater part of the Chartres window is structured chronologically, reading from bottom to top and left to right (Figure 17). Four medallions with a half quatrefoil cut into each side divided into four sections generally depict four scenes, and in between each of these medallions are three smaller forms, a quatrefoil flanked by two half quatrefoils, each depicting single scenes. The only clear deviation from the chronological scheme is the bottom section of the window (Figures 18, 19, 20, and 21, labeled Scenes 4, 5, 6, and 7, in Figure 15's diagram), underneath the three "signature" scenes depicting tanners at work (Figures 22, 23, and 24, labeled Scenes 1, 2, and 3 in Figure 15's diagram). These four scenes are taken out of the overall narrative context and displaced to the bottom of the window almost as a footnote. The reason for this inconsistency is most likely practical rather than a result of an artistic decision. Collette and Jean Paul Deremble offer two possible explanations. Because of an error in measurement or a last-minute change of

location, the glaziers added scenes to the bottom of the panel, either recycling them from an older window depicting the life of Becket or creating them especially for this window to make it fit into the space.<sup>64</sup> Whether or not the scenes were recycled or custom made, they were chosen because they fit with the Becket narrative, and it is worth including them here to understand how. The scenes do have parallels in the Becket liturgy, and in this way they fit into the overall conception of the window.

In the bottom right section of the added roundel, Scene 4 (Figure 18) begins with Thomas Becket leaving a city pursued by man with a club. This is most likely symbolic of Becket's flight from England to France and exile, as it depicts the danger he felt himself to be in and the extreme lengths to which Henry would go to see the saint killed. This danger is emphasized in the first lesson in the office for Matins "At last, when he was threatened with death... and because the persecution appeared to be directed against him personally, he decided that he should yield to ill-will."<sup>65</sup> The figure carrying a club in this case acts as a personification of "persecution," which is a more vivid and convincing way of showing Henry's menace.

Scene 5 (Figure 19) portrays armed men following a group of people, which Delaporte identifies as Becket's family and friends whom King Henry II sent into exile after Becket's flight to France.<sup>66</sup> The ousting of Becket's family, friends, and followers warrants a whole lesson in the liturgy, which may account for its addition here. Lesson 2 of Matins states that Thomas' entire family was outlawed at the same time... without consideration of rank, fortune, authority, age, or sex... Both the aged and infirm, the babes crying in cradles, and pregnant women were driven into exile."<sup>67</sup> The crowd that is driven away by two armed men in Scene 5 is composed of men both bearded and unbearded to indicate age,

and women, identified by their headgear. Again, the violence of this forced exile is emphasized, making Henry appear a greater villain and Becket a worthier protagonist.

Scene 6 (Figure 20) depicts the mitred Thomas Becket before Henry II.<sup>68</sup> It is difficult to identify when exactly this scene takes place, as it appears in the window's framework to occur *after* Becket leaves England in October of 1164, not see Henry again until the reconciliation at Fréteval in July of 1170. Rather than a depiction of an actual meeting, this scene may be a representation of Becket's official banishment by the king himself. Placing this scene above the Scene 4 (the figure with the club) certainly implicates Henry in the violence of Becket's eviction, and further implies that Henry alone was responsible for this action. Scene 7 (Figure 21) is also difficult to place chronologically, since it simply depicts Becket arriving with a follower on horseback at a town, possibly Sens. The welcoming town creates a stark contrast to Henry's inhospitable attitude, and would find parallels in the beginning of the liturgy, as Lesson 1 of Matins states that Becket was "honorably supported by Pope Alexander at Sens, and he was recommended enthusiastically to the monastery at Pontigny."<sup>69</sup>

While the identification of Scenes 6 and 7 are uncertain, Scenes 4-7 nicely summarize the beginning of the conflict as it is depicted in the liturgy; Henry's violent disposition and vindictive and painful action of banishing the saintly character and his relations is juxtaposed with the friendliness of the welcoming town of Sens.

After Scenes 4-7, the structure of the narrative is much more organized in subsequent scenes. Becket wears a miter but no halo until he is martyred. He also often wears the same clothing to make him easily identifiable, except in special circumstances, such as his consecration as archbishop and in the last two scenes. With this higher level of

organization, the placement of narrative scenes becomes more pointed; moments within the narrative placed next to each other are often selected to contrast elements of the Becket story. Further, some scenes are extended to encompass two sections. This is also an indication of particular narrative emphasis.

The second medallion begins with Scene 8 (Figure 25), which depicts Becket's consecration as archbishop of Canterbury. Wearing his vestments and miter, he leans forward to receive the blessing of the presiding prelate, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, on the right.<sup>70</sup> Becket appears to accept his charge humbly, with his head bowed before Bishop Henry, who blesses the new archbishop. Behind Becket are two tonsured monks, indicating the support of the monastery at Christ Church Canterbury. In Scene 9 (Figure 26), immediately to the right of the consecration, Becket stands before Henry II, looking up at the king and gesturing as though making a point. The king stares down at Becket from his throne, hands placed on his hips, with a little, yellow, naked devil sitting on his shoulder and whispering in his ear. In this case, two elements are particularly important. First, Scene 9 collapses the entire conflict between Henry II and Becket into a single image and second, it is placed immediately next to Becket's consecration as archbishop. Becket was consecrated in June of 1162, and though the conflict was a drawn-out affair, the situation did not come to a head until the Council of Clarendon in October of 1164. Two years of Becket's life at Canterbury are removed from the narrative. This collapse of narrative time makes it seem as though Becket and the king began to fight immediately after the consecration. These two years are also removed from liturgical sources; Lesson 1 in the *Sarum Breviary* begins with Becket's consecration, speaks briefly of him becoming a "new man," and immediately describes the conflict between Becket and

Henry II.<sup>71</sup> This contrasts with many of Becket's vitae, which often describe a brief period of peace after he became archbishop.<sup>72</sup>

Further, the devil sitting on Henry's shoulder in Scene 9 is significant and resonates with the liturgy. Neither the window nor the liturgy directly demonizes Henry himself, and casts instead Henry's henchmen, the knights, in this role. Antiphon 7 of Matins makes this clear: "The accomplices of Satan, bursting into the temple, perpetrate an unheard of example of evil."<sup>73</sup> In the glass, Henry himself is not the devil, but rather succumbs to evil influences represented by the demon. Further, this is the second scene in the window to depict Henry and Becket, and in both sections, they are arguing. This selection certainly emphasizes the conflict between the king and the archbishop, and identifies Henry, as the temporal power under demonic influence and the party that is in the wrong.

The next scene, Scene 10 (Figure 27), represents Becket leaving for exile. Becket's flight on horseback was also shown at the bottom of the window in Scene 4 (Figure 18), and the inclusion of two scenes of Becket's escape is again significant. In both cases, Becket's exile takes place after confrontations with Henry, which connects him intimately with Becket's forced travel. Unlike Scene 4, however, Becket is not pursued or threatened in Scene 10. He is instead shown waving goodbye to a group of monks, presumably the population of Christ Church Canterbury, from the deck of his ship. Taken together, the two scenes of Becket leaving for exile reinforce the dual nature of his hardship; the saint was physically threatened and in fear for his life, but also distraught at leaving his flock behind. This duality is also prevalent in the liturgy. For example, Lesson 2 of Matins states "The man of God, placing his own hand to brave deeds, steadfastly endured exile, loss, insults and abuse... and was not broken by any injury."<sup>74</sup>



The last scene in the medallion, Scene 11 (Figure 28), represents Becket consulting Pope Alexander III, who is identified by his papal tiara. This section is directly above Becket before Henry II, creating a subtle juxtaposition that contrasts the demonized Henry who persecutes Becket and the church, with good Pope Alexander III, who supports Becket's cause while he is abroad. Henry is also contrasted directly with the pope in the liturgy, as Henry's persecution sends Becket directly to Pope Alexander III in Lesson 1 of Matins: "Driven therefore into exile, he was honorably supported by Pope Alexander at Sens."<sup>75</sup>

Scenes 12-14 are a linear sequence in half quaterfoils between medallions 2 and 3. Scenes 12 and 13 (Figures 29 and 30) are a single scene of Becket bidding farewell to the monks of Pontigny, with whom he stayed for part of his exile but left when Henry threatened to confiscate all the Cistercian lands in England.<sup>76</sup> The monks gather together in a group on the left, some waving, while Becket rides away, looking back wistfully over his shoulder. Like Scenes 4, 5, and 10 where Henry II forcefully expels Becket and his family from England, this scene is also meant to emphasize Becket's suffering at the king's hands on behalf of the church. Rather than subject the monasteries in England to further harm from the secular authority, Becket chooses to leave his hosts at the monastery behind. The sad determination of Becket found in the Chartres windows echoes with this episode as it was portrayed in the liturgy; "The king, hearing of his steadfast resolution, send a threatening letter to the general chapter through certain abbots of the Cistercian order; he thus saw to it that Thomas would be driven from Pontigny."<sup>77</sup> Becket's resolution to save the Cistercians is evident as the lesson continues: "Blessed Thomas, however, fearing that holy men were threatened with loss on his account, left of his own accord."<sup>78</sup> This scene echoes the two other scenes (Scenes 4 and 10, Figures 18 and 27) in which Becket himself

is forced to leave, and with each repetition of this motif, the king becomes more heartless and Becket's trials more meaningful. The repetition indicates how much Becket is willing to sacrifice as a defender of the church.

