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Welcome

"Yes, the Queen my good sister may be assured to have a better neighbour of me being her cousin," said Mary, widowed Queen of France, to the English ambassador before her return to Scotland.

Rivals from the off, the two queens had no chance of ever being good neighbours, but putting them side by side we can learn a lot about why one fell from power and the other held firm.

Had they not been kin, Elizabeth I might have been the mentor that the Queen of Scots needed. The so-called Virgin Queen had avoided marriage for fear of diluting her own status, while Mary's dalliances made enemies of her nobles, saw her lose the throne of Scotland, and antagonise her cousin. Elizabeth I evaded the deadly paranoia of one Queen Mary - her own sister - but her cousin Mary would go on inspire that same fear of usurpation, and would lose her head for it. Elizabeth understood the minds of monarchs better than her cultured cousin, and could have coached her through these febrile forces.

Finally, Elizabeth I navigated the bitter sectarian landscape to restore a sense of status quo, while Mary never escaped the perception that she was a Catholic outsider, more French handmaiden than Queen of Scots. Perhaps in return Elizabeth I might have been given cause to ruminate on the costs of her success - the constant struggle against powerful and manipulative men in her court, the loss of her mother and estrangement from her family that made her sharp and cold, and her twilight years, facing death with no offspring to mourn her and to continue her legacy.

It's an interesting thought exercise, but as **All About History's** staff writer Jessica Leggett explains on page 30, it simply wasn't to be.

James Hoare
Group Editor



Mary, Queen of Scots was crowned at Stirling Castle, as was her father James V. Chief among Scotland's royal residences, the ceiling of the King's Presence Chamber was adorned with a sea of carved oak heads showing monarchs and mythical figures. Above are Margaret Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII and daughter of Henry VII, and her son James V. Through them Mary had a dangerous claim to the throne of England

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Hitler vs Art Editor and writer Philippa Grafton explains how the Nazi culture war backfired when their Degenerate Art exhibition became a subversive triumph

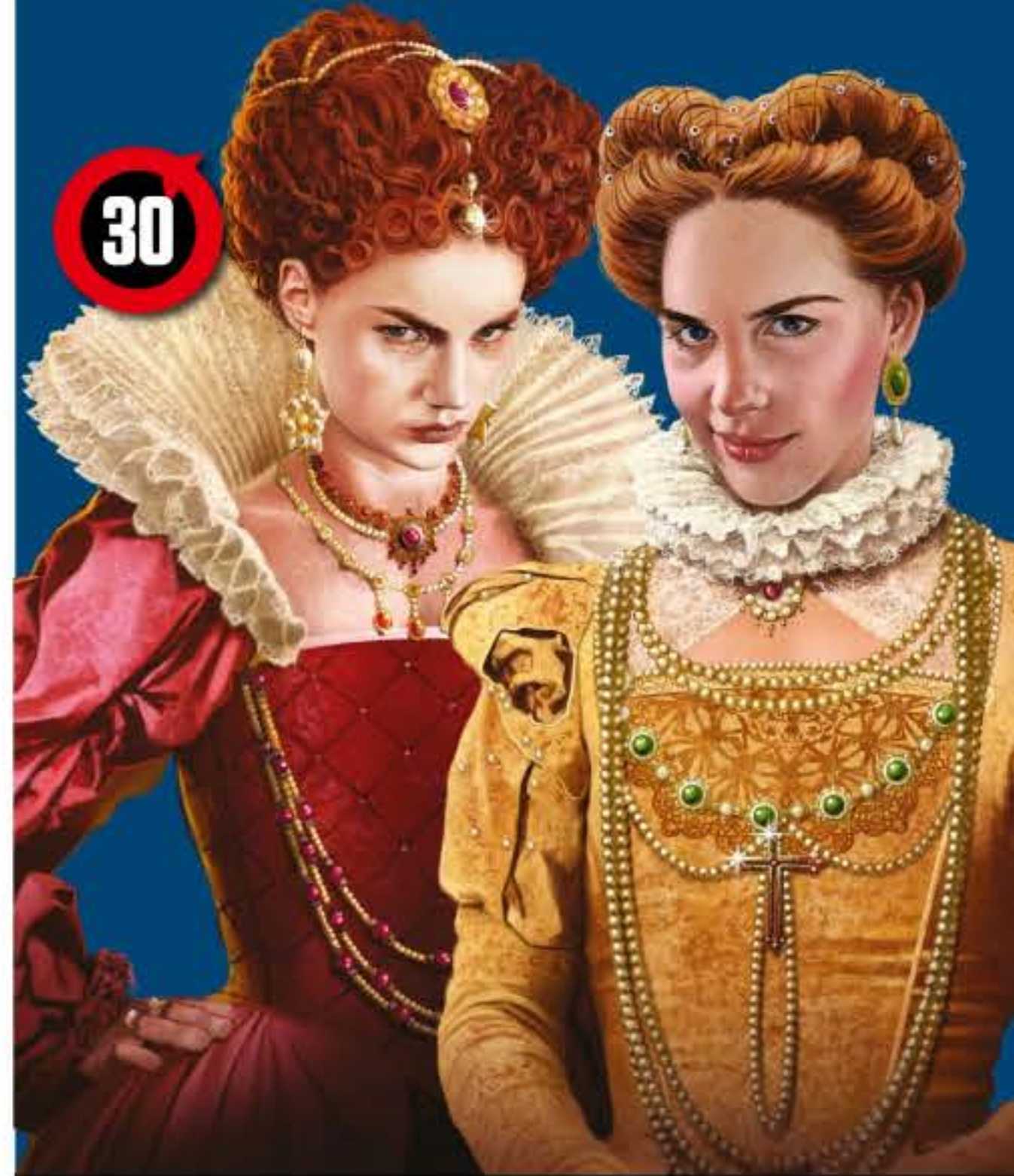
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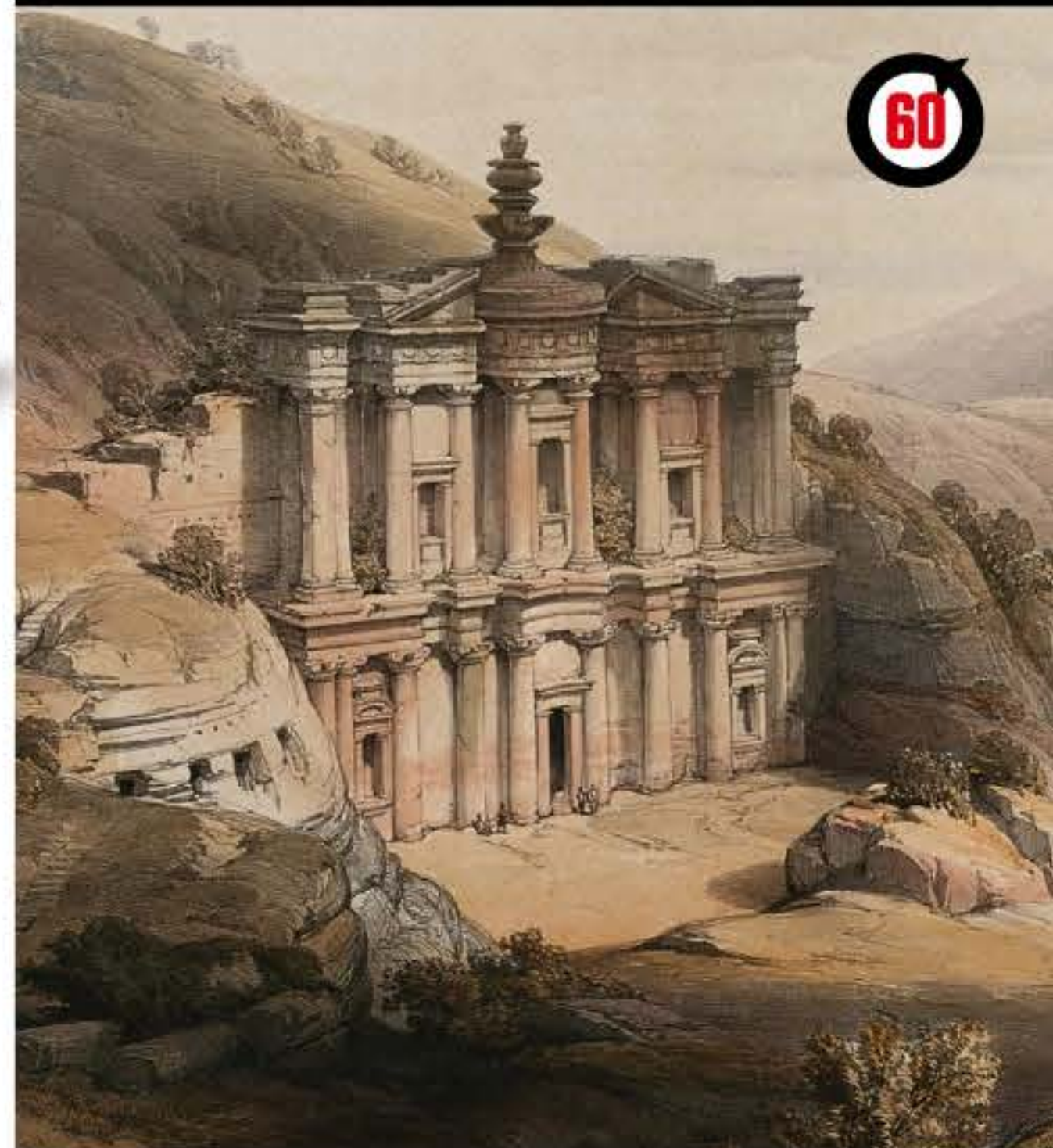
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DEFINING MOMENTS

FROHE WEIHNACHTEN

German soldiers celebrate Christmas on the frontline near Verdun. While these men caroused, their fate was being decided. On 24 December, German high command made the decision to press on with Operation Judgement – an all-out attack on the French city of Verdun, which would begin the following February. The nine-month campaign cost both sides dearly – approximately 306,000 men were killed and nearly half a million wounded.

1915



DEFINING MOMENTS

SHED'S HEAVEN

Inspired by a similar writing retreat used by the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas, Roald Dahl composed all of his best known works from the comforts of this garden shed. Dahl would retreat to his "little nest" at 10am each morning, sharpen six pencils and begin writing on a yellow legal pad he had imported from America. The curtains would be closed, with Dahl preferring the glow of artificial light, but this strange routine yielded incredible results.

1986







DEFINING MOMENTS

THE SUN FINALLY SETS

On 1 July 1997, one of the last and most prestigious of Britain's colonial possessions - Hong Kong - was returned to mainland China. The 99-year lease to the territory was contentious for much of 20th century. Beijing regarded it as one of the "unequal treaties" which awarded foreign powers humiliating concessions. Both Britain and China agreed to safeguard the unique character and autonomy of the city, but its future is unclear...

1997







DEFINING MOMENTS

WING AND A PLAYER

Daredevil aviatrix Gladys Roy enjoys a game of tennis at 3,000 feet with Ivan Unger. It was one of Roy's most famous wing-walking stunts, along with dancing the Charleston, but was purely panto - obviously there was no ball involved but it was a heck of a show. Tragically Roy, who also claimed the world record for the lowest parachute jump, died only two years later after walking into the spinning propeller of a grounded aircraft.

1925



“Time is a sort of river of passing events, and strong is its current; no sooner is a thing brought to sight than it is swept by and another takes its place, and this, too, will be swept away”

Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor from 161 to 180 CE



ALL ABOUT

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

From the gender politics of bathhouses and the corridors of power, to the mundane mysteries of the Vindolanda tablets



Steamy secrets of the thermae



Five must-see sites in Rome



Michael Starks on Ravenna



Vindolanda tablet discoveries

Written by James Hoare, Katharine Marsh



ROMAN EMPIRE

The Western Roman Empire

Chart the rise and fall of one of history's most important empires - from Octavian through to the final days of Romulus Augustus

BEGINNING OF AN EMPIRE

Rome goes from being a republic to an empire under Octavian, who is given the title of Augustus by the Senate. He starts off Rome's first dynasty, the Julio-Claudians.



OVER THE CHANNEL

Emperor Claudius orders the invasion of Britain and Aulus Plautius leads his soldiers over the English Channel. They successfully put down Celtic rebellions and annex what is now England.



27 CE

43 CE

CONSTANTINE RISES

One of Rome's most famous emperors took the throne of the Western Roman Empire. 12 years later, he reunited the West and East, but they split again under the rule of his sons.



THE TETRACHY

In a bid to control an ever-expanding empire, Diocletian decided to divide the land between two senior emperors and two junior tetrarchs, who would rule when the senior men stepped down.



CRISIS OF THE THIRD CENTURY

Rome was split into

THREE

empires - the Gallic Empire, the Roman Empire and the Palmyrene Empire



The Crisis lasted for

49 YEARS



More than

TWENTY

emperors ruled Rome



312 CE

293 CE

235 CE

THE ROAD TO CHRISTIANITY



The Edict of Thessalonica made Christianity Rome's official religion in **380 CE**

325 CE



Christian orthodoxy was laid out at the Council of Nicaea

313 CE

Christianity was given legal status

313 CE 325 CE 380 CE

A NEW CAPITAL

After reuniting the empire, Constantine decided that it was time for a new capital city. Nova Roma (New Rome) was built on the site of old Byzantium, and was later named Constantinople after the emperor.



Nova Roma was consecrated in 330 CE, but it wouldn't bear Constantine's name for many more years

A FINAL PARTING

After briefly reuniting, the Eastern and Western Roman Empires split for the last time after the death of Theodosius. It was the beginning of the end for the West.



313 CE

324 CE

395 CE

GREAT FIRE OF ROME

The fire raged for **NINE DAYS** 🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥

Out of Rome's **14** districts, only **FOUR** remained intact

800 YEAR-OLD Temple of Jupiter Stator was destroyed



YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS

After the death of Nero, Galba took control but he was murdered by his bodyguards. Otho took over until he was killed by the next emperor, Vitellius. Finally, Vespasian was declared emperor and the Flavian dynasty began.



COLOSSEUM FINISHED

After almost ten years of construction, the empire's largest amphitheatre opened with games that lasted three months, on and off. Over 9,000 animals were killed in the celebrations, from local bulls to exotic lions and leopards.



64 CE

68-69 CE

80 CE

CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA



Under Emperor Caracalla, it finally became official – all free people in the Roman Empire were now citizens, united under Rome's eagle standard.

The Constitutio Antoniniana was the first of its kind in the whole world, giving a unitary citizenship to people across three continents

ANTONINE PLAGUE

When soldiers marched back west after defeating the Parthians, they unwittingly brought a deadly disease with them. The plague eventually reached every corner of the empire, and even killed Emperor Lucius Verrus.



HADRIAN'S WALL COMPLETED

Built on the Roman Empire's northernmost frontier, Hadrian's Wall crossed the border from coast to coast in what is now Cumberland. 79 miles in length, it was guarded until Rome renounced Britain in 410.

Hadrian's Wall was made a World Heritage Site in 1987 and can be explored today along with the forts



212 CE

165-167 CE

122 CE

UNDER ATTACK

The Visigoths had tried and failed to attack the West's capital at Ravenna a few times, but in 410 they succeeded, aided by rebellious slaves in the city. The end of the West was in sight.



THE LAST BREATH

After just ten months on the throne, Romulus Augustus was overthrown by military leader Odoacer, who named himself king of Italy. The Western Empire had finally fallen.



THE EAST LIVES ON

The Eastern Empire lasted

ONE THOUSAND

years longer than the West

In **700 CE** the official language changed from Latin to Greek

Constantinople was laid siege to almost

TWENTY times

It is thanks to the Byzantines that the Eastern Orthodox Church was born

410 CE

476 CE

476-1453



ROMAN EMPIRE



ROMAN THERMAE

ROMAN EMPIRE, 200 BCE – TODAY

In ancient Rome personal hygiene was more of a public affair. From the obscenely wealthy right down to the poorest of the poor, everyone needed to bathe and emperors made it their mission to build public thermae, or baths, for their citizens. They popped up all over the empire and while we will never know exactly how many there were, we do know that there were 170 in 33 BCE, just before the Roman Empire's beginning, and the number only grew.

The early years of the empire saw a somewhat conservative society and so men and women bathed in separate thermae, sometimes the same building but split in two, but there is evidence that this changed over time. For instance, under Emperor Domitian there was nothing to forbid the sexes from bathing side by side.

However this changed under Hadrian who had it written in law that men and women should be separated in the thermae. In baths that had been built with only one of each room, this meant that men and women effectively had time slots or set days that they could attend.

This then begs the question of the opening hours. We do know that the buildings closed at sunset – all ancient writers seem unanimous in their agreement of this – but opening times are a little more hazy.

Juvenal states that they opened at the fifth hour, while others suggest that eighth or the ninth. Whatever the time, it was signified by the ringing of a little bell, or tintinnabulum.

Everyone's progression through the thermae was the same. From the palaestra, or exercise ground, they would change and then make their way through the rooms of the bathhouse from cold to hot. No matter where you were in the Roman Empire, you followed the same ritual – emperors may come and go, but the thermae would remain the same through the centuries.

Through the doors

While entry to the thermae wasn't free, it hardly cost anything – just a quadrans, which is the equivalent of mere pennies today. Depending on the bathhouse and the emperor, there would either be separate entrances for men and women or one entrance for everyone.

Time for a workout

Before going in to bathe, most would check out the palaestra, or exercise ground, where they would work up a sweat. But this wasn't a competitive environment – in fact Roman doctors prescribed it as a way to maintain good health, along with a good diet and the leisurely trek round the interior of the bathhouse. Wrestling, boxing and ball games were often the order of the day.

Getting cold

The final of the main three rooms, the frigidarium was the coldest. In this room, the Romans would plunge themselves into a small pool of cold water as a way to refresh themselves and close their pores after the heat of the caldarium. After this, bathers would get dressed and make their way back outside.

Dress for the occasion

The apodyterium, or changing room, was where the bathers would get undressed as they bathed naked. All around the walls were shelves where they could put their clothes and any personal belongings they'd brought with them, but this did come with the risk of theft. As a result, some wealthier citizens brought their slaves with them to follow them around the thermae and carry their things.

Moving indoors

The first room of the *thermae* proper was the *tepidarium*, in which bathers would be anointed with oil and enjoy the warm temperature. The oil, along with any dirt, would then be scraped off the skin using a curved *strigil*. This was also when you could receive a massage from a hired slave or even have your hair plucked, as hairless bodies were fashionable for much of the Roman Empire.

Feel the heat

A bather's second room would be the *caldarium*, which was the hottest room in the building. Here they would work up a sweat, like in a sauna, before sinking themselves into a warm pool of water about two metres wide, three metres long and one metre deep – large enough for more than one person so you could have a chat, but not big enough to swim in.

Keeping the heat

To create the warm air to heat the building, boilers were installed. However, due to the lack of electricity, these were fired by slaves, who shovelled charcoal, brushwood and, in Britain, coal to keep the furnaces roaring.

Ancient central heating

To keep the warm rooms warm, the Romans devised an ingenious method: the *hypocaust*. Small pillars of tiles sat under the floor, allowing hot gases to move between them to heat the floors of entire rooms. The hot air would then rise through pipes in the walls so that the warmth was all around the room instead of just coming up through the floor.

Do your business

When you need to go, you need to go. Latrines would also be built in a Roman bathhouse – the reason why is really just common sense, especially with the constant sounds of sloshing water. However, Roman toilets were nothing luxurious. A bench of marble with holes in covered a pit where the Romans would do their business, before wiping themselves with a piece of natural sponge on a stick. This would then be put in a bucket of water or vinegar, ready for the next person to use.



ROMAN EMPIRE

THE *Anatomy* of

A VESTAL VIRGIN

ROME, UNKNOWN-394 CE

PURE AS SNOW

If you saw a Vestal Virgin out and about, they would always be dressed in white as a sign of their purity. Chosen when they were between the ages of six and ten, the girls would be sworn to celibacy for their 30-year stint, with severe punishments if they broke their sacred vows – they were married to Rome, and any dalliances with citizens was considered incest, which was punishable by death.

THE ETERNAL FLAME

The most important duty of a Vestal Virgin was to ensure that the fire in the temple never went out – if it did, Rome would fall. With six girls and women serving at a time, they took shifts to watch over it and if the flame was extinguished, whoever was on duty would be stripped and scourged by the pontifex maximus, who was usually the emperor.

DRESS TO IMPRESS

A stola formed the main undergarment for the Vestal Virgins, but over the top of this they wore a strophium made of white linen. On many occasions they also wore a cloak, or palla. These had to be very simple as they had to display themselves with the utmost decorum.

THE BRAIDING BUNCH

The Vestal Virgins often wore their hair in complicated braids. With the hair divided into sections, six plaits would be made in each, which would then be wound intricately together around the head. With two or more slaves doing the work, this would have taken about ten minutes each day, although it could take over half an hour with only one.

A WOOLLEN SYMBOL

The vitta was a headband worn by many Roman women, but the Virgins' ones were made of wool to show their higher position in society. However, should a Vestal Virgin be punished for breaking the rules, it would be the first thing they would be stripped of. The ceremonial version of this was called an infula. The veil they sometimes wore was called a suffibulum.

A SACRIFICIAL LADLE

In sacrifices or other religious ceremonies, a simpulum was often used to draw wine or oil from deep containers like amphorae, hence its long handle. These tools were often made of bronze, and their decoration could be anything between incredibly plain and beautifully ornate.

STEPPING OUT

Vestal Virgins, like the rest of the Romans, typically wore one of three types of shoe: solea or calceus, which were the most common, or the mitten sandal. However, there was one distinct difference in that the Virgins' shoes were white and made from the skins of animals that had been sacrificed.



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The Lightning served to inspire a great many people to join the Royal Air Force and for many, is still an enduring symbol of when the British aviation industry was at the peak of its manufacturing prowess.



ROMAN EMPIRE

Hall of Fame INFLUENTIAL WOMEN

While women were shunned in Roman politics, some were determined to make their mark on society with power plays and cunning



Livia managed to still be influential in Roman politics after Augustus' death

LIVIA DRUSILLA

58 BCE – 29 CE

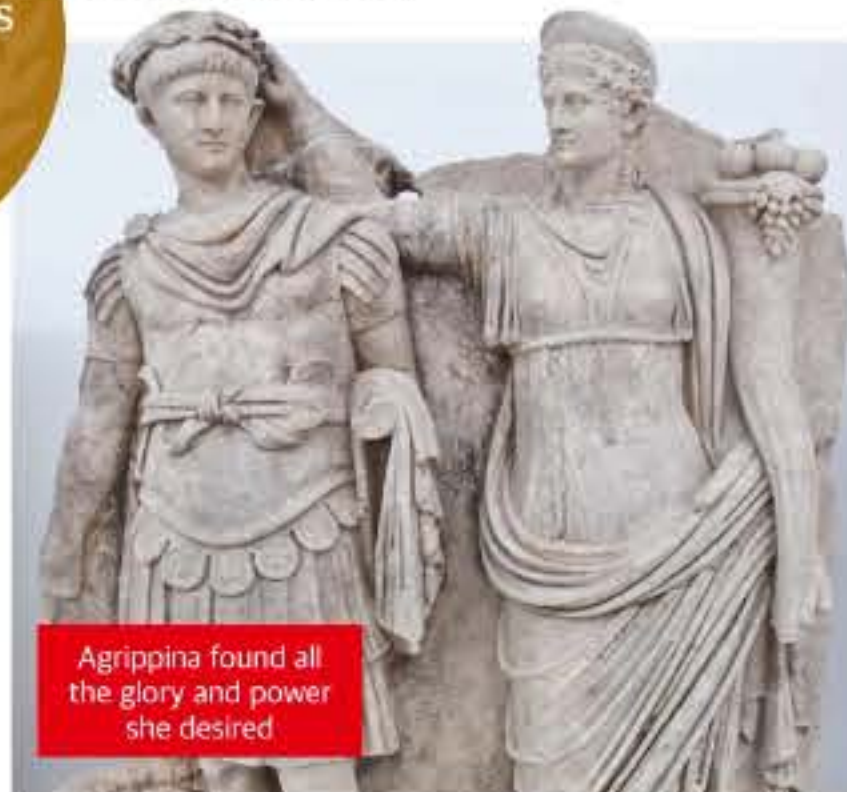
Quiet and confined to the background of imperial Roman life, Livia, the wife of Augustus, the first Roman emperor, was the epitome of the perfect Roman woman. While she never managed to bear the leader any children of his own she still wielded power acting as his counsellor and advisor, always whispering ideas into his ear. She was rewarded with the ability to manage her own finances and a public statue of herself – unheard of for the time. Livia ensured that a son from her first marriage, Tiberius, would succeed Augustus and there were rumours that she killed Augustus to see her son rule.

Livia was deified by her grandson Claudius in 42 CE, 13 years after her death

AGRIPPINA THE YOUNGER

16 CE–59 CE

The wife, niece, mother and sister of some of Rome's most famous emperors, Agrippina was always going to have an eventful and high-profile life, but her existence seems to have slipped out of many history books over the years. Exiled by her brother Caligula for plotting against him, she returned to Rome under the rule of her uncle Claudius. Agrippina was looking for power, and so she married her uncle, and she even made her son, Nero, marry incestuously into the family. When Claudius died, Nero ruled and Agrippina became one of the most powerful people in the empire – until the relationship between mother and son deteriorated. Her life ended when she was brutally murdered by her son's henchmen.



Agrippina found all the glory and power she desired



Lucilla's death was ordered by her own brother

LUCILLA

149 CE–181 CE

When Lucilla was 12, her father, Marcus Aurelius, became co-emperor of Rome and Lucilla was married to his equal, Lucius Verus. She dutifully bore her husband a child but Lucius died three years later. Her second marriage was to politician and commander Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus and she gave him a son. These were peaceful years, but that was all about to change. Her father died in 180 CE, leaving her brother, Commodus, to ascend the throne. It only took a year for things to go downhill – realising her brother was tyrant, Lucilla joined a plot to assassinate him but the conspirators were found out. In a fit of rage, Commodus exiled his sister to Capri where she was executed.



Messalina almost managed to take down the empire from the inside

VALERIA MESSALINA

17 CE–48 CE

Claudius was a shy man with a stammer, and that's probably why Messalina married him. Stunningly beautiful and eager for power, Claudius would be no match for her machinations. According to early imperial Roman writers, Messalina slept her way around the court while telling Claudius how to govern. When Messalina gave her husband a son, named Britannicus after the invasion of Britain, her control over him increased. But this couldn't go on forever – when Messalina fell in love with a man named Gaius, they plotted to overthrow the emperor and rule together. They were found out and murdered.

HELENA C.248 CE-C.328 CE

Once married to Emperor Constantius I Chlorus, it would be Helena's son who found her fame. Under Constantine the Great's rule, Helena saw herself elevated to the role of dowager empress and she converted from Roman paganism to Christianity. On a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, she ordered the building of churches on the site of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem and his ascension near Jerusalem, but she would become better known as the woman who reputedly found the cross that Jesus had hung from in his crucifixion. A woman of religion, Helena became a saint in the Church with the feast day of 18 August.



Helena was a deeply religious woman

CLAUDIA METRODORA

MID-1ST CENTURY CE-UNKNOWN

Women weren't allowed to be directly involved in politics, but that didn't stop Claudia Metrodora. A Greek woman with Roman citizenship, she held extraordinary power on the island of Chios, holding the highest magistracy that island had to offer twice and a high priestess-hood for life of Aphrodite Livia. On top of all of that, she was president of the Heraklea Kaisarea and Romaia festival on three separate occasions - almost unheard of at the time.



Claudia was a priestess of Aphrodite Livia, pictured



When Sejanus told Agrippina that Tiberius wanted to poison her she refused all of his food

AGRIPPINA THE ELDER

14 BCE - 33 CE

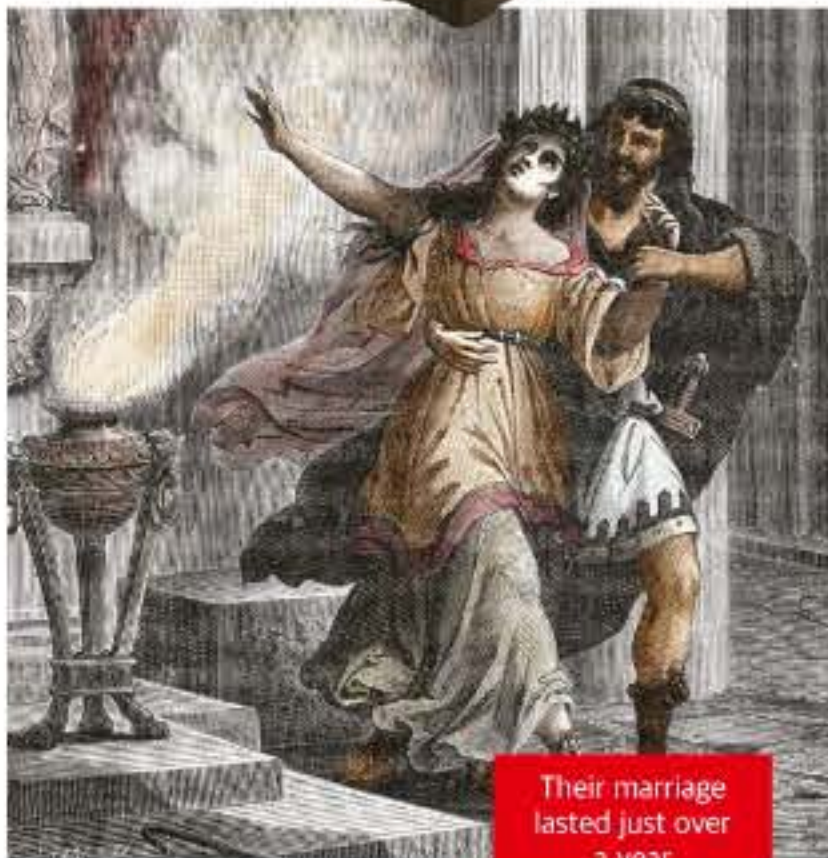
As with many Roman tales, murder plays a huge part in Agrippina the Elder's. When she went to the east with her husband, Germanicus Caesar, he mysteriously died in 19 CE. Agrippina had her suspicions and when she returned to Rome, she openly blamed Emperor Tiberius. A long reign of hostility between the two followed, not helped by Sejanus's interventions, and Agrippina was arrested and exiled. She never lived to see her younger son become emperor - but that could be for the best, because that son was Caligula.

To add insult to injury the day Agrippina died was declared a holiday by Emperor Tiberius

JULIA THE ELDER

UNKNOWN

Daughter of Augustus, Julia the Elder died in shame. She married three times to further the causes of her father - the first time was to Marcellus, her cousin. The second was to Agrippa, and the two fell in love. When he died, she was forced to marry the future emperor Tiberius and it was an unhappy match. When Tiberius left Rome he left his wife behind and she embarked on a promiscuous life. After threatening her with death Augustus exiled her and she eventually died of malnutrition.



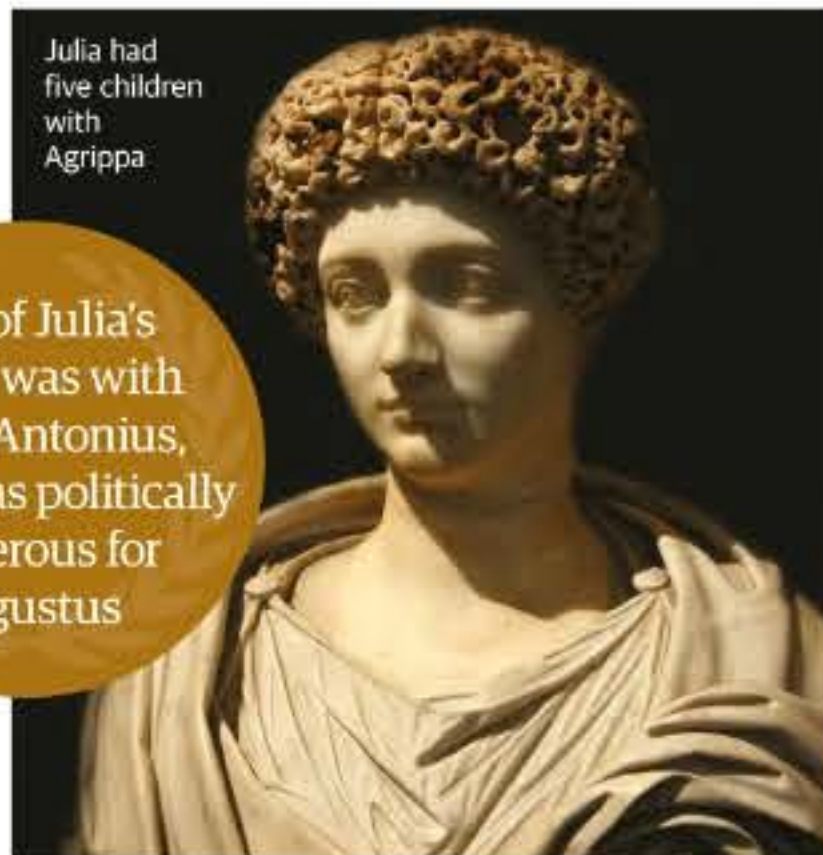
Their marriage lasted just over a year

Julia had five children with Agrippa

AQUILIA SEVERA UNKNOWN

Vestal Virgins were required by law to be celibate - they took solemn vows to the goddess Vesta and punishments for breaking their chastity were severe. But that didn't stop Emperor Elagabalus from trying to marry the Vestal Maxima, Aquilia Severa, in 220 CE. The ruler's reasoning to Senate was that they would have divine children, and he took it further in his madness by trying to remove the Roman pantheon of gods - instead, the people would worship him and his divine bride.

