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Prince and Pretender: Marian Iconography and Devotion as Political Rhetoric in the *Magnificat* Window in Great Malvern Priory Church

John-Wilhelm Flattun ⓘ *

Introduction

This article argues that Tudor politics influenced the devotional iconography on display in the *Magnificat* window in Great Malvern Priory church in Worcestershire, England. The window proclaims Henry VII's final victory over Yorkist pretenders to the throne in the years after Bosworth and communicates its position through images of the Virgin Mary. My goal is to outline which issues were at stake and how collective memory and visual migration function as a way of bridging rhetoric, here the narratological and iconographical political argumentation, and devotional visual language that associated Marian devotion with Tudor politics in stained glass. Visual migration can be understood as a function for the reuse of images, visual, narratological, ritual, or mental, for an image to be adaptable and reusable it needs to be recognisably remembered and transferrable. Rhetoric and visual devotion function together to incorporate the social role of the visual language, late medieval prayer, and public liturgy. The onlookers interact with window's narrative and form contextual association through the function of visual migration. It is the interplay between affectional devotion, collective memory, and visual migration that makes it possible to create images of power, that is writing political rhetoric in the language of devotion I take a closer look at the Marian motifs in the *Magnificat* window and argue how the liturgical traditions and rituals made it possible to incorporate political rhetoric in the visual language of the church. I analyse the ductus, the window's focal point and narratological movement, and the theological approaches to devotional art to establish how the onlooker is guided and affected. It is my intention to discuss how collective memory and visual migration function to bridge the rhetorical and devotional visual language which associated Marian devotion with Tudor politics in the *Magnificat* window.

As Jan Assmann argues, the power of divine images comes from interaction and rituals, it is "relational, contextual and conditional".[1] The rise of Lady Chapels and

Marian images in England during the late Middle Ages was accompanied by new additions of Marian devotion and ritual inter-action.[2] Politically, the Virgin attracted both Lancastrian and Yorkist followers. It has been argued that the founding of the Bridge-ttine Syon Abbey by Henry V (1386–1422) was politically motivated.[3] Henry VII (1457–1509) had a strong personal devotion to Mary, and from his will we read Henry considered Mary: "in this mortal life has ever been my most singular trust and confidence, to whom in all my necessities I have made my continual refuge, and by whom I have hitherto in all my adversities ever had my special comfort and relief".[4]

The most extensive works on the Great Malvern Priory Church windows to date are Gordon M. Rushforth, and the doctoral thesis by Heather Gilderdale Scott.[5] The windows have been discussed on numerous occasions by Richard Marks.[6] But Rushforth and Scott mainly focus on the relationship between the windows' motifs and their donors, and the technical aspect of the making of the glass. Although Scott argues for the political function of several of the windows, particularly comparing the *Magnificat* with the royal window from Canterbury the focus is mainly based on patronage and the shared Marian motif.[7] Scott claims the Wars of the Roses ended with Tudor victory at Bosworth in 1485, although the numerous pretenders Henry VII faced throughout his reign suggests otherwise.[8] A period Michael Hicks has called the third war.[9] The struggle for the throne had by no means ended the campaign of the many contenders and preten-ders, often with stronger claims than Henry. The continuous claims and rebellions resulted in several major battles and confrontations, aided by foreign powers including Ireland,

Scotland, France, and Burgundy. One preten-der who had a legitimate claim to the throne was Edward the 17th Earl of Warwick (1475–1499), son of George, duke of Clarence (1449–1478), and the heir to the house of York, locked up in the Tower of London.[10] The Priory church of Great Malvern offered an opportunity to proclaim Henry's victory over the last in the royal bloodline of the House of York, at the same time mark the wedding of his son and future heir of the Tudor dynasty, Prince Arthur (1486–1502). The specific use of Marian iconography com-bined with the contextual situation, I would argue, opens for the association made between Mary's coronation and assumption and Prince Arthur's wedding that suggests a combination of devotional iconography and political rhetoric operating in the window by way of collective memory and ritual interaction.

Marian iconography in the *Magnificat* window

The Priory church of Great Malvern in Wor-cestershire,[11] traces its history back to pre-Norman times. Scott points out that the Masses and prayers celebrated were almost certainly exclusive for the monastic commu-nity.[12] But opportunities for lay access existed, partly based on the Benedictine *Rule* of inclusion, and partly as a pilgrim church with its possession of the relics of William of Blois, claims to the body of St Edburga, and especially because the stained glass forming the doctrinal subjects in the north aisle were associated with a pilgrim route through the church.[13] It underwent an exten-sive reconstruction during the fifteenth century.[14] The windows in the priory are mainly from the same period in the fifteenth

century, made in a span of 60 years. Most of the major windows were made during the Wars of the Roses.[15] Several of the windows' narrative and iconographic models are sourced from the popular block-books *Speculum humanae salvationis, Mirror of Human Salvation,* and *Biblia Pauperum.*[16] The northern transept window, with the *Magnificat* (Fig. 1), has frequently been called the Jesus Chapel, and previously contained one of several alters devoted to the priory's patronal saints, and would have been clearly accessible and visible to onlookers.[17] The window was made by the glaziers Richard Twygge and Thomas Wodeshawe just after Prince Arthur's wedding to Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536) in mid-November 1501.[18] Twygge's and Wodeshawe's workshop had several commissions in the Malvern area, and later went to make the windows in Henry VII's Lady chapel at Westminster Abbey. There are some similarities between the royal portraits of Malvern and Fairford which might be explained by the connection to the royal workshop and influence shared by Twygge with Barnard Flower who continued as Henry VII's royal glazier and finished the windows in Fairford, both Flower and Twygge were commissioned by Henry to work on his chapel in Westminster Abbey.[19] Rushforth argues that the prominent inclusion of the royal family in the programme suggests that the *Magnificat* window a royal gift, but more probably in partnership with the three knights Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Savage and Sir Thomas Lovell.[20] This has later been supported by Marks and Scott.[21] The origin of the donation and instigation of this window has been debated in previous research, but all in all it is clearly a Tudor window with a royal affiliation.