In Scene 14 (Figure 31) Becket speaks with King Louis VII of France.<sup>79</sup> This scene also lines up vertically with scenes 11 and 9, which again encourages the viewer to contemplate the juxtaposition between King Henry II, who is a bad king, and King Louis VII, who is a good king. The liturgy also represents King Louis as an ideal king; "Louis, the most Christian King of the French, received him (Becket in exile) with the greatest honor when he was driven from Pontigny, and he sustained him most kindly until peace was restored."<sup>80</sup> After Becket is torn from his hosts at the monastery in Scenes 13 and 14, he and his entourage ride directly to the welcoming court of Louis directly to the right. The spatial and narrative connections between Scenes 14 and 15 is further emphasized by one of Becket's men pointing ahead to Becket meeting with the King of France. Thus it is made clear in the visual cycle as well as the liturgy that the malicious act of King Henry II, who expels Becket from Pontigny, is made right by the kindness of King Louis VII.

The next medallion, which consists of scenes 15- 18, continues chronologically from the half quatrefoil below. Scene 15 (Figure 32) depicts Pope Alexander III on the left, Thomas Becket on the right, and King Louis VII enthroned between them. The two clerics wear green with burgundy cloaks to identify them; the remarkable similarity between the two serves to reinforce their affiliation with the same spiritual authority. Louis wears vibrant light blue mantel (marking him as king of the French and not the English king) over a gold robe, and sits holding his scepter and against a bright red backdrop. His placement in the center of the image and his eye-catching clothing stresses his role in the proceedings,

and invites comparison to the English king, who is absent. This absence is highly significant; this part of the narrative should represent Fréteval, where peace was finally made with Henry, but it seems as though Becket, the pope, and King Louis VII were the only ones responsible for the reconciliation. Giving credit to Pope Alexander and the French king for the meeting has direct parallel in the liturgy: “Finally, through the good offices of the pope and the king of the French, a period of time was established for the restoration of peace.”<sup>81</sup> King Henry is not even mentioned as one of the contributing parties; in the liturgy, he is as absent as he is in the window. Further, the reconciliation is directly attributed not to Becket or Henry at all, but to Alexander: “Finally, the pope, taking pity of the desolation of the English church, with purposeful threats, restored with difficulty the peace of the Church.”<sup>82</sup> This passage reveals another reason Henry is not depicted in the scene. The peace of Alexander III was hard-won, due to Henry’s lack of cooperation, and ultimately, does not last.

In Scene 16 (Figure 33), Becket and a follower finally return to England after his exile because the French king and the pope achieved a successful reconciliation between Henry and the archbishop.<sup>83</sup> The scene mirrors the image of Becket leaving for exile in its composition. Becket, standing on the deck of a boat is on the right, gesturing to a crowd on the left. The prelate that left in exile has now come home in triumph, as stated in Matins, Lesson 4: “He was received by the clerics and the people with inestimable joy.”<sup>84</sup>

Scenes 17 and 18 (Figures 34 and 35) are extremely hard to place, since neither directly correlate with anything in Becket’s biography. Scene 17 depicts Henry II on the left, enthroned and gesturing to an unidentified cleric who stands before him. Delaporte claims this must be one of the prelates who supported Henry as an enemy of Becket.<sup>85</sup> This is one

possible reading, as there is one distinct difference in appearance between this cleric and Thomas Becket. While this figure is beardless, Becket is never pictured without a beard in this window. However, there are some similarities in clothing between the prelate in Scene 17 and Thomas Becket in Scene 18 (both differ from Becket's clothing in the rest of the window, except, curiously, Scenes 4 and 7 in the added medallion). Both figures wear red mantels with a white robe underneath, and both wear what appear to be miters. It may be that a different template was used for this scene, as images of kings always appear to the right of Becket in this window and this king is seated lower on the left side of the section. The difference between the beardless and bearded Thomas may also be due to another artist working on this scene. The pose and massing of this figure is also different than many of the other figures. For these reasons, I am tempted to believe that the figure in this section is Becket. If this is the case, then Scene 18, which is one of the more curious episodes occurring in this window, makes a bit more sense.

Allison Stones identifies Scene 18 as showing Henry II and Becket, and Henry refusing to see him.<sup>86</sup> Becket stands on the left, as a man in the center gestures to the king. Henry does not look at Becket, but rather sits on his throne staring at what appears to be an open doorway. Taken together, Scenes 17 and 18 summarize Henry's attitude toward Becket after the Fréteval accord and fits together nicely with the liturgy.<sup>87</sup> First Henry has seemingly made peace with his exiled archbishop, meeting with him back in England: "Therefore the kingdoms rejoiced, because the king received the archbishop in grace; some believed that the matter was really settled while others were skeptical."<sup>88</sup> In the next scene, Henry immediately turns his back on the prelate and refuses him an audience: "After a few days he was again subjected to the penalties and injuries beyond number, and he was

prohibited by public edict from leaving the protection of his church.”<sup>89</sup> This reading fits well with this rest of the window, in which Henry is always responsible for Becket’s troubles (all three exile scenes). It also portrays Henry II as volatile and fickle, allowing Becket’s return but not allowing him to perform his duties. This attitude starkly contrasts with that of Becket, who is constant and steadfast in his mission.

The next set of quatrefoils and half quatrefoils, Scenes 19- 21, depict the conflict between Becket and Henry's knights who will eventually kill him on the floor of Canterbury Cathedral. Like the rest of the narrative as well as the liturgy, the scenes are relatively accurate representations of actual events; they display a precise knowledge of the specific order in which history unfolded. Scene 19 (Figure 36) begins with three of the knights, without their armor and weapons, talking with a seated Becket. The liturgy relates this incident thus: “Four courtiers came to Canterbury, men distinguished by birth, but infamous in deed. They entered and addressed the archbishop with insulting words.”<sup>90</sup> The men in Scene 19 are clearly courtiers; dressed in fine attire, they are distinguished from members of the clergy by their long hair. Further, they do appear to be insulting Becket. The foremost courtier points his finger at the archbishop, who makes a defensive gesture. Scene 20 (Figure 37), depicts Becket and a follower entering Canterbury Cathedral. Becket would have received his visitors in his palace, so this is a perfectly logical chain of events corroborated by the liturgy: “The fools were distressed at heart, and saying that this was injustice in the highest degree, they departed immediately. As they were leaving, the archbishop went into the church so that he might perform the evening praises.”<sup>91</sup> While Becket enters the cathedral, the knights are putting on their armor and hoisting their shields in Scene 21 (Figure 35).

Medallion 4, containing Scenes 22- 25, is the clear focus of the entire window. Instead of four scenes, here there are only two, giving the martyrdom of Becket and the pious before his tomb special consideration. Scenes 22 and 23 (Figures 39 and 40) are dedicated to the murder itself. On the left, two of the knights brandish their weapons, the bottom of their tunics fly out which suggests rapid movement. On the right, the third knight brings his sword down upon the head of Thomas Becket, who kneels before an altar, his hands clasped as though in prayer. Above Becket and behind the altar stands Edward Grim, the only one to stay through the whole incident and attempt to protect Becket from the murderous knights. As discussed above (page 15), the altar was not where the actual martyrdom took place, but it may be an addition designed to make the act seem all the more heinous.<sup>92</sup> In this case, the visual image strays from both the historical and liturgical accounts in favor of a more pointed visual expression.