One of Julia's affairs was with Iulius Antonius, which was politically dangerous for Augustus



JULIA AVITA MAMAEA

C.184 CE-235 CE

It was during the reign of her son Severus Alexander that Julia showed the world what she was made of. Intelligent and strong-willed, she was unable to rule the empire due to her gender, so she chose to rule through her son instead. However, despite Romans thinking that powerful women would destroy Rome, the opposite happened. Under Julia's control the army became stronger and taxation was eased throughout the extensive empire.



Julia instituted financial reforms



Places to Explore ROME IN RUINS

Discover ancient Roman remnants at the heart of the Eternal City itself!

1 CATACOMBS OF DOMITILLA VIA DELLE SETTE CHIESE

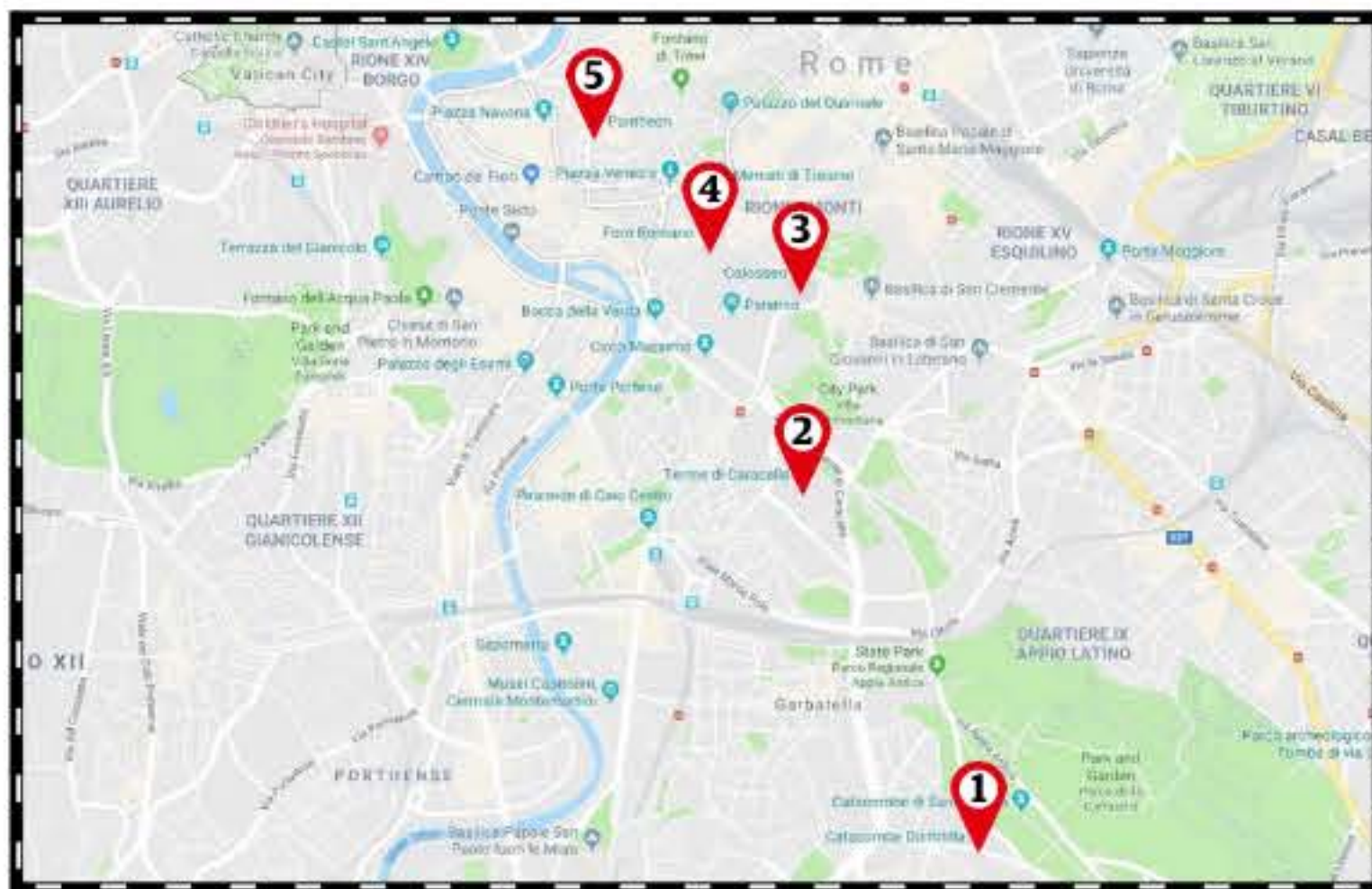
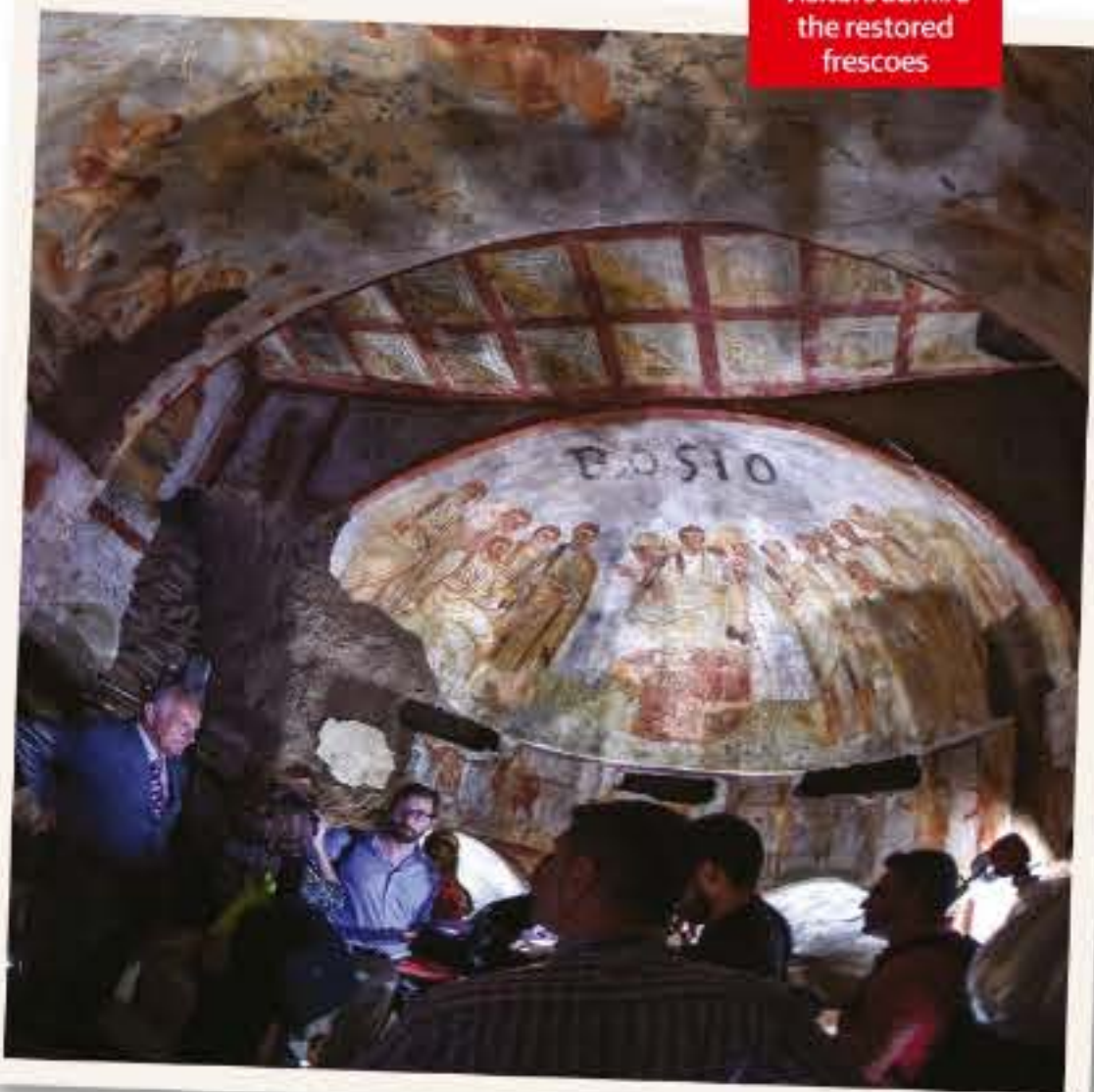
Those in search of an authentic Roman experience - as well as those who enjoy the possibility of getting lost in miles of tunnels - will certainly get a lot out of their visit to this impressive series of interconnected underground crypts. These catacombs, the final resting place of many Romans, are spread across the city and archaeologists continue to excavate lost tombs.

They offer an insight into the practical way the Romans dealt with the dead, burying their loved ones underground on the outskirts of the city rather than allowing potentially disease-ridden corpses to rot where they would pose a risk to the general population.

The catacombs were not, as was once thought, clandestine meeting places or elaborate escape tunnels; their complexity and scale simply stems from the amount of Romans who were buried there. By far the most impressive is the Catacombs of San Domitilla. Located near the famous Roman road, the Apian Way, they are one of the longest and the oldest catacombs - stretching 14.9 kilometres and containing about 15,000 graves. Sitting underground but slightly above the catacombs is also a well preserved basilica.

San Domitilla opens 9am-midday and 2pm-5pm, and is closed all day Tuesday. Standard admission costs €8. Find out more at domitilla.info.

Visitors admire the restored frescoes



2 BATHS OF CARACALLA VIALE DELLE TERE ME DI CARACALLA

Although they are in ruins today, the magnificent Baths of Caracalla were once the second largest public baths in Rome. Built in the early years of the 3rd century CE, the construction workers were prisoners of war captured during Septimus Severus's Scottish campaign, and the scale of the site is testament to their toil.

The baths were an engineering marvel and offered a choice of tepid, cold or warm water as well as an Olympic-sized swimming pool. The bathhouse was served by a purpose-built aqueduct - the Aqua Antoniniana.

Nowadays the baths are a hugely popular tourist attraction and cultural celebrations and concerts are regularly held among the ruins, including the summer operatic programme of the illustrious Teatro dell'Opera di Roma.

The Baths of Caracalla are open 9am to 6.30pm Tuesday to Sunday, and 9am to 2pm on Monday. Adult admission is 6€.

The scale of the baths remains breathtaking





The iconic exterior of the Colosseum at night - one of the must-see visitor attractions of Rome

3 THE COLOSSEUM PIAZZA DEL COLOSSEO

What can be said about this masterpiece? A symbol of Rome, and Italy, the world over, the Colosseum - originally called the Flavian Amphitheatre after the imperial dynasty that commissioned it - is the perfect introduction for anyone with a burgeoning interest in the ancient world. Opened in 80 CE, after nearly a decade of construction, the amphitheatre served as a giant entertainment venue that hosted gladiator battles, animal fighting, mock sea battles and, in the intervals, mass executions. The Emperor Vespasian felt that by entertaining his people he could quell years of civil unrest.

The best seats were, of course, reserved for the emperors, though that didn't stop them getting involved with the action - there are reports of Emperors Hadrian and Titus both participating in

fight. With capacity for 50,000-80,000 people, the Colosseum is lauded for its revolutionary design. The many different backstage corridors and numerous staircases made crowd control a breeze and it has been claimed by some architectural historians that a crowd of 75,000 people could be dispersed within 15 minutes.

Sadly, the marble that once adorned the interior has long since been pillaged. When visiting make sure you get your joint Forum ticket in advance or organise a private tour to avoid waiting for hours in the heat as there is little shade.

The Colosseum opens every day from 8.30am until sunset.

An adult combined ticket for the Colosseum, Roman Forum and the Palatine is 12€.

The triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus



The vast sprawl of the Roman Forum



4 THE ROMAN FORUM PIAZZA DEL CAMPIDOGGIO

The Forum was the centre of political and civic life in ancient Rome. It was here where the great and good of Roman society came to dirty their hands with the brutal, often life-or-death business of running the empire. Archaeologists believe the site started out as a burial site in the 7th century BCE for the Etruscans.

Over hundreds of years, as Rome grew and grew, so too did the Forum. Churches, basilicas and the original seat of the Roman senate were all built there and additions continued to be made until the decline of the city.

Over time it was stripped of its marble and left to decay. Even for the keenest of history buffs this vast collection of buildings from various different eras can seem unwieldy and overwhelming - so much so that hiring a private tour guide and taking several hours to explore the grounds is highly recommended.

The Forum is open from 8.30am until one hour before sunset. An adult combined ticket for the Colosseum, Roman Forum and the Palatine is 12€.



The Pantheon remains a holy place - a Catholic church

5 THE PANTHEON PIAZZA DELLA ROTONDA

The Pantheon is second only to the Colosseum in sheer scale and the extent to which it has been preserved. Believed to have been built in the 2nd century CE by Emperor Hadrian, the Pantheon was a temple built to honour all gods.

As the Romans conquered the world and increasingly came into contact with other religions, rather than persecuting these religious minorities, the Romans adopted their belief systems alongside their own. The Pantheon was originally a place where any Roman could go to worship, regardless of who or what they believed in. Indeed, the very word Pantheon is a hybrid of the Greek words 'pan' meaning all and 'theos' meaning god. The inscription on the outside of the building reads, "Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul for the third time built this," which is a reference to one of Rome's greatest statesmen, a close friend and son-in-law of first Roman Emperor Augustus, who built the original temple on which the current Pantheon now stands.

Some of the interior has been remodelled over the years - the shrines to the Roman gods of the planets were replaced with Christian icons when Rome converted - the marble floor and the huge dome under which the building sits are both original. The hole in the roof, or 'Oculus', streams in sunlight and may have been intended as a giant sundial.

Admission is free. Open daily from 8.30am-7.30pm on weekdays and Saturdays and at 9am-6pm on Sundays.



2,000 years on, the dome remains awe inspiring



ROMAN EMPIRE

Q&A With...

MICHAEL STARKS

THE TV PRODUCER TURNED HISTORIAN TALKS RAVENNA, THE OVERLOOKED CAPITAL OF THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE

Understanding
RAVENNA
MICHAEL STARKS



Understanding Ravenna is out now from Fonthill Media

Former television producer and Cambridge history graduate, Michael Starks is a traveller and writer with an interest in the ancient Mediterranean. His previous work includes *The Traveller's History of The Hundred Years' War in France*.

Q. WHAT'S THE GENESIS FOR YOUR NEW BOOK UNDERSTANDING RAVENNA?

A. I wrote the book out of curiosity. I had visited Ravenna back in my student years and admired its late Roman and Byzantine churches, monuments and mosaics. Then, when I came back a few years ago and looked at them again, I thought "This beautiful art and architecture dates from the era of the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the conquest of Italy by the Ostrogoths. Work of this scale and quality would have needed continuity of commitment and stability. How was that achieved in this turbulent era?" I started looking into the subject and became even more intrigued. Ravenna was the imperial capital of the Western Roman Empire for half a century. Why was that? What had happened to Rome? The eight UNESCO World Heritage sites - the churches and monuments which survive today - were constructed under three different and opposed regimes - the Western empire, the Ostrogoths, and the Eastern empire under Justinian. Two of the finest churches were completed during a destructive civil war. How did that come about? The book took shape as I found answers to the questions.

Q. WHAT IS IT THAT FASCINATES YOU ABOUT THIS ANCIENT CITY?

A. Apart from the magnificent 5th and 6th century churches, baptisteries, chapels and mausoleums, with their glorious mosaic decorations, you mean?

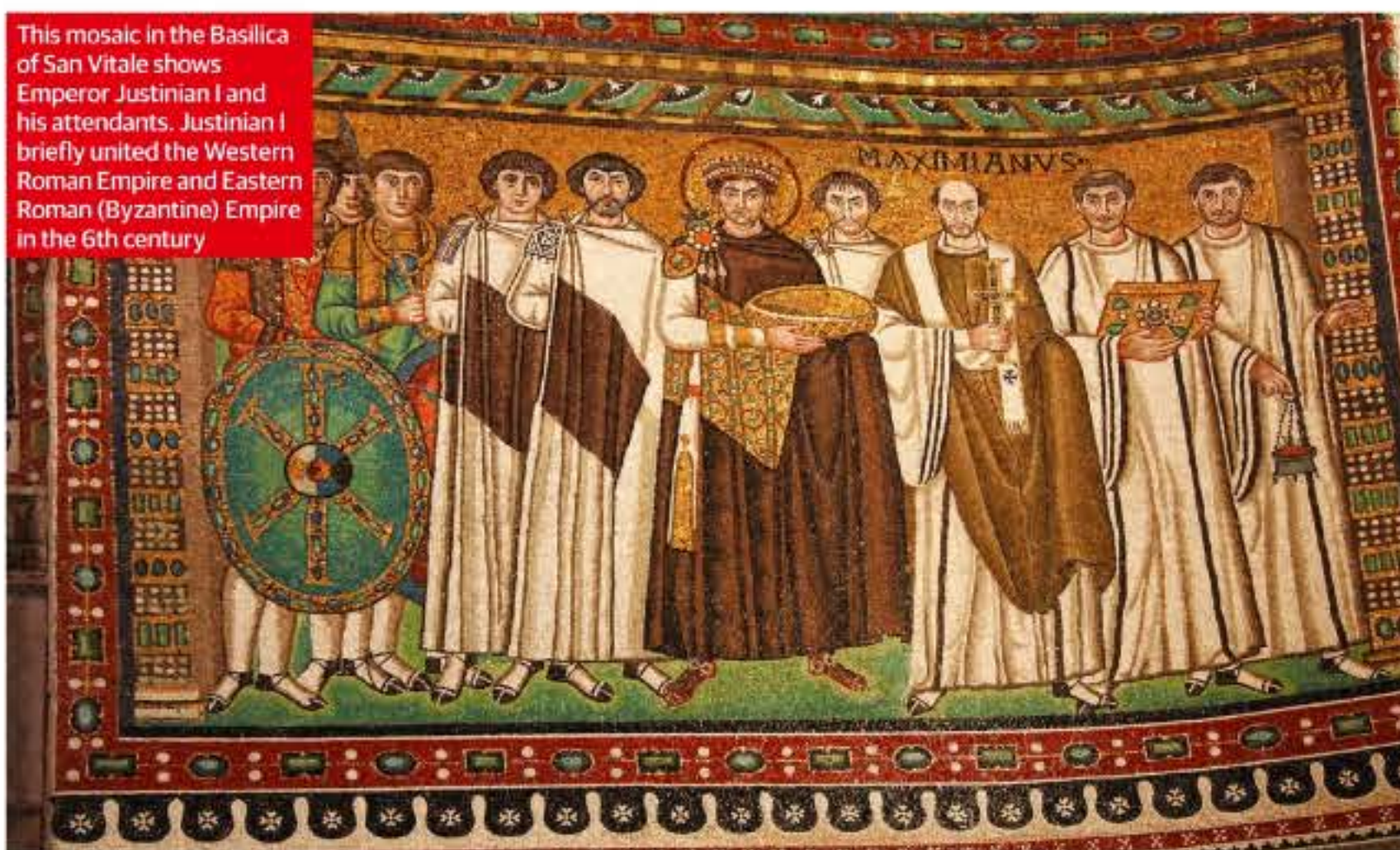
Well, another fascinating feature is that, although today it is 12 kilometres from the sea, Ravenna was on the coast back in Roman times and was a major port. The emperor Augustus chose it as the headquarters for Rome's Adriatic fleet.

You can still visit the old port today because it is now an inland archaeological site. The archaeologists have recreated a map of ancient Ravenna which shows it surrounded by lagoons and marshes. For that reason, it was an excellent defensive site - difficult to capture from inland and easy to supply from the sea. This largely explains why it became the Western empire's imperial capital. The Western Roman emperor Honorius (395-423 CE) was no soldier and his military commander, Stilicho, wanted to keep him secure from capture by the invading Goths. While Rome and Milan were attacked and sacked, Ravenna was a safe haven. The Ostrogoth king Theodoric and Justinian's general, Belisarius, only managed to capture it by subterfuge.

Q. WHY DO YOU THINK RAVENNA IS OVERLOOKED IN COMPARISON TO SO MANY OTHER ROMAN CITIES?

A. Its ancient monuments date from the tail-end of the Western empire and importantly, from its

This mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale shows Emperor Justinian I and his attendants. Justinian I briefly united the Western Roman Empire and Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire in the 6th century



successor regimes so, if the heart of your interest is the heyday of the Roman Republic and the first century of the Roman Empire, you would go elsewhere. However for the period we now call Late Antiquity Ravenna is centre-stage.

Four of its eight UNESCO World Heritage sites were actually built during the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth (493-526 CE) and even the two major churches consecrated after Justinian's reconquest of Italy were started under the Ostrogoths. This historical period is less well-known among tourists with an interest in the Romans - I hope my book will make it more familiar.

Q. WHAT ROLE DID RAVENNA PLAY IN THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE?

A. Like Roman cities elsewhere, Ravenna experienced a blossoming of church-building during the 5th century now that Christianity had become the official religion of the empire. As paganism was suppressed, large numbers of Romans converted and, as well as new churches, this required new baptisteries - with fonts big enough for adult immersion. As the imperial capital of the Western empire, Ravenna's building programme enjoyed the support of the imperial family, in particular of Galla Placidia, who was the sister of Honorius and the mother of his successor Valentinian III.

The Ostrogoths were Arian heretics who believed that Christ was subordinate to God so they built their own Arian churches, also with beautiful mosaics, but allowed the orthodox bishops of Ravenna to carry on building as well. Under Justinian, Ravenna again enjoyed imperial favour and its bishops became archbishops.

Q. HOW DID RAVENNA'S FORTUNES CHANGE WHEN IT FELL UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE?

A. Essentially, there were three phases. The first began in 540 CE when Belisarius captured Ravenna from the Ostrogoths by deceit.

The Eastern Roman Empire retained its hold on Ravenna and continued to hold it but the Ostrogoths found a new leader and fought the Eastern empire for control of Italy for another decade, recapturing Rome more than once.

During this period Ravenna was an island of relative peace and stability amid a deeply destructive Italian civil war. Then, after the Ostrogoths were finally expelled in 552, Ravenna consolidated its role as the Eastern empire's provincial capital of Italy.

When Justinian died in 565, he believed that he had reunited the old Roman empire - as indeed he had,

briefly. However, three years later the Lombards invaded Italy and steadily extended their power.

By the end of the 6th century they occupied two-thirds of Italy.

Ravenna now became the capital of a shrinking province which the Eastern empire no longer had the resources to reconquer.

The emperors in Constantinople faced much greater threats nearer home and Ravenna's governors were promoted to become exarchs, with both military and civil authority to rule semi-independently. The Eastern Roman Empire became what we now know as the Byzantine Empire, leaving Ravenna to have a quite different Medieval history. But that will be the subject for another book - by someone else!

**"THE
EASTERN
ROMAN
EMPIRE
RETAINED
ITS HOLD ON
RAVENNA"**



Historical Treasures

VINDOLANDA TABLETS

ANCIENT WAYS OF LIFE PRESERVED IN THE MUD NORTHUMBERLAND, 85-130 CE

It's a miracle that we have these tablets at all considering how thin and fragile they are. Found during an excavation at the site of the Roman fort of Vindolanda, today's Northumberland, they were only preserved due to being buried in damp, aerobic earth. Wafer thin, the small wooden slabs are covered in a Latin scrawl detailing the daily lives of soldiers who spent their days at Hadrian's Wall, the Roman Empire's northernmost border.

The size of our postcards today, the Vindolanda tablets don't look like much, but the details they hold about ancient Roman daily life are a rarity. One of the 1,600-odd tablets details work assignments - out of 343 men, 12 were making shoes, 18 were building the bath-house and the rest were collecting rubble, plastering, assigned to the wagons, tending to the kilns or working in the

hospital. We also know what some of the soldiers specialised in aside from war.

Virilus and Ario were veterinarians, while Lucius's trade was shield making and Atrectus was a brewer. We are also told about the opposing Celtic warriors and how the Romans looked down on their weaponry and tactics.

Not everything in the tablets is all business, though - one details a birthday party being thrown while another sees a soldier asking his brother for money. We also know what people ate - over 46 different foods are mentioned throughout the tablets, including venison, honey, spices and olives. Even ordinary soldiers could get hold of oysters and pepper.

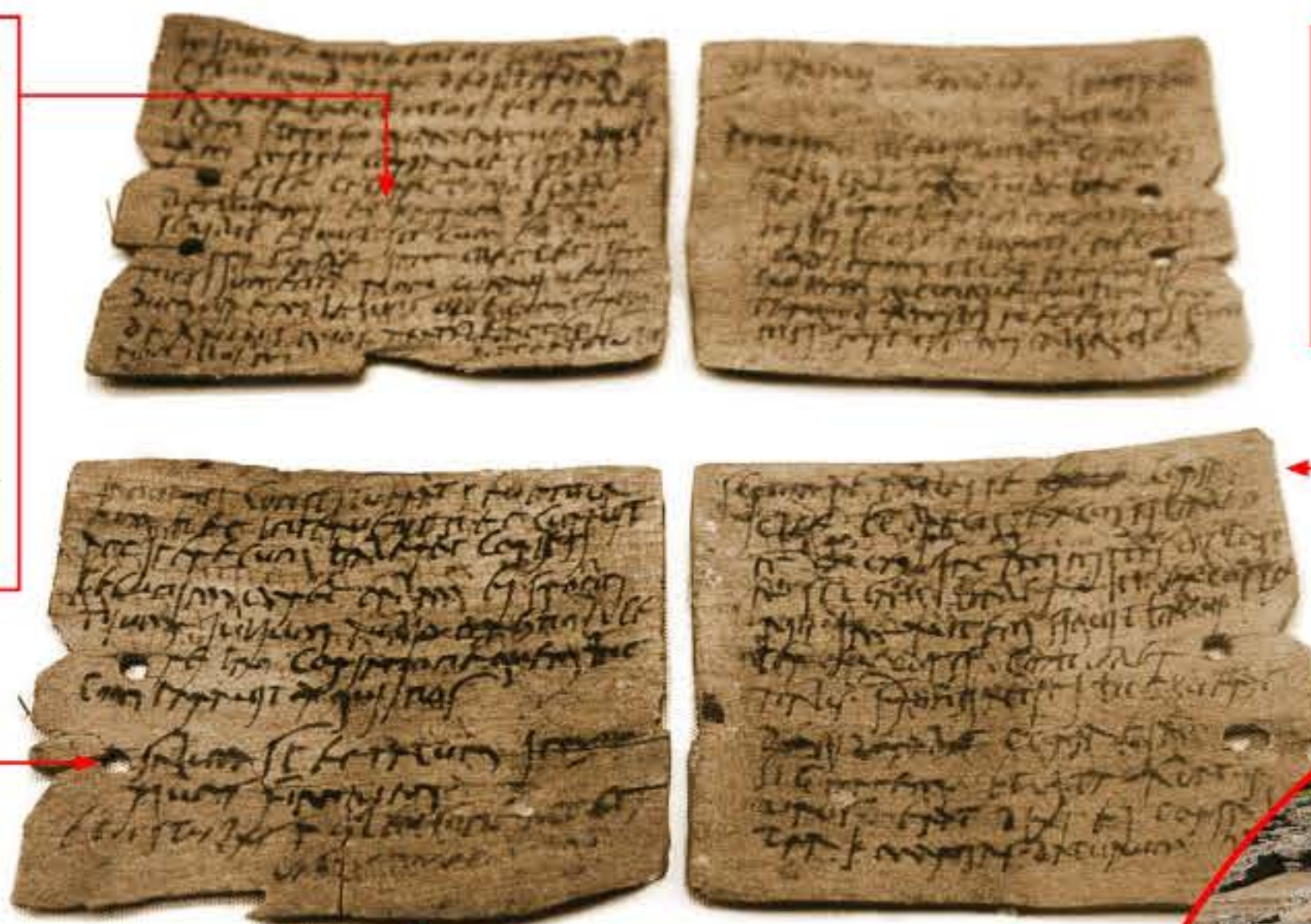
The first tablets were found at Vindolanda in 1973 and since then, digs have been turning up

several of the ancient documents, allowing us to create a better picture of what life was really like in a Roman fort. When they are uncovered, their preservation is of utmost importance so they are placed in water to clean them, then immersed in baths of methyl alcohol and ether to dry them out and make them easier to read. While they have been overtaken as the oldest Roman writings found in Britain by some tablets that have been found in London, they are still among the earliest texts produced in Roman Britain and hold a certain amount of significance on that merit alone.

**"ONE
DETAILS A
BIRTHDAY
PARTY"**

It's all Latin to me

The Romans would usually write on wax tablets so that they could erase their writing when they were done with it. These tablets are written in ink, which has preserved incredibly well, meaning that these documents were at one time considered to be important to the soldiers.



Measuring up

Only the size of the postcards we use today, the Vindolanda tablets and those found elsewhere in Britain don't look like much when they're dug up. They're also incredibly flimsy at two to five millimetres thick, and their age certainly doesn't help their fragile state.

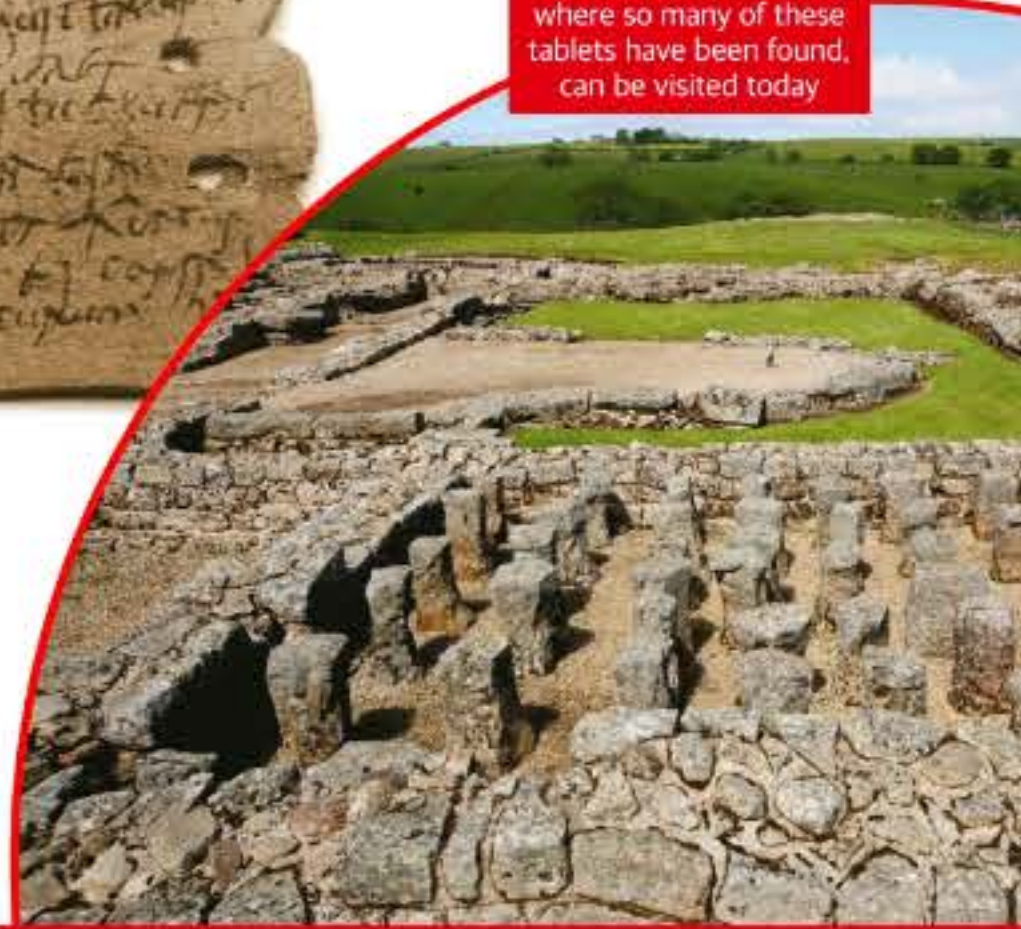
Tied together

Little holes or v-shaped notches in the most well-preserved tablets show where they were tied together to create longer documents. Over the past 2,000 years, whatever was used to tie them together has disintegrated in the earth but that's the least of archaeologists' worries.

The original paper

Most of the tablets are made from the bark of birch or elder trees, but this isn't always the case. Some of the ones found at Vindolanda have been written on oak, which doesn't preserve so well in the damp ground and so it is trickier to uncover what is written on them.

The ruins of Vindolanda, where so many of these tablets have been found, can be visited today



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Royal rivalry



ELIZABETH Vs MARY

The tale of two queens, one driven by ambition, another blighted by insecurity, and their fight to the bitter end

Written by Jessica Leggett

The bloody death of Mary, Queen of Scots ended the rivalry that had consumed both her and her cousin, Queen Elizabeth I of England, for almost three decades. Pitted against each other as female rulers in a man's world, the once seemingly affectionate relationship between the two queens soured as scheming and intrigue intervened to the point where only one of them could walk away alive.