The window can be divided into three or four main sections. Starting at the bottom, the six donor portraits, next to two rows of lights depict different scenes from the lives of Mary and Jesus, and at the top two more scenes from the life of Mary ends with a large display of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin.[22] At the top tracery lights contain several female saints and angels holding shields with motifs from the Passion. Interaction with the devotional Marian narrative follows an upward motion, as Rushforth noticed, the extraordinary structure of scenes going from the bottom and up, as opposed to the more usual downward narrative common in Magnificat scenes.[23] Following the images and creating both the structural narrative and the devotional interaction is the Marian canticle *Magnificat, The Song of Mary* from the Gospel of Luke (1:46–55), giving the window its name. It is written into the narrative of the window as scrolls of texts starting at the Annunciation. The *Magnificat* window has two other inscriptions, underneath the donor pictures a text urging the onlooker to pray for the royal family in the familiar style of the prayer for the living: "*Orate pro bono statu nobilissimi & excellentissimi regis Henrici septimi & Elisabethe regine ac domini Arturis principis filii eorundem nec non predilectissime consortis sue & suorum trium militum predictorum*" ("Pray for the good estate of the most noble and excellent king Henry the Seventh and of Elizabeth the queen, also of the lord Arthur their first son and as well as of his most delightful consort and of his three aforementioned knights"). The third text consists of appropriate metrical sentences beginning with "Gaudet" inscribed above each scene, something which is not found anywhere else and was probably written specifically for this
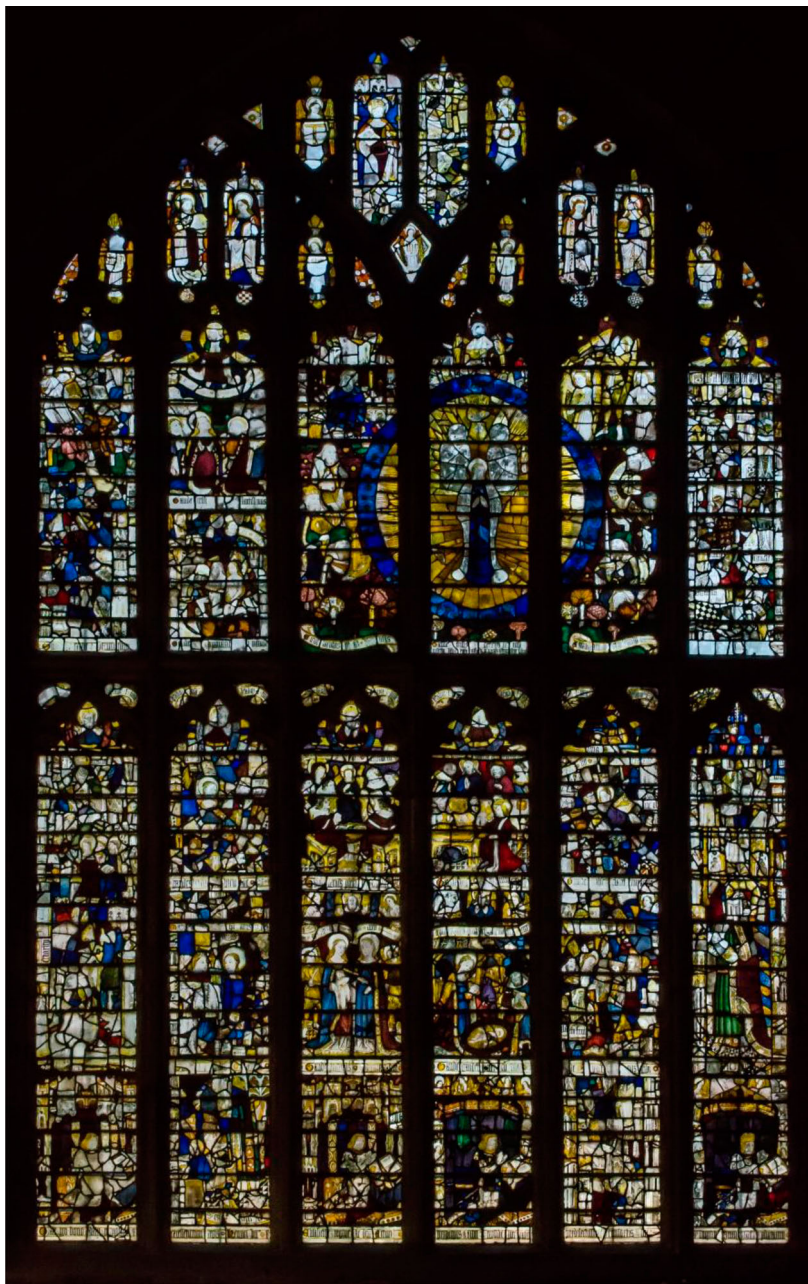
Fig. 1. *Magnificat* window, North transept, Great Malvern Priory, Hereford and Worcester, 1501, photo: J.Guffogg & J.Hannan, CC-BY.

window.[24] On the four main sides of the window, two at the bottom and two on top, are, the four archangels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel.[25] The window is accompanied by donor pictures with members of the Tudor royal family and three knights. Starting from the left is Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Savage and Sir Thomas Lovell – recognisable from their heraldry – and members of the Tudor family consisting of Prince Arthur, Queen Elizabeth (1466–1503), and King Henry. They are all depicted kneeling in prayer reading from a book, a commonplace motif for donor images, and a familiar motif from Marian devotional iconography, not unusual accompanied the Virgin Coronation motif.[26] The young prince is the only person surrounded by music playing angels, while the others are enclosed in an architectural niche. The eight central lights incorporate the main narrative of the window which follows in the row above the donor images. The scenes included are, reading from bottom left: *The Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity,* probably *Adoration of the shepherds* (not intact), second row, *Adoration of the Magi, Presentation, the twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple, Wedding feast in Cana,* and third row *the Harrowing of Hell* with the *Ascension of Christ* above, ending with the *Assumption and Coronation.*

The upper part of the window is dominated by the *Assumption of the Virgin* (Fig. 2), spanning three of the total six lights. Although much of the glass was restored in 1917, the colours and content are found elsewhere in the lights in the upper parts of the *Magnificat* window.[27] The white outline of Mary was originally flanked by God the Father and Christ, but the two figures are now missing, the Holy Ghost as the recognisable dove

aloft forms the familiar coronation motif.[28] The added bright blue on golden rays is found from fragments in the glass, suggesting a typical Marian blue and golden medieval glory background. She is encircled by a vesica of blue cloud embossed with golden stars. She is surrounded by Patriarchs from the Old Testament, Adam, David with a harp, and Noah with the Ark on the left, Moses with the two tables, and the Sacrifice of Abraham on the right. David is described in the *Speculum humanae salvationis,* as he plays the harp before the Ark of the Covenant, a typological prophesy of Mary's Assumption.[29] Adam and Noah are typological prophesies for Christ's birth and baptism. Moses seeing God in the burning bush is in the *Speculum* juxtaposed with the *Annunciation* in chapter VII, while Christ bearing the cross is juxtaposed with the angel stopping the sword of Abraham in chapter XXII.[30] In chapter III the *Speculum* tells of Balaam who prophesied a star coming out of Juda, who is Mary. The use of Old Testament characters surrounding the Virgin has been linked to Mary fulfilling the messianic prophesies by bringing Christ into this world.[31] The three sets of tracery lights at the top of the window consist of three pair of women: St Katherine in the upper tracery with book and sword, St Barbara holding a tower and Mary Magdalene with an ointment pot are on the right tracery lights, while St Cecilia and St Agnes form the last pair in the left tracery lights. Each pair is flanked by angels with Passion shields.