The final scene, Scenes 24 and 25 (Figure 41) depict the body of Thomas Becket, laid out across a bier, taking up most of the space across two sections. When compared to the other figures in the scene, Becket's body is enormous and fully visible in its details from ground level.<sup>93</sup> His arms are folded over his chest, and he is crowned with a halo. Above, an angel comes from the clouds to cense the body of the saint. The figures surrounding the body likely have two purposes. First, the figures represent the people who actually came to Canterbury after Becket's murder. Both biographical accounts and the liturgy confirm that "From the first, at the time of his martyrdom, the martyr began to glisten with remarkable miracles, restoring sight to the blind, walking to the lame, hearing to the deaf, and speech to the mute."<sup>94</sup> The figures surround Becket's body are also symbolic; they are the multitude of pilgrims who came not only to Canterbury and Becket's shrine, but also Chartres to view

the relic of Becket's blood and venerate the saint. The continuance of miracles performed by the saint is emphasized not so much in the lessons of the liturgy, but is certainly prevalent in antiphons and responsories. For example, Lauds Antiphon III, *Aqua Thome* proclaims that "the entire world strives for the love of the martyr, whose signs drive them one by one into astonishment."<sup>95</sup>

As we have seen in this analysis of the scenes in the Chartres window, the structure of the Chartres window draws its emphasis on Becket as a defender of the church against the secular authority from the liturgy. The obvious interest in demonizing the English King Henry II is made apparent throughout the visual narrative; Becket's sanctity and steadfast belief in his mission is often displayed by mere juxtaposition with the evil king. The repetition of his dispute with Becket in Scenes 6 and 9 brings into full clarity the king's intent to deny the church what it considered its sacred rights, as opposed to Becket's determination to defend the church from this subjugation. This emphasis is also reinforced in the liturgy, when the numerous trials Becket undergoes on behalf of the church are mentioned in nearly every lesson and almost always paired with Henry. The form of these scenes also parallels the form of Scene 11 (Becket with Pope Alexander III) and Scene 14 (Becket with Louis VII). The repetition of the format contrasts good kings who support the church, like Louis, and bad kings, like Henry. Further, the repeated scenes exile and the force with which Becket and his family were removed from England brings to mind Henry's cruelty, while scenes describing his acceptance in France calls up images of Louis' kindness. At the culmination of the window in medallion 4, there is no question who should be blamed for Becket's martyrdom.

Emphasizing this particular liturgical persona of Saint Thomas Becket may be a direct result of the setting and political culture in Chartres. In the context of Chartres Cathedral itself, the Thomas Becket window fits into a larger scheme of windows depicting saints' lives with decidedly political messages (see Figure 1). For example, the Becket window shares a chapel with the window depicting the life of Saint Remy, who baptizes King Clovis, and Saint Sylvester who converts Constantine.<sup>96</sup> These windows emphasize the submission of the royal power to spiritual authority, and the need the king has of the church for the salvation himself and that of his people. The Charlemagne window, roughly facing the door of the chapel, emphasizes Charlemagne's legendary crusades, both in Jerusalem and in Spain. He is depicted as an ideal king using his military might to defend Christianity. Further, the story climaxes in Charlemagne's demonstration of his obedience to the church when he repents for his sin of incest. Taken individually or collectively, these windows all reinforce the supremacy of the church over temporal authority. The purpose of this program was to present a model of ideal leadership from the point of view of the canons of Chartres.

The choice of using the French king as a model for ideal leadership and the English King as a negative example is an obvious one, as Chartres is a French cathedral. Becket's story presents designers with a unique opportunity to present models of kingship within a contemporary framework, making the morals presented there all the more relevant for the medieval viewer. Jane Welch Williams describes the ongoing tensions between the counts of Blois and Chartres and the canons of Chartres.<sup>97</sup> With the constant arguments between the counts and the canons, a lesson about the supremacy of the church would have equal bearing on local nobility as well as royalty.



## Chapter 5: Conclusion

Thomas Becket, who was widely criticized in his lifetime, was transformed in death into an ideal prelate and Christian martyr. The primary vehicle for this transformation was the liturgy that propagated the image of Becket as *bonus pastor* and defender of the church in times of great crisis. Visual narratives follow the liturgy, though they often diverge from each other in their thematic emphasis. The stained glass cycles depicting the life of Saint Thomas Becket in Chartres and Sens work in tandem with the liturgies written in his honor to create a distinctly positive image of Becket. While Sens echoes the aspects of the liturgy that describe Becket's superb pastoral care, the Chartres cycle resonates with the passages that describe his extreme suffering in his role as defender of the church. This results from the circumstances of the production of the windows, which were meant to resonate with specific viewers in a specific place, unlike the liturgies, which were composed to serve broader purposes.

### Notes

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<sup>1</sup> This is a summation made by Michael Staunton of Gilbert Foliot's description (made Archbishop of London in 1163). Roger of York and Hilary of Chichester were also vocal opponents of Thomas Becket. See Michael Staunton ed. and trans., The Lives of Thomas Becket, Manchester Medieval Sources Series (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2001), 13.

<sup>2</sup> The debate dealt with who had the right to punish members of the clergy that committed crimes. Traditionally, criminal clergy fell under the king's jurisdiction, however, Becket argued that clergy members were subject to the church, and should be punished by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Gilbert Foliot suggests that Thomas was endangering the church by his poor stewardship in exile in a letter (1166, known as *Quae vestro*) to the Becket staying in Pontigny. In his 1166 letter *Multiplicem nobis*, he states that Thomas's actions brought ruin upon the church, and that this was the inevitable product of his personal flaws and his unsuitability for office. See Staunton, The Lives of Thomas Becket, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Benedict of Peterborough reported this. The full account is published in Staunton, The Lives of Thomas Becket, 205.

<sup>4</sup> The miracles attributed to Saint Thomas Becket are recorded by William of Canterbury and Benedict of Peterborough beginning shortly after Becket's death in 1171. These are published in Edwin A. Abbot, St. Thomas of Canterbury: His Death and Miracles (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1898). See also J.C. Robertson and J.B. Sheppard, Materials for the Life of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, Rolls Series, 7 Vols. (London: Longman & Co., 1885). For the spread of the cult of Thomas Becket, see Anne Duggan, "The Cult of

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Saint Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century,” in Saint Thomas Cantilupe: Essays in his Honor, ed. Jancey Meryl (Leominster: Orphans Pres, Ltd., 1982).

<sup>5</sup> Sherry Reames, “Liturgical Offices for the Cult of Saint Thomas Becket,” in Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), 561-93

<sup>6</sup> John of Salisbury wrote numerous letters directly, and they were often copied and circulated. Several other witnesses produced written accounts of the murder, which were also copied and circulated. For an account of these, see Staunton The Lives of Thomas Becket, 6-11 and Robertson, Materials, 131-132, 430-8.

<sup>7</sup> The most extensive studies on the Becket liturgy are: Kay Brainard Slocum, Liturgies in Honor of Thomas Becket (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004)., Andrew Hughes, “Chants in the Rhymed Office of St Thomas of Canterbury.” Early Music, Vol. 16 No.2 (May, 1988), 185-201., Sherry Reames, “Liturgical Offices for the Cult of Saint Thomas Becket.”

<sup>8</sup> Madeline Caviness, The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 35, 100. Caviness argues that the same workshop or at least a group of connected artists worked on the Becket windows at Canterbury, Chartres, and Sens based on stylistic considerations.

<sup>9</sup> Yves Delaporte and Étienne Hovet, Les vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, Histoire et description par l'abbé Y. Delaporte, Reproductions par É. Hovet (Chartres: É. Hovet, 1926).

<sup>10</sup> The precise dating of the Chartres windows is a matter of serious debate among scholars, most of whom argue that the windows were either built from West to East or East to West and dispute which windows were the first to be executed. The earliest and most influential

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of these is Delaporte and Houvet, 247-540. A useful overview of the other arguments made until 1967 is found in Jan van der Meulen, "Recent Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral," The Art Bulletin, vol. 49, No. 2 (June, 1967): 152-172. More recent studies on the chronology of Chartres include Collette Deremble, Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: Étude iconographique, Corpus Vitrearum: France- Études II, (Paris, Éditions le Léopard D'Or, 1993) 9-17, and Louis Grodecki and Catherine Brisac, Gothic Stained Glass, 1200- 1300 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984). All of these scholars date the windows between 1205 and 1235.

<sup>11</sup> See Abbé Brulée, "Descriptions des verrières de la cathédrale de Sens," Société archéologique de Sens no.7 (1861): 161-216. A few other studies of Sens are concerned primarily with iconography, including Eugène Chartraire, La cathédrale de Sens (Paris, 1921), pp. 85-93; and Jean Taralon et al., Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comte, et Rhone-Alpes, Corpus Vitrearum, Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, vol. 3 (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 173- 186.

<sup>12</sup> See Eugène Chartraire, La cathédral de Sens (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1963), 53, Louis Grodecki and Catherine Brisac, Gothic Stained Glass, 1200-1300 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 139, Caviness, Early Stained Glass, 40, and Alyce Jordan. "Rhetoric and Reform: The Saint Thomas Becket Window at Sens Cathedral," In The Four Modes of Seeing, ed. E. Lane, E. Paston, E. Shortell (London: Ashgate, forthcoming), 677.

<sup>13</sup> Tancred Borenius, St. Thomas Becket in Art (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1932).

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<sup>14</sup> Gameson, Richard. "The Early Imagery of Thomas Becket," in Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> See Collette and Jean Paul Deremble, Vitraux de Chartres.

<sup>16</sup> Abel Moreau. La Cathédrale de Sens (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1950). Moreau is also the source for the window's date of c. 1190. As little work has been done on these windows, the dating remains unchanged.