Mary was just six days old when she became Queen of Scots after the death of her father King James V. With her mother, Mary of Guise, left in Scotland to rule in her stead Mary was sent to France at the tender age of five to be raised as the future wife of Prince Francis, son and heir of King Henri II and Queen Catherine de Medici.

The couple married in a sumptuous ceremony in April 1558 and after the sudden death of Henri just a year later, Mary and Francis ascended the throne to begin their long-awaited reign of glory. Unfortunately, it was tragically brief as Francis, suffering from a deadly ear infection, died in December 1560. No longer needed in France, Mary returned to Scotland in 1561 as an 18-year-old widow, setting eyes on her realm for the first time in 13 years. Welcomed warmly by her people, Mary's return was met with suspicion by the Protestant lords who had seized power during her absence. After all, they weren't eager to see the return of their young, Catholic queen after establishing Protestantism in Scotland.

They weren't the only ones to dread her return. Just seven months after Mary's marriage to Francis, Elizabeth had ascended the throne in England. It was no secret that Roman Catholics, both in England and the rest of

Europe, perceived Elizabeth to be a bastard and a pretender to the throne. In their eyes it was Mary, as a great-granddaughter of King Henry VII, who was the rightful Queen of England.

Unsurprisingly, Elizabeth's Privy Council and in particular her chief advisor, Sir William Cecil, were disturbed to hear that Mary had incorporated the arms of England into her own during her time in France.

Although Mary had been raised by Henri to believe that she was the rightful Queen of England for his own personal gain, his ambition had become Mary's - and it was all-consuming.

Now in Scotland, Mary was obsessed with the issue of the English succession. Adopting a

charm offensive, she sent her cousin countless affectionate letters and gifts to her "dearest sister and cousin" as well as an ambassador to England, hoping to encourage Elizabeth to name her heir.

Understanding that Mary was a rival but not, at this stage, an enemy, Elizabeth also indulged in exchanging letters and gifts, although she avoided answering the ambassador's questions and danced around the topic of her heir.

Meanwhile, Mary found herself embroiled in political intrigue and poor decisions in Scotland. The question surrounding her own succession had sparked debate amongst Mary's nobles, who argued over who would



Cecil and Walsingham were determined to find a way to trap Mary



Mary pictured with her first husband, King Francis II of France

make a suitable husband for their queen. Even Elizabeth waded into the discussion, suggesting her own favourite, Robert Dudley, as a suitor.

Mary was left infuriated by Elizabeth's suggestion. Not only was Dudley far beneath her in terms of rank, but Mary knew that he was Elizabeth's rumoured lover - why would she want her cousin's leftovers? Bizarrely, Elizabeth even went as far as to suggest that Mary and Dudley could live in England - with her - in a ménage à trois. Needless to say, both Mary and Dudley were not impressed.

Taking matters into her own hands, Mary chose her own husband - her first cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. They married in 1565 and since Darnley had his own claim to the English throne, their marriage bolstered Mary's position in her quest to be named Elizabeth's heir - a decision that left the English queen furious.

Arrogant and violent, Darnley infuriated Mary's nobles as well. When Mary refused to grant her husband the Crown Matrimonial, thereby making him King of Scots, Darnley was blinded with rage. If she would not give him the crown, he would find a way to take it.

On 9 March 1566 Darnley burst into Mary's private dining room with his supporters and stabbed her secretary and confidante, David Rizzio, to death. The brutality was even more shocking since Mary, who witnessed the murder, was pregnant with Darnley's baby.

She gave birth to her son and heir, Prince James, just three months later.

Rizzio's death was the beginning of the end for Darnley and in February 1567, he was found dead following an explosion at Kirk o' Field house in Edinburgh.

Darnley's body was discovered in the orchard and with no markings to suggest that the blast had killed him, it was quickly agreed that he had been murdered. Soon enough, accusations were being thrown at Mary that she had ordered her husband's assassination.

Elizabeth implored Mary to find those responsible and clear her name.

There was a strong belief that the Earl of Bothwell, a powerful noble with his own armed

following, was responsible for Darnley's murder and that he had been having an affair with Mary. Before his trial, Elizabeth wrote to her cousin in hope and warning "that all the world may feel justified in believing you innocent of so enormous a crime, which, if you were not, would be food cause for degrading you from the rank of Princes..."

Placed on trial in April, Bothwell was acquitted of the murder due to lack of evidence, although many remained convinced of his guilt. It didn't help that now Mary was a widow, Bothwell was already scheming to marry her. Travelling back to Edinburgh after visiting her son in Stirling, the queen was intercepted by Bothwell and his men. Claiming that her life was in danger and that he would escort her to safety, Mary had no choice but to go with Bothwell as his men left her outnumbered.

What happened next is still debated, but it is suggested that Bothwell raped Mary to force her into marriage.

They were subsequently married on the 15 May, just three months after Darnley's untimely demise. It was the final straw for Mary's exasperated nobles, who decided to remove their embattled queen once and for all.

One month after their ill-fated wedding Mary and Bothwell faced the nobles and their troops at Carberry Hill. The queen bravely led her men into battle but her support soon dissipated, and Mary agreed to surrender with Bothwell fleeing into exile. Taken to Edinburgh and then imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle, Mary endured the agony of miscarrying twins.

On 24 July 1567 Mary was offered a choice - either abdicate or have her throat slit. Terrified,

Mary signed her abdication in favour of her son James, who was just a year old, leaving her half-brother, the Earl of Moray, as his regent.

When news of Mary's abdication reached Elizabeth, she immediately sent her ambassador, Nicholas Throckmorton, to Scotland try and convince the rebellious lords to restore their queen, to no avail. After a year in captivity Mary escaped from Loch Leven and fled across the border to England in panic, believing that Elizabeth would help her regain the Scottish throne. It was a naïve decision because as soon as Mary set foot in England, Cecil began plotting to get rid of her by any means necessary.

He had Mary immediately placed under house arrest, first at Carlisle Castle and then at Bolton Castle where she remained for six months. Despite these bleak

circumstances Mary wrote to Elizabeth begging for a meeting to plead her case.

However, Elizabeth refused to meet until Mary had been proven innocent of Darnley's murder and suggested setting up a tribunal to investigate the accusations made against her.

The tribunal began in October 1568 and the charges of adultery and murder were examined. As evidence of Mary's conduct, Moray suddenly produced the infamous Casket Letters, which she had supposedly written to Bothwell between January and April 1567.

The letters confirmed the queen's adulterous relationship and a plot to kill Darnley, making her look as guilty as sin.

Outraged, Mary declared that the letters were forgeries and as an anointed queen, she refused to believe any court had the right to try her. As her commissioners were refused permission

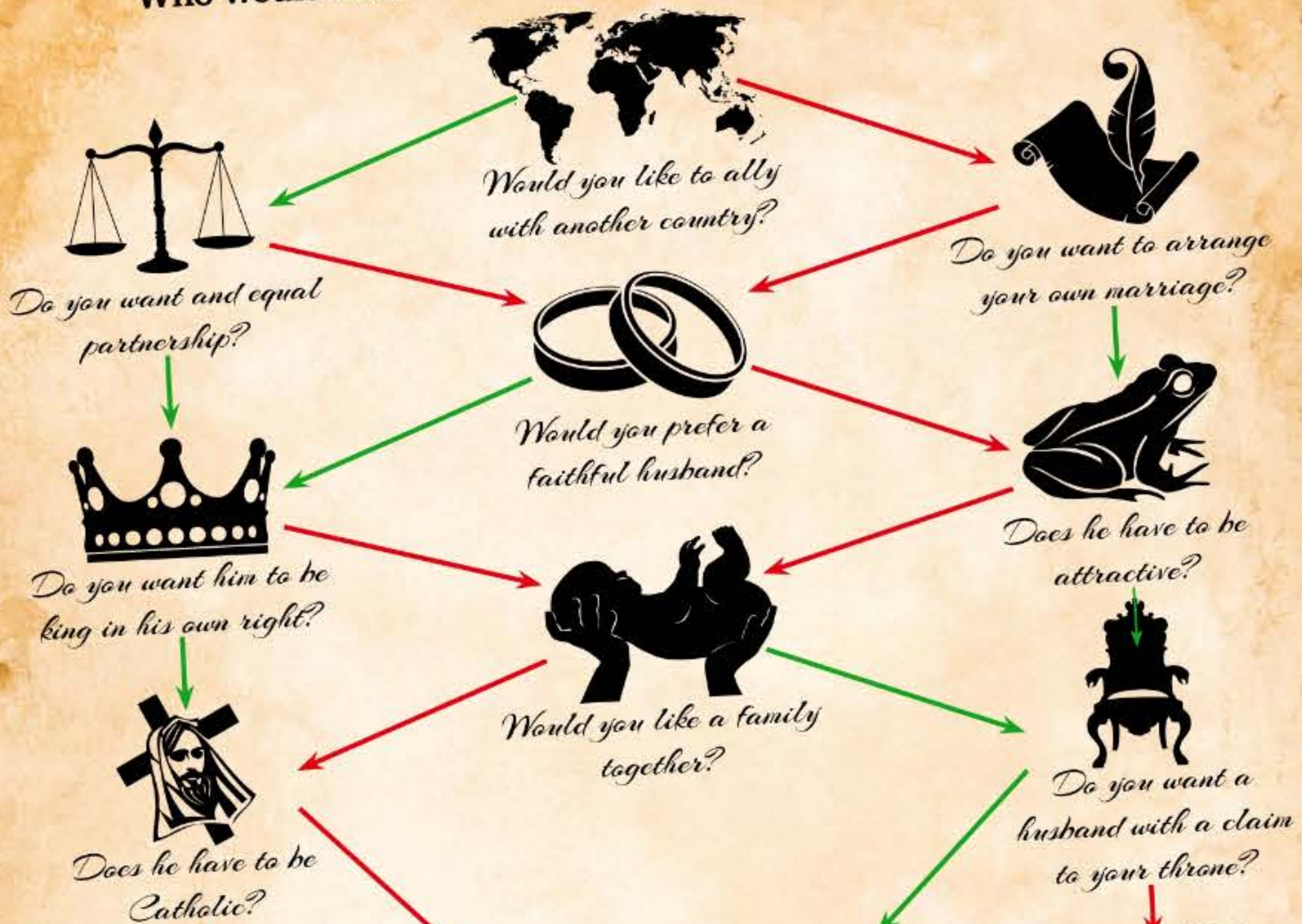
"It is alleged that Bothwell raped Mary to force her into marriage"

David Rizzio stabbed to death in front of Mary while she was pregnant with her son James



Dating Game

Who would make a suitable husband for the Queen of Scots?



King Francis II of France

Francis was Mary's first husband and they cared deeply for one another, having spent a happy childhood together. Francis was just 15 years old when he ascended the throne of France and he also used the arms of England as Mary's husband, presenting themselves as the rightful rulers of England. However, their ambitions were cut short with his sudden death, leaving Mary a widow.



Edward, Prince of Wales

Before Francis a proposed marriage between Mary and Edward was suggested by the latter's father, King Henry VIII. To force Mary's mother to accept, Henry launched a series of attacks on Scotland, an event that became known as the Rough Wooing. In the end, the only purpose it served was as the catalyst for sending Mary to France in 1548 - Edward died just five years later.



Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley

When Mary first laid eyes on her cousin, Lord Darnley, she exclaimed that he was "the lustiest and best proportioned long man" that she had ever seen. As a great-grandson of King Henry VII, Darnley had his own claim to the English throne, making his marriage to Mary a threat to Elizabeth. Unfortunately, Darnley was power hungry and his attempt to steal Mary's throne led to his own downfall.



James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell

Bothwell was one of Scotland's most powerful nobles, with the means to protect Mary in the face of growing unrest. The nature of their relationship, whether it was a matter of love or Bothwell forcing Mary to marry him, is still debated. Regardless, it led to an uprising against the queen and Bothwell fled to Denmark, where he spent a decade imprisoned before his death in 1578.

Royal Rivals

How do the reigns of these two queens compare?

RELIGION

By the time Elizabeth ascended the throne, England could no longer cope with being pulled back and forth between Protestantism and Catholicism. Favouring a tolerant approach Elizabeth's Religious Settlement consisted of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity passed in 1559, which established a middle ground between the two religions and allowed people to believe in what they wished, with Elizabeth as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Although recusants of both religions resisted the new measures, a tentative balance was reached.



While Mary was away in France, Scotland had gone from being a Catholic country to a Protestant one. Consequently, as a Catholic female ruler, the cards were stacked against Mary in a rough and male-dominated realm. However, just like Elizabeth, Mary took a tolerant approach to religion. Mary understood that she was not in a position to fight the powerful Scottish lords and so she did not interfere with religion, even helping to crush a Catholic rebellion in 1562. Mary also wanted to avoid upsetting Elizabeth, in case it risked her chances of being named heir.



POLITICS

It is well known that loyal and close advisors such as Cecil and Walsingham served Elizabeth for the majority of her reign, and she relied on them heavily. The queen was known to comprise and listen to her advisors, for which she has been commended, but could frustrate them with her indecision, often taking months to make a choice. Having said this, Elizabeth could certainly stand her ground with her advisors, even if they did go behind her back.



Unlike her cousin Elizabeth, Mary was not surrounded by men who were loyal to their queen and many of them were suspicious of her as a Catholic. Her attempts to mediate between her advisors often backfired and some of them in particular, namely her half-brother Moray, had designs on her crown. Mary's fate was sealed thanks to her disastrous marriages to Darnley and Bothwell, who both wanted to seize her power, further weakening her position beyond repair.



SECURING THE SUCCESSION

To the frustration of Cecil and her advisors, Elizabeth constantly flirted with the idea of marriage but never committed to it instead choosing to style herself as England's 'Virgin Queen'. In doing so, she never provided England with an heir and she refused to name one until she was lying on her deathbed. Without a child to succeed her, Elizabeth was forced to leave the crown to Mary's son, King James VI, bringing an end to the Tudor dynasty.



Undoubtedly Mary's greatest achievement was successfully producing a male heir for the Scottish throne. It was a triumph over Elizabeth, who remained childless, with Mary able to show that she had the means to continue her dynasty. Although she lost her throne and her head, Mary's son James succeeded her in Scotland and he eventually succeeded Elizabeth in England, joining the two realms in a personal union.



STABILITY

As Queen of England for over four decades, Elizabeth provided England with much needed stability after the short and turbulent reigns of her brother, King Edward VI, and her sister, Queen Mary I. Though Elizabeth's position on throne was threatened while her cousin remained alive and she was targeted by numerous assassination plots, the queen ultimately prevailed to oversee a golden age in English history.



Unfortunately for Mary, her position on the Scottish throne was always far from stable. She was always perceived to be more of a French queen than a Scottish one, and the Scottish lords resented the fact that France had held so much influence in Scotland during the regency of her mother. Trapped in a vicious cycle of political intrigue and poor decisions, Mary lost her throne just six years after her return, which is a testament to how unstable her crown really was.

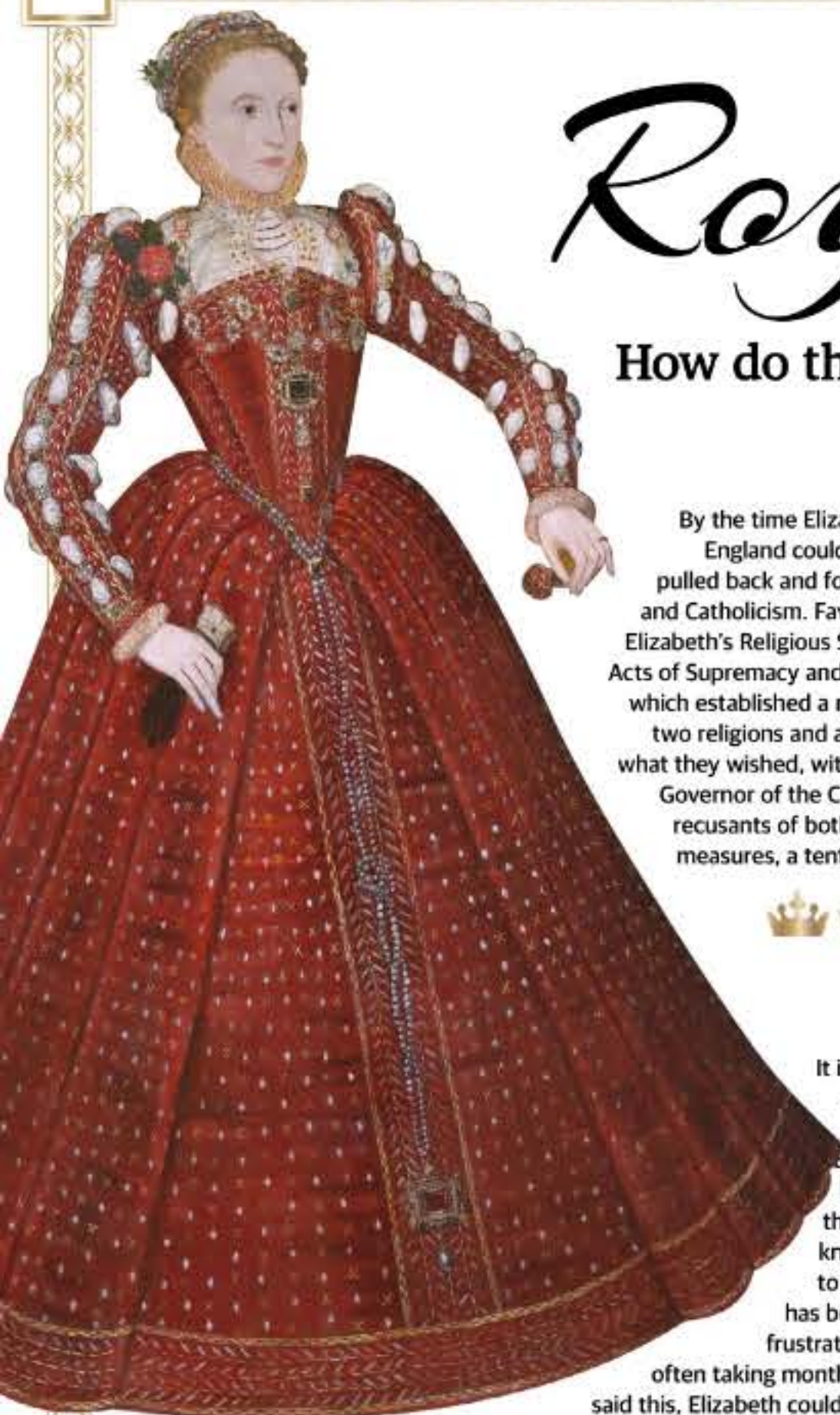


LEGACY

There is no denying that Elizabeth left an enduring legacy that continues to fascinate us to this very day. She dedicated an extraordinary amount of time to cultivating her image and propaganda, creating some of the most iconic portraits in English history. Elizabeth left behind a stable and secure England for which she is celebrated as 'Gloriana', forever a symbol of English patriotism and success.



If this rating was about infamy, then Mary would score 5/5, no questions asked. Her downfall and execution was one of the most controversial moments in history and to this day, there are constantly new films, books and television series dedicated to examining her complicated life. However, losing her crown permanently damaged Mary's reputation as a queen and consequently tarnished her legacy in the centuries since her death.



*Elizabeth I,
Queen of England*



*Mary,
Queen of Scots*

The ruins of Loch Leven Castle, where Mary was imprisoned



Elizabeth vs Mary

Norfolk, the man who had led Mary's tribunal, had been plotting to marry her for some time. The proposed marriage was supported by a few leading nobles, including Dudley, who hoped Mary would convert to Protestantism and be restored to her Scottish throne as an ally for England. Mary readily agreed to marry Norfolk, hoping it would secure her freedom.

The nobles had conducted the negotiations in secret, fearing the queen's wrath.

When the scheme was discovered, a furious Elizabeth had Norfolk thrown into the Tower of London in October.

In a letter dated 31 January 1570 Mary remained defiant, writing, "You have promised to be mine, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it".

In the meantime, a Catholic plot to depose Elizabeth and replace her with Mary was underway, known as the Rising of the North. Led by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, they were accompanied by a total of 6,000 rebels.

When news of the rebellion broke, Elizabeth moved Mary to Coventry so the conspirators couldn't free her.

The rising was crushed and many of the rebels fled to Scotland, while another 600 to 800 of them were sent to the hangman's noose.

Nevertheless, this rebellion was the first uprising against the queen and it had left Elizabeth shaken - she knew

that Mary's presence was a threat, but now it had come to fruition.

The danger to Elizabeth's life was highlighted further after James Hamilton, whose family supported Mary, assassinated Moray in

to look at the letters, Mary demanded to personally appear at the tribunal to plead her innocence, but Elizabeth refused her request.

Despite the letters, the case was ultimately deemed 'not proven' in January 1569.

It was exactly what Elizabeth wanted, since this verdict allowed her to avoid making a choice regarding her cousin's fate.

Interestingly, the queen's failure to intervene in the trial indicates that she may have known that the Casket Letters had been fabricated to condemn Mary.

With Mary declared neither guilty nor innocent, Elizabeth could keep her cousin under house arrest for as long as she wanted. She could also avoid receiving Mary at court to prevent upsetting her allies in Scotland while at the same time, stop her cousin from seeing those who would turn her into a figurehead for Catholic plots against the crown.

These fears weren't helped by the volatile situation occurring in Europe, with the counter-reformation taking a hold in France with the Wars of Religion, as well as the Dutch Revolt in the Low Countries against King Philip II of Spain. The rivalry between Mary and Elizabeth mirrored this battle between Catholicism and Protestantism, turning them into symbolic representatives for their respective religions.

It would be easy to paint Elizabeth as the evil queen who kept Mary imprisoned, but the truth is she sympathised with her cousin.

Though Mary was her rival, Elizabeth knew exactly what it was like to be used by the opposition, because it had happened to her just over a decade earlier, during the reign of her Catholic half-sister Queen Mary I.

Embroided in Wyatt's Rebellion against Mary in 1554, Elizabeth almost lost her head. Imprisoned in the Tower of London for two months, Elizabeth failed to incriminate herself with her clever and evasive answers, to the dismay of Mary and her advisors.

With no hard evidence to condemn her, Elizabeth was released and placed under house arrest for a year in Woodstock, followed by a short return to court to attend to Mary during

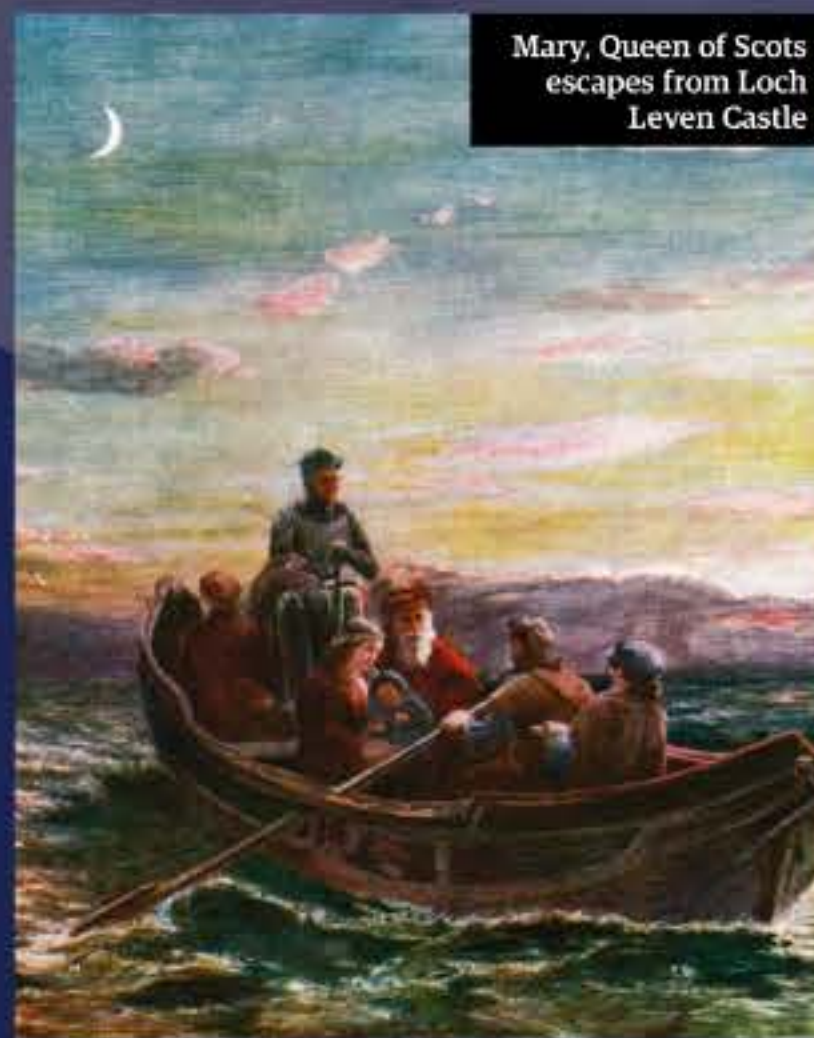
her first phantom pregnancy. Afterwards, Elizabeth retreated to Hatfield House to escape court gossip and further implication in malicious plots, choosing to remain there for the rest of Mary's reign.

Coming so close to death had taught Elizabeth that even without concrete evidence, she was in constant danger - just like her cousin - and that if Mary was to be condemned, there had to be definite proof of her guilt.

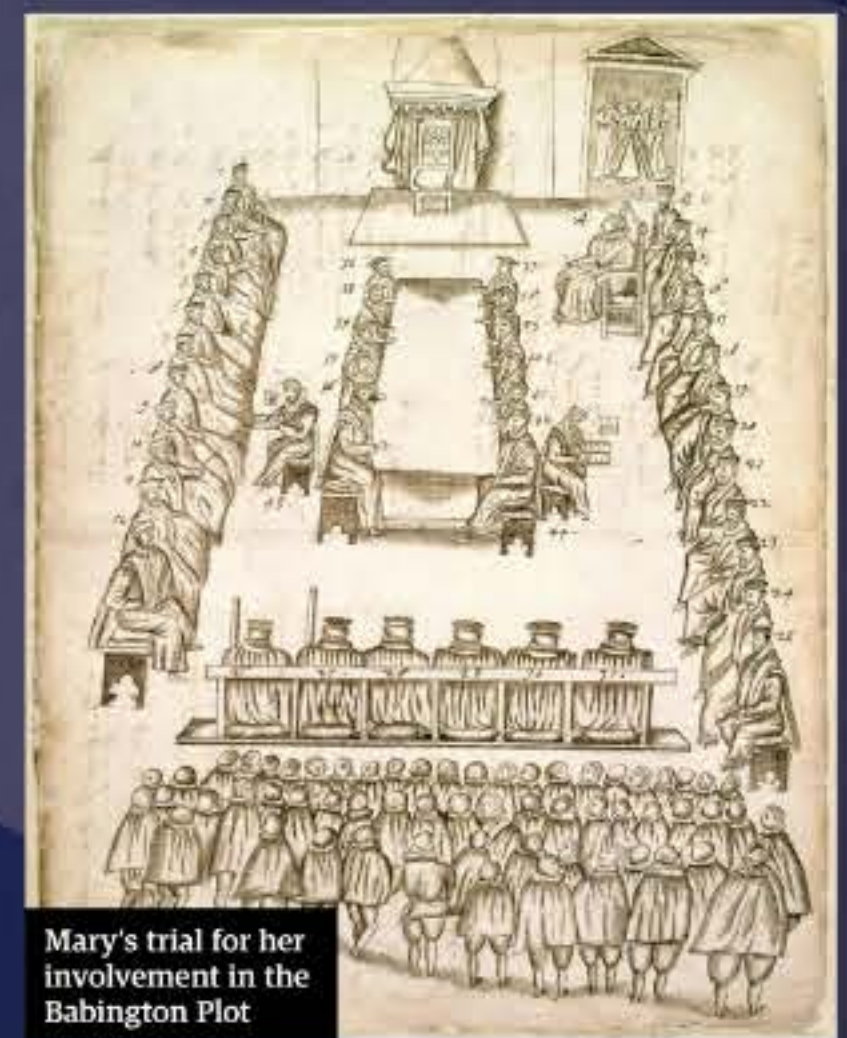
Following the tribunal, Mary was placed in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury and his wife, Bess of Hardwick, at Tutbury Castle.

Although she was locked away, Mary still remained a threat to Elizabeth's throne. As a solution, it was suggested that Mary should marry a loyal English nobleman in order to neutralise her power. In particular, there was one man, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, who was willing to marry the Scottish queen.

"If Mary was to be condemned, there had to be definite proof of her guilt"



Mary, Queen of Scots escapes from Loch Leven Castle



Mary's trial for her involvement in the Babington Plot

Royal rivalry

Linlithgow on 23 January 1570. Just a month later, Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and declared her a heretic, adding that her Catholic subjects didn't owe any obedience to her – calling Elizabeth's authority into question.

In August, Norfolk was released from the Tower of London after ten months imprisonment.

As calculating as ever, Norfolk quickly became involved in the Ridolfi plot to free Mary and depose Elizabeth with the help of King Philip. Norfolk and Mary would then marry and together, begin a quest to restore Catholicism across the realm.

Realising that it was increasingly unlikely that Elizabeth would help her regain her throne, Mary had communicated with Roberto Ridolfi, an Italian who was leader of the conspiracy and in the employ of the pope. He had travelled across Europe to garner support for her cause, even visiting the Spanish court to discuss the details with King Philip himself.

However, Ridolfi had confessed the plot to Cosimo I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who subsequently informed Elizabeth.

With her spy network on high alert the plot was quickly uncovered and Norfolk's treachery was quickly revealed after his servants were interrogated. During a raid on his home, several coded letters from Mary to Norfolk were discovered along with a cipher, which Cecil's spies promptly used to decode them.

Norfolk and his conspirators were arrested and despite his denial, the evidence was stacked against him. Meanwhile in Westminster, Cecil rubbed his hands with glee believing that he now had grounds to push for Mary's execution.

Hoping to force Elizabeth's hand, he had the Casket Letters published anonymously just before the convening on the 1572 parliament to smear Mary's reputation.

In June 1572, Norfolk lost his head after being found guilty of high treason. Luckily for Mary, she hadn't written anything

incriminating in the letters and so she escaped the consequences for her involvement. She may have survived but Mary's role in the plot nonetheless damaged Elizabeth's opinion of her, with the queen realising that her rival may just be more than a figurehead for the opposition after all.

In spite of everything, Mary still hoped to secure a meeting with Elizabeth.

Along with her numerous letters, she sent various gifts to Elizabeth in the hope of capturing her attention.

In 1574, Mary even handmade a crimson skirt with silver needlework for Elizabeth, securing the materials from the French ambassador in London and asking him to present it to the queen for her. Elizabeth was reportedly pleased with Mary's gifts, yet she still ignored her pleas to meet. In 1583, the Throckmorton Plot to depose Elizabeth and replace her with Mary, was successfully foiled. In response, Cecil and Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's spymaster and secretary of state, drafted the Bond of Association. The bond was a pledge to defend the queen and prosecute those who either attempted to assassinate Elizabeth or usurp her throne, whether they were successful or not.

Among the signatories was Mary, who agreed to sign the bond to demonstrate her loyalty to her cousin. Unfortunately, circumstances beyond Mary's control deepened the divide between her and Elizabeth. In 1584, the Dutch Republic's Protestant ruler William of Orange was assassinated, heightening the fears of Elizabeth's government that her life was in imminent danger.

Their answer was the Act for the Surety of the Queen's Royal Person, signed in 1585, which allowed for any claimant to the throne to be tried for plots against Elizabeth carried out in their name, regardless of whether they were involved or not.

The act was the first step in creating a legitimate, legal process that could be used to

"Mary's role in the plot nonetheless damaged Elizabeth's opinion of her"



A portrait of Mary in captivity



Mary's death finally brought an end to her bitter rivalry Elizabeth

try Mary and potentially put her to death if she plotted against Elizabeth.

It allowed Elizabeth and her government to remove Mary from the line of succession, although the queen specified that the act shouldn't exclude the heirs of those found guilty of treason, unless they were also involved. Elizabeth was clearly thinking about King James VI and the future of the English succession when she included this caveat. However she wasn't the only one thinking about James, as Mary had to reach out to her son for help in negotiating her freedom. Sadly, Mary's hope was in vain.

In her absence, James had been raised to believe that she was an adulterer who deserved to lose the crown and now that he was King of Scots, he had no desire to see her return home.

Mary was crushed by her son's rejection and to twist the knife further, James forged a new Anglo-Scottish alliance with Elizabeth, signing the Treaty of Berwick on the 6 July 1586. After almost two decades of captivity, abandoned by James and resigned to the fact Elizabeth would never help her, Mary was forced to accept any support that came her way.



Mary was forced to abdicate the throne in favour of her son

SEVERN.

A Downfall Prevented?

If she had made some wiser decisions, Mary could have saved her throne

It has often been wondered whether Mary had the potential to save her crown if she had made other choices. Before returning to Scotland she reassured the lords that she would not interfere in the religion of the realm, and it was a promise she that kept. But could Mary have intervened in other ways to protect herself from malicious plots and intrigue?

It is generally agreed that one of Mary's biggest mistakes was to not pack her Privy Council with loyal supporters upon her return, instead allowing the lords who had seized power to remain in their positions. Perhaps Mary felt, understandably, that she was not in a position to force out the men who had filled the power vacuum in her absence. However, Mary did have supporters that were loyal to her and initially, her people were pleased to see her return - she could have successfully changed her council if she tried.