An interesting aspect of the composition in the *Harrowing of Hell* motif is its focus on Adam and Eve instead of the much more common emphasis on Christus Victor as the conquering warrior-king.[32] This Christological tradition is depicted in the contemporary

Fig. 2.   Great Malvern – *Magnificat* **– assumption detail, photo: J.Guffogg & J.Hannan, CC-BY.**

and nearby stained-glass of the same scene in the east window of the Lady Chapel in Glou-cester Cathedral, as well as in the Tudor com-missioned windows of St Mary's Church, Fairford, Gloucestershire, from the same year as Malvern.[33] Christ is predominantly the main protagonist in the familiar harrow-ing motif, a major part of the Easter liturgy and the *Sarum Rite* in England, a ritual forming part of the Adoration of the Cross.[34] As the image of Christ in this Har-rowing of Hell motif is missing, it might be possible to interpret the inclusion of the scene in a Marian context, as contemporary images and texts included Mary as interces-sor, being as Lydgate calls her "Queen of Heaven, Lady of the World, and Empress of Hell".[35] In late medieval iconography, Mary's coronation became an image of Christ's atonement and triumph over death, as Oakes describes, as she is the first mortal readmitted to Heaven after the fall (79).[36] The iconography of Adam and Eve kneeling in the *Harrowing of Hell* might in this sequence be interpreted to allude to the joyous occasion of the young royal couple,

also being closer to a Marian emphasis observed in certain contemporary Books of Hours.[37]

The motifs in the *Magnificat* and the overall iconographic scheme in Malvern is evidence of an outward-looking tradition, with the images presented necessitating "the mediation of the monastic community to a non-clerical viewer".[38] As a Benedictine priory, the monks and the church were part of the daily interaction with the local town and inhabitants, including ordinary and eccle-siastical life.[39] In addition to personal Marian meditative devotion, the liturgy of Mary includes everyday prayers and the Virgin's place in yearly calendar of feasts, of which there were six: Purification (2 February), the Annunciation (25 March), the Assumption (*Dormitio, Ascensio*) (15 August), the Nativity (8 September), the Presentation (*Oblatio*) in the temple (21 November) and the Con-ception (8 December). According to Joan Greatrex, all of these were celebrated in the Benedictine priory Cathedrals of Winchester and Worcester, and most likely the Priory church of Malvern.[40] With the emergence of

Books of Hours, "each liturgical session [would be] marking an event in Mary's life: Matins and Annunciation, Lauds and Visitation, Prime and Nativity, Terce and the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Sext and the Adoration of the Magi, Nones and the Presentation in the Temple, Vespers and the Flight into Egypt, and Compline with the Coronation of the Virgin".[41] The relationship between the Marian motif of the *Magnificat* window and the royal figures can arguably be found in how late medieval Marian theology and devotion had developed. Mary was depicted as both bride and Queen, and as a symbol of the church itself. In late medieval Marian devotion, a movement from a domesticated Mary to the Queen of Heaven was used by kings as a symbol of divine power, the two strands of Mary's Coronation met "bridehood and queenship; Mary, like all brides, was treated as a queen who was crowned, heralded and preciously adorned on her wedding day".[42] The church had been called God's bride by Abbot Suger, among her medieval symbolic figurations, the Virgin Mary was depicted and venerated as both queen (*Maria Regina*) and bride.[43] She was associated with the second coming of God's kingdom on earth as a prepared and purified bride, in Revelations we read on the coming of a second Jerusalem "coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Rev. 21:2). St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in one of his eighty-six sermons on the Song of Songs, talks of the union between man and God, which is to "be dissolved in his essence" and the "kisses of his mouth," the "special symbol of the moment of ecstatic union." But St. Bernard concludes, "only one creature ever attained this perfection: the Virgin Mary".[44] The personification of the

church as a crowned *Ecclesia,* as a virtue representing the reconciliation of the Old and New Testament, with inspiration from the Song of Songs, was later developed and eventually absorbed by the Virgin.[45] Marina Warner describes Mary as the bride: "She stands for the new era of the church, the break with the past, the pure, the beautiful, spotless creation of God, free of all that has gone before".[46] The Virgin, thus, can be seen a symbol of a perfect union, both bridal and regal, attributes she gives to the future to come in the unification of Arthur and Katherine, symbolised in the Tudor colours of purity in the Marian white and birth and renewal in the green, a renewed hoped for the nation, securing the Tudor dynasty.

Ductus, memory, and affect

Richard Marks describes the series of lights in the *Magnificat* window as the *Incarnation* story, an observation first claimed by Rushforth, echoed by Scott.[47] Rushforth and Scott describe the motifs as being an expanded version of the Marian image cycle known as the *Joys of Mary*.[48] Since the iconography of the Incarnation focuses more on the life of Jesus than on Mary, and because the inscribed text is the canticle of Mary, the *Magnificat*.[49] Many of the scenes were part of the late-medieval rosary prayer cycle, which comprised of the 15 Mysteries of Mary.[50] Several of these scenes do not include in the common cycle of either the Incarnation or the *Joys of Mary*. More significant, and here much more relevant, is the added scene from the *Wedding feast at Cana.* The Wedding in Cana was not part of the common joys or mysteries of Mary in the Middle Ages,[51] and a contextual reading of the iconography would suggest a relationship

between the images of Prince Arthur and the main lights. The two figures of Mary and Arthur are linked almost as typological readings, drawn together by an allegorical approach and anagogical movement of the narrative. They create a visual path between them, a narrative line of sight, following the medieval rhetorical principles of *ductus.* Mary Carruthers outlines the concept of ductus, the "itineraries of art", thus: "Ductus is the way by which a work leads someone through itself".[52] According to Carruthers, "ductus is the way(s) that a composition, realizing the plan(s) set within its arrangements, guides a person to its various goals, both in its parts and overall".[53]

An associative reading of the Marian and Tudor iconography in the *Magnificat* window depends on the ductus of an acrostic movement between the *Assumption, Wedding Feast,* and *Arthur*, Arthur and Mary become focal points in the window's narrative and visual execution. As Mary's coronation in heaven is the largest and most dominating of the lights it draws the onlooker towards it, by its size and combination of colours. The bright Marian blue and gold give the image an exalted regal and divine prominence, the white and golden angels who surround Prince Arthur on a blue background add a sacred sentiment to the young prince. This visual path, from top to bottom, makes the onlooker naturally connect the main light of Virgin Mary's heavenly coronation and mystical wedding, to the marriage feast in Cana and the birth of Christ with the young Prince Arthur.[54] A reverse path functions to associate the Prince with the coronation and the regal symbolism of the Holy family (Fig. 3).

When the window is read narratologically and allegorically, the focus of liturgical and devotional interaction is on both the rhetorical concept of ductus and the theological theory of reading scripture four-fold, as exegetical art.[55] In his *Prologue*, Bishop William Durandus of Mende (1230–1296) outlines the fundamental medieval principle for allegorical reading of scripture. We are to read scripture in four stages, its literal (or historical); allegorical ("for its spiritual understanding"); tropological (for its moral understanding); and anagogical meaning, "relating the subject of scripture to the future".[56] Anagogy is the reading of scripture following an upward movement, from the "visible to the invisible things", Durandus furthermore explains:

> Anagogy comes from ana, which is "upward," and goge, which is "lead," as if to say, "lead upward." Hence that which is called the anagogical sense leads us from visible to invisible things, as the light that was created on the first day signifies something invisible, that is, the angelic nature created in the beginning of time.[57]