<sup>17</sup> One useful study of the Chartres windows in the context of the town is Jane Welch Williams' Bread, Wine, and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Claudine Lautier, "Les Vitraux de la Cathédral de Chartres: Reliques et Images," Bulletin Monumental 161, no. 1 (2003): 3-96.

<sup>19</sup> Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform."

<sup>20</sup> Alyce Jordan, "Thomas Becket in the windows of Sens and Chartres: The Saint as Church Reformer and the Monarchic Conscience," unpublished lecture at Arizona State University, 2006.

<sup>21</sup> Slocum, Liturgies, 136-146.

<sup>22</sup> Slocum, Liturgies, 136-146. Slocum investigates all the candidates thoroughly, and concludes that it was entirely possible for Benedict to have written the lessons as well as the *sungtext* and the music, perhaps utilizing material from John of Salisbury's account of Becket's murder.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Hughes, "Chants," 185.

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<sup>24</sup> Slocum, *Liturgies*, 145.

<sup>25</sup> Slocum, *Liturgies*, 146.

<sup>26</sup> The title *Studens Livor* refers to the offices which are identified by the incipits of the antiphon at first Vespers, the first responsory, and the first antiphon at Lauds. The Becket office is known in full as *Pastor cesus/ Studens Livor/ Granum cadit*. For convenience, this is shortened to simply *Studens Livor*. This title often refers to both the monastic and secular versions of the text. Examples of these offices are normally found in breviaries, which were the textual sources for Slocum's study.

<sup>27</sup> The responsory, procession, and prosa is prescribed for cathedrals with altars to Saint Thomas; in churches where no altar to the saint is present, the prosa and procession are replaced by a memorial consisting of antiphon, verse, response, and collect. Slocum, *Liturgies*, 209.

<sup>28</sup> Slocum, *Liturgies*, 13-14. I will use Slocum's transcription and translation of the *Sarum Breviary*, London, British Library MSS Stowe 12:Col. ccxlv-cclx. The rhymed office is also recorded in London, British Library MSS Add. 28598. When reading through the monastic and secular versions recorded by Slocum, I do not detect any noticeable change in tone or emphasis.

<sup>29</sup> See Hughes, "Chants," 185, Slocum, *Liturgies*, 209, and Reames, "Liturgical Offices," 561. Hughes notes that over 300 extant manuscripts (these are not cited) contain the Becket office, and they are found in the British Isles, Scandinavia, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary. Slocum notes that the influence of Sarum Use spread quickly in France, first in the areas under the control of the Plantagenet kings.

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<sup>30</sup> Slocum, Liturgies, 116-118. The office for Thomas Becket is on folio 243.

<sup>31</sup> Slocum, Liturgies, 136-146.

<sup>32</sup> Slocum notes the slight variations in word choice and the condensing of lessons in the York and Hereford offices. She does, however, stress that the themes present in the *Studens Livor* are constant across all surviving examples of the Becket office.

<sup>33</sup> Sarum Breviary, Matins, Lesson 1, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 213-14. Interestingly, this is nearly the exact wording used in Matins Lesson 1 of the monastic office, as it is recorded in a Breviary/Missal from the Cluniac priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, produced between 1263 and 1300 (This lesson is published in Slocum on page 135). The theme is also prevalent in the York Breviary (See Slocum, page 229).

<sup>34</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 1, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 213.

<sup>35</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 1, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 213.

<sup>36</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 2, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 214.

<sup>37</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 2, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 214.

<sup>38</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 2, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 214.

<sup>39</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 2, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 214.

<sup>40</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217. This terminology is also used in Matins, Antiphon 7 (*Satane satellites*) in the monastic office found in the Lewes Breviary. See Slocum, Liturgies, 182.

<sup>41</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217.

<sup>42</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217. This theme is also evident in Matins, Responsory II published in Slocum, Liturgies, 200.

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<sup>43</sup> Benedict of Peterborough, who is likely responsible for the liturgy, emphasizes these links to Christ in his own biography of Thomas Becket. For example, the knights who steal Becket's goods and horses after the murder are likened to those who divided Christ's clothing at the foot of the cross. Benedict of Peterborough's work can be found in Staunton, The Lives of St. Thomas Becket.

<sup>44</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217.

<sup>45</sup> The scenes were first numbered by Tancred Borenius, Becket in Art, 45.

<sup>46</sup> See Borenius, Becket in Art, 45, and Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform," 678.

<sup>47</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 4, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 216.

<sup>48</sup> Jordan mentions this focus on crowds briefly, but describes them only as "exacting details" that distinguish the Sens cycle from other narrative images. Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform," 678.

<sup>49</sup> There may be an echo in this image of the opening ceremonies of the mass, the introit in which a bishop enters the church, thereby signifying Christ entering the world. The processional quality of the three figures in the foreground and the presence of the crosier indicate that this is one possible reading. It may be that further liturgical parallels can be drawn here.

<sup>50</sup> Borenius argues that this is "undoubtedly" what is occurring in scene 6. See Borenius, Becket in Art, 45.

<sup>51</sup> Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform," 679.

<sup>52</sup> Borenius, Becket in Art, 45.



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<sup>53</sup> Ursula Nilgen, "The Manipulated Memory: Thomas Becket in Legend and Art," in Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel, eds., Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXXIXth International Congress of the History of Art Held in Amsterdam, 1-7, 1996 (Dordrecht, Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999).

<sup>54</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217.

<sup>55</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 6, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 218-19.

<sup>56</sup> The traits of confessor saints are discussed at length in Cynthia Hahn, Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century, (University of California Press: Berkley and Los Angeles, 2001), and Michael Cothren, "Who is the Bishop in the Virgin Chapel of Beauvais Cathedral?" Gazette des beaux-arts, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 125 (1995) 1-16.

<sup>57</sup> Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, was a staunch critic of Becket in the saint's lifetime, see note 1 (Foliot's letters *Quae vestro* and *Multiplicem nobis*). Roger, Archbishop of York and Hilary, Bishop of Chichester were also vocal critics of Thomas Becket. See Staunton, The Lives of Thomas Becket, 20.

<sup>58</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217.

<sup>59</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217-18.

<sup>60</sup> Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform," 683.

<sup>61</sup> Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform," 683.

<sup>62</sup> Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform," 684.

<sup>63</sup> I will follow Allison Stones in using Delaporte's numbering system for these scenes. See Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 247-54.

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<sup>64</sup> Collette and Jean-Paul Deremble, Vitraux de Chartres, 132. Stones and Delaporte also include Scenes 4-7 in their analyses, and though these works may not be part of the original conception design of the window, they would have been part of the finished product. These added scenes provide a chance to see where the narrative is expanded when the designers were provided with extra space. Stuart Whatling states on his website that these scenes “do not belong.” He does not cite any further sources or provide evidence that these panels are not medieval. “The Corpus of Medieval Narrative Art,” last modified January 21, 2011, [http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/18\\_pages/Chartres\\_Bay18\\_key.htm](http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/18_pages/Chartres_Bay18_key.htm)

<sup>65</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 1, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 213.

<sup>66</sup> Delaporte and Houvet, Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 249.

<sup>67</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 2, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 214.

<sup>68</sup> Delaporte and Houvet, Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 249, and Allison Stones, “Images of Medieval Art and Architecture: Chartres,” Last modified April 4, 2009, <http://vrcoll.fa.pitt.edu/medart/image/France/Chartres/Chartres-Cathedral/Windows/Choir-windows/018A-Becket/chartres-18ABecket-main.html>.

<sup>69</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 1, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 213.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas Becket was in fact consecrated by another bishop, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester. See Anne Duggan, Thomas Becket (London: Arnold, 2004) 25.

<sup>71</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 1, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 213.

<sup>72</sup> See Staunton, The Lives of St. Thomas Becket, 70-75. Staunton provides Herbert of Bosham’s account, which discusses the love that Henry had for Becket and the numerous occasions when they were together.

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<sup>73</sup> Lewes Breviary, Matins, Antiphon VII (*Satane satellites*), published in Slocum, Liturgies, 182.

<sup>74</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 2, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 214.

<sup>75</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 1, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 213.

<sup>76</sup> Delaporte and Houvet, Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 251.

<sup>77</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 3, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 215.

<sup>78</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 3, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 215.

<sup>79</sup> Delaporte and Houvet, Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 251.

<sup>80</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 3, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 215.

<sup>81</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 4, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 216.

<sup>82</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 4, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 216.

<sup>83</sup> Stones, "Chartres Cathedral Windows," and Delaporte and Houvet, Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 252. The insertion of clerics into this scene make it more likely that it depicts Becket's arrival rather than departure, since the biographies refer to the crowd that greeted him at his arrival in Sandwich. Further, the wind in the sails suggests that the boat was heading towards the shore, where in the exile scene, the sails were pointed away from the shore.

<sup>84</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 4, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 216.

<sup>85</sup> Delaporte and Houvet, Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 252.

<sup>86</sup> Stones, "Chartres Cathedral Windows: Thomas Becket."

<sup>87</sup> This is not, however, Fréteval. Becket returned to England in Scene 16.