While we will never know, there is the possibility that Mary could have survived in Scotland if Darnley had been a better consort to her, instead of inciting factions in his own bid for her crown. After all, with their joint claim to the English throne, they could have been a far bigger threat to Elizabeth than Mary was alone - although having said this, Darnley's attitude and behaviour was simply a factor beyond her control.

Mary with her son James VI, who would eventually succeed to both the Scottish and English thrones



Mary tirelessly sent letters to Elizabeth during her imprisonment

Vostre bien bonne fille
MARIE

Royal rivalry

Mary's final moments as she is led to her execution



It soon arrived in the form of a young English nobleman - Anthony Babington. On the same day that the Treaty of Berwick was signed, Babington wrote to Mary seeking approval for his plot to free her from imprisonment while his accomplices assassinated Elizabeth. Waiting 11 days before choosing to reply, Mary offered no resistance to the "accomplishing of their design" and suggested that they would need foreign help to secure her the English throne.

What Mary and Babington didn't realise was that Walsingham and his spy network had known about this plot for some time, waiting for concrete evidence that would force Elizabeth to finally execute her cousin. Sending in a double agent to infiltrate the plot, Walsingham ensured that he could intercept Mary's correspondence with Babington, waiting for the moment she would incriminate herself.

As Walsingham had hoped, Mary's response to Babington was everything he needed.

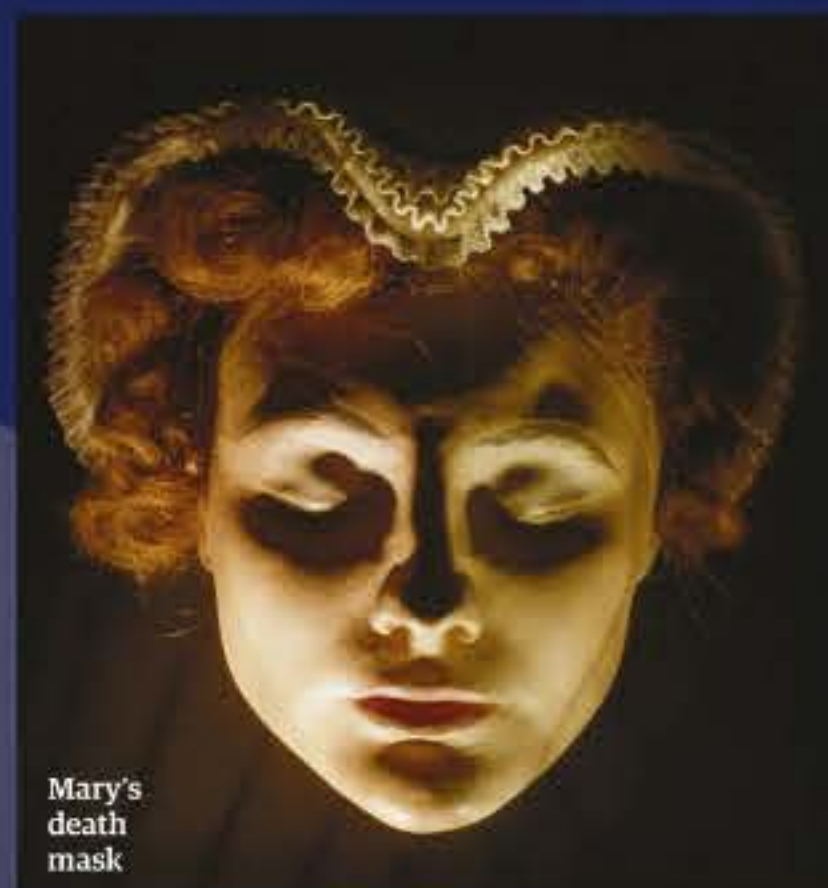
The moment that Elizabeth read the letter, her lingering sympathies for Mary and her predicament finally disappeared - it was the final, ultimate betrayal.

With Babington and his conspirators rounded up by Walsingham, the queen decided to make an example of them to deter future plots against her life.

Hanged, drawn and quartered, Babington and his men were brutally disembowelled and forced to watch their entrails burnt before their very eyes before they died.

Arrested in August and tried before a special commission, Mary was found guilty of treason on 25 October 1586 despite her protestations of innocence.

While her advisors clamoured for Mary's execution, Elizabeth remained reluctant to condemn Mary, a fellow anointed queen, to death, fearing retribution at God's hands. After weeks of indecision, Elizabeth succumbed to the pressure and had Mary's unsigned death warrant drawn up on 4 December 1586. The following month, James wrote to Elizabeth to



Mary's death mask

ask for mercy on behalf of his mother but he didn't threaten their alliance, considering his own position as Elizabeth's likely heir.

On 1 February 1587, Elizabeth finally put her pen to paper and signed Mary's death warrant but left it unsealed, ordering her secretary and privy council member, William Davison, not to send it. However, Cecil, on the cusp of achieving his long-awaited goal, ignored Elizabeth's wishes.

Sealing the warrant, he sent it before the queen had an opportunity to change her mind.

Exactly one week later Mary was executed at Fotheringhay Castle.

Her dignified composure, clasping a prayer book and a rosary, transformed Mary into a Catholic martyr.

Upon hearing the news, Elizabeth flew into a rage. Placing the blame squarely at the feet of her council, she banished Cecil from the court for weeks and threw Davison in the Tower for handing over the warrant without her consent.

Elizabeth wrote a pleading letter to James and protested her innocence in Mary's death. James accepted Elizabeth's version, with his

path to the English throne clearer now that his mother was gone. For the rest of her life, Elizabeth could never escape the memory of her cousin and it was said that Mary's ghost continued to haunt her for until the end of her days - even on her deathbed Elizabeth supposedly uttered her cousin's name. Although Mary lost her battle against Elizabeth, in the

end she won the war with James's accession to the English throne.

While awaiting her execution, Mary famously embroidered the phrase 'In my end is my beginning', a prophecy that has come true - her rivalry with Elizabeth has ensured that she will always be remembered, entangled in a bitter fight to the end.

"Elizabeth finally put her pen to paper and signed Mary's death warrant"

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Kate Williams on Rival Queens

We speak to bestselling author, historian and broadcaster Kate Williams about her new book, *Rival Queens: The Betrayal of Mary, Queen of Scots*, and the need for a new, modern perspective

Interview by Jessica Leggett

Firstly, could you sum up for our readers what your book, *Rival Queens: The Betrayal of Mary, Queen of Scots*, is all about?

My book is all about Mary, Queen of Scots, the betrayal and Elizabeth's relationship with her, looking at how indeed Mary was undermined and set up to fail from the beginning.

Obviously, Elizabeth is a great queen and we rightly see a lot of what she did as effective, such as religious toleration, but Mary also attempted to do this and failed. I am fascinated by the story of two queens and one island and this incredible rivalry between them.

A lot of work has already been done on the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth. What inspired you to write this book?

I think I was so fascinated by the queenship aspect. We usually see Mary as a tragic queen or a failed queen but she did everything by the book, everything was textbook.

There was religious toleration and she listened to her ministers, but rather than just trying to undermine her like Elizabeth's did by going behind her back, they tried to kidnap her and attack her. They staged power coups against her from the beginning and it really

shows how hard it was to be a woman living in a man's world.

Have you discovered anything new to this topic?

Well I think the role of her half-brother, James Stuart, Earl of Moray, has been underestimated and how he undermined Mary. It is clear that he is behind a lot of what goes wrong for her and that he had a large influence in the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley. In fact it was thought, at the time, that he had been rather overlooked and forgotten - he is definitely the evil genius in Mary's life. I think that is my new

contribution, apart from looking at Mary in terms of queenship, to see her as a successful queen rather than a failed queen and assess what James did and why as a consequence of that everything went wrong for her.

Do you believe that Mary could have kept her throne?

I think she could have kept her throne. After the death of her husband there was kind of an easy peace and things had settled down.

However, with Bothwell abducting and raping her, followed by their marriage, it really was the end. It is a complicated question because if he hadn't abducted and raped Mary then someone else probably would have done and that brought her down.

I do think that at the end when she is imprisoned at Loch Leven and she escapes, Mary could have gotten power back since her half-brother was unpopular and there was a lot of dislike for him.

Unfortunately, she made the fatal error of going into England and trying to throw herself

at Elizabeth to seek her help, which was a big mistake! Elizabeth didn't want to get her throne back for her and really felt that she couldn't because it would result in a long and difficult war against James in Scotland.

Cecil always saw Mary as a threat and he did a lot to undermine her relationship with Elizabeth. If he hadn't interfered as much as he did, do you think Elizabeth could have done more to help her?

I think certainly Cecil did persuade Elizabeth not to help. She had sympathy for Mary and felt strongly that queens should be protected, but Cecil obviously thought Mary was part of the Catholic threat. Most of all, I think, is the fact that Elizabeth felt that if she executed Mary, she would undermine the specialness of all queens and that was a strong consideration with her – but I don't think Cecil minded the specialness of all queens. He was happy that the state progressed the more Elizabeth lost power, and I think that definitely both him and parliament supported the decline of monarchical power. They were happy for Elizabeth to be there but they also undermined her and went behind her back. I do think that Cecil was particularly instrumental about undermining Mary and she even said, "I see you are my enemy."

If Elizabeth completely had her way, Mary would have had more support but certainly Cecil's terror was that he always felt that Elizabeth didn't understand the Scottish threat and that she just didn't see it.

Elizabeth feared that undermining queenship or the authority of a monarch would mean that she too could potentially lose her throne. Do you think Mary's death set a precedent, considering that King Charles I was executed the following century?

I definitely think it set a precedent in every way and that was Elizabeth's fear, that it did set a precedent for undermining the monarchy. The fact that you can put a queen on trial and execute her means that she is a mortal rather than a divine ruler and if you can take away her

power, then you can keep on doing it. I think it opens the door for what happens with Charles I and I think Elizabeth knew that as well.

"The fact that you can put a queen on trial and execute her means that she is a mortal"

In many ways, the two queens were similar – so why did Elizabeth succeed and Mary didn't?

I think there are two reasons. Elizabeth was surrounded by men that she had built up as loyal in her teenage years while Mary was sent to France where

she had no one, no men to protect her, and she did not have that circle of male friends to build up. The other reason is that it was just such a different country, the lords in Scotland had been used to doing what they wanted for a long time and there was a lot of long-living feuds that went way back. There was also a lot more violence, I mean with Elizabeth they tried to undermine her by not telling her things and holding meetings without her, but they never would have dreamt of trying to kidnap her or trying to rape her, they just wouldn't have done.

Yet there are people trying to kidnap Mary from the beginning so I think they were clearly two very different countries. To all the men around Mary, even though she was a great queen, even though she was royal and rich and much taller than them, she was still just a woman and they could reduce her in the same way that they could reduce all women.

In Rival Queens, you offer a new, modern perspective on Mary rather than the complicit queen, responsible for her own downfall, or the victim of the machinations of those around her. Do you think this is long overdue?

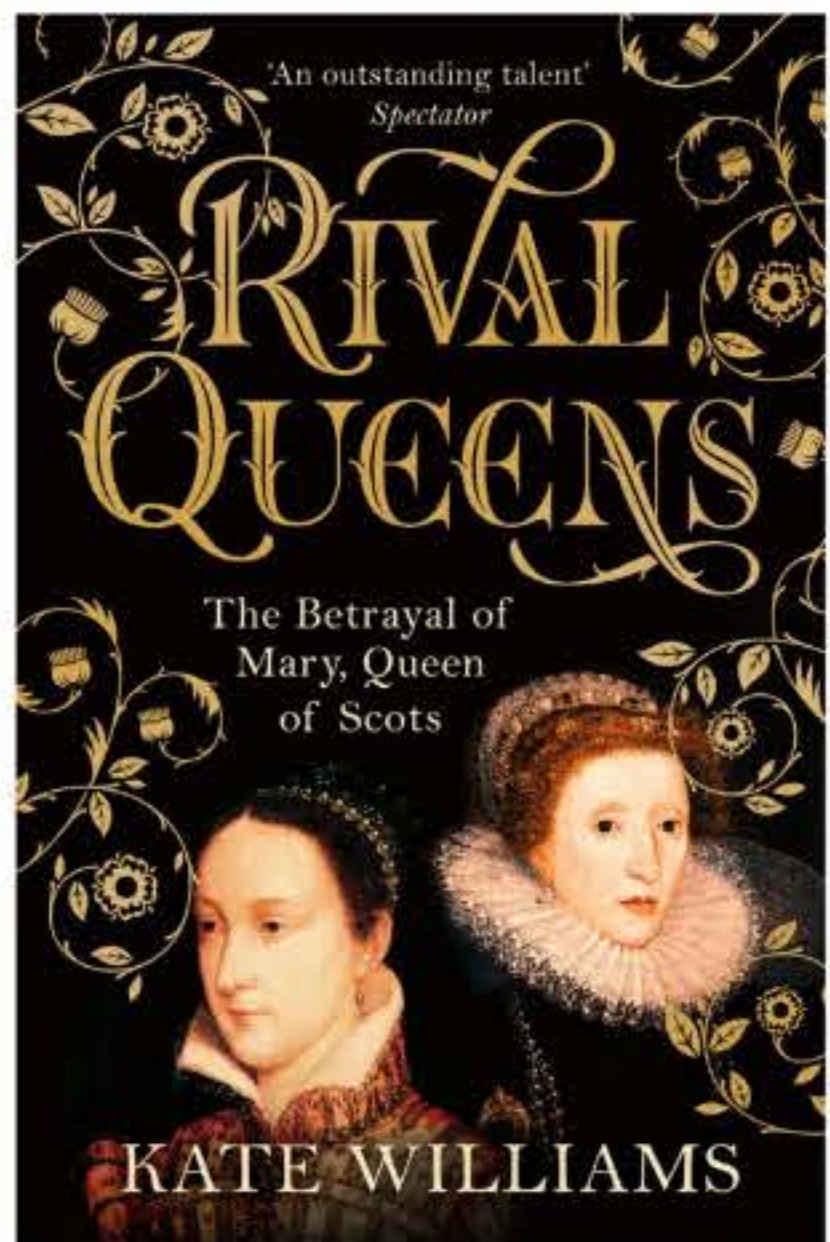
I think it is, we are reassessing sexual assault now – once upon a time it seemed to be the case that you could only get a conviction if it had been a stranger that you had never met before or saw again, who used violence and you fought back. Now, we are increasingly recognising that in a lot of sexual assaults women freeze or they don't fight back because they want to preserve

their life or they know the person – Mary went with Bothwell because she trusted him, he had many more men, and she believed he would look after her.

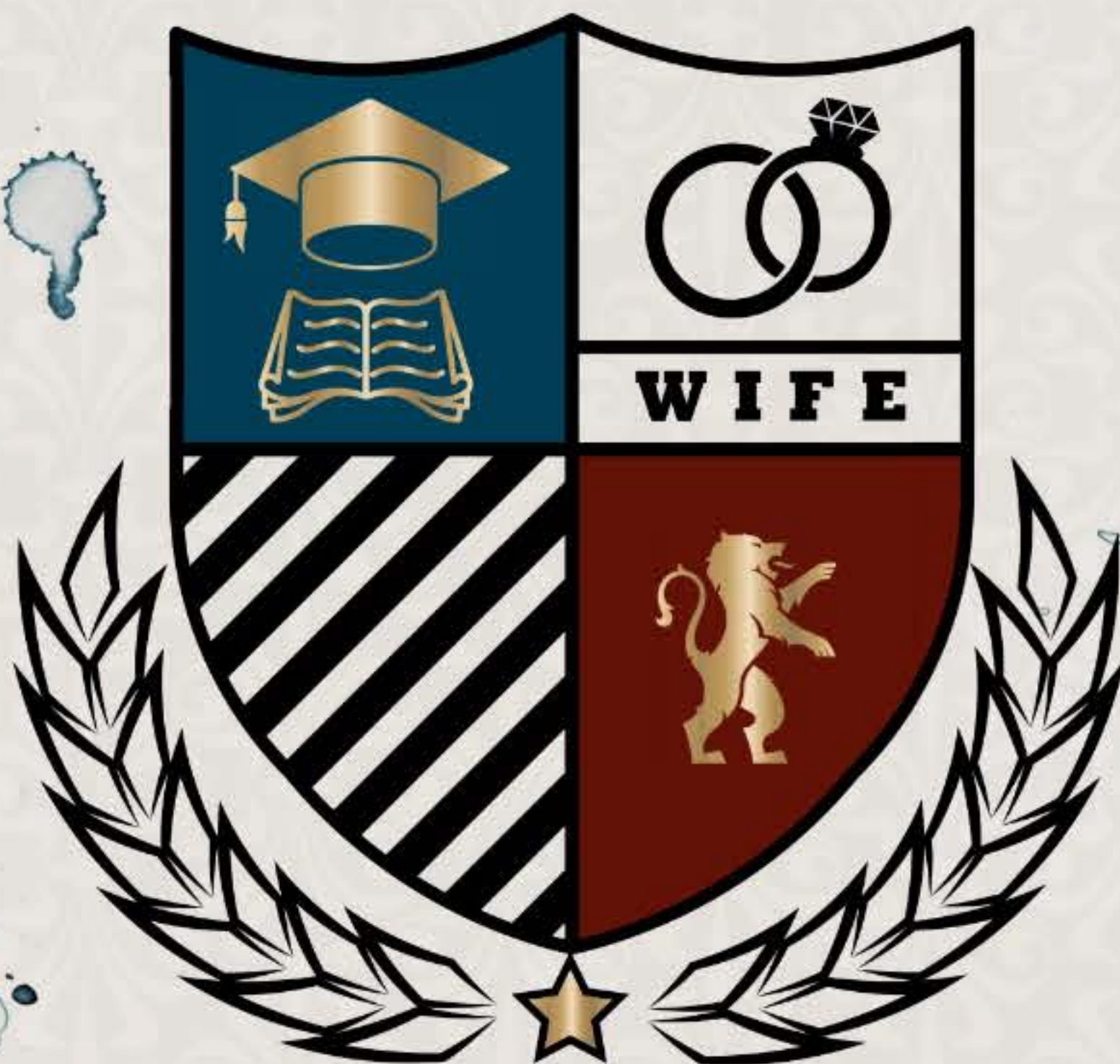
Before, we might have said 'well what did she think was going to happen?'. But now we would say that Mary trusted him, that you have to trust people, and that because Bothwell took everything from her, she felt she had no choice but to marry him. I do think that although Me Too is a modern movement, there were people in the period that did understand this went on, that men would groom or capture women, get them in the wrong position and then exploit them.

I think we do need a perspective on sexual assault in history, one that recognises how it was seen back then.

Everyone agreed that Mary was raped, I mean she said it, the men around her said it, even Bothwell said it! They all agreed it happened but it is interesting that since then, there has been this argument that it didn't happen because she didn't scream her head off when it happened. You know it is funny that sometimes we are told that rape cannot be prosecuted because it is her word against his, she said she was raped while he says it was consensual but in Mary's case, she said he did it, he said he did it and so did everybody else, and still she wasn't believed. Why not believe her? I think now we are having a big change around believing people and not blaming them, which is really important, but we have a long way to go.



Rival Queens: The Betrayal of Mary, Queen of Scots is out now from Hutchinson, Penguin Random House



University of Wife

From Diane de Poitiers to Anne Boleyn, how the French court groomed a generation of Europe's most powerful women

Written by Melanie Clegg

For hundreds of years the French court was a byword for sophistication, fashion and magnificence, attracting the brightest and best from all over Europe. Writers, intellectuals, philosophers and artists all flocked to France to seek employment and inspiration, their efforts adding to the prestige of the French monarchy and the opulent court that they presided over.

Throughout the rest of Europe French style and the exquisite manners cultivated at court were regarded as the height of refinement and definitely something to be aspired to with both men and women copying French fashions and etiquette. However, while French men could often be objects of ridicule thanks to what was regarded as their 'unmanly' interest in fashion and art, French women were regarded as the epitome of polished, sophisticated womanhood and their appearance and behaviour was



Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre was the sister of François I and thanks to her sharp intelligence and excellent education was considered one of the foremost intellectuals of the French Renaissance

endlessly copied elsewhere - in much the same way as it is nowadays thanks to books that claim to teach us how to be more 'Parisian'.

While French clothes, art, perfume and other luxury items would always be sought after by those keen to buy themselves a piece of that covetable Parisian sophistication, French women themselves, products of a system deliberately designed to make them as graceful and cultivated as possible, were the best ambassadors of all and would be welcome at courts throughout Europe.

At a time when interest in the education of women was generally fairly desultory at best and at worst downright negligent, the importance that French aristocratic parents placed on the upbringing of their young daughters was considered rather unusual.

While in England, well-born girls could consider themselves fortunate if they were taught even the most rudimentary literacy



The legendary royal mistress Diane de Poitiers was the result of Anne de Beaujeu's pioneering education system for girls, which made her into one of the most graceful and accomplished women at the French court

A rosewood lute, dating from 1596. The young women of the French court were expected to be talented musicians and the lute was one of the most popular instruments



UNIVERSITY OF WIFE REPORT CARD

NAME: *Diane de Poitiers*

AGE: *15* YEAR: *1511*



SUBJECT	GRADE	REMARKS
<i>Hunting</i>	<i>A+</i>	<i>As befits a girl named after the goddess Diana, Mlle de Poitiers is an excellent rider and highly skilled at all aspects of the hunt.</i>
<i>Sport</i>	<i>A+</i>	<i>I was very impressed when Mlle de Poitiers invented jogging during her second term. Now she just has to design a suitably flattering outfit and shoes to go with her invention!</i>
<i>Cookery</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>We all laughed when Mlle de Poitiers declared that drinking pure gold would do wonders for the complexion but it turns out that she was right! We're all drinking gold now and look amazing!</i>
<i>Latin</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Mlle de Poitiers is a proficient student but lacks enthusiasm - unless the reading material is of a decidedly scandalous nature!</i>

RANK *01*

NO. OF PUPILS IN CLASS *06*

GUARDIAN: *Jean de Poitiers, seigneur de Saint Vallier*

Guardians are requested to sign and return this report

* Note

A indicates very good, B indicates good,
C indicates moderate, D indicates poor



"Noblewomen would spend hours learning how to curtsy"

skills, their French peers were encouraged to read widely, write poetry and familiarise themselves with intellectual pursuits such as the discussion of philosophy, art, literature and religion. Alongside this they were also given lessons in all the usual courtly activities like dancing, playing musical instruments, singing, riding and hunting - all to the very highest standard. Deportment was also extremely important and young French noblewomen would spend hours learning how to curtsy, eat and even walk in the most refined and elegant way possible, the ultimate aim being to make them both ornaments to the royal court and also extremely marriageable.

Although French noblemen naturally preferred wives who brought an enormous dowry with them, allowances were often made for young women who were exceptionally well-educated but sadly lacking in family money, which made parents all the more keen to invest

in the education of their own daughters.

It had become the custom for noble families to send their children away to be educated in the other grand aristocratic households, with the most prestigious placements naturally being within the royal family itself.

At the end of the 15th century, parents were especially keen to have their daughters educated in the household of Charles VIII's sister Anne de Beaujeu, Duchesse de Bourbon at the enormous Château de Chantelle near Moulins. Not only was it considered highly advantageous to be

associated to the king's sister who, furthermore, acted as his regent during his minority, but parents were also drawn to Anne's own formidable intelligence and dedication to the

Etiquette

This enchanting portrait by Jan Gossaert depicts an unknown young girl, possibly Princess Dorothea of Denmark, playing with an astronomical instrument



education of both her own daughter Suzanne de Bourbon and the numerous well-born young women who entered her care.

As Suzanne was Anne's only surviving child and heiress to the enormous wealth and estates that belonged to her parents, it was only natural that the greatest care and attention should be paid to her upbringing, which was designed to prepare her for her future position as one of the greatest ladies in France. To this end, her mother put together a strict educational regime that was designed to make Suzanne as accomplished, cultivated and socially polished as possible with a great deal of emphasis on reading, which included delving into books about humanism, philosophy and religion, in order to broaden her mind as well as all the usual courtly pursuits such as dancing, music and hunting. Anne was also keen that her daughter and other pupils should learn other languages including, unusual for girls at this time, Greek and Latin.

Anne was so pleased with the results of her labours that she even wrote a lengthy book detailing her thoughts and advice about the education of young noblewomen, which was naturally a great hit with ambitious parents all across Europe. Entitled *Lessons for my Daughter*, the book is a treasure trove of information and includes advice such as "always dress well, be cool and poised, with modest eyes, softly spoken, always constant and steadfast, and observe unyielding good sense", "always keep a balanced view of everything" and, rather



Anne de Beaujeu, Duchesse de Bourbon, was the daughter and sister of kings and one of the most influential educators of the period



UNIVERSITY OF WIFE REPORT CARD

NAME: *Anne Boleyn*

AGE: *15* YEAR: *1516*



SUBJECT	GRADE	REMARKS
<i>Music</i>	<i>A+</i>	<i>Mlle. Boleyn excels at music, especially the lute and singing. Her own compositions are also formidable and remarkably catchy.</i>
<i>Deportment</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>We've been extremely impressed by Mlle. Boleyn's progress this year - especially once she'd managed to shake off her rather less than elegant English manners!</i>
<i>French</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Mlle. Boleyn has worked extremely hard to improve her French since arriving at court and is making great progress. She needs to keep an eye on her grammar though.</i>
<i>Theology</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>Mlle. Boleyn has a deep understanding of the Catholic religion but has shown rather too much interest in the ideas of dangerous Protestant radicals. This is definitely a cause for concern.</i>

RANK *03*

NO. OF PUPILS IN CLASS *06*

GUARDIAN: *Thomas Boleyn, 1st Earl of Wiltshire*
Guardians are requested to sign and return this report

* Note
A indicates very good, B indicates good,
C indicates moderate, D indicates poor



When Anne Boleyn, fresh from several years at the French court, caught Henry VIII's eye it was probably due to her polished French manners, sense of style and vivacity



UNIVERSITY OF WIFE REPORT CARD

NAME: *Marie de Guise*
AGE: *15* YEAR: *1530*



SUBJECT	GRADE	REMARKS
<i>Physical Education</i>	<i>A+</i>	<i>Mlle de Guise is one of the stars of the sports field, aided by her unusual height, enthusiasm and sense of fair play. The hockey team has blossomed during her time as captain.</i>
<i>Geography</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Mlle de Guise has made great progress this year and shows great promise. Her ability to find different countries on the map is quite outstanding.</i>
<i>English</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>Although Mlle de Guise has easily grasped the basics of the English language, she has hitherto failed to extend her vocabulary past a very simple level. Much work is needed if she is to improve.</i>
<i>Music</i>	<i>B+</i>	<i>Mlle de Guise is very diligent when it comes to practising her lute but lacks the skill that would make her a true virtuoso performer. Her singing is extremely pleasing though!</i>
RANK <i>04</i>		NO. OF PUPILS IN CLASS <i>06</i>

GUARDIAN: *Claude de Lorraine, Duke of Guise*
Guardians are requested to sign and return this report

* Note
A indicates very good, B indicates good,
C indicates moderate, D indicates poor

University of Wife

more directly "avoid sin". While Anne was keen to imbue her pupils with a gloss of courtly sophistication which, naturally included an element of flirtatiousness as all this education was, ultimately, designed to attract a good marriage, she was also clear that well brought up young women must never be seen to encourage male attentions and should maintain a balance of inviting praise and homage while at the same time remaining completely aloof.

In an uncivilised world, it was Anne's opinion that it was duty of gently-raised women to maintain standards of decency and gentility - resisting all temptation in the process.

According to the chronicler Brantôme, every single noble house in France aspired to have their daughters educated under the aegis of Anne de Beaujeu, and certainly the effects of her teaching practices were to be widespread and long lasting. Perhaps her most famous pupil was the young Diane de Poitiers, who spent a number of years at the Bourbon court and emerged as one of its most exemplary pupils, having fully taken on board all of Anne de Beaujeu's teachings.

Diane would later take in hand the education of the young Mary, Queen of Scots after she arrived in France, instilling her with all the same principles and fashioning the intelligent young girl into a cultivated and elegant leader of fashion and, more crucially, worthy future Queen of France. Mary's mother Marie de Guise was not directly educated by Anne de Beaujeu but it is likely that her mother Antoinette de

Anne de Beaujeu's château in Moulins where young ladies from Europe's aristocratic were sent to study





The friendships, and rivalries, that young women forged while being taught together at court or in aristocratic households in the provinces would remain with them for the rest of their lives

Bourbon, a cousin of Anne's husband, spent at least some time at Moulins during her youth, as did her future sister-in-law Renée de Bourbon, whose brother Charles would eventually marry Anne's daughter Suzanne.

Both Antoinette and Renée were widely regarded to be amongst the most well-educated and cultivated women of the time and they naturally imbued Marie de Guise with all the same virtues, which she honed during an adolescence spent at the French court under the charge of François I's second wife Eleonora of Austria and his intellectual sister Marguerite, Queen of Navarre.

Marguerite was one of the most significant figures of the French Renaissance thanks to her patronage of artists, writers and humanist thinkers. Marguerite's tutelage almost certainly helped prepare Marie for her difficult future position as Queen of Scotland and regent for her young daughter, which involved presiding over the warring Catholic and Protestant forces at the Scottish court.

Marguerite d'Angoulême would also have a profound influence upon another future queen - Anne Boleyn, who resided at the French court between 1514 and 1522.

If you accept her most likely birth year of 1501, Anne was in her early teens when she first arrived in France as a maid of honour to Henry VIII's sister Mary Tudor, who married Louis XII in October 1514.

When Mary returned to England after Louis suddenly died in January 1515, mere months after their wedding day, Anne remained behind in France as maid of honour to Claude de France, Louis XII's eldest daughter and first wife of his successor François I. As maid of honour to the French queen, Anne Boleyn would have escorted her mistress on her peripatetic travels between the various royal residences, primarily



UNIVERSITY OF WIFE REPORT CARD

NAME: *Mary, Queen of Scots*

AGE: *15* YEAR: *1557*



SUBJECT	GRADE	REMARKS
<i>Theology</i>	<i>A+</i>	<i>Her Majesty is one of our most outstanding pupils, who takes a great interest in religion and is always keen to participate in lively conversations about it.</i>
<i>English</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Her Majesty's determination to learn English is exemplary but sadly not matched by her actual aptitude. Verbal wron is marred by her accent - is it French or Scottish? Who knows?</i>
<i>History</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Her Majesty's interest in history is extremely pleasing but we wish that she would spend less time reading about her own ancestors, especially those who sat on the English throne, and more focusing on other topics.</i>
<i>Science</i>	<i>B-</i>	<i>Her Majesty is a diligent but unimaginative student, who takes very little interest in the subject and does just enough to get by. Marks deducted due to her missing the special lesson about making gunpowder.</i>

RANK *0.2*

NO. OF PUPILS IN CLASS *0.6*

GUARDIAN: *James V of Scotland*

Guardians are requested to sign and return this report

* Note
A indicates very good, B indicates good,
C indicates moderate, D indicates poor



Mary, Queen of Scots, shows off her embroidery skills with this cat image

Place des Vosges which was built on the site of the Hôtel des Tournelles and its gardens



the Louvre in Paris and royal châteaux of Blois and Amboise in the Loire.

When the Queen's household was in Paris, the unmarried young ladies of her retinue were housed in the Hôtel de Tournelles, an enormous, old royal palace which sprawled across over 20 acres in the Marais.

Here Anne would have shared a room with other young girls and fallen under the charge of the formidable gouvernante des filles, an older court lady whose unenviable job it was to supervise the flighty young maids of honour and deter any attempts upon their honour by the predatory gentlemen of the court.

While there, Anne and the other girls, some of whom were also English, enjoyed an extensive curriculum of lessons designed to transform them into perfectly accomplished courtiers. The principles espoused by Anne de Beaujeu (who died in 1522 and would have visited the court during Anne Boleyn's residence there) were still very much in favour and young women growing to adulthood at the French court throughout the 16th century would all be educated along much the same lines, with the same emphasis on reading, learning languages, music, dancing, debating philosophy and religion, and deportment.

Some girls would obviously have found this all very hard work but intelligent, ambitious young women like Anne Boleyn thrived in this intellectual hot house.

When Anne Boleyn returned home to England in 1522, her highly polished French sophistication, sense of style and exquisite manners quickly made her one of the most talked about young women at court - pursued by most of the men and envied by the women. When she captured the attention and then the heart of Henry VIII, it was said that he was ensnared by the fact that she seemed more French than English, which made her automatically more attractive in a court which regarded the French as the arbiters of taste. As far as the French were concerned Anne, at

least until her fall from grace, was the greatest possible advertisement for their much-prized education system, which was still producing some of the most-accomplished young women in Europe, despite increasingly stiff competition from Italy, Spain and England, where high-born young women were also beginning to enjoy better educational opportunities.

When the four-year-old Mary, Queen of Scots, was sent to France in 1548 in order to escape the ominous threat of English invasion and kidnap, her devoted mother Marie de Guise consoled herself with the fact that her daughter would be raised in one of the most magnificent courts in the world and would be receiving the same expansive and thorough education as she herself had enjoyed.