Anagogic reading of scripture was by no means new by the time of Durandus.[58] Church art had formed part of an anagogic reading of scripture and the sacraments in Abbot Suger rebuilding of St Denis (1081–1151), especially the use of stained glass windows.[59] The social and liturgical interaction with windows might be seen in how "a preacher uses a pastoral ductus for his audience, one suitable for those who have the care of people's souls".[60] The upward motion of images, as Caviness explains, mimicked the sacramental ritual and suggested a movement of sight and connectivity.[61] The ritual and liturgical tradition allow for an anagogical reading of visual rhetoric utilised in the formation of political imagery in the Magnificat window.
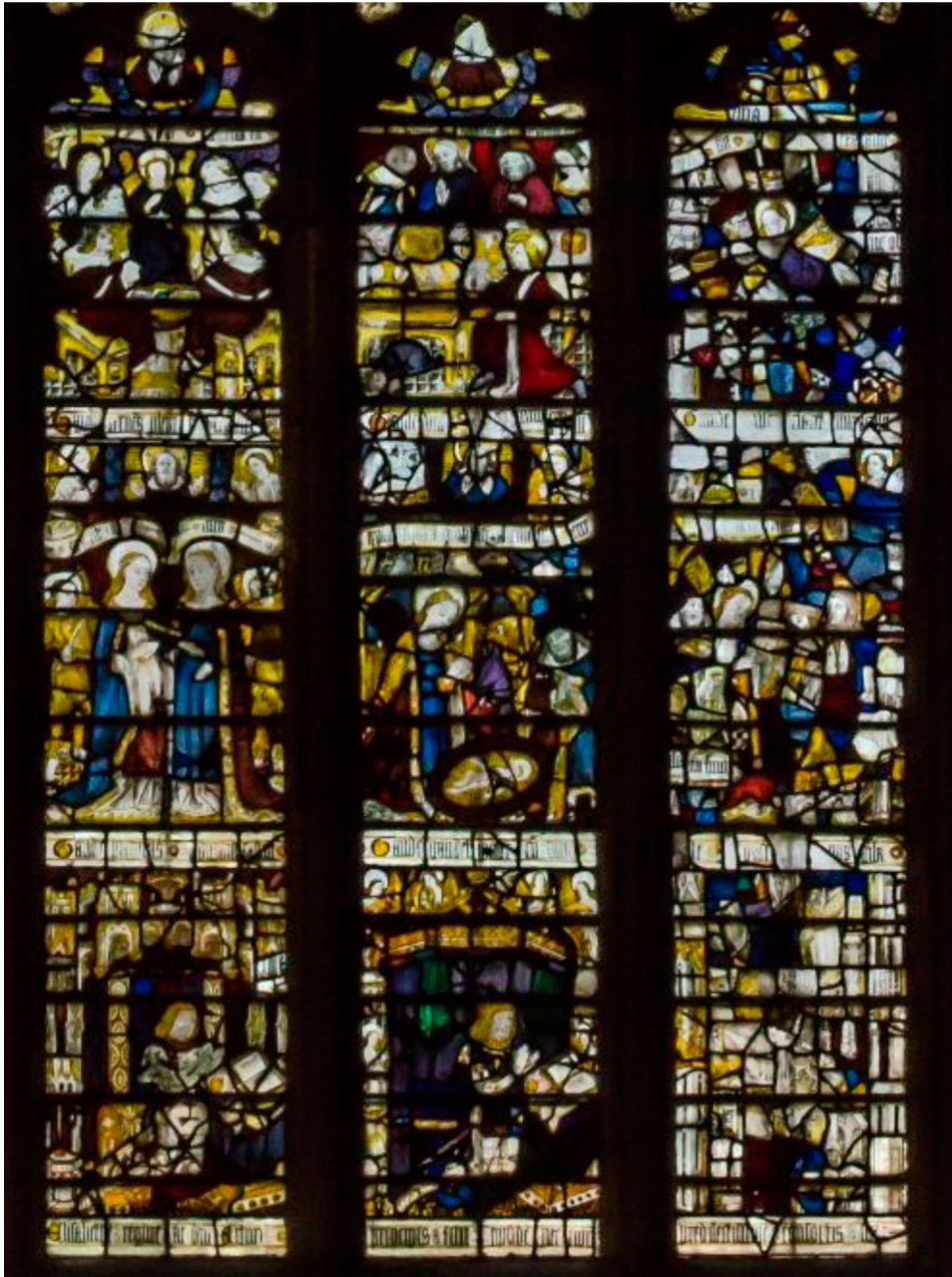
Fig. 3. *Magnificat* window, detail, photo: J.Guffogg & J.Hannan, CC-BY.

Supported by the novel composition and narrative association achieved when the onlooker follows the natural line of ductus in the window's motif, it would be reasonable to interpret the inclusion of the wedding scene in such a narratological association with Prince Arthur and the royal wedding. When the lights are read from the bottom up it forms a second visual narrative from Prince Arthur through the nativity of Christ, next to the Wedding in Cana, and finally to the Assumption of the Virgin, forming an allegorical and anagogical reading of these scenes. There are several allegorical and contextual relationships between Prince Arthur and the other scenes in this path, reading Arthur together with the Nativity of Christ the association would be to Arthur as proclaimed the new hope for the nation and the Tudor dynasty, becoming a national symbol of the peace between the Lancastrian and Yorkist feud, reinforced by the later victorious Christ and the salvation of the first couple from the *Harrowing of Hell*. As for the Wedding Feast, the year of Arthur's wedding, 1501, was the same as when the window was installed, throughout the nation the wedding feast of Arthur and Catherine was celebrated.[62] The iconographic readings of the lights apparent in the window follow the established theological principles of fourfold scriptural readings and preaching, a way of using images didactically as part of prayer and devotion. As the onlooker by affective engagement with the image through prayer and meditation associates the path of the *Magnificat* canticle with the devotional practice of the Virgin, her assumption and coronation gave associations to regal and heavenly presence. Following this path of narrative in the *Magnificat* window read either from the top down or reversed, the images establish

an associative narrative, the prince with the new-born Christ as a symbol of renewal and purity, and the Tudor dynasty with the coronation of the Virgin.

The didactic and devotional function of stained-glass windows as interactive devotional art in sacred spaces change with time and sentiment of the people using the space. In the rhetoric of faith and truth, suggestions, or persuasion via visual rhetoric in the context of churches, emphasise the idea a force of truth created by their divine context. Religion and politics functions as agents for social memory to associate specific acts with certain virtues and transferring this association to saints and kings.[63] This associative transference utilises the same basic principles as outlined by Saint Gregory in sacramental didactics to teach Scripture by way of saints' lives. Gregory the Great wrote to Bishop Serenus of Marseille "What Scripture is to the educated, images are to the ignorant".[64] Gregory wanted images to be part of improving the ignorants' understanding of familiar things, and contemplation of saintly events with divine power, but not unaided.[65] Durandus addressed the use of pictures didactically and connected them to memory: "Through pictures certain deeds are placed before the eyes, and they seem to be happening in the present time, but with texts, the deeds seem to be only a story heard, which moves the soul less, when the thing is recalled by the memory".[66] Saint Gregory's famous sacramental didactics emphasises the use of images in the liturgy, which interacts with social memory and Holy Scripture to teach sacred narratives and scriptural allegories.[67] On the association between devotional music and reading prayers, Carruthers describes medieval people as "trained in ... chant and prayer 'heard' and 'saw' a piece

performed in their minds even if they were reading it silently".[68] But their inherent possibility of also promoting a political message, was utilised in the context of conflict or change. Familiar motifs form the basis for visual rhetoric, interpreting and changing history and truth to fit the political argument, such as the iconographic programme developed by Bishop Suger in St Denis to support French royal power.[69]

Memory is rooted in perception and abstraction. Not a "mechanical" registration, "it interpreted reality" argues Henning Laugerud, memory was an integration of imagination and creativity.[70] The power of the imagination can transform an idea into a forceful tool of persuasion, as an image is created and recreated by its onlookers; social interaction with public images and public sentiment can greatly change how these images are interpreted.