<sup>88</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 4, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 216.

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<sup>89</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 4, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 216.

<sup>90</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217.

<sup>91</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 5, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 217.

<sup>92</sup> See Ursula Nilgen, "The Manipulated Memory."

<sup>93</sup> Gameson, Richard. "The Early Imagery of Thomas Becket," 67.

<sup>94</sup> *Sarum Breviary*, Matins, Lesson 9, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 222.

<sup>95</sup> *Lewes Abbey Breviary*, Lauds, Anitphon III: *Aqua Thome*, published in Slocum, Liturgies, 205.

<sup>96</sup> Collette and Jean Paul Deremble, Vitraux de Chartres, 114.

<sup>97</sup> Williams, Bread, Wine, and Money.

## Figures

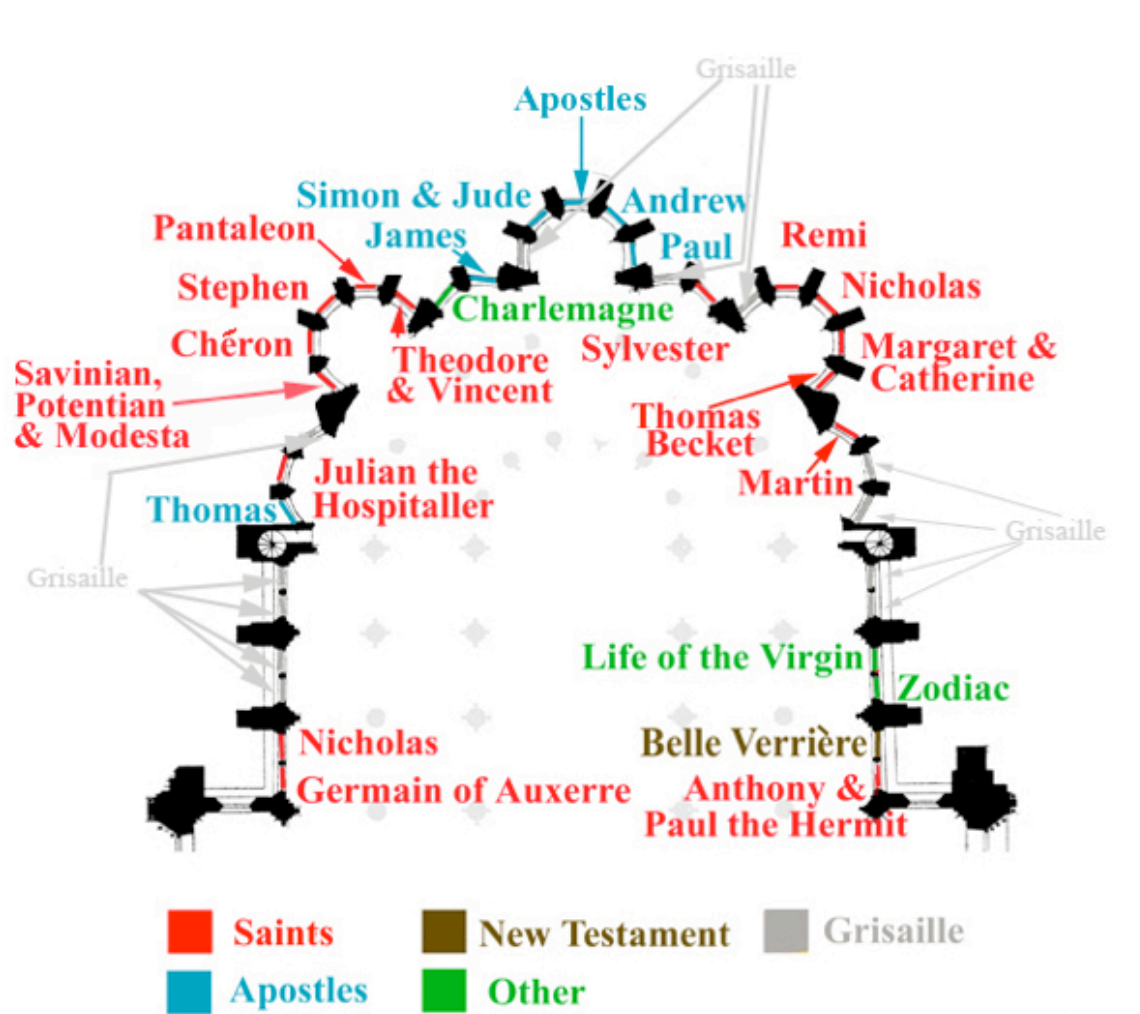
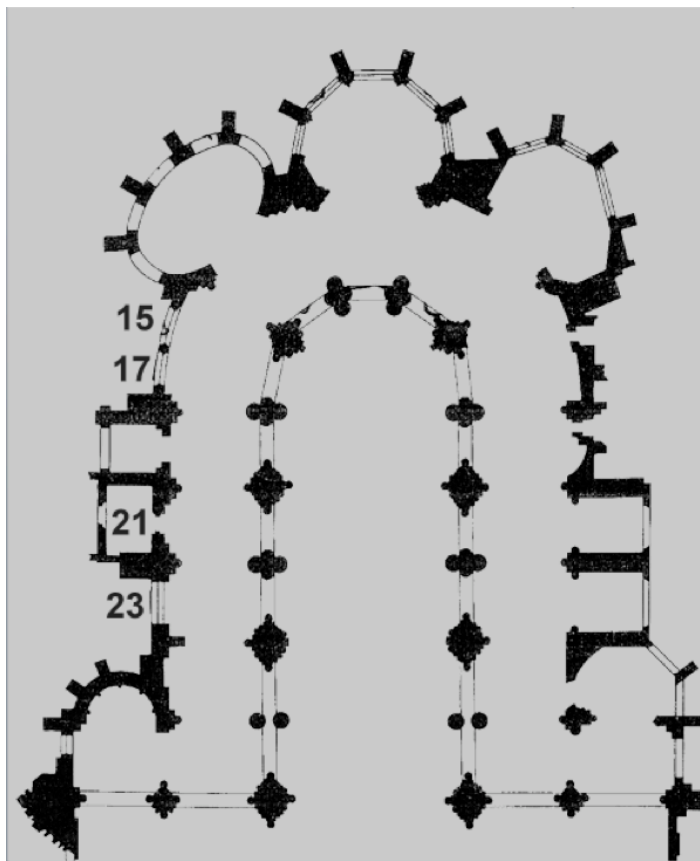


Figure 1. Plan of Chartres Cathedral lower choir windows, Chartres, France, c. 1185-1235. Image copyrighted by Jane Vadnal.



Bay 15: The Good Samaritan  
Typological Window

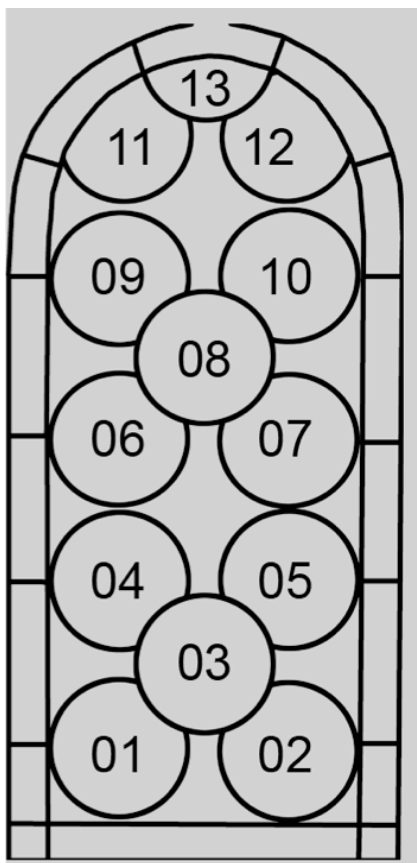
Bay 17: The Prodigal Son Window

Bay 21: The Life of St. Eustace  
Window

Bay 23: The Life of St. Thomas  
Becket Window

Figure 2. Plan of Sens Cathedral choir, Sens, France, c. 1175-1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.

[http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Sens/23\\_Pages/Sens\\_Bay23\\_key.htm](http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Sens/23_Pages/Sens_Bay23_key.htm)



1. The reconciliation of Thomas with King Henry II ( July 22, 1170)
2. Thomas arriving back in England (December 1, 1170)
3. Thomas and his entourage en route to Canterbury (December, 1170)
4. Reception of the Archbishop at the entrance of a church (December 4 or 5, 1170)
5. Thomas preaching to a crowd (1170)
6. Thomas receiving a messenger from the King (December, 1170)
7. Thomas celebrating Mass (1170)
8. Emissaries from the King come to threaten Thomas (December 29, 1170)
9. Thomas consecrates a church (1170)
10. Thomas officiating at a confirmation ceremony (1170)
11. The funeral of Thomas (December 30, 1170)
12. The murder of Thomas (December 29, 1170)
13. Christ blessing

Figure 3. Diagram: Thomas Becket Sainted Glass Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 4. Scene 1: The reconciliation of Thomas with King Henry II, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 5. Scene 2: Thomas Becket arriving in England, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 6. Scene 3: Thomas Becket and his entourage en route to Canterbury, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 7. Scene 4: Reception of the Archbishop at the entrance of the church, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 8. Scene 5: Thomas preaches to a crowd from a pulpit, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 9. Scene 6: Thomas receives a messenger from the king, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 10. Scene 7: Thomas celebrating mass, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 11. Scene 8: Emissaries from the king come to threaten Thomas, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 12. Scene 9: Thomas consecrates a church, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.