With Mary went several children, the offspring of high-ranking Scottish aristocrats, most notably the 'Four Marys' - Mary Beaton, Mary Seton, Mary Fleming and Mary Livingstone, who acted as the little Scottish queen's maids of honour (a purely honorific title at first as they were all less than six years old) and enjoyed the same benefits of a French courtly education - a much prized asset at the time and one that their ambitious parents obviously hoped might one day win them wealthy and influential husbands.

Throughout the 16th century, noble parents continued to send their daughters to the

French court and other aristocratic French households so that they could be imbued with a little of that all important French flair and polish that had made the likes of Anne Boleyn and Diane de Poitiers stand out in the crowd and win the hearts of kings.

However, the French court in the latter half of the century, when it was presided over by the last Valois kings and their Italian mother Catherine de' Medici, was a very different place to the one that had nurtured the nascent talents of the Boleyn girls and, of course, Mary, Queen of Scots. When word began to spread of Queen Catherine's infamous L'escadron volant (Flying Squad), a group of young noblewomen specially trained from youth to be as seductive as possible and then act as informants and spies for the queen, parents naturally became much less keen to expose their daughters to the perils of court life and the practice of sending girls to court to be educated began to die out.



UNIVERSITY OF WIFE REPORT CARD

NAME: *Mary Boleyn*

AGE: *15* YEAR: *1515*



SUBJECT	GRADE	REMARKS
<i>French</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>Despite residing in France for a number of years, Mlle. Boleyn has still failed to master anything more than basic grammar and vocabulary. She needs to work harder at her French and spend less time flirting with young men.</i>
<i>Dancing</i>	<i>A+</i>	<i>Mlle. Boleyn spends a great deal of time rehearsing with our dance master and her diligence is really paying off as she is definitely one of the best dancers at court.</i>
<i>Music</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>We wish that Mlle. Boleyn would spend as much time on her music as she does on her dancing as she is rarely to be found practicing her lute or singing. She needs to spend much more time on music if she is ever to excel.</i>
<i>Maths</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>A frankly disappointing performance this year. Perhaps if Mlle. Boleyn spent less time flirting and daydreaming, she might do better at her lessons.</i>

RANK *05*

NO. OF PUPILS IN CLASS *06*

GUARDIAN: *Thomas Boleyn, 1st Earl of Wiltshire*

Guardians are requested to sign and return this report

* Note
A indicates very good, B indicates good,
C indicates moderate, D indicates poor



Ceremonial garments were an integral part of Crowley's rituals, but they often caused people to dismiss him as a serious thinker



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The Scandalous Secrets of Aleister Crowley

Mystic, philosopher, author, poet, controversialist – there were few taboos that the so-called 'wickedest man in the world' did not explore

Written by Joel McIver

If the late Aleister Crowley had been born in 1975, rather than 1875, his public antics as a magician, drug user and sexual experimenter would have been welcomed, or at least tolerated, in the modern world. In his own era, however, his keen interest in occult thought and practice, plus his deliberate attempts to gain infamy for its own sake, provoked rather than intrigued the public, and he was castigated as a serious threat. In reality, Crowley was simply an interesting, if unorthodox, man who loved the attention which his activities brought to him. There is no equivalent to him today – which makes the story of his life all the more compelling.

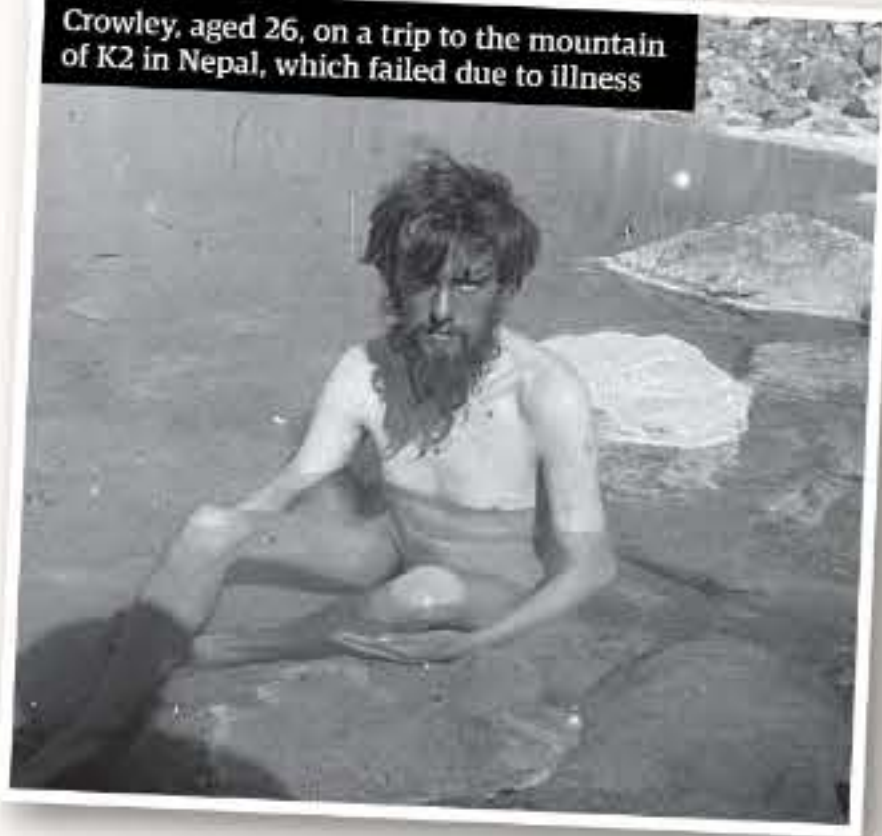
Much has been written about Crowley as an occult thinker and activist, and also about his personal life. In fact, these two sides of his character are too deeply entwined for them to be meaningfully separated. From his earliest years, he found himself in conflict with his surroundings – and it's little wonder that he grew up to be a man profoundly at odds with the mores of his era.

Edward Crowley, as he was known until his late teens, was born at 30 Clarendon Square in Royal Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, to a family of comfortable means. His father, also Edward Crowley, owned a share in a successful brewing business, Crowley's Alton Ales, and

had already retired by the time his son was born. Like his wife Emily, Edward Senior was a member of the Exclusive Brethren, a faction of the better-known Plymouth Brethren, which was a Christian movement. He is said to have worked as a preacher for the Brethren and to have read Bible chapters to his wife and son every day. Certain lurid passages in the Book of Revelation concerning the Beast, its number 666 and the tale of the Scarlet Woman fascinated the Crowley at a young age.

An early turning point for the boy came in 1883, when his father died of tongue cancer. Aged only 11, Crowley inherited one-third of his

Crowley, aged 26, on a trip to the mountain of K2 in Nepal, which failed due to illness



made him happy. His relationship with his mother deteriorated; he later wrote that "her powerful maternal instincts were suppressed by religion to the point that she became, after her husband's death, a brainless bigot of the most narrow, logical and inhuman type". Emily's brother Tom Bishop, also a conservative Christian, found no favour with his nephew, who described him with the perhaps exaggerated words "no more cruel fanatic, no meaner villain, ever walked the Earth".

Worst of all, when Crowley began to cause trouble at his school, Ebor Preparatory School in Cambridge, its owner, the Reverend Henry d'Arcy Champney, was quick and sadistic in his discipline. Crowley was punished by being placed in solitaire, or 'Coventry', where no student or master could speak to him, or he to them. He was fed only with bread and water, forced to walk around the schoolroom and isolated on the playground. These sadistic measures led him to describe his stay at Ebor as "a boyhood in hell". A Satanic edge was lent to the situation by his mother's nickname for her son - "the Beast".

The pressures of the young Crowley's situation led him to ill health, firstly with albuminuria, a kidney disorder. This was no doubt worsened by some of the other boys at Ebor, who saw fit to punch him in the kidneys when they discovered his illness. In due course his mother and uncle removed him from the tender mercies of Reverend Champney and sent him to Malvern College and Tonbridge School, neither of which he enjoyed.

Ultimately he was educated by private tutors in Eastbourne, East Sussex, against whose Christian

teachings the teenage Crowley rebelled by pointing out flaws in the Bible. Privately, he enjoyed the forbidden practice of masturbation, of which he wrote, "Here was certainly a sin worth sinning, and I applied myself with characteristic vigour to its practice." This habit soon graduated to sleeping with local prostitutes, one of whom he later contracted gonorrhoea from.

From today's comparatively enlightened point of view, we can see clearly that the scene was set and the seeds were sown for Crowley's career of anti-establishment activities to begin. Here was a young man, barely more than a boy, jolted by the early death of his father (who he later described as a "hero", apparently sincerely), repelled by over-eager disciplinarians and contemptuous of revealed religion. As an intelligent, educated youth with money of his own, he was free - once he left the family home, at least - to wreak the worst kind of havoc that he could.

In 1895, Crowley adopted the first name Aleister. "I had read in some book or other," he wrote, "that the most favourable name for becoming famous was one consisting of a dactyl [a long syllable plus two short ones] followed by a spondee [two long syllables], as at the end of



Crowley in magisterial mode in 1912. As the First World War approached, his activities began to adopt a political edge

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Origins of Voodoo

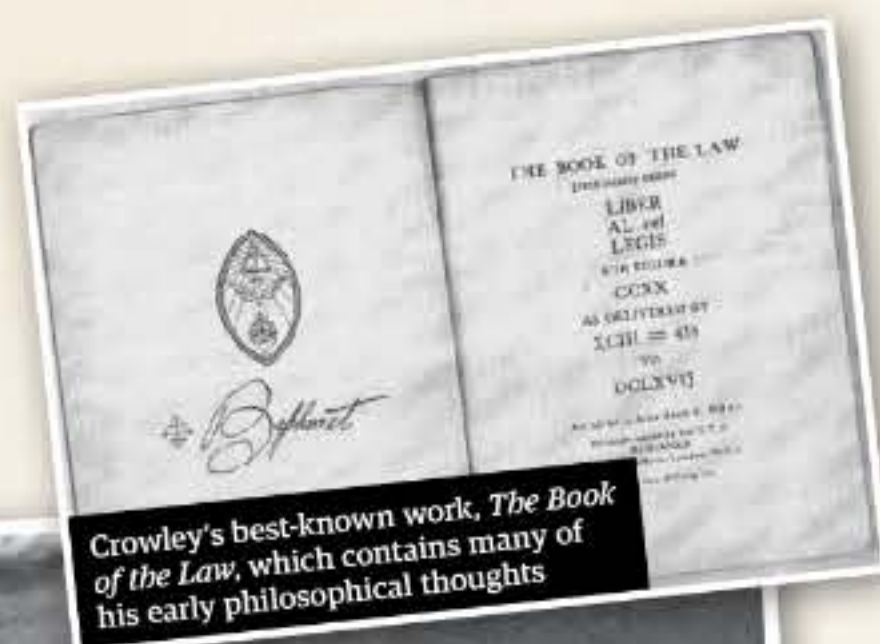
Discover how Voodoo came to America and what it takes to become a Voodoo queen



Arcane mysteries

Uncover the hidden secrets of alchemy and other practices, like tarot and divination

"Crowley rebelled by pointing out flaws in the Bible"



Crowley's best-known work, *The Book of the Law*, which contains many of his early philosophical thoughts



Crowley with his wife Rose and his second daughter Lola Zaza, pictured in 1910



This 1935 image originally ran in *Picture Post* in 1955 in an article titled 'The Man Who Chose Evil'. But did he?

a hexameter: like Jeremy Taylor. 'Aleister Crowley' fulfilled these conditions and Aleister is the Gaelic form of Alexander. To adopt it would satisfy my romantic ideals."

In line with his new identity, Crowley developed new interests - chess and mountaineering among them, both of which he indulged after beginning a degree in philosophy at Trinity College, Cambridge.

He also wrote poetry for student newspapers such as *The Granta* and

Cantab, switching his degree to English literature.

In 1896, at the age of 21, he endured another paradigm change. Before this point Crowley had been just

another regular, if rebellious, young man - afterwards, he was a keen devotee of the mystical world. It's thought that he enjoyed a homosexual liaison while on holiday in Sweden, although this was never confirmed. Whatever the case, Crowley returned a changed man, apparently comfortable with being bisexual at a time when this was generally deemed abhorrent. He then struck up a relationship with Herbert Charles Pollitt, the president of the Cambridge University Footlights Dramatic Club, and the two men

were a couple for two years, eventually breaking up when Crowley's interest in Western esotericism became all-consuming.

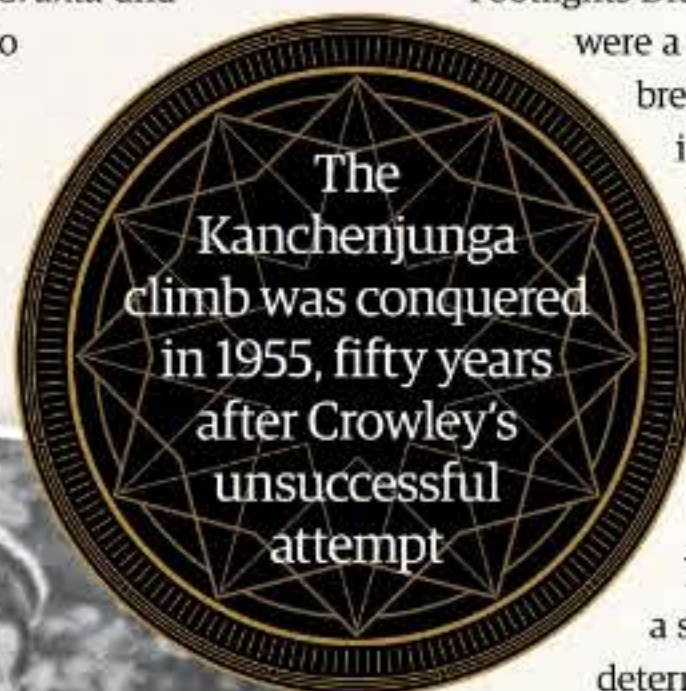
The final opportunity for Crowley to pursue a 'normal' career came and went in 1897 when he travelled to Russia in the employ of the British Secret Service, which had attempted to enlist him as a spy. However, a spate of illness deterred Crowley from the idea of

working for a living - no doubt helped by the fact that he was a man of independent means - and he resolved to pursue his obsession with the occult, now a huge driving passion for him. In 1898 he abandoned his university studies, not bothering to sit his final exams, even though his record indicated that he would probably do well if he had chosen to take them.

Where did all this unrest come from? Perhaps Crowley's desire to be a poet (he published several poems in 1898, some of them of an erotic nature); possibly his new interest in alchemy (he had met a chemist, Julian L Baker, of similar views to his own); or simply his occult readings.

Two books, AE Waite's *The Book of Black Magic and of Pacts* (1898) and Karl von Eckartshausen's *The Cloud Upon the Sanctuary* (1896), influenced Crowley profoundly. He took an important step into making these interests concrete by joining an occult society known as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, which had been founded in 1888. He was introduced to the Order by George Cecil Jones, Baker's brother-in-law.

Although Crowley was introduced to two influential people through the Order - its leader Samuel Mathers, and a magician named Allan Bennett, who later shared Crowley's flat in Chancery Lane - his connection with the organisation was rocked by disagreement. While Bennett taught Crowley about the Goetia (the summoning of demons), the ritual use of drugs (in particular hashish, legal to use in Britain until 1928) and Kabbalah (supposedly ancient Jewish



Pictured around 1890, Edward Crowley, as he was then known, showed no outward sign of the chaos to come



The hexagram symbol of Thelema is unicursal, meaning that it can be drawn in a single line

mysticism), Crowley wanted to move faster through the Order's ranks than was permitted.

By now determined to explore the world of the occult to its limit, in 1899 Crowley purchased a Scottish mansion, Boleskine House, on the shore of Loch Ness. Here he attempted the exhausting Abramelin Operation, a six-month ritual in which a disciple seeks to converse with a personal guardian angel, invoking demonic spirits at the same time.

The same year he published more poetry collections, one of which, *Jephthah*, was a success.

Although Crowley made progress through the various grades of the Order of the Golden Dawn, he was unpopular in the group thanks to the reputation he had gained from being a bisexual sybarite, and he conflicted with members including the poet WB Yeats. The Order's London lodge refused to allow him entry into its Second Order, although Samuel Mathers did so after Crowley visited him in Paris.

This caused a schism between Mathers and the Order, which became irrevocable when Crowley - on Mathers' orders - attempted to storm and occupy the Order's temple building in Kensington. The case went to court, and the Order won - Crowley and Mathers were expelled.

However, Crowley was just getting started on his bizarre journey, both physical and spiritual. In 1900 he travelled to Mexico, where he settled in Mexico City with a local mistress and worked with Enochian magic. While there he was initiated into the Freemasons, wrote poems and a play and climbed mountains such as Iztaccihuatl, Popocatepetl and Colima. He then headed to San Francisco and Hawaii, enjoying an affair with a married woman named Mary Rogers on the ship for good measure. After stopovers in Japan and Hong Kong, Crowley reached Sri Lanka

(then known as Ceylon), where he met Allan Bennett, who had moved there to study Shaivism; the latter decided to train as a Buddhist monk and went to Burma. Crowley chose to travel to India, studying raja yoga, a variant of Hindu astrology. The sheer amount of esoteric beliefs that Crowley had absorbed by this point was prodigious. Still only in his late 20s, his greatest period of activity - both physical and mental - was upon him. In 1902 he attempted to climb the mountain K2, which had not yet been conquered at the time.

However, influenza, malaria and snow blindness meant that his group only made it to 6,100 metres before turning back.

Later that year he settled in Paris, where he gained a measure of local fame among the urban intelligentsia. As a published poet, occult scholar and man of deviant sexual habits by the standard of the day, he was welcomed in fin-de-siècle Paris and became friends with the painter Gerald Kelly and the author W Somerset Maugham. Art, philosophy and his extraordinarily vivid lifestyle coalesced for Crowley this year, making him one of the outstanding figures of his time - a view that he himself was quick to endorse.

Another key moment in his personal evolution came in 1904. By then Crowley had returned to Boleskine House, married Gerald's sister Rose - deeply distressing the Kelly family in doing so - and travelled with her to Cairo, where the couple claimed to be a prince and princess for their own, arcane reasons. However, this was no simple pleasure trip. While in Cairo, Crowley underwent the most profound spiritual experience of his life.

On 18 March Rose - who had become delirious, in a form of hallucinatory trance - told Crowley that the Egyptian god Horus was waiting for him. Two days later, she announced, "The Equinox of the Gods has come!"



Crowley in the ceremonial garb of the Order of the Golden Dawn, an occult organisation

She took him to a nearby museum, containing a 7th-century BCE mortuary stele known as the Stele of Ankh-ef-en-Khonsu. The exhibit's number was 666.

On 8, 9 and 10 April, for exactly one hour at noon on each day, Crowley - seated in his apartment - was addressed by a disembodied voice, identifying itself as Aiwass, the messenger of Horus. He claimed to have written down Aiwass' words verbatim, and soon after turned these words into a book, *Liber L vel Legis*, better known as *The Book of the Law*.

The cornerstone of the book was the statement "Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law", which may have been controversial at the time but now resonates in the era of libertarianism. This, and the



Crowley's concept of vampirism differed from that of Hollywood horror films. To him, vampires could feed on mental energy

Black magic

book itself, became the foundation of a religion, Thelema, which Crowley went on to develop.

Seventy years after Crowley's death, the 'Do what thou wilt...' credo, *The Book of the Law* and Thelema itself are still very much part of any conversation on the subject of alternative belief systems. It's amazing to think that all this work was essentially done by the time he reached the age of 30. Of course, he continued to work at developing and disseminating his beliefs, returning once more to Boleskine and becoming a father to his first child, a daughter.

He and Rose saw fit to saddle the child with the name Nuit Ma Ahathoor Hecate Sappho Jezebel Lilith Crowley, referring to her as Lilith (after the Biblical demon) for convenience.

Although he was admired in occult quarters for his work, Crowley's life was rarely easy from this point on. He fell out with Mathers, claiming that his former colleague had sent an

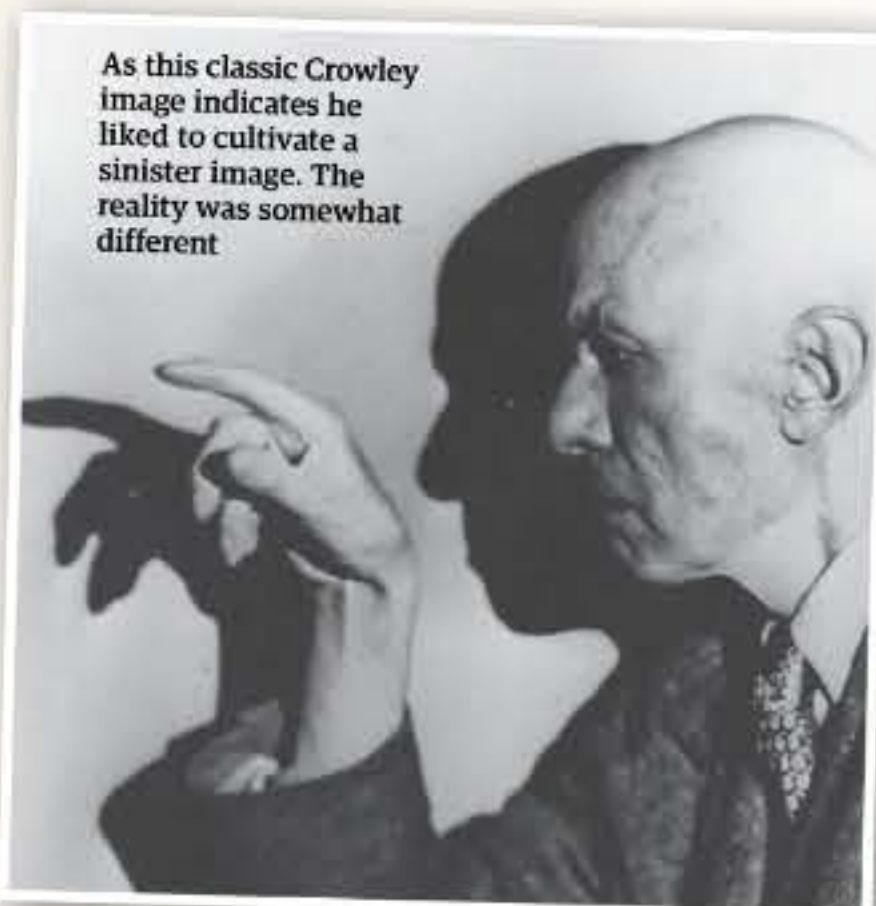
'astral vampire' to attack him; his books, published through his own Society for the Propagation of Religious Truth, never sold in large numbers; a failed expedition to climb Kanchenjunga in the Himalayas led to the deaths of many of the group; he was forced to leave India after shooting dead a man who tried to attack him; and Lilith sadly died at only two years old. Rose, by now suffering from alcoholism, bore a second daughter, Lola Zaza, although Crowley embarked on various affairs before divorcing Rose, on the grounds of his own adultery, in 1909.

Through all this, Crowley continued to attempt the Abramelin Operation, completing it at a hotel in Surrey. He claimed afterwards to have achieved a state of samadhi, or union with God, as well as conversing once more with his old chum Aiwass and writing more Thelemic books as a result. Even supposing these supernatural liaisons were not fictional, they did nothing to help his finances,

which were running out. He remained in a precarious financial state for the rest of his life, not at all helped

by a growing addiction to cocaine.

Still, nothing could stop him from defying the conventions of the time. His relationship with a disciple, Victor Neuburg, was based on sadomasochism - while



As this classic Crowley image indicates he liked to cultivate a sinister image. The reality was somewhat different

visiting Algeria, the pair engaged in a sex magic ritual on a mountain summit and invoked the demon Choronzon with a blood sacrifice.

A vehicle was clearly required for his ongoing philosophy, and so he and George Cecil Jones founded the A.A., a group that infused the ideals of the Order of the Golden Dawn with Thelemic thought. The group's temple was located at 124 Victoria Street in London, where a biannual pamphlet, *The Equinox*, was published.

Crowley continued to write and publish into his middle years and beyond.

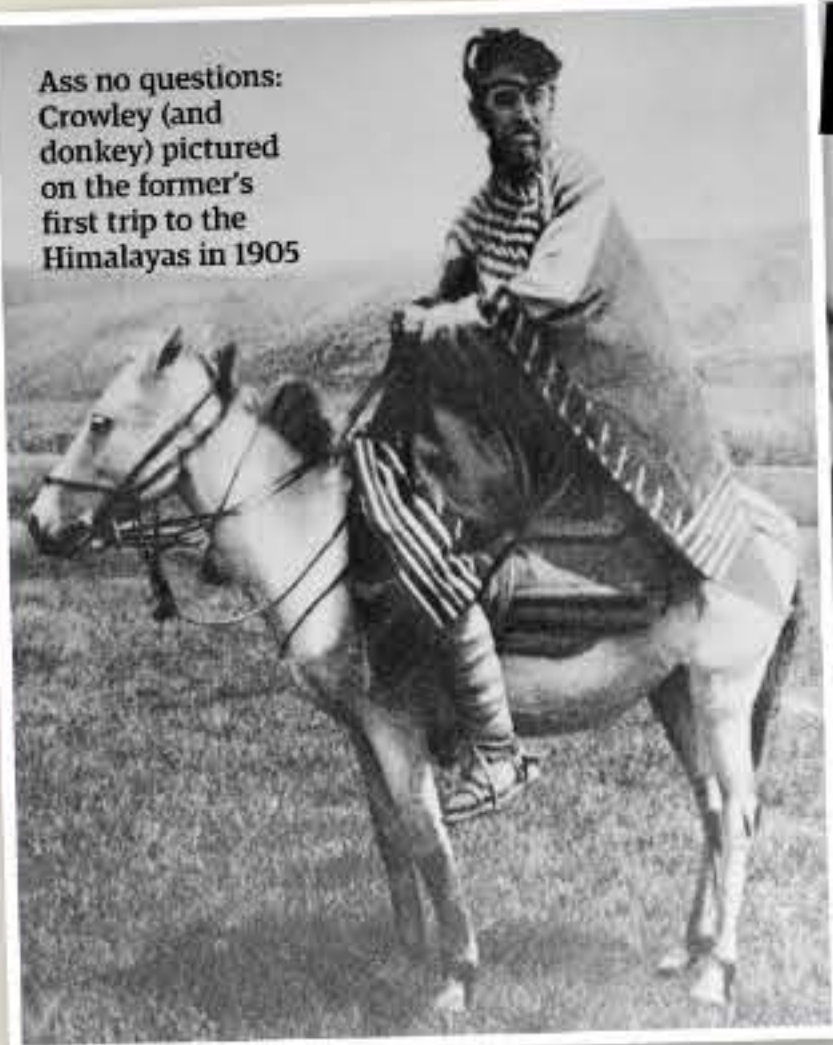
In 1912 his *Book of Lies* gained some notoriety when Theodor Reuss, the head of yet another occult group, the German Ordo Tempus Occultis (OTO), accused Crowley of publishing some of the OTO's secrets. Crowley persuaded Reuss that he was innocent and the two became friends, with Reuss later appointing Crowley as the head of the OTO's British branch, the Mystica Mystica Maxima. hilariously, Crowley took upon himself

Defining moment

Crowley turns to the occult 1897

While at Cambridge, Crowley lives a dissipated life, exploring sexual liaisons with male and female partners. He also becomes an expert mountain climber, travelling to the Alps with his friend Oscar Eckenstein and making the first unguided ascent of the Mönch peak. However, a previous - and undefined - mystical experience that he underwent in Stockholm in 1896 had set him on an esoterically spiritual path, and after a trip to Russia he suffers a short-lived period of illness. This leads Crowley to consider the reality of death and to dismiss all human endeavour as meaningless - and, although a diplomatic career is beckoning, he determines to pursue his burgeoning interest in occult matters.

Ass no questions: Crowley (and donkey) pictured on the former's first trip to the Himalayas in 1905



Pictures such as this one showed that Crowley liked to intimidate - but how much of it was pure theatre?



Death of Crowley's father

The senior Edward Crowley dies in 1887 of tongue cancer when his son is only 11. Crowley later defines this moment as a turning point in his life, not least because he inherits a large fortune.

1887

Timeline

1875

Born in Leamington Spa, Warwickshire

Edward Alexander Crowley is born as the only child of Edward and Emily Crowley. His parents are members of the Exclusive Brethren, a Christian fundamentalist group.

12 October 1875

1887

1895

Changes name to Aleister

Dissatisfied with the name Edward, Crowley adopts the name Aleister and goes up to Trinity College, Cambridge, to study philosophy. Later he switches to English literature.

1895

1898

Order of the Golden Dawn

Crowley is initiated into the Outer Order of the Golden Dawn by the Order's leader, Samuel Mathers, later Crowley's close associate. He quickly progresses through the organisation's ranks.

18 November 1898

1899

Move to Boleskine House

Crowley styles himself as the 'Laird of Boleskine' after buying this imposing property on Loch Ness. The house becomes infamous and is purchased in 1970 by Led Zeppelin guitarist Jimmy Page.

1899

1900

A spiritual journey

Having visited Mexico, the USA, Japan, Hong Kong and Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), Crowley studies the Hindu practice of raja yoga. He claims to have achieved dhyana, or a state of perfect awareness.

1900

the title of 'Baphomet, X° Supreme Rex and Sovereign Grand Master General of Ireland, Iona, and all the Britons'.

From now on, Crowley appeared at regular intervals in the popular press, with readers perceiving him as somewhere between a credible sorcerer and a clown.

By 1914 he was broke, and sold Boleskine House to move to New York, where he worked as a double agent for the British government with great efficacy - even persuading a German spy called Sylvester Viereck to give him a job on his newspaper, *The Fatherland*.

Thelema was always Crowley's primary focus throughout the decades, and after leaving the USA in 1919, he returned to London, where he was attacked by a tabloid called *John Bull*. Accused of being a traitor in its pages, Crowley chose not to sue the newspaper, although his status as an intelligence officer was by now common knowledge. He had bigger things on his mind - not least an addiction to heroin, which had been prescribed to treat his asthma.

Moving away from the toxic environment of London, he relocated to Cefalù on Sicily, Italy, to found the Abbey of Thelema in a rented villa with like-minded Thelemites.

A haven for sex magic and A.:A.: rituals, the Abbey soon attracted a community of occult-obsessed individuals. For the four years of its existence, Crowley lived the contented, righteous life of a religious leader.

However, this came to an end when Benito Mussolini's fascist government heard inaccurate rumours of the goings-on at the Abbey and deported Crowley.

A Thelemite by the name of Raoul Loveday had died after drinking polluted water; this was translated in *John Bull* as blood sacrifices and other scandalous activities.

It was at this point that the paper labelled Crowley "the wickedest man in the world". For all intents and purposes, that was the end of

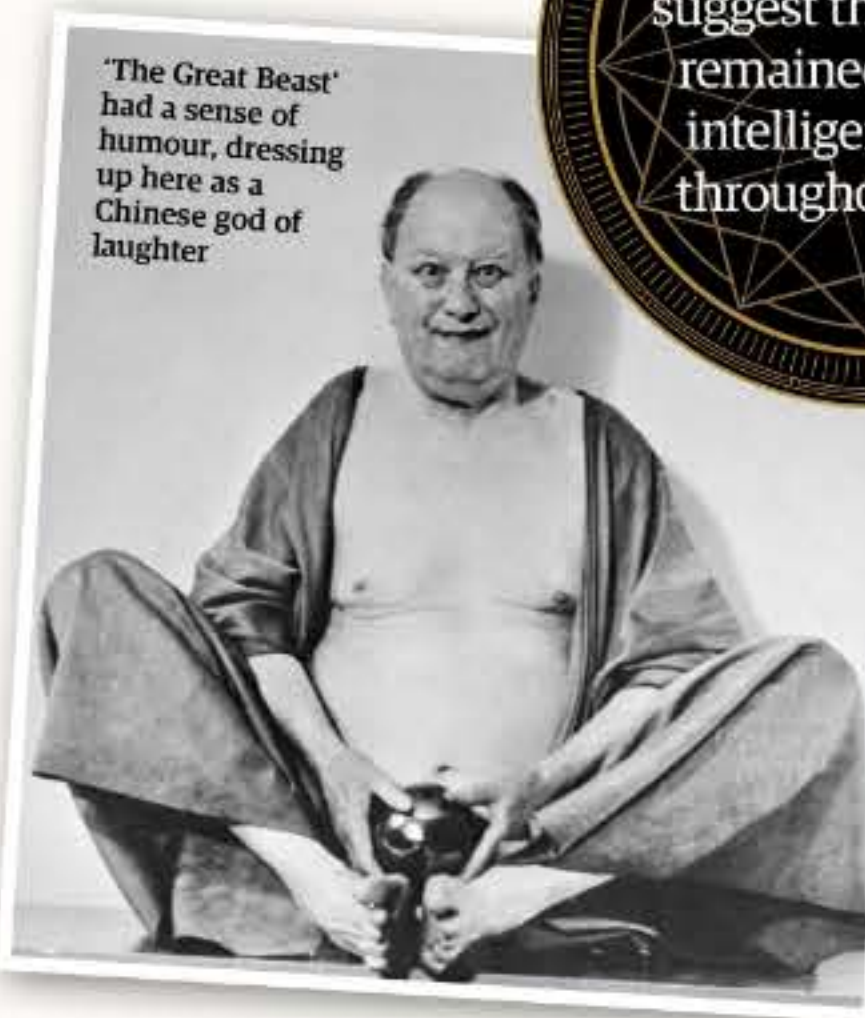
Crowley's life as a social pioneer. He lived out the rest of his days destitute and in poor health, although he was a prolific writer right up until the end. He was declared bankrupt in 1935, and then fathered a son, Randall Gair with a debutante named Deirdre Doherty, nicknaming the boy Aleister Atatürk. When World War II broke out two years later, Crowley was turned down by the Naval Intelligence Division when he offered them his services as a spy.