Integrating and interpreting political arguments in this way to the familiar liturgy, is what *Rhetorica ad Herennium* calls "artificial memory", strengthened by training, imagination, and the use of art.[71] The heuristic nature of medieval mnemonic systems lies in part in how visual migration functions to transfer meaning from one image to another via associative interactivity and symbolic similarity. Laugerud discusses the complex function of symbols and visual expressions as rhetorical concentration, the way images are able to "compress a large amount of content into one expression".[72] He describes the reference between elements in an expression that are joined together or belong together as syntagmatic. Laugerud describes devotional images' simultaneous emotional appeal (*pathos*) as connected to the persuasive appeal (*logos*) exploiting the heuristic dimension to stimulate memory. Memorising the

narrative of the saints helped strengthen devotion and faith, but the interaction and actuality of certain aspects of the saints' life can change their intended meaning, by devotional interaction and associative iconography for affectual purposes, devotionally or politically.

Affect as either private or public is a distinction between social liturgy and private devotion, the habitual recitations in front of iconic works of art such as stained-glass windows constituted liturgies. When an onlooker performs a private devotional act while he follows the lights of the Marian *Magnificat* window, "the catalytic presence of a representation of the Virgin, as if it were standing in for an officiating priest, and interacting with the suppliant, thus forming a link to divinity. In this sense, any devotional actions by the pilgrims as they contemplated the saints in the windows, while the monks or canons sounded out the Latin liturgy, would be liturgical".[73] Visual agency and visual rhetoric as persuasion relies on the associative and suggestive nature words and images with social memory, or recollection as discussed by Carruthers and Van Eck.[74] Carruthers brings in Aristotle's definition of recollection as "the active, intellectual process, distinct from the passive, receiving nature of memory".[75] It is on the topic of mnemonic recollection Aristotle argues for the use of places (*apo topon*) in relations to associative memory, as "instances of individual visual or verbal associations." The fluidity of associations explains the different paths taken to arrive at the same memory. Visual actualisation, the act of image making, describes and explains how public images function as a way of creating an image of a new dynastic order by relating it to a familiar symbolic language. Forgetting and re-

remembering images make it possible for these symbols to be re-contextualised into visual propaganda throughout time.[76] This fluidity also allows for the manipulation and persuasion of the suggestive and collective, recollection by means of visual images, creating a version of the truth that fits the contextual narrative. If the *Magnificat* window is to function as political rhetoric of persuasion in the visual language of church devotion and liturgy it has to incorporate elements familiar to the onlooker, at the same time allow for visual migration to be able to conform to the needs of a political reality.

Rhetoric of persuasion

The ductus in the *Magnificat* leads the onlooker through the different routes of devotional and liturgical narratives, and follows a path taken by daily canticle liturgy and personal prayer by pilgrims and passers-by. But visual migration, the transference of familiar motifs by way of iconographic, contextual, or ritual association creates new knowledge and affects the onlooker. As Mary is the main iconographic protagonist, so contextually the donor image of Prince Arthur (Fig. 4) would have been a focal point in the year of much joy and merriment seen from a Tudor perspective.

Prince Arthur was King Henry Tudor's and Queen Elizabeth of York's firstborn son, and he was the proposed embodiment of Lancastrian and Yorkist unification and reconciliation after the battle of Bosworth and the ascension of the Tudor dynasty. His name was the symbol of Welsh and British prophesy, the Arthurian trope used by several of his royal predecessors, in recent memory most prominently by Arthur's grandfather, the Yorkist king Edward IV.[77] Two houses

and several rulers fought an image war laden with myth, history, and religious rhetoric.[78] They play on the power of suggestion and pathos of war by combining familiar elements, ranged from knightly tournaments to church liturgy and drama, social rituals accompanied by visual elements. The Marian devotion is frequent in the chivalric Arthurian literature, with references to Mary's joys on Gawain's shield in *Gawain and the Green Knight*.[79] The 15-year-old Arthur becomes "son of the nation", he is the unifying prince and future king of England, his Arthurian and almost messianic presentation in the window surrounded by angels gives added associations to Christ. These rituals play the part of emphasising social memory, and adapt to suit the sentiment of the day, becoming means of associative readaptations and political persuasion. Scott expands on Rushforth in her argument for a political composition and context in the two Marian windows of Malvern and Canterbury, she suggests a Yorkist and Tudor competition between them on the basis of royal prominence and similar topics.[80]

The window of Great Malvern had certain political ambitions considering what Rushforth and Scott have discussed in relation to the royal Marian window in Canterbury, and the presence of the royal and knightly donor images. But it is also the choice of Great Malvern as a setting for a major Tudor window, a church with close connections to the Beauchamp–Neville family and the Earls of Warwick. The donor images on the opposite south aisle windows all feature the connections to Richard Beauchamp (1382–1439), 13th Earl of Warwick and the wider Beauchamp family, and create a virtual Beauchamp Chapel, further adding to
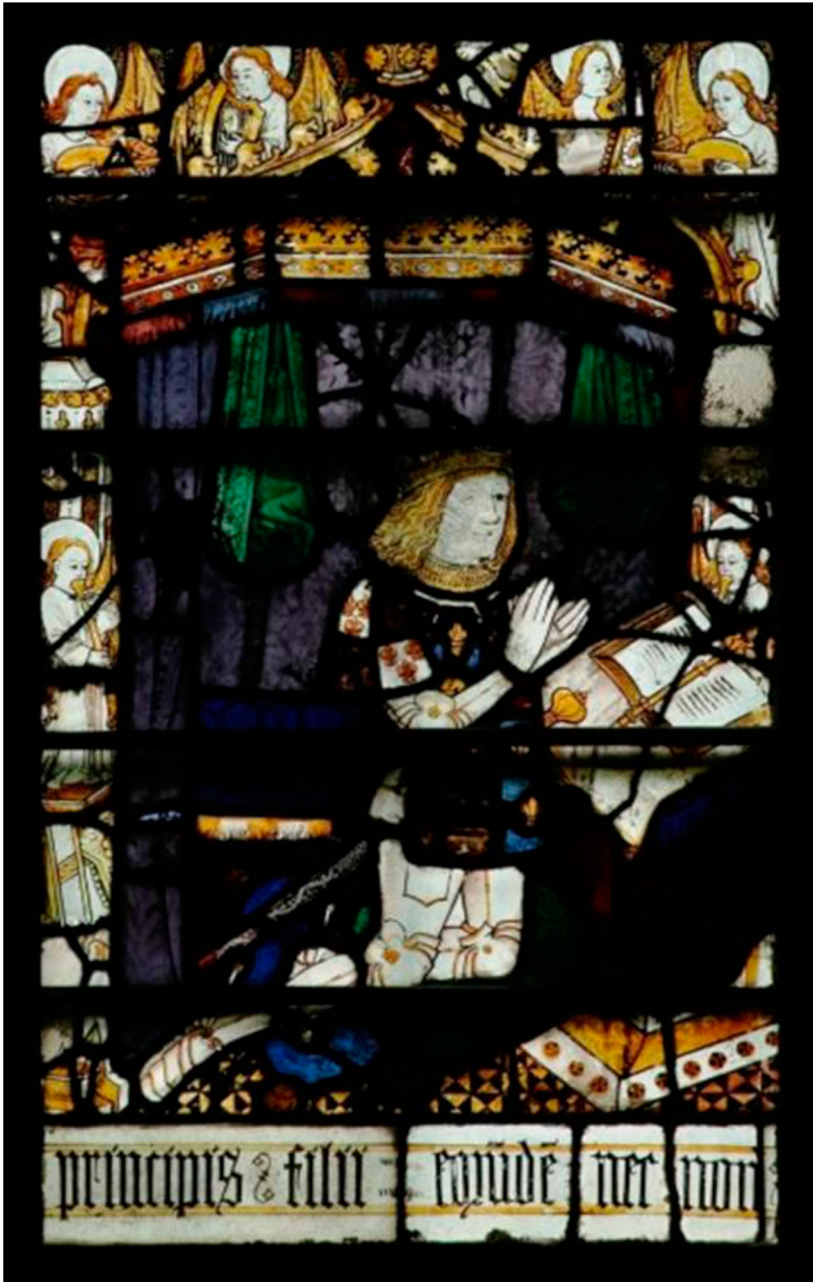
Fig. 4. Detail, Prince Arthur kneeling in prayer, photo: J.Guffogg & J.Hannan, CC-BY.