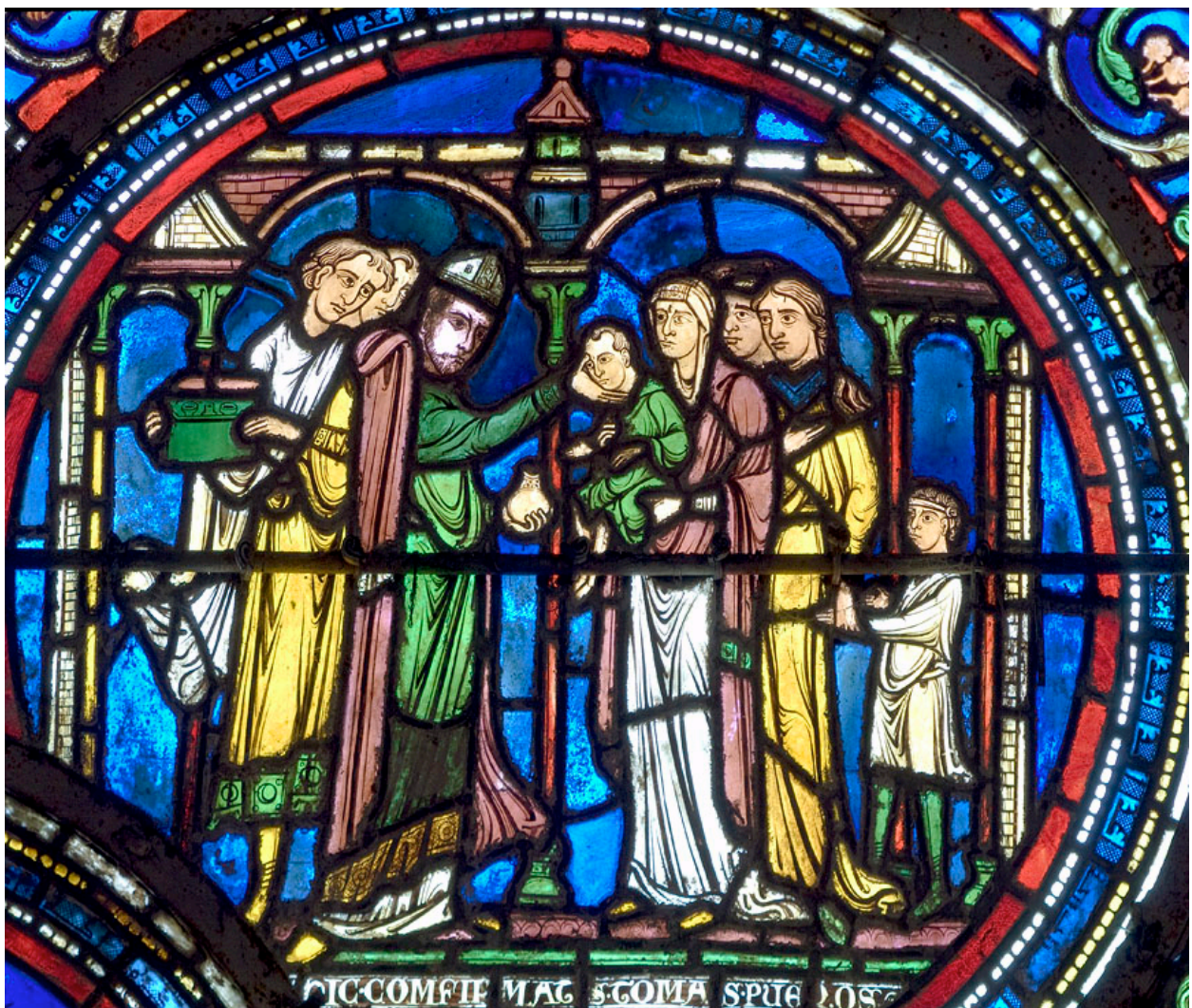


Figure 13. Scene 10: Thomas officiates at a confirmation ceremony, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 14. Scene 11: The murder of Thomas Becket, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.

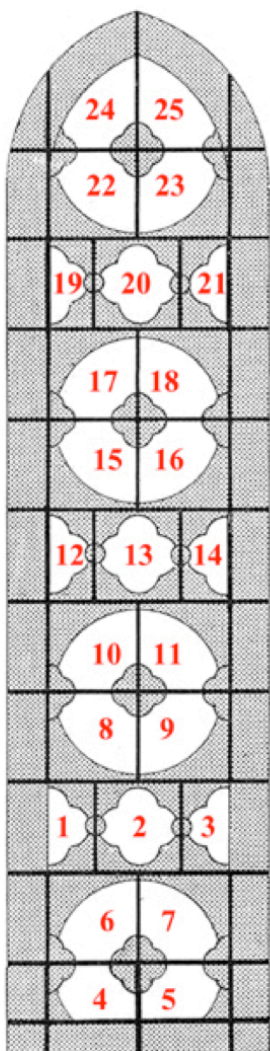


Figure 15. Scene 12: The funeral of Thomas Becket, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.





Figure 16. Scene 13: Christ Blessing, Thomas Becket Window, Sens Cathedral, France, c. 1210. Image copyrighted by Stuart Whatling.



- 1-3. "Signature;" the Tanners
4. Becket leaves a town, pursued by an armed man (15 October, 1164?)
5. Two armed men follow a group of people (Exile of Becket's family, 1165?)
6. Becket before Henry II (1164?)
7. Becket (?) arrives at a town on horseback (Sens, 24 November, 1164?)
8. Becket is consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury (June 3, 1162)
9. Becket before Henry II (Clarendon, 6-13 October, 1164)
10. Becket leaves for exile (15 October, 1164)
11. Becket and Pope Alexander III (Sens, 24 November, 1164)
- 12-13. A group of monks greets Becket (Pontigny, late 1164)
14. Becket and Louis VII (between 1165-1170)
15. Becket, the Pope, and a king (July 1170)
16. Becket returns to England (December 1, 1170)
17. Henry II speaks to a cleric (Archbishop of York? June, 1170?)
18. Henry II and Becket (December, 1170?)
19. Becket speaks with three knights (December 29, 1170)
20. Becket enters Canterbury Cathedral (December 29, 1170)
21. The murderers don their armor (December 29, 1170)
- 22-23. Martyrdom of Thomas Becket (December 29, 1170)
- 24-25. Entombment of Thomas Becket (December 30, 1170)

Figure 17. Diagram: Thomas Becket Stained Glass Window. Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones, <http://vrcoll.fa.pitt.edu/medart/image/France/Chartres/Chartres-Cathedral/Windows/Choir-windows/018A-Becket/chartres-18ABecket-main.html>





Figure 18. Scene 4: Becket Pursued by an Armed Man, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.

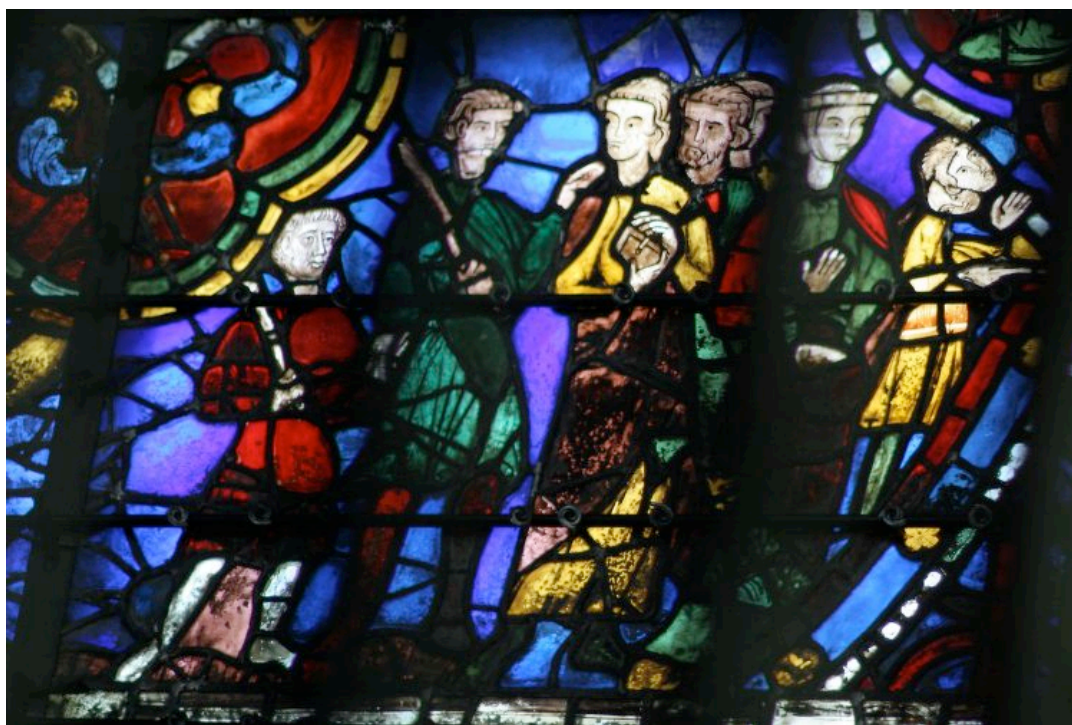


Figure 19. Scene 5: Two Armed Men Follow a Group of People, Thomas Becket window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Copyrighted by Allison Stones.