Crowley ended his days at a boarding house named Netherwood in Hastings, Sussex, where - perhaps aware that his time was limited - he spent his time appointing successors to the OTO and the A.:A.:. He died of chronic bronchitis, aggravated by pleurisy and myocardial degeneration, on 1 December 1947, aged 72 - actually a reasonable lifespan for someone beset by childhood illness and drug addictions in adulthood.

In some ways Crowley had the last laugh.

His funeral in Brighton was reported to be an unholy Black Mass by the tabloids, although it was no such thing, and his books continue to be popular even today. Thelemic principles still populate modern movements such as Wicca, while in America, the Church of Satan - popular in the heavy metal world and among atheists - bases its credo more or less exactly on 'Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law'.

However, by the standards of Crowley, a shameless self-publicist, the fact that we're still talking about him and his philosophy seven decades after his death definitely represents nothing less than victory.



Defining moment

The Book of the Law 8 April 1904

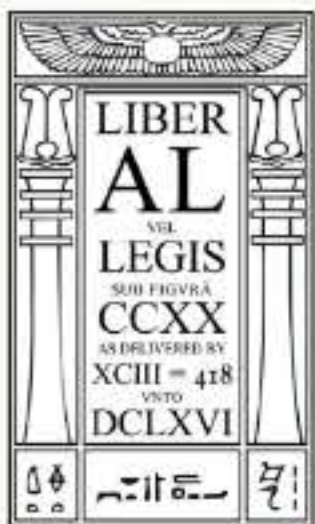
While in Cairo, where he and his wife Rose invoke ancient Egyptian deities and study Islamic mysticism, Crowley hears a disembodied voice, delivering messages to him over a period of three days. The voice claims to be Aiwass, the messenger of Horus, also known as Hoor-Paar-Kraat. Crowley writes down these messages and collates them into his book *Liber L Vel Legis*, or *The Book of the Law*.

In this volume he writes that the human race is poised to enter a new aeon of existence and that its prophet, unsurprisingly, is Crowley himself. His infamous slogan of 'Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law' is introduced here, and the book becomes the basis of his new religion - Thelema.

Defining moment

The Abbey of Thelema 1920

Moving to Cefalù in Sicily, Crowley rents a villa and names it the Abbey of Thelema. He later describes this period as one of perfect happiness, with each day devoted to rituals to Egyptian deities, masses, art, writing books and bringing up his acolytes' children. Sex, magic and other arcane practices evolve, and Crowley develops addictions to heroin and cocaine. A film star, Jane Wolfe, becomes a Thelemite, and thinkers of all types congregate at the Abbey. However, a series of scandals resulting from the death of a Thelemite, Raoul Loveday, and the publication of Crowley's book *Diary of a Drug Fiend* eventually lead to his deportation from Italy and the closure of the Abbey.



1905

- Death on the mountain**
Crowley attempts to climb Kanchenjunga in the Himalayas, but his team is fractured by disagreement and the other climbers abandon the ascent; they die in an accident for which Crowley is blamed.
1905



A debonair portrait of the soon-to-be "wickedest man in the world", taken around 1905

1907

- Formation of the A.:A.:**
Breaking away from the Order of the Golden Dawn, Crowley co-founds the A.:A.:, whose philosophy is a syncretic blend of many schools of thought. Its magazine is called *The Equinox*.
November 1907

1930

- Fake death of Crowley**
After a move to Berlin and then to Lisbon, Crowley fakes his own death. However, this doesn't stop him continuing his artistic, occult and sexual adventures across Europe.
April 1930

1947

- Real death of Crowley**
Crowley succumbs to chronic bronchitis, exacerbated by lung and heart disease, at the age of 72, a relatively old age for a man of his lifestyle. His funeral is inaccurately labelled a Black Mass by the tabloids.
1 December 1947



Lighting up the Bleak Midwinter

Interview by Jessica Leggett



A TUDOR CHRISTMAS

By Alison Weir and Siobhan
Clarke is out now from
Jonathan Cape



Alison Weir and Siobhan Clarke discuss their new book *A Tudor Christmas*, and how the festive season has changed throughout the centuries

What inspired you to team up and write A Tudor Christmas?

AW: We thought of doing a project together and we had already done various different events. It started back in 1998, when I wrote a little piece for a charitable book that Waterstones published at Christmas called *Little Book of Light*, which was about Christmas at the court of King Henry VIII. It served as the basis for a Christmas talk I gave at the Little Banqueting House at Hampton Court for Historic Royal Palaces one year.

Siobhan, meanwhile, had developed a talk on royal Christmases and we decided to take out the Tudor bits and amalgamate my talk to do *A Tudor Christmas* and we very much enjoyed doing it.

SC: I had been doing a lecture on royal Christmases for many years and we were asked to do a joint lecture for an event some years ago. Alison covered the early part up to the Stuarts and then I did it from the Stuarts up to the present day. We did it a few times, it was very popular, and then Alison actually had the idea that it would make a good book. We just focused in on the Tudors and researched a bit more on the Reformation and how that impacted on Christmas because, I couldn't find much on that and not much had been written about it - we thought it was a really interesting aspect that needed to be covered. So I focused on that in particular, as well as the Puritan impact on Christmas in the 17th century.

How did you do research for the book?

AW: We already had some research of course but then we expanded it, looking at source material right down to Henry VIII's accounts and just looking generally at all the books we could find on Christmas, amalgamating information and looking at original sources. We wrote our own individual parts, put them together and worked on it as a whole, adding in to each other's research.

There was a whole chapter on Henry VIII and his wives at Christmas, but it was decided that it was a bit too specialist, because the book doesn't just look at how royalty spent Christmas, but how ordinary people did too.

SC: I had a lot already because I had done the lecture, so was just basically looking in every history book that I could find to see what other people had said and written about it. I was looking at trying to find primary sources and asking other historians for tips, especially people who had specialised in the religious aspects of the Tudor period.

Why did you choose to arrange the book around the twelve days of Christmas?

AW: Well, it was my idea to see if we could base it on the 12 days and see if that worked. We thought that it did and then it was a question of chapter titles, which is when I uncovered Ben Jonson's masque [*Christmas, his Masque*] that had all these names of Christmas and we thought could we adapt these? So that's where the chapter titles came from but the only problem is that we had twelve days and only ten names, so we had to look in the masque for a couple of other titles!

"There was this great inversion where even the king had to obey the Lord of Misrule"

It was interesting to read in your book that at Christmas social class was not so strict?

AW: Our idea of class demarcation derives more from the Victorians where it was very, very stringent but go back to the Tudor period and you will find that Henry VIII was playing dice with his Master of the Cellar! At Christmas there was this inversion where even the king, though his word remained law, had to obey the Lord of Misrule - who was a fun character but a probable nightmare, depending on who was chosen!

When the Puritans banned Christmas, people rioted and really fought for their festive traditions didn't they?

SC: Yes, absolutely and the Puritans actually said that it was one of the things that the poor people actually fight for, because these holy days were also days of rest and they were much cherished. In the book, we have explained the idea of having this break in mid-winter, when life was tough, and it was twelve days



ABOVE
Alison Weir wrote the book with her frequent collaborator Siobhan Clarke

BELOW
Holy Innocents' Day commemorates the massacre of the innocents





ABOVE
Frontispiece to *The Vindication of Christmas*, created by Royalist poet John Taylor in 1652, in reaction to the Puritan clampdown on Christmas

of enjoyment and better food, a brief respite and a special time. There were riots and it couldn't be extinguished no matter how much the Puritans tried.

The changes [to Christmas] happen not in the reign of King Henry VIII but in the reign of King Edward VI and I've outlined them, which is essentially the removal of the angels and the nativity, all because they didn't like images at a time when they were being white-washed and stained glasses being broken.

In Edward's reign, people are going to notice the difference in church but on the secular side the celebrations continue as normal, with the Lord of Misrule, the feasting and the carnival atmosphere. Edward liked all that, he liked pageants and carnivals, so he wouldn't be interested in attacking the secular side of Christmas - but the Puritans hated that, so they were trying to remove everything. The other thing is that the Puritans didn't just want to clamp down on the drinking and the merrymaking, it was also because they came to associate Christmas with the Royalist cause. If you think about it, they think that Christmas is a Catholic thing and the Royalists, you know, being Anglican, they were quite close to the Catholic church and worlds away from Puritanism - so that's why they did it.

It is a common misconception that Cromwell was to blame for banning Christmas.

SC: I get very frustrated with the way people blame Oliver Cromwell. People have this idea that Cromwell single-handedly banned Christmas but there were a lot of other major players in this. It was the elected parliament who started the initiative against Christmas from 1644, but

Cromwell wasn't Lord Protector until 1653 - although after he became Lord Protector, he would conduct business on Christmas Day and he certainly agreed with the ban.

As you discuss in *A Tudor Christmas*, the festive season was a time when grand homes would open their doors to the poor.

AW: Yes, it was the charity that you would have to dispense in the name of Christ because you had to be seen to be practising Christian charity. The court was always giving alms to beggars and what wasn't eaten at the table was passed to those who were literally waiting at the gates. Great houses did this as well, but they particularly did it at Christmas and if you turned up, you might even be invited to eat in the hall - depending on how well you were dressed, I am sure! It was not just about charity though because it was a conspicuous display.

SC: We tend to think that the Victorians started that, the idea of charity, but it had been going on for centuries before. It was a time to think about people who were less well off, so it was incumbent on the wealthy to provide for them, especially in terms of food, feasting and to some extent, in terms in gifts - although gifts were for New Year and not for Christmas.

What did you discover about Christmas in the Tudor period that surprised you?

AW: There were quite a lot of things that surprised me. I didn't realise turkey had been discovered and appeared so early in the period, with the first turkeys sold at Bristol in 1526. They are called turkey from the mistaken belief that they came from Turkey, when they actually came from the New World. One thing that really surprised me was that on Holy Innocents' Day, commemorating the massacre of the innocents by King Herod, children were beaten in their beds in the morning - I'm sure it must have been symbolic.

However, the rest of the day the children were allowed a hell of a lot of licence and they could even play in church. Everyday life was gruelling, and the twelve days of Christmas must have been an oasis for them, particularly as it was the middle of winter.

SC: I knew about the 12 days of Christmas and I could visualise it at court, but I don't think that I fully realised that it was twelve days for everybody. I think it was in the 9th century when it was said that no free man could be compelled to work during those twelve days. I didn't realise this had been decreed so early on and I find that so interesting, at a time when people worked so hard and life was so tough in comparison to today, that they were given this holiday.

If you think about it, it wasn't until probably in the late 20th century that we started taking off time between Christmas and New Year, whereas nowadays a lot of people take leave and we celebrate for a lot longer. It is only now, in recent times, that we are kind of going back to the twelve days - where for many centuries, certainly in the Georgian and Victorian periods, they got that one day,

"What wasn't eaten at the table was passed to those who were waiting at the gates"

BELOW
The banning of Christmas is mistakenly blamed on Oliver Cromwell



Christmas Day, and later Boxing Day, and then everybody would go back to work.

So, it is interesting to think that in the Medieval period they were having that extended time off.

What tradition would you say was quintessentially Tudor?

SC: A big difference between the Tudor Christmas and the Christmas we know today is that nothing started until Christmas Eve - they fasted through Advent and then things got going. They also didn't put their decorations up until Christmas Eve so that's a big difference, but I think if you had to focus on one thing to understand anything about the 16th century and the mindset, you have got to put the religion back. Whereas today we all enjoy the secular aspects of Christmas and yes, lots of people are still religious and go to midnight mass, but back then everybody went to mass and everybody was thinking about the religious aspect.

The book is full of recipes, poems and carols - do you have a favourite one?

AW: I love *Angelus ad Virginem*, which is a 13th century Latin carol that would have been popular in Tudor times. I have collected early music and carols since the 1970s and

so my playlist has loads of Medieval and Tudor carols on it! It is interesting to hear them because you can't convey them in a book and that's why when we do events for this book we are actually going to have a soundtrack playing.

"They also didn't put their decorations up until Christmas Eve so that's a big difference"

SC: Yes, my favourite one is the one on the back of the book which I chose and Alison agreed, it is an extract from a poem [by poet Thomas Tusser] that is also in the main text of the book.

Is there a Tudor Christmas tradition that you wish had survived?

AW: Well twelve days of celebration would be quite nice! I would like to see Twelfth Night revived and did you know, there is not a proper recipe that survives for a Twelfth Night cake? There is one or two from the Tudor period but neither of them seemed to be fully correct, which is a shame but there is nothing we can do.

I would like to see some of those traditions revived and less commercialisation because that is the one thing that strikes you about

it [Christmas in the Tudor period] - it is not commercial. The preparation may have started in November, but it was on the domestic side for provisioning. Around



ABOVE
According to Weir and Clarke, Henry VIII spent the equivalent of £13.5m on his first Christmas as king, in 1509

BELOW
The Tudors enjoyed twelve days of rich food and feasts of game



Tudor Christmas traditions

*On the 12th Day of Christmas,
my Tudor love sent to me...*

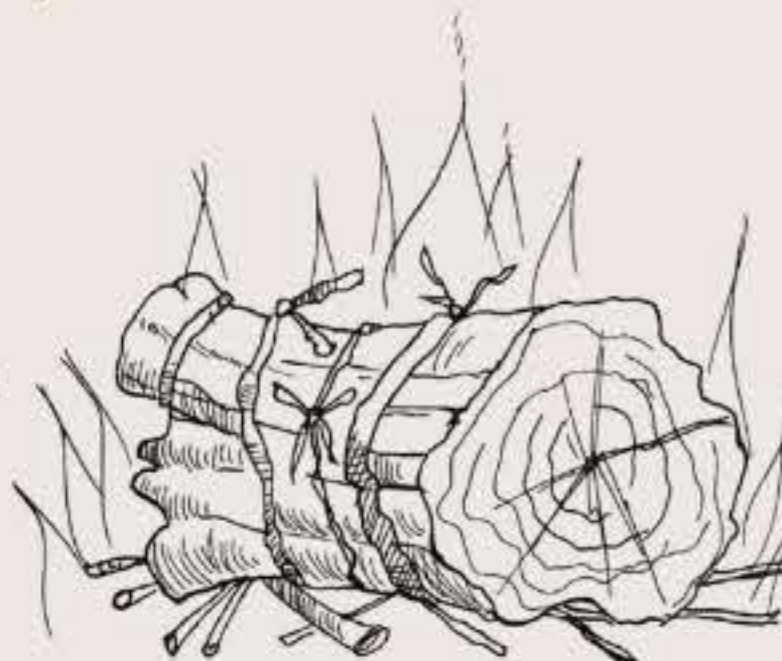


A Spinning Wheel Covered in Flowers

The Tudor twelve days of Christmas was a period in which tools were downed and work was forbidden between Christmas Eve and Epiphany (6 January). To keep women from their chores it was customary to decorate the home's spinning wheel with flowers, while the house was decked in evergreens: holly, ivy and mistletoe.

Two Boy Bishops

The ecclesiastical answer to the Lord of Misrule, a choirboy would be elected to the role of bishop from 6 December until Holy Innocents' Day on 28 December. The boy would be dressed in full bishop's regalia (the boy bishop of Westminster Abbey had fine silk robes decorated with silver and gilt flowers) and would conduct all ceremonies except mass with his fellow choirboys. Reflecting turbulent Tudor attitudes towards the church, the practice was abolished by Henry VIII in 1542, revived by Mary I in 1552 and finally ended by Elizabeth I.



Three Yule Logs

A pre-Christian tradition thought to have been introduced by the Norse, a large log from the base of a tree would be decorated with ribbons and dragged home. Laid upon the great hearth of the manor on Christmas Eve, it would be kept smouldering over the full twelve days of Christmas. It was considered lucky to keep some of the charred remains for next year's fire.

Four Carol Singers

Made popular in Italy in the 13th century, and first recorded in England in 1426, Christmas carols involved dancing as well as singing. Secular themes such as feasting, hunting and merry-making became more popular under the Tudors, although carols remained predominantly religious. Many carols – such as the *Coventry Carole*, recorded in 1534 – were composed for Mystery Plays, a form of open-air religious theatre that was banned under Henry VIII and restored under Mary I, before eventually declining in popularity around 1600.

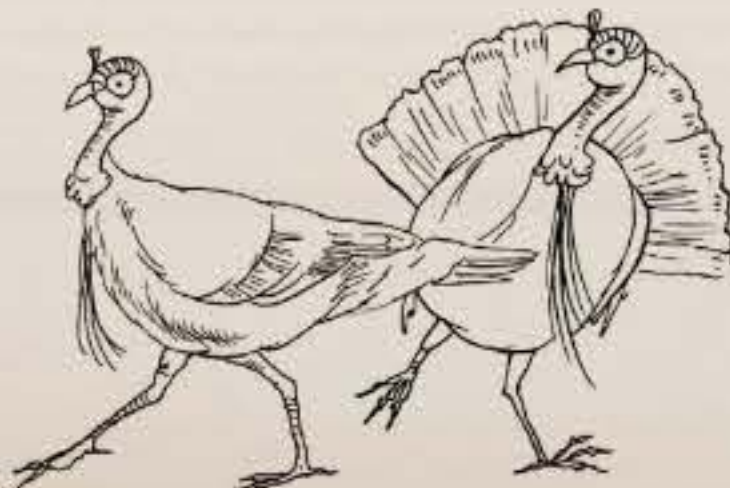


Five Boars' Heads

The centrepiece of the Christmas banquet from at least the Medieval period, the presentation of the boar's head is rooted in pre-Christian tradition but came to signify Christ's triumph over sin – the boar being frightening to rural folk and worthy quarry for hunters. Though supplanted by more fashionable fare at court, it was the subject of the *Boar's Head Carol* published in 1521: "The boar's head in hand bring I, Bedeck'd with bays and rosemary. And I pray you, my masters, be merry, Quot estis in convivio."

Six Marching Turkeys

Henry VIII is credited with adopting the turkey as a Christmas bird following its introduction to Britain from America in the 1520s. It quickly became fashionable among the Tudor elite and was often served in the coffin-shaped Christmas pie, where it was stuffed with numerous other game birds. The demand was so great that flocks of turkeys were driven to London on foot from Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, with the trek starting as early as August.



Seven "Minced Pyes"

Rather than a sweet snack, the "minced pye" was served at the beginning of the meal. Baked with prunes, raisins, dates, powdered beef, butter, egg yolk, flour, suet or marrow and minced mutton, and seasoned with salt, pepper and saffron. A total of thirteen ingredients represented Christ and his Apostles, while the loaf-like shape echoed the crib of the infant Christ and was sometimes adorned with an image of the babe in pastry.

Eight Cockenthrices

The Tudor lust for meat reached peculiar heights at Henry VIII's dining table, with chefs stitching together cadavers to create a whole new beast – the cockentrice, which was the front-end of a piglet with the hind-quarters of a turkey. Another oddity was the *Helmeted Cock*, in which a chicken was mounted on the pig wearing a little helmet and carrying a shield. For fans of meat feast without the theatre, the *Rôti Sans Pareil* was seventeen birds stuffed one inside the other.



Nine Wassail Bowls

A much older tradition inherited from the Anglo-Saxons (Wassail comes from the Old English "Wass Hal" meaning "Your good health"), a large wooden bowl containing hot ale, spiced with apple, sugar and spices, was taken from door to door. Strangers were offered a drink in exchange for a donation, while royal Wassails were more formal and the steaming bowl was brought into court by stewards, before being passed around with the King saved for last. Commoner or courtier, singing and call-and-response were a big part of the Wassail Bowl ritual.



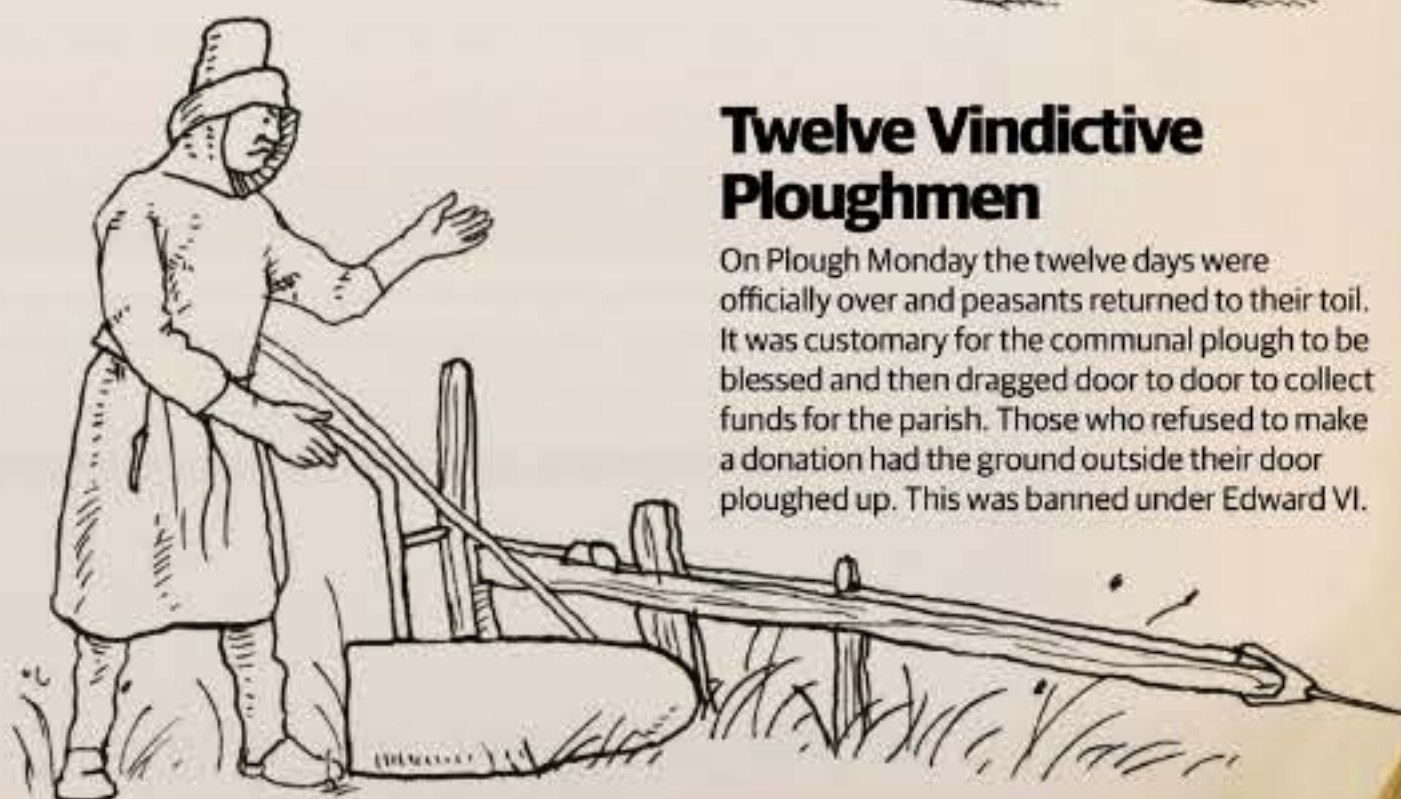
Ten Kissing Boughs

A wreath or double-hoop with roots in earlier folklore, the Kissing Bough was woven from mistletoe, ash, hazel or willow, covered in evergreens and supporting an effigy of the baby Jesus in the centre. The Medieval and Early Modern English were infamously "kissy" and visitors would be embraced under the bough as a sign of goodwill, leading to the custom of kissing under the mistletoe.



Eleven Servants Bearing Gifts

Gift giving in the Tudor court took place on New Year's Day. After the King had finished dressing, the fanfare would sound and servants would march in with gifts, with the Queen's coming first. To give generously was to carefully curry favour with the King or Queen, while refusing them was a brutally effective way of communicating disdain.



Twelve Vindictive Ploughmen

On Plough Monday the twelve days were officially over and peasants returned to their toil. It was customary for the communal plough to be blessed and then dragged door to door to collect funds for the parish. Those who refused to make a donation had the ground outside their door ploughed up. This was banned under Edward VI.

August-September time this year, I saw a whole Christmas department in Fortnum and Mason and I could not believe it, it was still hot outside!

The whole concept of Advent for the Tudors, the season of fasting, was to prepare in the run-up to Christmas so that the day itself had an awful lot more impact, compared to the office parties and all the nice things we do in the lead-up today.

The Tudors had a fasting diet of fish right up to Christmas Eve, after which they brought in the yule log, lit it, and then attended midnight mass to mark the start of Christmas - and then you feasted on Christmas Day.

There is nothing to stop people reviving all these traditions if they want to!

SC: I think it is a shame that synthetic decorations were brought in during the late 19th century with baubles and tinsel, which first came from Germany.

At first these decorations were expensive but gradually they got cheaper and of course by the 20th century, you even start having fake Christmas trees. It is all synthetic and it is a real shame - if you come to Hampton Court at Christmas we have the cloisters decorated as they would have been with evergreens, oranges and cinnamon, the smell is just amazing!

For me that is the Tudor Christmas, it is so evocative with the smell and the greenery, it is just so beautiful and it is a shame that we use synthetic decorations. I wouldn't particularly bring back the Lord of Misrule or the Boy Bishops, they could cause some trouble!

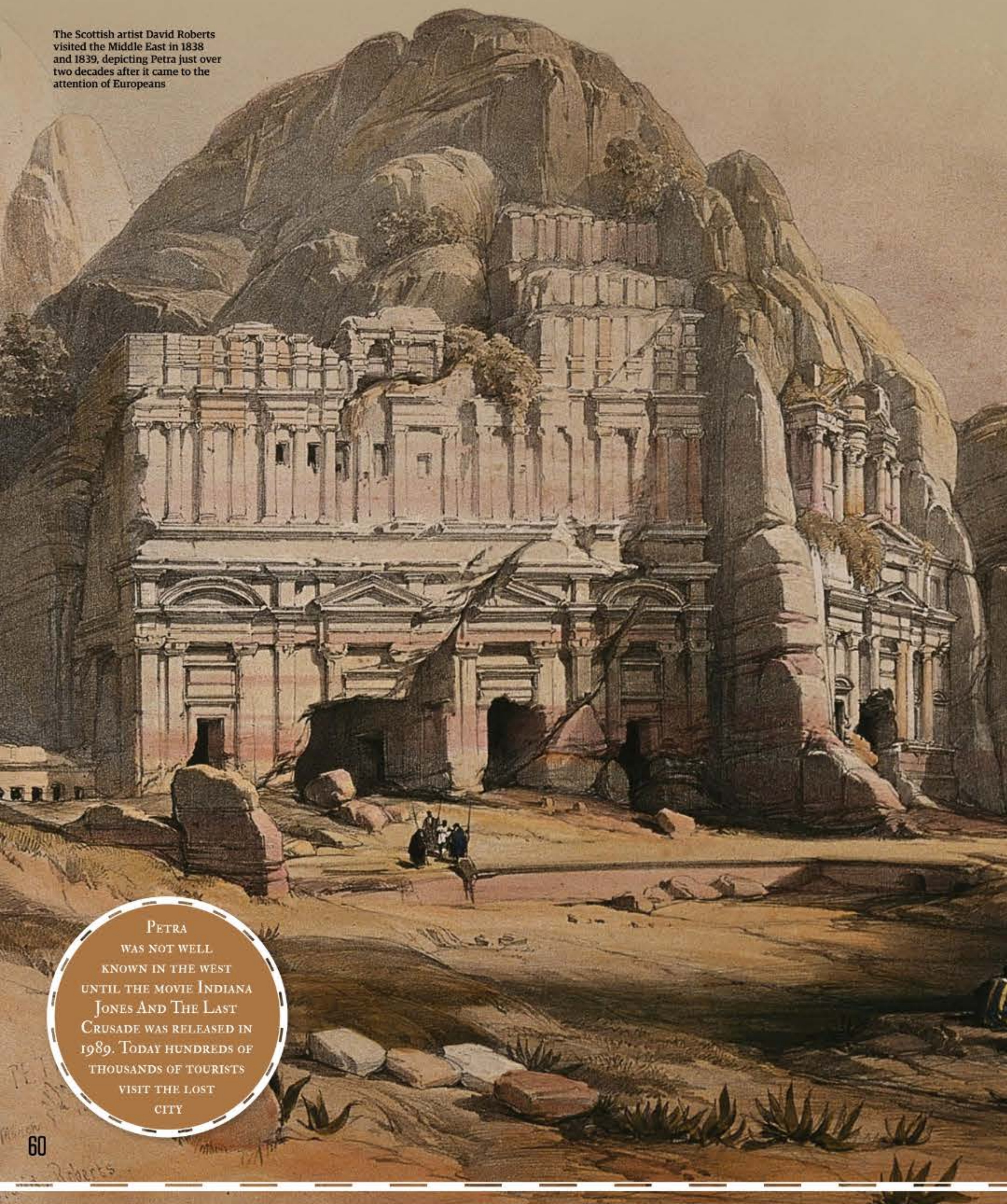


BELOW
The birth of Christ, depicted by Tudor artist Hans Holbein



Frankincense and Myrrh

The Scottish artist David Roberts visited the Middle East in 1838 and 1839, depicting Petra just over two decades after it came to the attention of Europeans

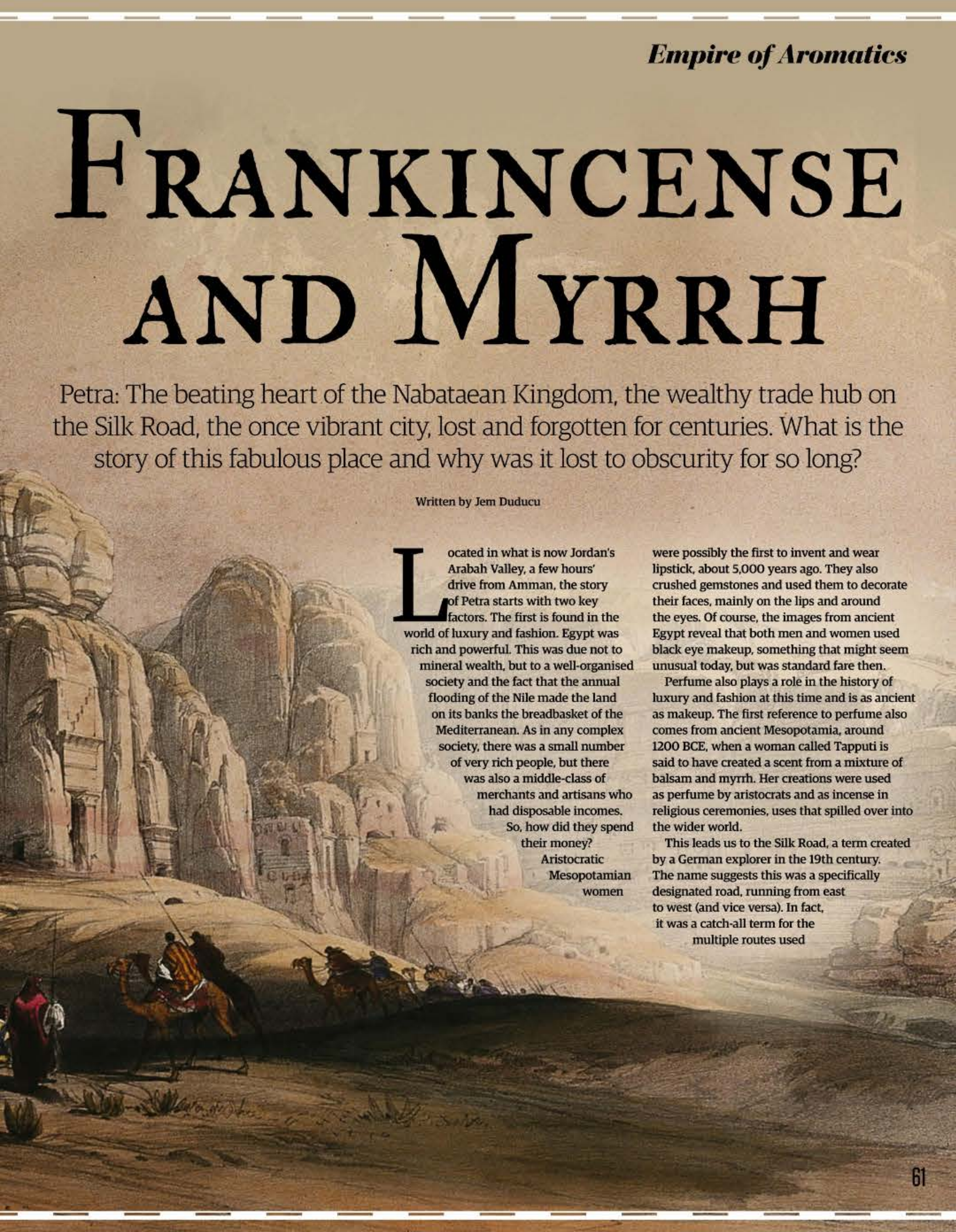


PETRA
WAS NOT WELL
KNOWN IN THE WEST
UNTIL THE MOVIE INDIANA
JONES AND THE LAST
CRUSADE WAS RELEASED IN
1989. TODAY HUNDREDS OF
THOUSANDS OF TOURISTS
VISIT THE LOST
CITY

FRANKINCENSE AND MYRRH

Petra: The beating heart of the Nabataean Kingdom, the wealthy trade hub on the Silk Road, the once vibrant city, lost and forgotten for centuries. What is the story of this fabulous place and why was it lost to obscurity for so long?