the monastery's political status.[81] Scott argues that the lay participation in the design process was limited to the "margins" of the church and supported the iconography of the monastery's identity and function.[82] Richard Beauchamp, the 13th Earl of Warwick, paid for the grand east window depicting the *Passion of Christ,* while Richard III (1452–1485), when Duke of Gloucester, donated the now lost nave west window, depicting *The Last Judgment.* This window included the two shields of the donors Richard III, then Duke of Gloucester, and his wife Anne Neville (1456–1485). The window was put up between 1447 and 1485, the years of their marriage and death. Although most of this window is lost, some of the lights were moved to other parts of the priory. The two shields depicting the white boar of Richard and the Neville's bear are today found on the east window.[83] In her discussions on the political context, Scott downplays the impact of the numerous pretenders and contenders to the Tudor dynasty, but claims the wars to be over in 1485 after the battle of Bosworth, a claim that has been dismissed in historical studies.[84] The contemporary significance of Henry's struggle with the pretenders and young Earl of Warwick might lead to a more nuanced analysis of the political rhetoric and propose a broader iconographic interpretation of the *Magnificat* window, and the Marian and Arthurian motif.

After the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, at the age of 10, Edward Plantagenet, 17th Earl of Warwick, was imprisoned in the Tower of London by Henry VII, he was son of the former king Richard's older brother, George, Duke of Clarence and Isabel Neville, daughter to the 16th Earl of Warwick. Although his father had been attained and executed for treason, he had become jure uxoris Earl of Warwick, which passed to the young Edward who still posed a viable threat to the new Tudor dynasty. On several occasions, the Earl caused rebellion, either in person or via one of his pretenders. Already in 1487 with the Battle of Stoke a major battle against a Yorkist army, as Yorkist forces rallied behind the pretender Lambert Simnel (c. 1477–c.1525), son of an Oxford joiner, proclaimed to be the aforementioned Edward.[85] He was supported by John de la Pole (c. 1460–1487), nephew to king Richard III, and the former Kings sister Margaret of Burgundy (1446–1503).[86] Simnel was crowned King in Dublin 24 May 1487. Since the real Earl of Warwick was still in Henry's custody in London, the affair was quickly put to rest. The political support this young pretender had, nationally and internationally, included the remaining Yorkist faction headed by the Earl of Lincoln, the Irish Earl of Kildare, and the real Earl of Warwick's aunt, the dowager Duchess of Burgundy.[87] The other pretender to throne was Perkin Warbeck (c. 1474–1499), claimed to be Richard, duke of York, son of the late King Edward IV. Warbeck would probably have had the strongest legitimate claim to the throne. If Perkin Warbeck had in truth been Richard of York, the fragile loyalties Henry had developed since 1485 would quickly have changed sides as a Richard IV would have had the strongest claim of all the pretenders.

The continued survival of the young earl of Warwick, imprisoned in the Tower of London since 1485, was an obstacle for the planned wedding between Prince Arthur and Catherine, as Cunningham points out, prompting the Spanish to apply "pressure to close off the obvious routes of conspiracy within England".[88] Prince Arthur and Catherine

were betrodden in March 1489, aged three and four, with the *Treaty of Medina del Campo*, married by proxy in 1499, the proper wedding was held with great pomp and circumstance in 1501.[89] For King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Castile (1452–1516) the concern for Yorkist nobles with royal blood was far greater than Henry's concern for Perkin Warbeck, and not until the execution of Warbeck did Ferdinand and Isabella agree to send the young Princess of Wales to England.[90] After years of international conflict, in which Warbeck had the support of both France and Scotland, he was finally arrested on 9 June 1498, and conducted to the Tower of London alongside the Earl of Warwick. But on 16 November, Warbeck and Warwick were charged and found guilty of trying to escape, whether this was a planned Yorkist or Tudor plot is still uncertain. Warbeck was hanged 21 November, and Warwick beheaded a week later.[91] Warwick was tried in a court of his peers – Sir Thomas Lovell one of the donor knights of the *Magnificat* window was preceding – and beheaded 28 November.[92] The significance of the fact that the two most threatening obstacles for Henry VII now were gone, and the mighty Earldom of Warwick claimed by the throne marks the end of main opposition to the Tudor dynasty, though the remaining brothers to John de la Pole from the Simnel rebellion, a cadent part of the Yorkist tree still survived and continued to oppose the Tudor reign. In August of 1501, same year as the wedding and the installation of the Malvern windows, another Yorkist pretender, Edmund de la Pole (1471–1513), Earl of Suffolk, fled to the Burgundy court of Maximillian I (1459–1519). "Suffolk's treason cast a shadow over the departure of Catherine of Aragon for England at the end of September

1501".[93] The position of the earls of Warwick, even before the Wars of the Roses, had made the Beauchamp/Neville one of the most powerful families in the kingdom, as several of the former Earls had shown, siding with both Lancastrian (Richard Beauchamp, the 13th Earl, had fought against Owain Glyndŵr (1359–1415) in Wales and with Henry IV in the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403[94]) and Yorkist (Richard Neville, 16th Earl "the Kingmaker", had deposed Henry VI (1399–1413) and helped Edward IV to the throne). The historical and contemporary context made the Great Malvern Priory Church an important place to show the final demise of the Earls of Warwick and to project a sanctified Tudor dynasty.