Figure 20. Scene 6: Becket before Henry II, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.



Figure 21. Scene 7: Becket Arrives on Horseback at a Town, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 22. Scene 1: Tanners at Work, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.



Figure 23. Image 2: Tanners at Work, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 24. Image 3: Tanners at Work, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.

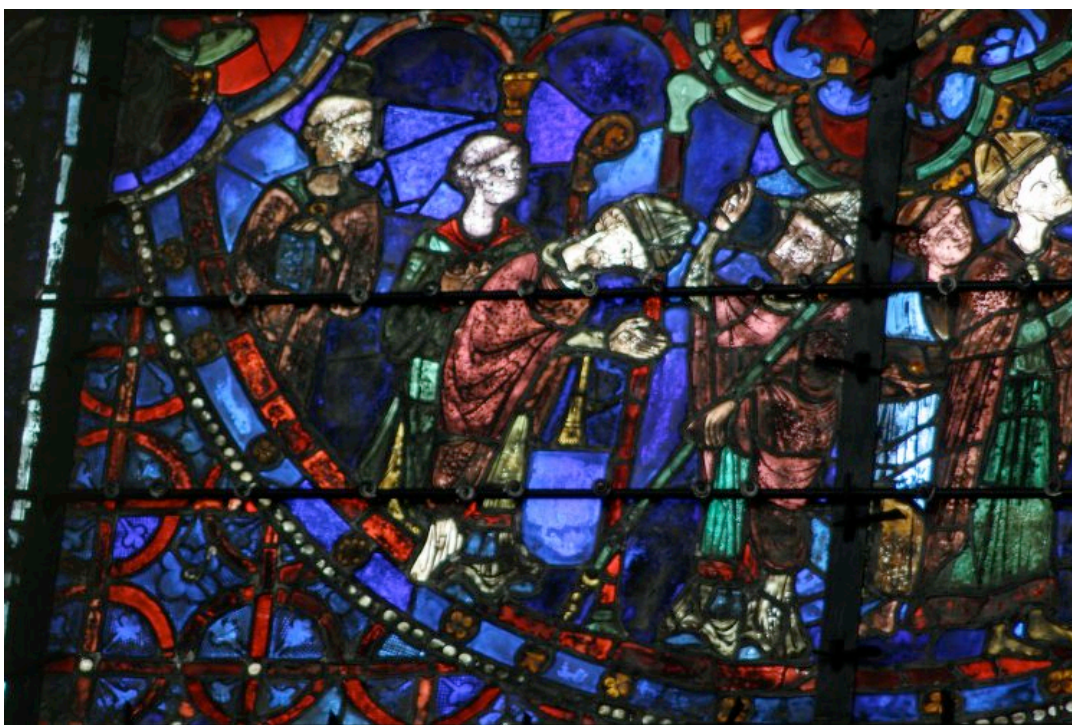


Figure 25. Scene 8: Becket Consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 26. Scene 9: Becket before Henry II, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.



Figure 27. Scene 10: Becket Leaves for Exile, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 28. Scene 11: Becket with Pope Alexander III, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.

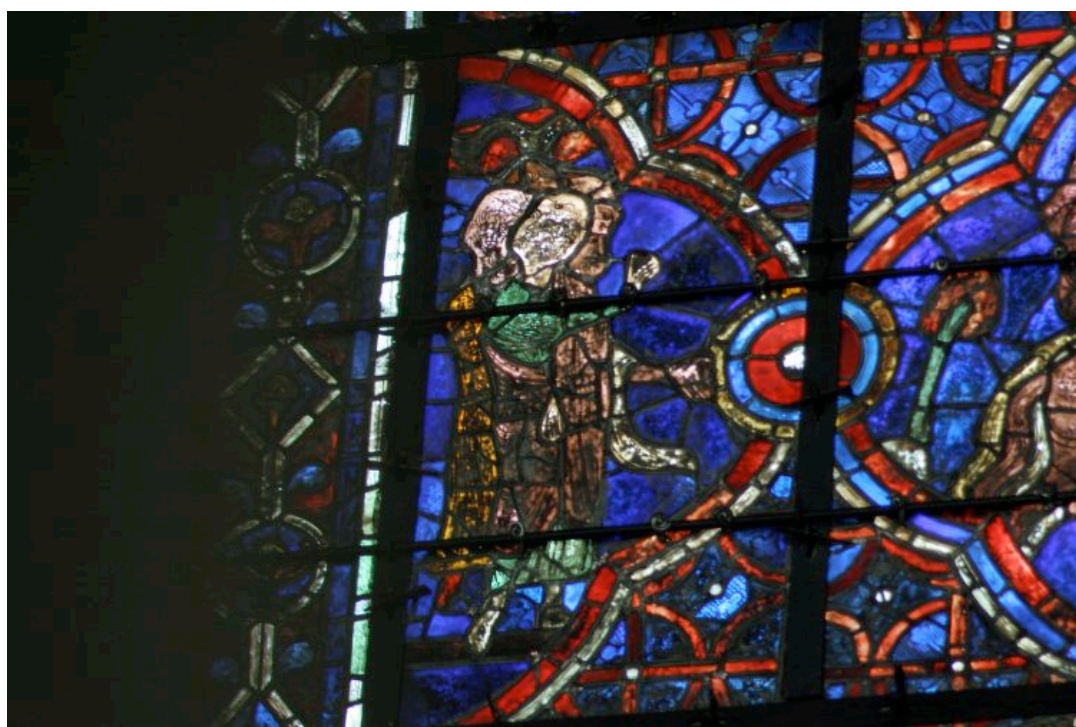


Figure 29. Scene 12: A Group of Monks, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 30. Section 13: Becket on Horseback, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.



Figure 31. Section 14: Becket with King Louis VII, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 32. Section 15: Becket with Louis VII and Pope Alexander III, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.



Figure 33. Section 16: Becket Returns to England, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.



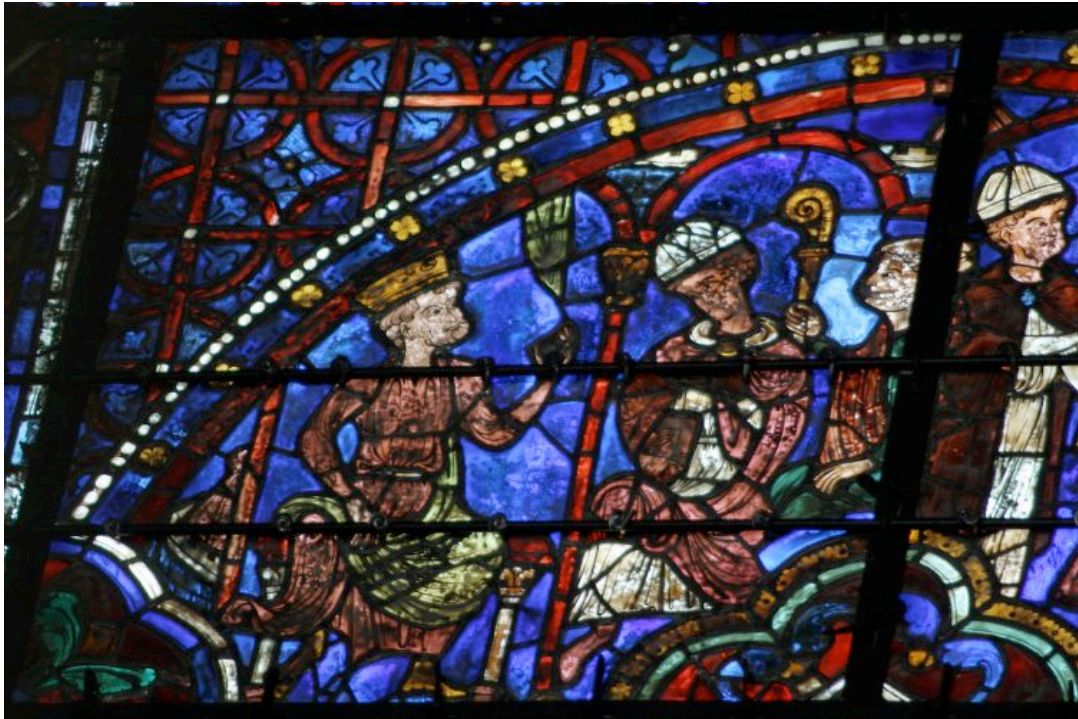


Figure 34. Section 17: Henry II Speaks to a Cleric, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.