Written by Jem Duducu



Located in what is now Jordan's Arabah Valley, a few hours' drive from Amman, the story of Petra starts with two key factors. The first is found in the world of luxury and fashion. Egypt was rich and powerful. This was due not to mineral wealth, but to a well-organised society and the fact that the annual flooding of the Nile made the land on its banks the breadbasket of the Mediterranean. As in any complex society, there was a small number of very rich people, but there was also a middle-class of merchants and artisans who had disposable incomes.

So, how did they spend their money?

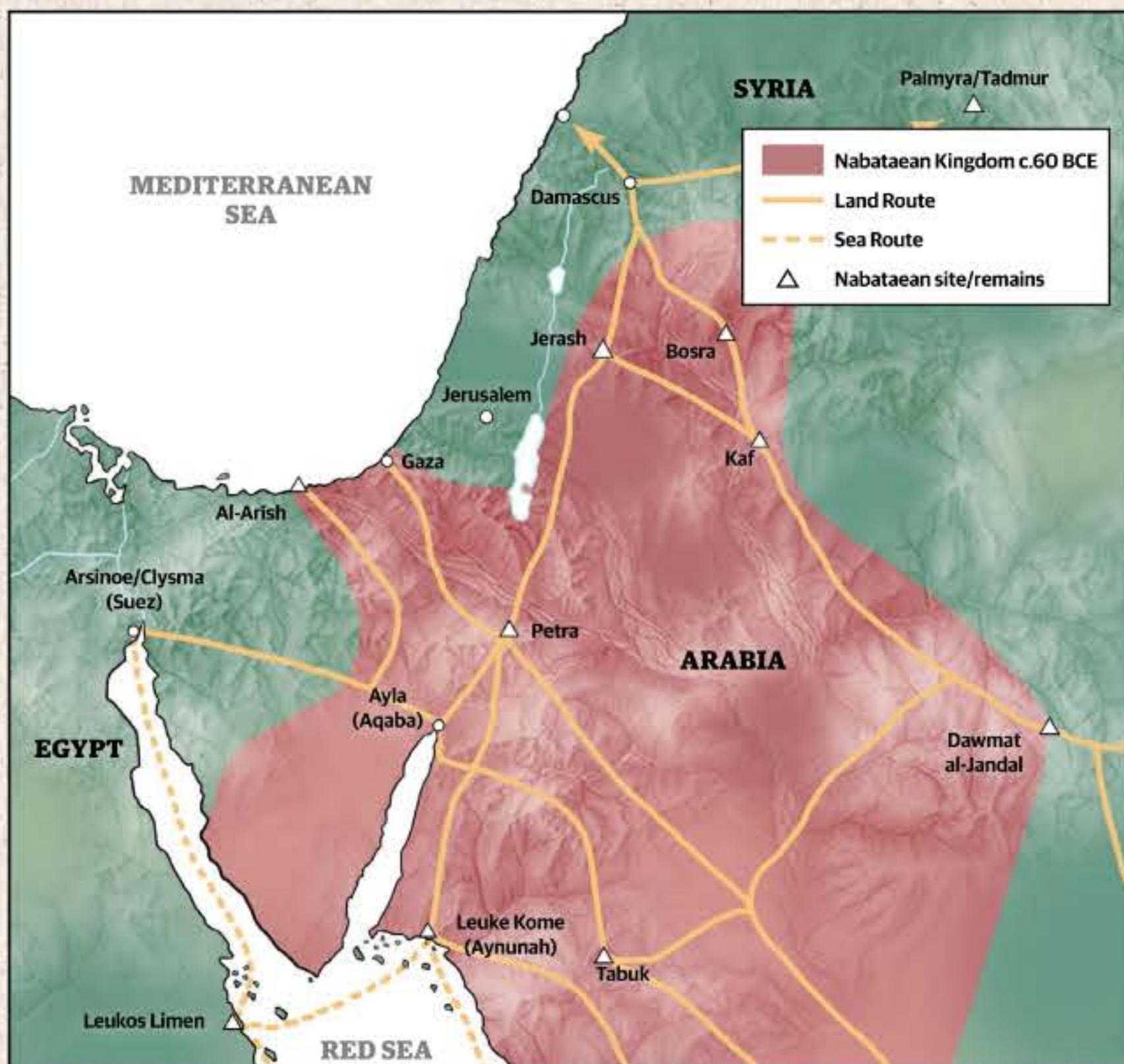
Aristocratic
Mesopotamian
women

were possibly the first to invent and wear lipstick, about 5,000 years ago. They also crushed gemstones and used them to decorate their faces, mainly on the lips and around the eyes. Of course, the images from ancient Egypt reveal that both men and women used black eye makeup, something that might seem unusual today, but was standard fare then.

Perfume also plays a role in the history of luxury and fashion at this time and is as ancient as makeup. The first reference to perfume also comes from ancient Mesopotamia, around 1200 BCE, when a woman called Tapputi is said to have created a scent from a mixture of balsam and myrrh. Her creations were used as perfume by aristocrats and as incense in religious ceremonies, uses that spilled over into the wider world.

This leads us to the Silk Road, a term created by a German explorer in the 19th century. The name suggests this was a specifically designated road, running from east to west (and vice versa). In fact, it was a catch-all term for the multiple routes used

Frankincense and Myrrh



by the thousands of traders who bought, sold and distributed their wares from distant China, across the gigantic Central Asian steppe, into the Middle East and, eventually, to Europe.

Everywhere, throughout the regions, there is evidence of this trade. The bright blue stones in Tutankhamen's mask (14th century BCE) are lapis lazuli, which came from Afghanistan; and the oldest silk found in Egypt (which had to have come from China) was discovered on a mummy in the Valley of the Kings, dating from 1070 BCE. Silk scarves dyed in India became the headscarves of tribal women who lived along the Black Sea in Asia Minor. Silk Road trade changed and enhanced the lives of everyone in the regions around it.

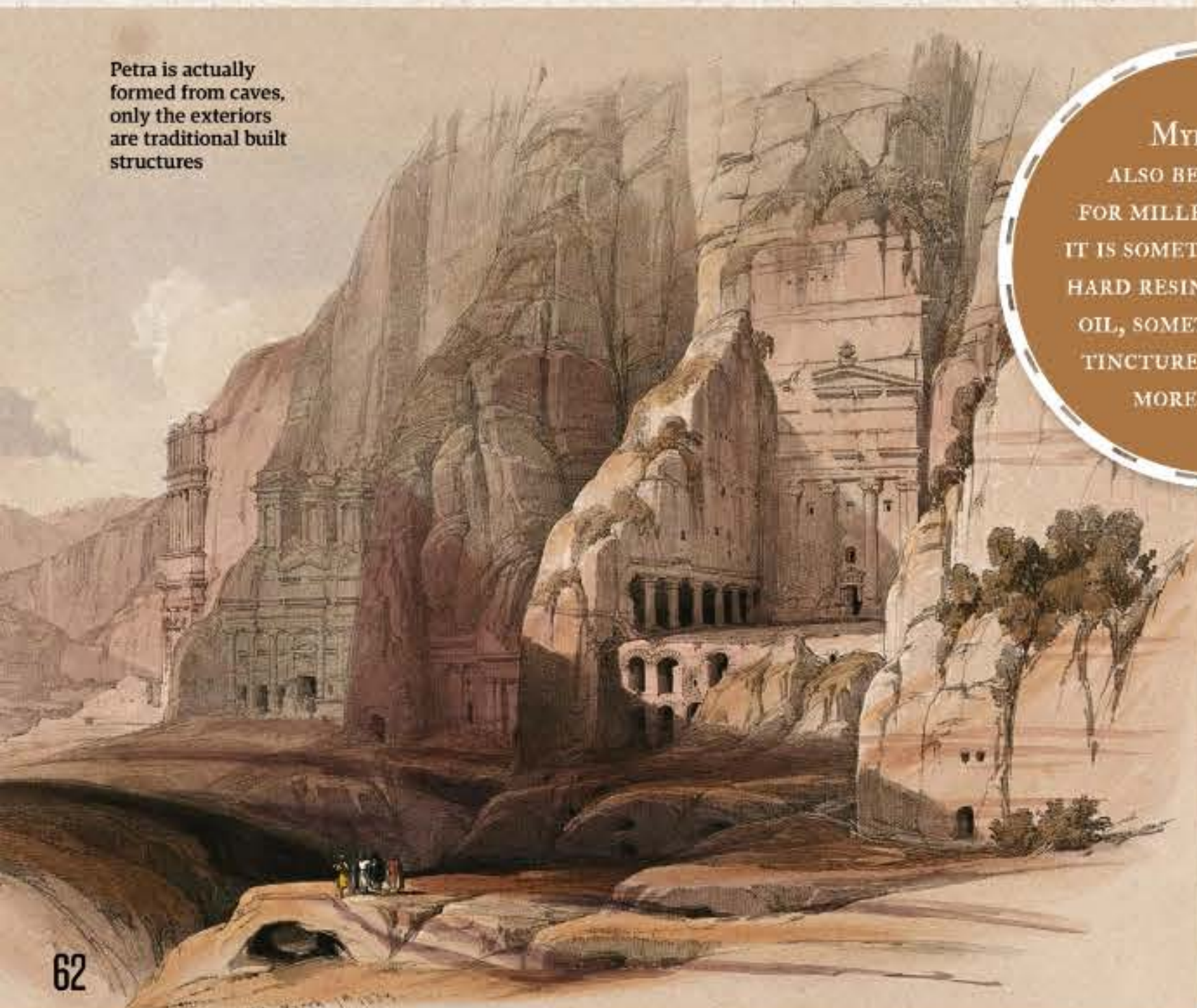
Silk Road trade was further enhanced by the Persian Empire which created the Royal Road (5th century BCE) that ran for nearly 1,800 miles across Asia. The links between east and west were further strengthened during Alexander the Great's campaign in the 4th century BCE, and it was at this time that Petra became the capital city of the Nabataean Kingdom.

It is Petra's location that made it so strategically significant. It explains why the city became a central trading hub in the past and why it still exists as an important archaeological site to this day. Putting it simply, it's hard to manage a city in the desert. But if that city has a source of water and if it is profiting from trade because of its location as a place where caravans from many routes converge, then its success is all but guaranteed. Putting it even more simply, the effort is worth the reward.

The people of Petra were smart enough to realise that they were perfectly placed to trade in the spices, precious metals, silk, ivory and other goods from China, India and the Persian Gulf on their way to the ports of the Mediterranean. We shall also see that they cornered the market in two of the major luxury items of the time. Consumer demand from kingdoms to the west meant regular revenues poured into Petra's coffers.

MYRRH HAS ALSO BEEN TRADED FOR MILLENNIA. WHILE IT IS SOMETIMES SOLD IN A HARD RESIN FORM, MYRRH OIL, SOMETIMES CALLED TINCTURE OF MYRRH, IS MORE COMMON

Petra is actually formed from caves, only the exteriors are traditional built structures



Empire of Aromatics

Al-Khazneh, also known as the Treasury, is perhaps the best known of Petra's sites



FRANKINCENSE
IS USUALLY SOLD IN
THE FORM OF DRIED RESIN
AND HAS BEEN TRADED IN
THE ARABIAN PENINSULA
FOR AT LEAST 6,000 YEARS.
ITS CURRENT PRICE IS
AROUND £36/KILO

cosmopolitan. But hidden in the valley's centre, amongst the ruins of this once prosperous city, are the remains of the aqueducts that ran for miles from an underground spring. The buildings are not structures, but caves which penetrate the rock cliffs to produce a site filled with palaces and temples, theatres and tombs, villas, baths, fountains and gardens.

Petra was an ancient crossroads between east and west, a city alive with camel caravans and a busy marketplace, home to some 30,000 people at its peak 2,000 years ago.

The Nabataean Kingdom covered a patchwork of modern countries, including the Sinai Desert of Egypt, Palestine and Southern Israel, most of Jordan and a small part of northern Saudi Arabia. The kingdom was formed by an alliance of Bedouin tribes, nomads who depended on their herds of camels and horses for survival as they crisscrossed the region in search of grasslands.

The history of the Bedouin is an oral tradition and the name itself is an Anglicised version of an Arabic word, which simply means 'desert dwellers' – it was a completely appropriate name.

The nomadic tribes supplemented their meagre living by raiding outposts on the edges of the desolate regions of desert. Sometimes they would be paid to protect caravans, at other times they would attack them, but as the traffic in the region increased the Bedouin prospered and at some point came together to form the permanent settlement that became the foundation of the Nabataean Kingdom.

The people of Petra didn't speak Arabic (or even an early version of it) but an early Semitic language that seemed to share a lot in common with Akkadian, the language of Mesopotamia and the Neo-Assyrian languages to the north. Whatever the limitations of language, the language of trade overcame all obstacles and honed the talents of people who were gifted in business. The growth of the young Nabataean Kingdom coincided with a huge change in the geopolitics of the region when a military

“TODAY IT SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE THAT ANYTHING LIKE A CIVILISED TRADING SOCIETY COULD SURVIVE HERE LET ALONE FLOURISH TO BECOME RICH AND COSMOPOLITAN”

The second major factor in the story of Petra is the birth and evolution of the Nabataean Kingdom, a broader factor but not unrelated to the first. Frustratingly, Petra is covered in written inscriptions, but their context is limited. The civilisation was literate, but while we have many fragments of information from coins, inscriptions and other archaeological finds, there are no great historical records or fragments of literature from the kingdom itself. Indeed, most of what we know

was written by outsiders trying to explain the Nabataean culture. This ultimately leads to huge amounts of conjecture and not a lot of consensus.

The landscape around Petra is harsh and unforgiving. Everything is composed of the soft red sandstone that forms the surrounding hills and the valley in which the city was constructed. Looking around today it seems impossible that anything like a civilised trading society could survive here let alone flourish to become rich and

Frankincense and Myrrh



1 QASR AL-BINT

The 'Palace of the Pharaoh's Daughter' is thought to have served as the city's main temple. Worship of Nabataean deities Dushara and al-Uzza is thought to have been centred here.



2 AD-DEIR

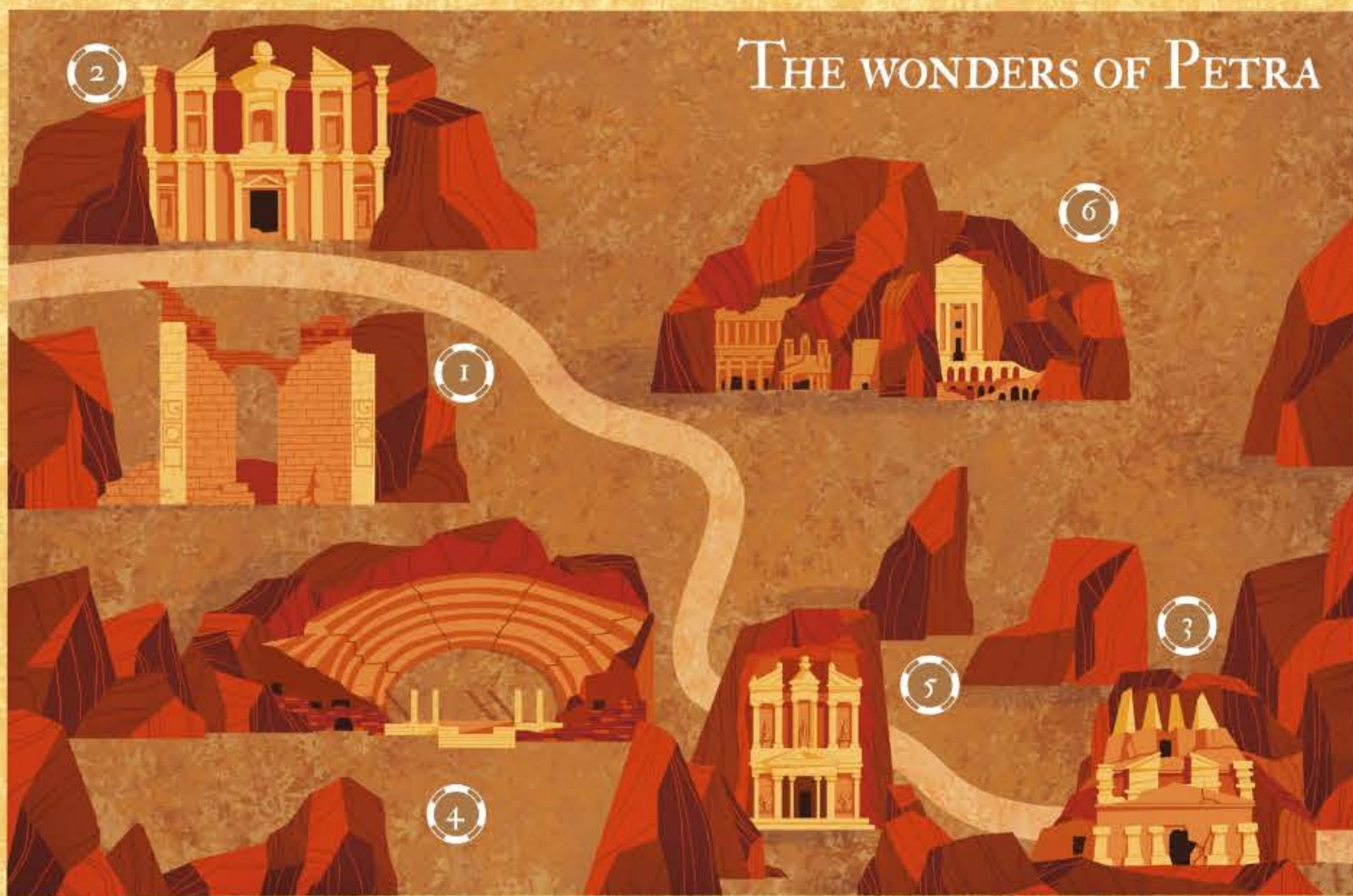
Petra's largest monument, the 'Monastery' sits on a high plateau of Jebel ad-Deir. It's thought to have served as a temple-cenotaph commemorating King Obodas I.



3 OBELISK TOMB

Named for the four obelisks that dominate its façade, the Obelisk tomb sits above the façade of the Bab el Siq Triclinium (a banqueting hall), which is believed to have been carved later.

THE WONDERS OF PETRA



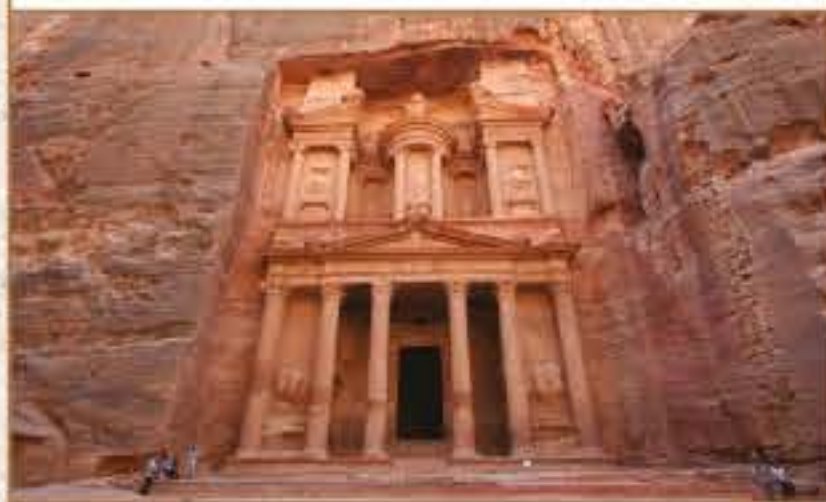
4 THE THEATRE

The theatre exactly follows Roman design rules but with the Nabataean architectural twist of the entire structure being hollowed out from a sheer rock face.



5 AL-KHAZNEH

Archaeologists theorise that this was the mortuary temple of either King Aretas III or Aretas IV, built as a place to worship the sovereign as well as being his burial place.



6 URN TOMB

The multi-level Urn Tomb is the first of five façades (known together as the Royal Tombs) that loom over Petra's colonnaded street from a ledge cut into Jebel al-Khubta.



campaign, largely between Egypt to the south and the Persian Empire to the north, led to a change in the spheres of influence and allowed Petra to gain an advantage. The result of all of this was that the Nabataeans gained the monopoly on that super-luxurious item of the ancient world, frankincense.

Frankincense is, in essence, plant sap. It comes from a hardy bush that grows in hot and arid environments. Indeed, the plant is unusual in its ability to grow in such a harsh environment; it's even been known to grow out of solid rock. This kind of landscape pretty much summarises the Arabian Peninsula as well as the Horn of Africa, and as Petra was the major trading centre in the region, it became the natural outlet for this resin.

The earliest images of frankincense appear on a temple in Egypt built by Hatshepsut, who died in the 15th century BCE. This confirms and underlines its importance as well as its antiquity. The frankincense, in this case, had come from the land of Punt, which, while its exact location is still

"THE EARLIEST IMAGES OF FRANKINCENSE APPEAR ON A TEMPLE IN EGYPT BUILT BY HATSHEPSUT"

contested, seems to have been in the general area of the Horn of Africa.

The reason for its importance is the aromatic qualities of its granules, used, as mentioned earlier, by the rich as perfume and by the religious as devotional incense. Its rarity made it a very expensive commodity, and the monopoly helped make Petra even wealthier.

Then there was myrrh. While Petra did not have a monopoly on this, it was one of the epicentres of myrrh trade, and once again, we are in the realm of perfumes and incense. Myrrh has been valued for thousands of years for these qualities, but unlike frankincense, it is a natural antiseptic. It is derived from a very thorny tree called Commiphora, whose natural habitat is, once again, the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa. It is interesting to note that this may be an example of a product that went the other way on the Silk Road as it has been a part of Chinese medicine for at least a millennia.

By now, you might well have made a connection between the kingdom's two major exports and the Bible. However, before we get to the most famous example of their importance, it's worth pointing out that myrrh is mentioned a number of times in the Bible. It is almost uniquely associated with religious ritual, but on one occasion, it warns of its

Bedouin nomads explore the ruins of Petra

WHILE TAPPUTI WAS NOT FROM PETRA, SHE HAS AN INTERESTING CLAIM TO FAME AS THE FIRST PERSON IN RECORDED HISTORY TO MIX COMPOUNDS. SOME REGARD HER AS THE FIRST EVER CHEMIST

A ceramic bowl believed to have been produced by the Nabataean Kingdom, it clearly shows Greek influence

intoxicating qualities.

Touching briefly on the Nativity, there is, of course, the story of the three wise men bringing gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh to the baby Jesus. The point of the gifts is that they were all fabulously expensive and, quite literally, gifts fit for a king.

To anyone around at the time, these gifts would have validated Jesus' position as a King of Kings. The two gifts of frankincense and myrrh were very much associated with areas outside of the Roman Empire and to the east of it. They point to

a number of anti-Roman sentiments in the New Testament, right up to Jesus' title of King of Kings, which was actually the Persian emperor's title of Shahenshah. In other words, with the Roman persecution of the Christians and Jews at the time of the writing of the New Testament, there seems to have been a desire to look to other cultures to validate Jesus' role on Earth.

There is, however, another connection between the Nabataean Kingdom (and specifically Petra) and the Bible. King Aretas IV was king from roughly 9 BCE to 40 CE, in other words, he was a contemporary of Jesus. Aretas married his daughter to Herod Antipas, the King Herod of New Testament fame. Herod would eventually divorce

Frankincense and Myrrh

Less ornate dwellings offer a glimpse of Petra as a living settlement

ALTHOUGH JORDAN IS RARELY IN THE NEWS FOR VIOLENT REASONS, SAFETY CONCERNS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE REDUCED VISITOR NUMBERS, WHICH ARE NOW HALF A MILLION EACH YEAR

“THE STATUES AT THE FRONT OF THIS MAGNIFICENT EDIFICE CLEARLY RELATE TO THE PAGAN GODS OF BOTH ROME AND GREECE”

A Roman oil lamp dating from the 1st century CE, it may have been produced in Petra

her and marry his brother's wife, a union which caused a scandal. John the Baptist was outspoken in his condemnation of this immoral marriage, and it was this opposition that led to Herod's decision to have him beheaded. So, once again, we see the Nabataean Kingdom playing a role in other, better-known regimes.

But it is Aretas who leads us straight back to Petra, where the people demonstrated a flair for the theatrical with the city's main entrance via a natural ravine that splits the towering rocks for almost a mile. Once through it, the visitor is confronted with the most famous site in Petra, Al Khazneh, or the Treasury.

It is said that the name comes from the riches stored in the great urn at the top of the circular building at the facade's centre. In reality, the structure is thought to be the mausoleum of Aretas IV. The statues at the front of this magnificent edifice clearly relate to the pagan gods of both Rome and Greece, and show that Greco-Roman polytheism was alive and well even outside of the Roman Empire. It is also a reminder that not only did the Nabataean Kingdom have the ability to spread soft power through many regions and empires by means of trade, but in turn, those trade routes brought back other cultures and concepts, including theology.

Although protected from sight by the natural ravine, Petra was poorly defended and very rich. It was, therefore, an obvious target for attack, and yet, it was surprisingly hard to conquer. The kingdom was notorious for its dry and desolate location, so sending a large army to conquer what was, in essence, a desert would almost invariably lead to that invading force having to retreat due to lack of water. The standard tactic of these desert-dwelling Bedouin forces of the Nabataean Kingdom was to harry invading armies and then melt away to allow the heat and lack of water to do their work for them, while their own forces replenished their water supplies at hidden

The towering Ad-Deir, also known as the Monestary

watering holes. It was a simple but effective strategy. Diodorus, the Greek writer of the 1st century BCE, wrote: "Neither the Assyrians of old, nor the king of the Medes and Persians, nor yet those of the Macedonians have been able to enslave them, and [...] They never brought their attempts to successful conclusion." Adding that the Nabataeans were "exceptionally fond of freedom".

It should be noted that the Nabataean Kingdom fought against a number of foes and expanded under a number of their kings. That's not to say they won every battle, but they were certainly a force to be reckoned with, despite the fact that they were on the edges of two large empires. The Nabataeans feuded with the Persians on a number of occasions, but it was the ever-growing

IN 2007 THERE WAS A GLOBAL POLL TO FIND THE 'NEW' SEVEN WONDERS OF THE WORLD, AND PETRA WAS CHOSEN BY POPULAR VOTE. IRONICALLY IT COULD HAVE QUALIFIED FOR THE ORIGINAL LIST

Roman Empire that was to be their undoing. Although there are no historical accounts or oral traditions of any great clashes by the armies of the Nabataeans in the region, we do know that by 107 CE, there were Roman military outposts in the kingdom, after which it became known as Arabia Petraea. It was about this time, in 106 CE, that the last King of the Nabataeans died. Rabbel II seems to have had an heir but he never took the throne. It could well have been that the lack of an obvious/strong successor, linked to a kingdom increasingly dependent on the much richer Roman Empire, led to a peaceful or administrative takeover, rather than one by military force.

While it wasn't quite the most easterly territory of the Roman Empire, Arabia Petraea was absolutely a frontier land. A change in leadership and the integration of these lands into Roman territories ultimately led to Petra's demise. Trade routes changed and, over time, the city became a backwater as the population dwindled. A devastating earthquake in 363 CE dealt a final blow when it destroyed the water management system, making the city untenable as a settlement.

Arabia Petraea would remain part of the Eastern Roman Empire, now called the Byzantine Empire, into the 7th century. It would remain connected to this civilisation for centuries after Rome itself had fallen to the barbarians. However, in the 630s, it would become the first eastern province to fall to a new civilisation, the Islamic Caliphate. From that point on, Petra would be part of Muslim lands, a concept that would have been completely alien to the original inhabitants.

Petra did not fall to the sword, nor was it burnt to the ground by a barbarian horde. Petra was abandoned and because it was hidden away it was all but forgotten for nearly 2,000 years. For centuries, its only visitors were bandits who took advantage of its shelter and isolation, and some Bedouin families who lived on the site.

Then in 1812, a Swiss adventurer by the name of Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, intrigued by tales of a lost city in the desert, posed as an Arab sheikh and persuaded a local guide to show him the ruins of what turned out to be Petra. In the 1980s, the few families still living there were relocated (not always willingly) when the site received UNESCO World Heritage status.

In the greater scheme of things, Petra was not a huge city, nor was it renowned at the time for its grandeur. In comparison to another ancient city such as Ephesus, the site pales in both its size and the quality of its statues and edifices. However, Petra's incredibly well preserved and wonderfully ornate facades, carved into the living rock, are what make it unique. Its location made it what it was and preserved it for future generations.

UNDERSTANDING AL-KHAZNEH

THE URN

The urn, which crowns the façade, is looking a little worse for wear these days. Convinced it contained treasure, local Bedouin used to take pot shots at it with their rifles, which has resulted in its pockmarked appearance.

DAMAGE TO THE RELIEFS

The damage to the figurative carvings on Al-Khazneh was the work of the iconoclasts in the 8th century who, under Caliph Yazid II's orders, destroyed human representations.

THE FAÇADE

Al-Khazneh's façade is 39.6 metres high and 28 metres wide. Its classical style utilises Corinthian columns and detailed reliefs depicting lions, gryphons and sculpted figures of deities.

SANDSTONE

Petra's red-pink sandstone cliffs are rich in iron and manganese minerals. These minerals create Petra's distinctive red-hued rock, streaked with a multiplicity of veins, which vary in colour from yellows through to browns.

BORE HOLES

A line of bore holes frame each side of Al-Khazneh's façade. Archaeologists surmise that these may have been used for stairs or scaffolding so that the builders could climb up and down from the work platform.

GROUND SURFACE LEVEL

How did tombs get under the ground below Al-Khazneh? They didn't. When the Nabataean dam finally disintegrated, flash flooding returned to the Petra area. The stone and sand deposited by the torrential waters over centuries gradually built up the ground by six or seven metres to today's level.

THE LOWER TOMBS

Excavations that began in 2003 discovered four burial chambers with pediment-style façades six metres below the surface of Al-Khazneh. Findings within the tombs – including bone fragments – allowed archaeologists to date the tombs to the 1st century BCE.



HITLER'S WAR ON ART

Inside the 1937 exhibition of 'degenerate art' that the Nazis loved to hate

Written by Philippa Grafton

The 'Degenerate Art' exhibition is a gigantic success and a deadly blow," wrote Joseph Goebbels on 24 July 1937, five days after the show's opening.

A hit in the eyes of Hitler's right-hand man and propaganda minister, the Degenerate Art exhibition was unlike any other exposition that had been put on in Germany before. This, after all, was one exhibition no artist wanted to be a part of, driven by hate, revulsion, rejection and, above all, retribution.

In the wake of World War I, Germany was a shattered nation. Lumped with crippling war reparations and led by an incompetent government, the country was tumbling into ruin. The emergence of a young and unqualified nobody called Adolf Hitler onto the political scene, however, soon changed the country's fortunes. Within years Hitler had soared through German politics and by 1934 he had manipulated his position and named himself Führer, and with this new title came absolute power.

But before his meteoric rise in politics, Hitler had dreamt of an entirely different life. In 1907 Hitler applied to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, determined to pursue a career as an artist. He was rejected, but the young man was determined and applied again the following year. Once again he was rebuffed, beaten to this prize place by more expressive, experimental artists.

His creative ambition now relegated to a mere pipe dream, Hitler was bitter - and hellbent on revenge.

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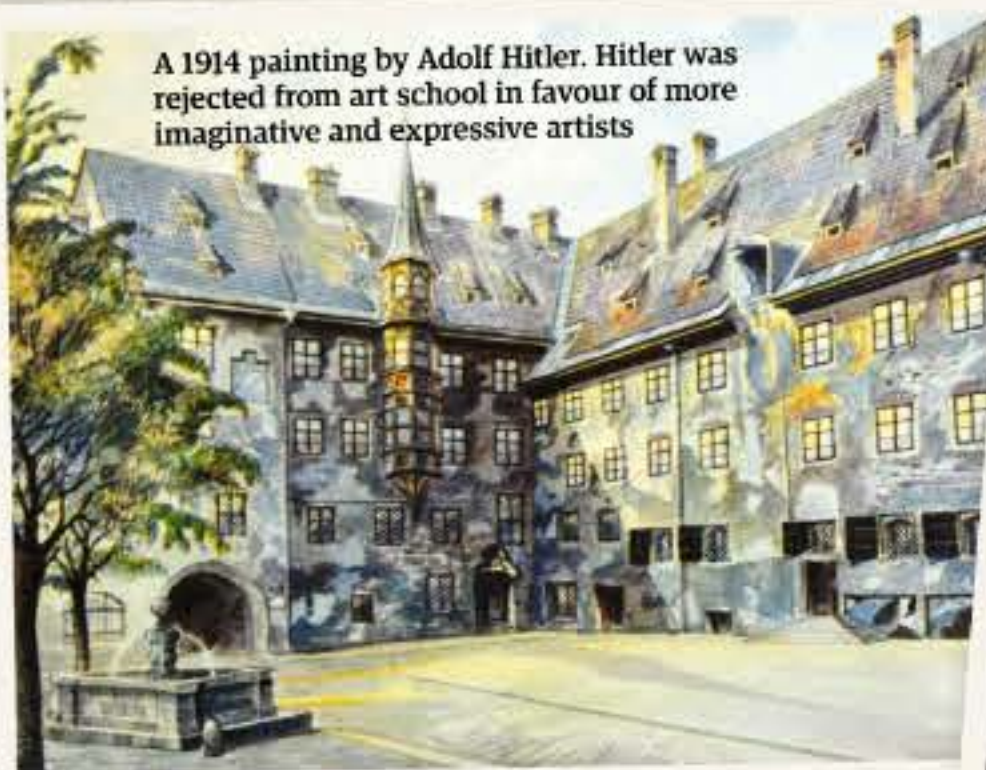
Hitler and Goebbels take a tour of the exhibition



Upon achieving ultimate power, Hitler was determined to make Germany his own aesthetic paradise. While prized Nazi architects, such as Paul Ludwig Troost and later Albert Speer, embarked on transforming Germany into a neoclassical haven, Hitler was preparing to strike his vengeful blow upon the art world that had rejected him nearly two decades before.