Projection and perception

For sacred images and rituals to be used as major instruments of political persuasion, the images displayed in the windows must be associated with established narratives, symbols, and rituals familiar to the churchgoers, it also requires a form of projection of an intended message. Although the concept of propaganda can be defined more as a modern phenomenon and thus a specific form of state-defined rhetoric of persuasion, the concept has been a useful term in discussing the projection and perception in a medieval context.[95] It is as Marks and Anglo have drawn attention to difficult to determine how effective the use of visual mediums were to produce any kind of political propaganda, a term Anglo has both supported and later opposed.[96] Material culture as perceived as political rhetoric in connection to religion and personal devotion must be seen, as I have pointed out, in how the iconography was integrated in devotional practice. The

devotional image is juxtaposed with political rhetoric and integrated with private devotion. The distinction between devotional and cult images, as Sixten Ringbom argues, emphasises their intentional projection, "devotional images are simply distinguished liturgical and didactical compositions of ecclesiastical decoration by their intended function in connection with private edification, prayer and meditation".[97] Familiar motifs can produce associated meaning when they are acted upon by onlookers. Richard Marks argues for this creation of images by their onlookers, and that the devotional image, "does not enjoy an autonomous existence, but only derives meaning – as in the label – from the process of its cultural use by the devotee. Actions took place before these images which were prompted by their presence".[98] Since rhetoric of persuasion works best if presented to an intended audience on their turf, the narrative of the windows were "letters for the unlettered".[99] Although their personal and social creation when engaged with in a ritualistic setting, "Illiteracy transcended social strata, and there was no blanket definition of the word".[100] Marks points to a central issue of devotional images as they were perceived differently by the illiterate and literate, he refers to Walter Hilton's divided society from *De Adoracione Ymaginum*, in which images were for the literate "commemorative tokens of the departed", but the illiterate were "incapable of distinguishing between the signifier and the sign, between the material and immaterial".[101] An image's material exposition, its actualisation, aligned with Panofsky's "primary or natural subject matter", the "pure forms" in an image, does not necessarily lead to the perceived image by the onlooker, its intended knowledge.[102] Neither does looking at an image as a product of a specific historical environment. An anagogical approach combines form and subject with looking at the image's agency or adaptability and creates an understanding reached in an act of re-creation by the onlooker in a new context. The tension between an image's material creation and mental re-creation throughout time and context is dependent on social interaction and contextual imagination. An image's re-creation incorporates a social sentiment, the pathos or sentiment of a group will be influenced by the situation, in this case, the shared performance of the mass and the personal meditational devotion.

In addition to the didactic function of images, the overall iconographic programme of the church guided pilgrims through a Biblical narrative, as the doctrinal programme of the church suggests.[103] The windows lead devotees through the narrative of prayer and liturgy. The symbolic role and performance, persuasion and rhetoric, of both devotional and political images, as Belting argues, lies in them being "surrogates for what they represent," a similar function between political images and religious images are their function of "specifically to elicit public displays of loyalty and disloyalty".[104] Persuasion is a type of agency according to Caroline van Eck. She references Longinus and argues for the emotive aspect of visualisation, this can "introduce a great deal of excitement and emotion into one's speeches, but when combined with factual arguments it not only convinces the audience, it positively enslaves them".[105] As the images within the *Magnificat* window relate to each other in a narratological structure, so do they with the mental images formed in the devotee's mind when visual migration creates contextual associations, propagating politics with devotional

iconography. But there is an uncertainty whether all onlookers perceived these windows as political rhetoric, projected as propaganda. The images are so integrated into the liturgical and devotional experience of the onlooker in such a way that the affection created in the mental image might conflate the Mariological devotion with the Prince Arthur's popularity and reverence.

Conclusion

Interpreting the iconographic motifs by way of devotional interaction, the *Magnificat* window stands as a statement from the new regime and proposes a new order of power in the region and professes the end of the Plantagenet rule and its subsequent pretenders. It is in the contextual interaction rhetorical concentration makes possible visual migration and the transference of symbolic meaning between the devotional and the political. It becomes political rhetoric in the visual and ritualistic language of devotion as the window's iconographic movement introduces affection with association to the crowned Virgin and the royal family. It is this association to the familiar Marian iconographic tradition, the messianic and prophetic associations, and her personification as bride and Queen, which had been developed in late medieval English lives, that makes possible the visual migration between the theological and political. This connection is emphasised by the focus on Mary as patron saint of Great Malvern, her significant importance to Henry VII, as intercessor on a personal and national level to the people of late medieval England, and the late medieval shift towards a personal narrative with the Virgin and her praying devotees. Both the window's motifs and those interacting with

it as part of daily prayer make possible the appropriation of the motif into a political visual argumentation in Mariological and devotional language. The narrative adaptability inherent in the iconography of the stained-glass *Magnificat* window from Great Malvern Priory Church offered a composite iconographic narrative movement, the motifs' leading lights and ductus, and interchangeable devotional and political nature, exemplifies visual migration. The adaptability of liturgical and political motifs depended on the dynamics of tradition, rhetorical concentration, and visual migration, the continuous movement of motifs between media and contexts. Social memory and public sentiment form and re-form familiar visual rhetoric into popular and political persuasion and representation. Even if the original meaning of an image is forgotten, in the image formation, or the social re-membrance, the basic pattern and associative memories could be retained and accessed. When the remembered are the contours of a figure, a familiar and often repeated narrative, social ritual is passed on, the content can be adapted to fit the needs of the adaptor, the artist or priest, the society, or the subject of rhetoric of persuasion. When integrated with the familiarity of personal prayer and communal liturgy, Holy Scripture was intertwined with the contemporary political sentiment, the grand windows functioned as an occasional mnemonic agent, bringing the secular royal family closer to the holy. Durandus's way of incorporating the narrative and allegories of church windows into moral teaching, allows the royal donor portraits in a space of worship to be juxtaposed with the devotional images of the Virgin. The movement of narrative, the internal ductus of the window drawing the onlooker through the stories

from the holy to the secular and by associative memory and visual migration of content to form, blends faith with politics, past with future, and church power with royal power. A new possible reading of the *Magnificat* motif in light of contemporary politics and the inclusion of *The Wedding Feast in Cana* opens the possible association between the window's mnemonic and devotional function with the young Prince Arthur and the future of the Tudor dynasty.

Notes

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2. Both the Yorkists and Lancastrians donated glazed windows for political means during the fifteenth century, and not only limited to royal imagery. The image of Archbishop Scrope on the south transept clerestory of the choir in York minster reached a cult status in the York after his beheading by the Lancastrians in 1405 Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages,* London: Routledge, 1993, p. 77.

3. Tekla Bude, "The Myth of Retrospection: Syon Abbey and the Futurity of Lancastrian Legitimation," *The Chaucer Review* 51, no. 2 (2016): pp. 229–30.

4. Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII*, London: Routledge, 2007, p. 117.

5. Gordon McNeil Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery: As Illustrated by the Painted Windows of Great Malvern Priory Church, Worchestershire, Together with a Description and Explanation of All the Ancient Glass in the Church*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936; Heather Gilderdale Scott, "The Painted Glass of Great Malvern Priory (Worcs.) C. 1430–C. 1500", Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2008.

6. Richard Marks, "The Stained Glass Patronage of Sir Reginald Bray," *Report of the Society of the Friends of St George's and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter* v, 1973; Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages,* London: Routledge, 1993; Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England,* Stroud: Sutton, 2004.

7. Heather Gilderdale Scott, "The Royal Window (C. 1485) at Canterbury Cathedral and the Magnificat Window (C. 1500) at Great Malvern Priory (Worcs.): Dynastic Rivalry in Late Medieval England?," in *Medieval Art,*

Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury, Routledge, 2013.

8. Scott, 2013, p. 235.

9. Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 5–6.