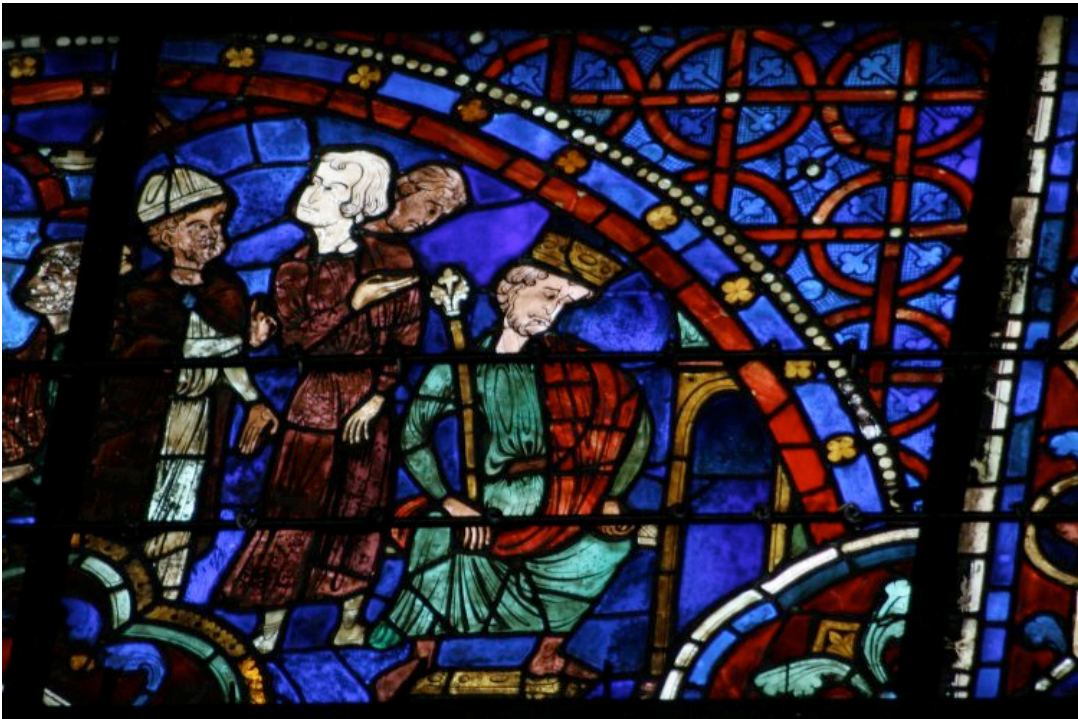


Figure 35. Section 18: Henry II and Becket, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 36. Section 19: Becket Speaks with Three Knights, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.



Figure 37. Section 20: Becket enters Canterbury Cathedral, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 38. Section 21: The Murderers Don their Armor, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.

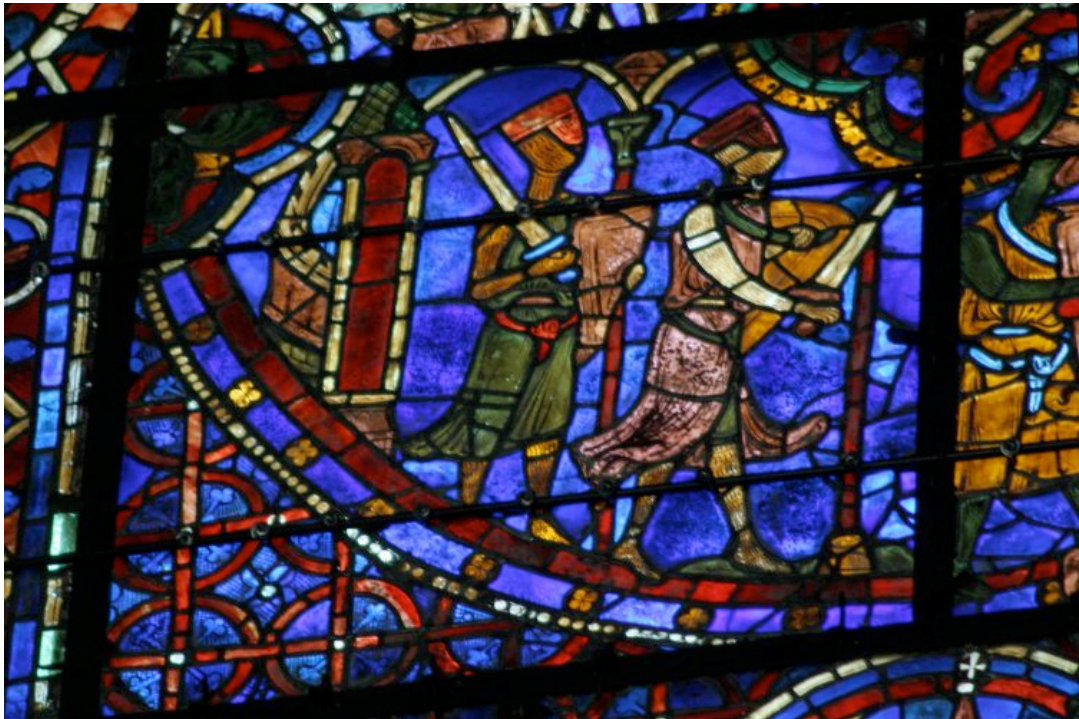


Figure 39. Section 22, The Martyrdom of Becket, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.





Figure 40. Section 23: The Martyrdom of Becket, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones

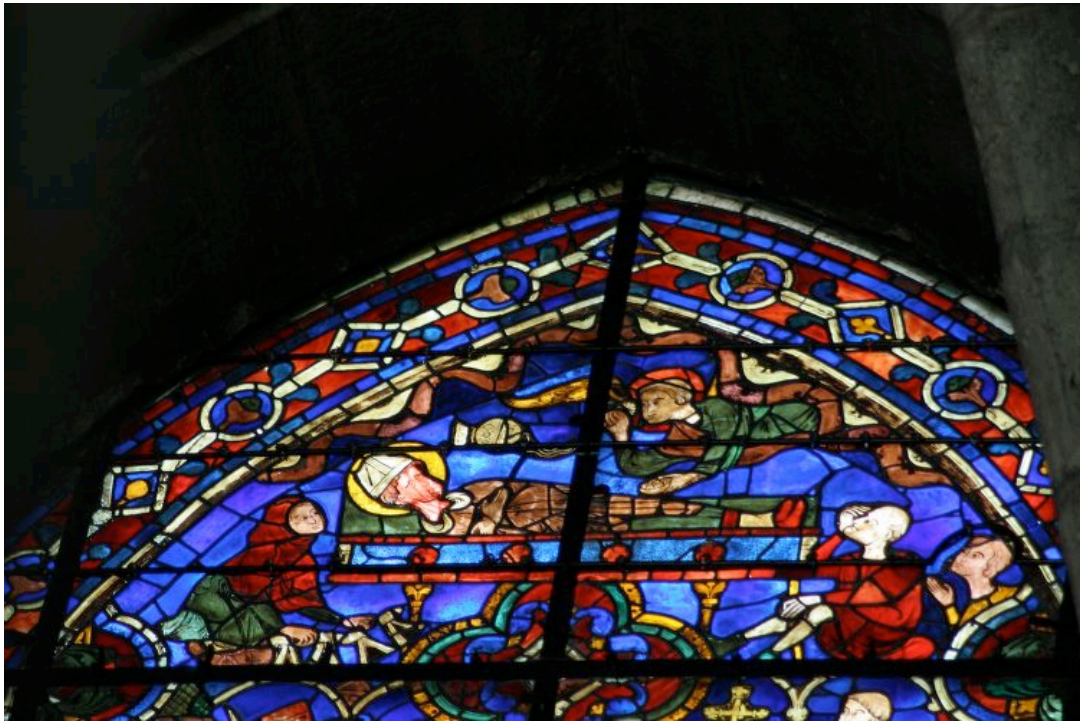


Figure 41. Sections 24- 25, Entombment of Becket, Thomas Becket Window, Chartres Cathedral, France, c. 1220. Image copyrighted by Allison Stones.

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