10. S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, p. 59.

11. Great Malvern was part of Worcester diocese, but the land belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of Westminster in London, which was under the control of the crown, Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. This resulted in several conflicts between the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Westminster. Several Worcester bishops, contemporary with the Wars of the Roses, had prominent political positions in Yorkist and Tudor government. John Alcock (1430–1500) was Lord Chancellor (twice), lord president of Wales, tutor to the young King Edward V, performed the baptism of Prince Arthur, and later became bishop of Ely. Robert Morton (1435–1497), nephew of John Morton Bishop of Canterbury, was made Master of Rolls twice, and steward on Henry VII's coronation.

12. Scott, 2008, p. 23.

13. Heather Gilderdale Scott, "Lay Figures in Sacred Spaces: The 15th-Century 'donor Figures' at Great Malvern Priory, Worcestershire," *Journal of stained glass* XXIX (2005): pp. 15, 24–25.

14. Scott, 2005, p. 14.

15. Rushforth, 1936, pp. 47–104, 262–269.

16. Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis, 1324–1500*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984, http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft7v19p1w6/. Avril Henry, ed. *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition*, Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1987; Rushforth, 1936, pp. 41–42.

17. Scott, 2008, pp. 22–23.

18. Scott, 2008, pp. 210–214.

19. Marks, 1993, p. 42.

20. Rushforth, 1936, pp. 373–376.

21. Marks, 1973; and Scott, 2008.

22. The vertical division of a stained-glass window.

23. Rushforth, 1936, p. 377.

24. Rushforth, 1936, p. 370.

25. Rushforth, 1936, pp. 371–372; 92–94.

26. Catherine Oakes, *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion,* London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008, 38, 58–59; Scott, 2005.

27. Rushforth, 1936, pp. 387–389; Scott, 2008, pp. 410–411.

28. The original depiction of Mary's coronation, as reproduced in Rushforth's study, is described by the antiquarian Thomas Habington, p. 432. Rushforth references the antiquarian William Thomas's account from 1725 of a storm blowing out parts of the windows, and the restoration that followed, Rushforth, 1936, 370.

29. https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/record.php?record=90177.

30. Wilson and Wilson, 1984.

31. Oakes, 2008, p. 212.

32. Karl Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England,* Brewer, 2007, pp. 22–23.

33. Colum P. Hourihane, "Gothic Stained Glass," 6 vols., vol. 2, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. p. 197.

34. Tamburr, 2007, pp. 31–32.

35. Oakes, 2008, p. 187.

36. Oakes, 2008, p. 79.

37. Tamburr, 2007, p. 150.

38. Scott, 2008, p. 132.

39. Malvern started as a Benedictine monastery with both clerical and royal patrons, such as Saint Edward the Confessor, Saint Wolstan, William the Conqueror and Henry I, John Chambers, *A General History of Malvern*, London: Longman, 1817, 2–4. For more in-depth discussions on the Benedictines in England during the later middle ages, Richard William Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 208; Terry R. Slater and Gervase Rosser, *The Church in the Medieval Town*, Routledge, 2016, pp. 155–156; H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 60–61; Martin Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England, C.1300–1535*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, pp. 169, 78, 89, 201.

40. Joan Greatrex, "Marian Studies and Devotion in the Benedictine Cathedral Priories in Later Medieval England," *Studies in Church History* 39, 2004, p. 159.

41. Miri Rubin, *Mother of God*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, p. 221.

42. Rubin, 2009, p. 306.

43. Suger, and Erwin Panofsky, *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946, p. 53.

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46. Warner, 1985, p. 124.

47. Marks, 1993, p. 85. Rushforth, 1936, p. 376. Scott, 2008, p. 399.

48. Rushforth, 1936, p. 369; Scott, 2005, p. 14; Scott, 2008, p. 88.

49. Helen Rosenau, "A Study in the Iconography of the Incarnation," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 85, no. 496 (1944).

50. Nigel J. Morgan, "Rosary," in *Grove Art Online,* Oxford University Press, 2003.

51. Only added by Pope John Paul II in 2002 by the Apostolic letter *Rosarium Virginis Mariae.*

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53. Carruthers, 2010, p. 200.

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55. Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 4, 2011.

56. Guillaume Durandus, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, trans. Timothy Thibodeau, New York, Columbia University Press, 2007, pp. 3–4.

57. Durandus, 2007, pp. 4–5.

58. Henning Laugerud, "Det Hagioskopiske Blikk: Bilder, Syn Og Erkjennelse I Høy-Og Senmiddelalder", Universitetet i Bergen, 2005, pp. 140–144.

59. Suger and Erwin Panofsky, *On the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 73–75.

60. Carruthers, 2010, pp. 78, 201.

61. Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Elizabeth Pastan, *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass: Materials, Methods, and Expressions,* Boston, Brill, 2019, p. 178.

62. Sean Cunningham, *Prince Arthur: The Tudor King Who Never Was,* Amberley Publishing Limited, 2016.

63. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 41–71; Nicole Maurantonio, "The Politics of Memory," ed. Kate Kenski and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*, Oxford University Press, 2014.

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65. Celia M. Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6, no. 2, 1990, pp. 141–142.

66. Durandus, 2007, p. 33.

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Expressions, ed. Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Elizabeth Pastan, Boston: Brill, 2019, p. 144.

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69. Lindy Grant and David Bates, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis : Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France*, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 3.

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72. Laugerud, 2016, p. 66.

73. Kessler, 2019, pp. 176–177.

74. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; and Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object,* Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2015.

75. Carruthers, 2008, pp. 70, 79.

76. Elena Esposito, "Social Forgetting: A Systems-Theory Approach," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara Young, Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2008.

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81. Scott, 2005, p. 15.

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83. Rushforth, 1936, p. 263.

84. Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy,* Stroud: The History Press, 2009; Chrimes, 1999; Hicks, 2010.

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87. John Ashdown-Hill, *The Dublin King: The True Story of Edward Earl of Warwick, Lambert Simnel and the 'Princes in the Tower'*, Stroud, The History Press, 2015, pp. 82–98.

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90. Cunningham, 2016, pp. 122–123.

91. Chrimes, 1999, p. 87.

92. Arthurson, 2009, p. 240.

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100. Marks, 2004, p. 26.

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104. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 1.

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Summary

This article argues that Tudor politics influenced the devotional iconography on display in the *Magnificat* window in Great Malvern Priory church in Worcestershire, England from 1501. The window proclaims Henry VII's final victory over Yorkist pretenders to the throne in the years after Bosworth and communicates its position through images of the Virgin Mary. The article discusses how collective memory and visual migration function to bridge the rhetorical and devotional visual language which associated Marian devotion with Tudor politics in the *Magnificat* window. The rise of Lady Chapels and Marian images in England during the late Middle Ages was accompanied by new additions of Marian devotion and ritual interaction. The combination of Marian iconography and Prince Arthur's popularity made it possible to present political rhetoric in the visual language of devotion. Persuasive rhetoric and visual devotion function together to incorporate the social role of visual language, late medieval prayer, and public liturgy. The didactic and devotional function of stained-glass windows allows them to become interactive devotional art in sacred spaces, they change with time and sentiment of the people who use the space. In the rhetoric of faith and truth, suggestions, or persuasion via visual rhetoric in the context of churches, emphasise the idea of a force of truth created by their divine context.

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