In September 1933, Hitler had set up the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, with Joseph Goebbels at the

A 1914 painting by Adolf Hitler. Hitler was rejected from art school in favour of more imaginative and expressive artists



Adolf Ziegler, the Nazi artist who Goebbels tasked with purging German galleries of 'degenerate' art



TOO DEGENERATE TO EXHIBIT

Of all those showcased in the exhibition, one very vocal anti-Nazi artist was conspicuously absent...

Unashamedly anti-Nazi, John Heartfield was one of Hitler's biggest critics and at one point was fifth on the Gestapo's most-wanted list – so it's remarkable that this local dissenter didn't feature in the exhibition at all.

Born to German parents as Helmud Herzfeld in the late-19th century, he was called up to fight in World War I in September 1914.

Convinced at the futility of war, however, Herzfeld feigned a mental breakdown and was dismissed from military service. It was impossible, he believed, to fight in a war that he deemed the greatest insanity of all. As anti-British sentiment swept Germany, he chose to Anglicise his name and became known as John Heartfield.

Upon moving to the capital, Heartfield became involved in the Berlin Dada scene, where he came to the realisation that creating art that wasn't anti-war was to be complicit in the government's propaganda campaign.

In response, he turned his back on traditional art and embraced photomontage, creating dozens of anti-war, anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi compositions that were published in several Communist and anti-fascist magazines.

Heartfield was an integral part of the artistic resistance against the Nazis, but by using the press rather than the canvas to voice his disdain for the regime, he ensured that he wasn't an easy figure to attack. After all, Heartfield's press-published collages were impossible to round up and destroy; they could just as easily return with a vengeance.

John Heartfield's collage entitled *Don't be Frightened - He's a Vegetarian*, depicting Hitler as a butcher eyeing up the French cockerel



Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's 1913 painting *The Street* was exhibited at the Degenerate Art show

helm. Finally Hitler had a means of ridding Germany of so-called 'degenerate' art, and Goebbels was tasked with pruning gallery collections, leaving only 'true' art. Goebbels, however, didn't share Hitler's artistic vision.

A divide sprung up in the Nazi Party on the topic of expressionism – on one side stood Goebbels, an enthusiastic patron of expressionist painters, and on the other loomed the prominent Nazi theorist Alfred Rosenberg, who saw expressionism as the decay of humanity. After a year of fierce feuding, the matter was resolved when Hitler finally sided with Rosenberg, condemning expressionism as the antithesis of Nazi ideology.

In celebration of Nazi-approved art, the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda planned a brand-new annual exhibit, the Great German Art exhibition, intended to celebrate the 'true' artists of the Third Reich. Artists were invited to submit their works to a judging panel and of the thousands of submissions, over 600 artworks were chosen to feature. In the weeks leading up to this illustrious exhibition, however, Hitler visited Munich's House of Art, where the exhibition was to be held. The visit did not go to plan, with Goebbels later writing that Hitler was "wild with rage" at the selection. The judges were dismissed, and Hitler's photographer,

Heinrich Hoffman, was drafted in to redevelop the exhibition at the last minute.

Dismayed at incurring the wrath of the Führer, Goebbels imagined a completely new kind of show to serve as a counter-exhibition to Great German Art. Desperate to regain Hitler's favour, Goebbels pitched an exhibition of degenerate art to highlight the disparity between 'traitorous' and 'patriotic' art. The idea went down a storm, and on 29 June Hitler officially gave his seal of approval.

The next day, Goebbels appointed Adolf Ziegler – Hitler's favourite painter and later known as the 'Master of German Pubic Hair' for his nude paintings – to head up a nationwide purge of the galleries, confiscating any works deemed degenerate. Ziegler was only too happy to comply, expelling thousands of works of art from the

public view, over 650 of which would soon feature in the Degenerate Art exhibition. While works created by any artist deemed degenerate were rounded up, including works by Mondrian, Picasso and van Gogh, it was the work of German and Germany-based artists that were chosen for this very public humiliation.

In a matter of just two weeks, the exhibition was planned in its entirety. Held in Munich's Institute of Archaeology in the Hofgarten, the Degenerate Art exhibition



The catalogue cover of the 1937 Degenerate Art exhibition

Crowds begin to gather around the entrance of the Degenerate Art exhibition, held in Munich's Galeriestraße



was just round the corner from the House of Art, the home of Hitler's Great German Art show. On 18 July 1937, the Great German Art exhibition opened with much fanfare – but the popularity of its counter-exhibition that opened the next day was unprecedented; over the course of its showing, the Degenerate Art show reeled in five times as many visitors as its upmarket companion.

Around 112 artists were exhibited in this hugely popular show, among them Wassily Kandinsky, Otto Dix, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Max Beckmann and Oskar Kokoschka, who was widely considered one of Austria's greatest artists of the era.

The art of these anti-Nazi artists, however, hung side by side with some unexpected companions. Emil Nolde, a proud and long-serving member of the Nazi Party, found his creations tarred as degenerate, and his paintings featured heavily throughout the exhibition. It was a catastrophe for the artist, who had long been supported, promoted and patronised by none other than Goebbels.

Artworks vied for space on the walls and floors of the exhibition space with tags attached to each work that listed the price that galleries had paid to possess them. But with the dark, tumultuous days of the Weimar Republic and hyperinflation not even a decade prior, the costs were wildly

exaggerated. On these seemingly eye-watering tags, a line read, "Paid for with hard-earned tax-payers' money."

Surrounding the art, graffiti condemning the works was scrawled all over the walls "Mockery of God", "An insult to German womanhood", "The ideal – cretin and whore".

Spread across several rooms, only sections of the exhibition were themed. The show opened with a room devoted to blasphemy and religious art; the second room

dealt with Jews; while a third contended with the salt-of-the-earth people of Germany, including soldiers, women and farmers. The rest of the exhibition descended into unorganised chaos.

The Degenerate Art exhibition was a complete fiasco, an embarrassment to any curator. Paintings hung mere inches from one another and artworks were commonly misnamed or wrongly



Paul Klee's *Around The Fish* was confiscated and exhibited in 1937



Confiscated by the Nazis on 27 March 1938, this self-portrait by van Gogh was sold at auction in Switzerland a year later

attributed. Rather than an exhibition, this was a propaganda spectacle designed to enrage and provoke; it was exactly what the Nazis envisioned. These creations, unworthy in their eyes of being called "art", were unworthy of hanging on the walls of Germany's great gallery, and were unworthy of being seen by the German population.

When the exhibition opened on 19 July 1937, children were forbidden from attending for fear that they would be terrified - or worse, corrupted - by the obscenity of the art. For those who did attend, visitors were actively encouraged to interact with the art - actors were even hired to mingle with the crowd in order to provoke reactions. Some sneered, some shouted, some spat.

In the almost four-month run of the Degenerate Art exhibition, the show was considered one of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda's greatest successes. When it closed on 30 November, it had averaged around 20,000 visitors a

day. With such exceptional engagement, the exhibition was taken on the road, visiting 11 other cities across Germany and Austria until it officially closed in 1941. More than just a popular exhibition, it proved to be one of the most powerful early Nazi propaganda campaigns, sending shockwaves not just throughout Germany, but across the world.

While many in Germany were glad to celebrate the 'worthy' art and culture of Nazi Germany, not all who visited the Degenerate Art exhibition were visiting for what the Nazis believed were the right reasons. Certainly, many visitors went to be shocked and to show their disdain for modern art, but for others the Degenerate Art exhibition was an opportunity to say farewell forever to some of these contemporary masterpieces.

In the wake of the Degenerate Art exhibition, the collection was divided. Some works were destroyed, deemed worthless, while those considered valuable on an international market were flogged at auctions

Inside the gallery, artworks deemed degenerate hung alongside offensive slogans scrawled onto the walls

So „sahen“ sie die Welt,
Das waren die „Meisterwerke“

die „Meister“ der von Juden und hysterischen Schwätzern in den
himmel gerühmten Verfallskunst!
die mit den Steuergroschen des schaffenden deutschen Volkes
bezahlt wurden !!!

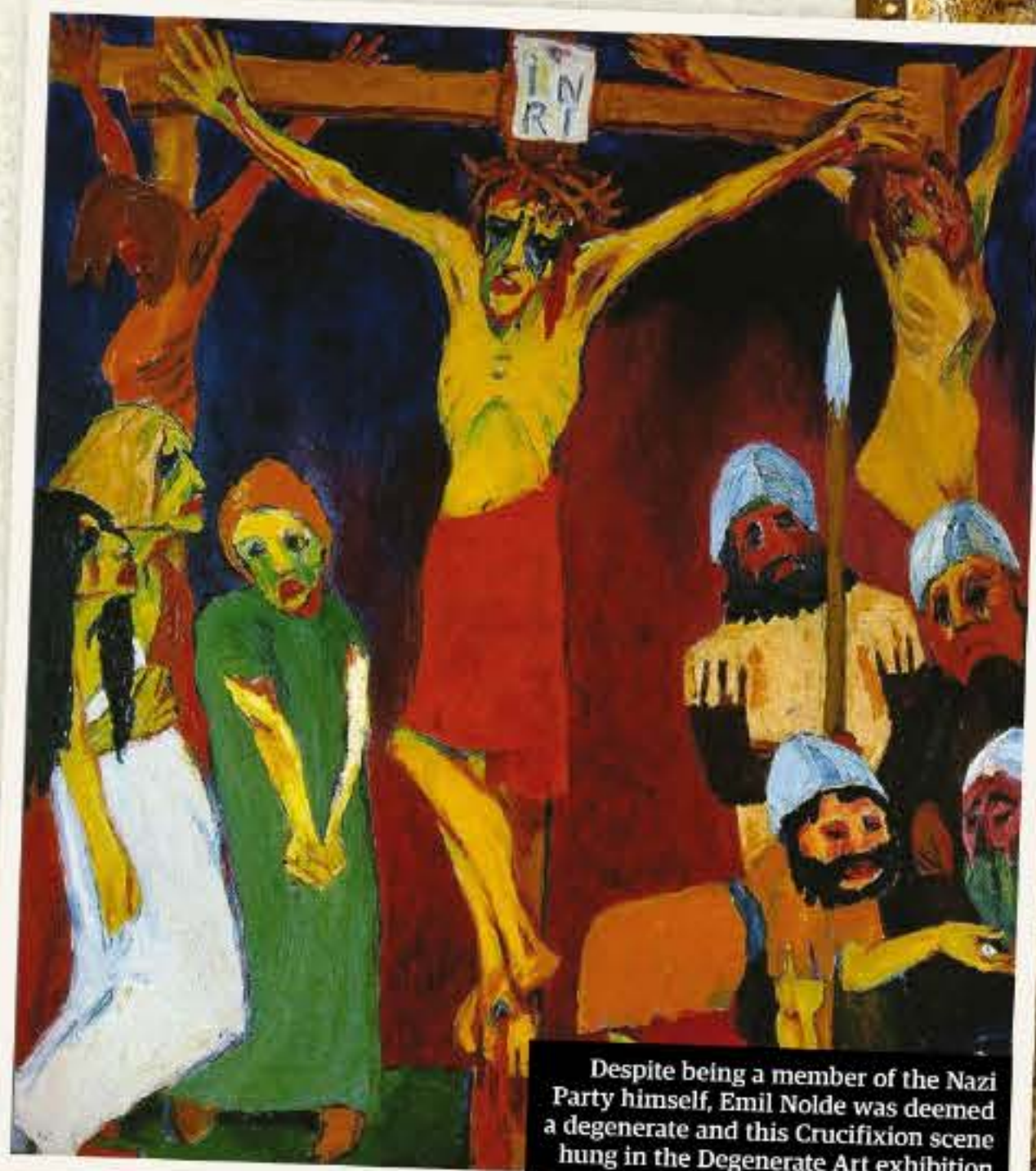


for cut-down prices, including works by van Gogh, Gauguin and Picasso. In the ultimate act of hypocrisy, many degenerate works of art that were looted and sold by the Nazis were acquired by the very men who sold them, bargain-hunters on the prowl for their next fortune. The rest ended up dispersed across the world or tragically lost.



But what of the artists whose reputations were ruined by the Degenerate Art exhibition? Formerly Austria's greatest artist, Oskar Kokoschka fled to Czechoslovakia, then later the UK, before settling in Switzerland where he died in 1980. Utterly ruined by his fall from grace, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner killed himself in 1938. Max Beckmann, like Kokoschka, escaped into exile. The once-proud Nazi Emil Nolde was banned from ever painting again by his one-time compatriots, so took up watercolours, a medium that didn't smell and was therefore easy to hide. All degenerate artists who worked in universities and art schools lost their positions.

Many of the artists who unwillingly starred in the Degenerate Art exhibition are today little more than just names on paper. With careers cut down in their prime, we'll never truly know what could have become of some of these creative geniuses.



Despite being a member of the Nazi Party himself, Emil Nolde was deemed a degenerate and this Crucifixion scene hung in the Degenerate Art exhibition

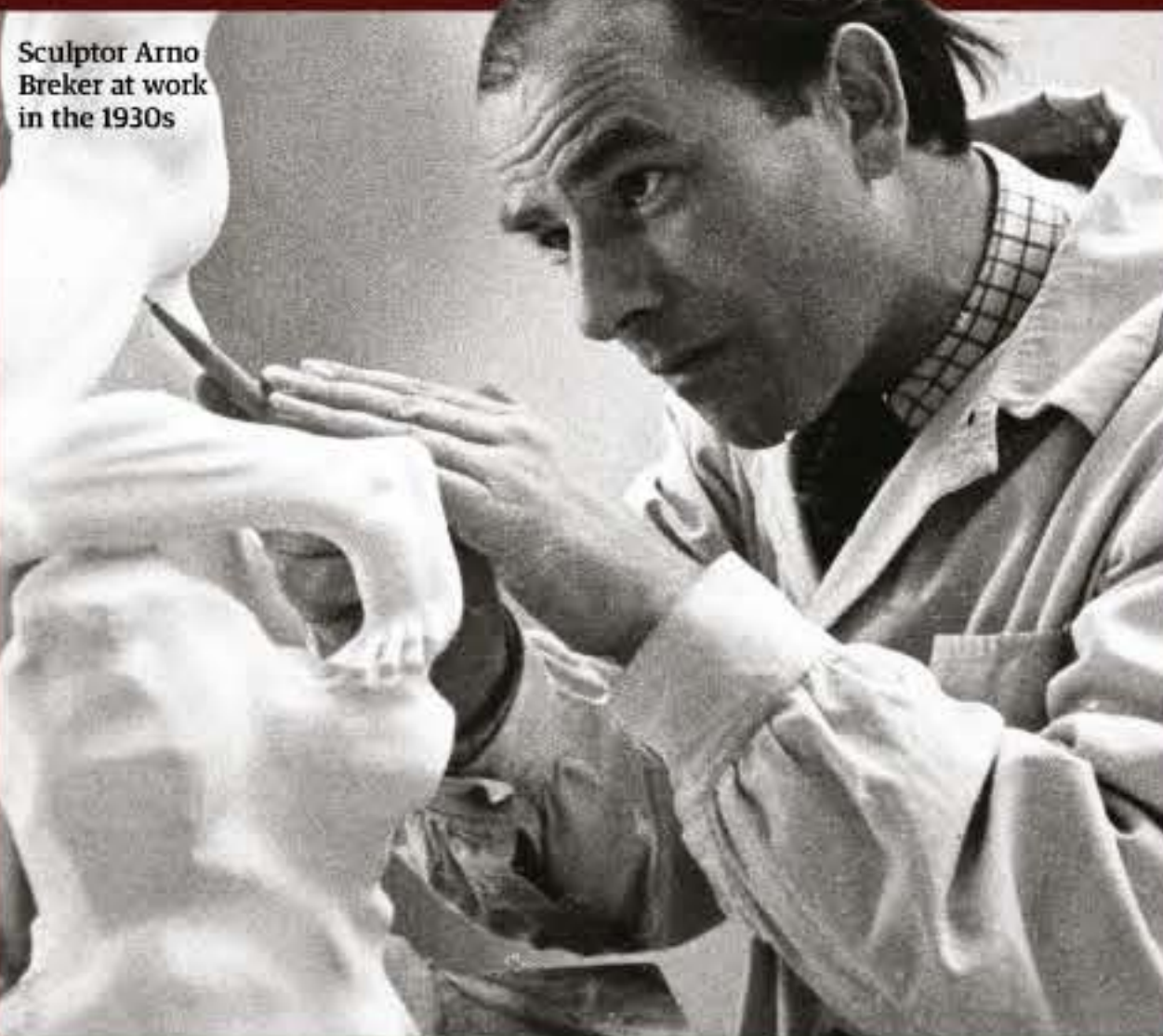
THE GOTTBEGNADETEN LIST

In a bid to build Nazi culture, a list of very special artists was drawn up

In the wake of the Degenerate Art exhibition Hitler and Goebbels were determined to see Nazi culture blossom and grow. In 1944 a record entitled the 'Gottbegnadeten' list - or 'God-gifted' list - was drawn up, featuring artists, musicians, actors, authors and other creatives that were considered national treasures. Among these prized figures were composer Richard Strauss, Nobel Prize-winning writer Gerhart Hauptmann and actor Heinz Rühmann. The honour meant that a letter was sent to the recipient, but is also guaranteed that the recipient was exempt from military mobilisation; these figures' contributions to culture were deemed more valuable than they could be in war.

Arno Breker was one such artist who found himself on the God-gifted list. Championed as one of the greatest sculptors of the Third Reich, Breker had created sculptures for the 1936 Olympic Games, as well as creating two bronze sculptures to stand outside the Reich Chancellery. Exempt from military service, Breker was appointed the official sculptor of the Nazi Party and was gifted a studio, as well as almost 50 assistants.

By the time the Third Reich crumbled, Breker's reputation had spread far and wide. Identified as a 'fellow traveller' of the Nazi Party than necessarily a Nazi himself, Breker was fined and left to continue his life in Düsseldorf. Over the next few decades he was commissioned by several wealthy and powerful patrons, including the King of Morocco. In 1985 a museum devoted to Breker's works opened in Nörvenich, Germany. He died in 1991 still a celebrated German artist, but many of his list-mates died in relative obscurity, their talent irrevocably tarnished by their relationships with the Nazis.



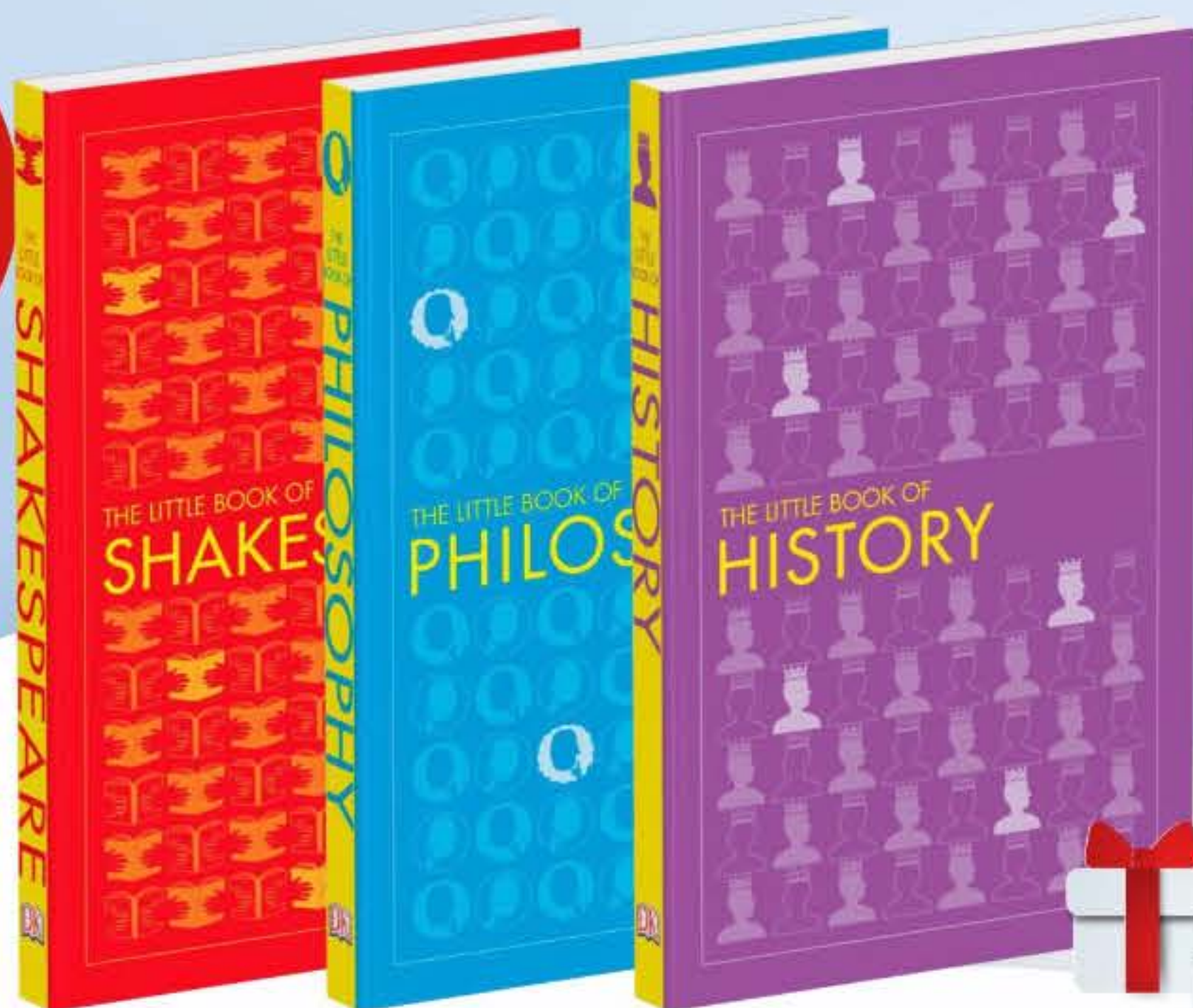
Sculptor Arno Breker at work in the 1930s

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War elephants of Alexander the Great's successors in combat.



BATTLE OF RAPHIA

RAPHIA, PALESTINE, 214 BCE

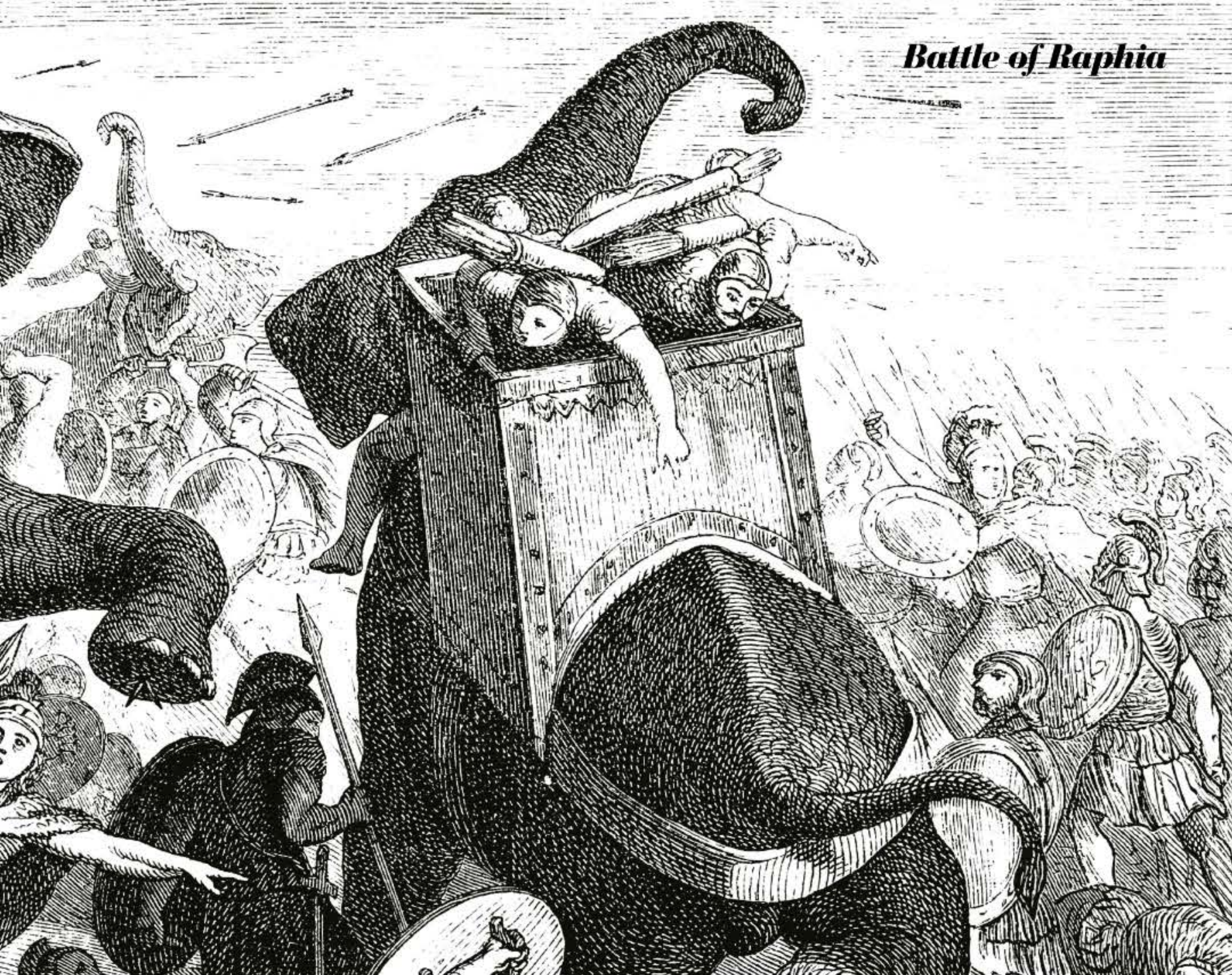
Written by Marc DeSantis

Between 334 and 323 BCE Alexander the Great of Macedon conquered a gigantic empire that, at its height, would stretch from the Balkans in Europe to the frontiers of India and the steppes of Central Asia. Upon his death in Babylon in 323 BCE Alexander's former generals fell to fighting amongst themselves for its possession.

The empire was too big for any one man to gain mastery over it, and after years of conflict, it was divided unevenly between three main dynastic groups, each one originating with one of Alexander's senior commanders. These were the Diadochoi, or Successors, to the legendary king: Antigonus, Seleucus and Ptolemy.

The Antigonids ruled Macedonia, Greece, and other parts of Europe; the Seleucids held the tremendous eastern domains, including Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran, all the way to western India; and the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt.

The Seleucid king Antiochus III, newly-crowned in 223 BCE and based in Syria, was eager to reassert control over the former eastern possessions of his empire, originally conquered by Alexander, that had



slipped from Seleucid grasp over the course of the third century BCE. Far-off Bactria had broken away in the middle of the century.

In northeastern Iran the Macedonian Satrap, or governor, of the province of Parthia had declared his independence from his Seleucid overlords at around the same time. Not long after, the latter province was occupied by Parni steppe nomads around 238 BCE. These Parni acquired the name of the overrun province of Parthia as their own, and founded the Parthian Empire.

The Parthians were a tough and warlike people, with excellent cavalry, and their incursion marked a serious recession of Seleucid power in the far east of the empire. This was a decline that Antiochus was determined to reverse, but the Parthian matter would have to wait for a while. More immediately, in 220 BCE, Antiochus put down a rebellious Macedonian aristocrat named Molon, who was the Satrap of Media, and then suppressed a powerful Iranian magnate named Artabazanes in northern Iran.

Antiochus's preferred target was, however, the young king of Egypt, Ptolemy IV Philopator. Like

the Seleucid monarch, Ptolemy had ascended to his throne only recently, in 221 BCE. By 219 BCE, Antiochus was back in the west, having returned from his victorious campaigns in his eastern domains. Not every threat had been extinguished. Achaëus, a kinsman, was busy plotting a revolt in Asia Minor but Antiochus was too focused for the time being on Egypt to take direct action against him.

The primary area of contention was Coele Syria, a region of indistinct boundaries haphazardly referred to by ancient writers. In antiquity Coele Syria generally meant the coastal regions that lay between modern Syria and Egypt, or roughly the areas of Phoenicia, and further south, Palestine, as far as the Egyptian frontier. It contained many wealthy port cities, and became the focus of great power competition between the Seleucids of Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt during the third century BCE. In 301 BCE Coele Syria was, by agreement among the Successors to Alexander, to be allotted to Seleucus I Nicator, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty. In actuality, it fell into the possession of Ptolemy I, who occupied it with his own forces.

The Seleucids were intent on retrieving their lost territory, and a series of wars were fought between them and the Ptolemies over Coele Syria. The First Syrian War of 274-271 BCE started with the invasion of Coele Syria by the Seleucid King Antiochus I Soter (281-261 BCE).

Antiochus made gains initially on the land, but Ptolemy II Philadelphus' superior Egyptian fleet seized Coele Syria's port cities on the eastern Mediterranean. The Second Syrian War of 260-255 BCE saw King Antiochus II Theos (261-246 BCE), recapture the port cities that had fallen to the Egyptians in the first war.

In the Third Syrian War of 246-241 BCE, a Ptolemaic army marched all the way to Babylon in Mesopotamia and dispatched the Egyptian navy to take back the port cities of Coele Syria.

Ptolemaic gains also included the capture of lands in Asia Minor, Syria proper, Cyprus, and ports in the Aegean Sea. By the time of young Antiochus III's accession to the Seleucid throne in 223 BCE, the Ptolemaic Empire had reached its greatest territorial extent.



Light infantry, such as this peltast, were widely used in Hellenistic armies

From Antiochus's vantage point in Syria, Ptolemy IV would have appeared an easy mark. The Egyptian king was notable for his licentiousness and inattention to matters of state. Also, as Antiochus would in time learn, Ptolemy had carelessly angered an important man who could and would do him harm. Theodotus, an Aetolian Greek by birth, held Coele Syria on behalf of Ptolemy as its governor. Recently, in 221 BCE, Theodotus had successfully defended the region from an initial incursion made by the recently-enthroned Antiochus III, forcing the Seleucid monarch to turn back.

Despite his excellent showing, Theodotus had not been rewarded by Ptolemy. He was instead called to court for a meeting from which he barely escaped execution at his king's ungrateful hands.

Seeing firsthand the dysfunction of the Ptolemaic court made Theodotus reconsider his loyalties. He decided to switch them to Antiochus, to whom he sent a letter proposing to turn over the whole of Coele Syria to him, and that he march south with his army as soon as possible.

Antiochus had begun to make inroads against the Egyptians before this. Beginning in 219 BCE, his first target was the Ptolemy-held city of Seleucia Pieria near to the mouth of the Orontes River. Seleucia Pieria was strategically located. If it remained in Egyptian hands, it would be a threat to any gains that were made elsewhere. If it could be captured, it would be a boon on furthering Seleucid conquests in Coele Syria and help defend their territory as well. The commanders of the city remained firmly loyal to Ptolemy, but several lower-ranking officers were not so adamant. Antiochus swayed them to his side, and when he laid siege to the place they convinced the Ptolemaic commander to surrender.

With Seleucia Pieria in his hands, Antiochus received Theodotus's aforementioned letter. With this new opportunity before him, he temporarily set aside his plan to quash his rebellious uncle Achaeus in

"Phalanxes tended to be relatively immobile, and most often better suited for either defence or a deliberate advance"

Asia Minor and instead tear away a big hunk of the Ptolemaic Empire. Ptolemy IV now had to contend with the consequences of his poor treatment of Theodotus, as well as those that attended the poor governance of his dynasty. In the wake of the successful Third Syrian War, in which the Ptolemaic frontiers had been flung out far from Egypt's borders, the administration of that country had suffered. Even worse, the army had been allowed to decline in prowess and was no match for that of the Seleucids. With Theodotus' treason - the Aetolian general had taken his soldiers over to the Antiochus with him - Coele Syria itself was undefended.

Ptolemy set about rebuilding his army by recruiting soldiers from wherever he could find them. He was aided in this task by his immense wealth, which he deployed liberally to bring soldiers and mercenaries to his standard, and by the talented soldiers of fortune from across the Hellenistic Greek world that he put in charge of their training. These officers had the expertise to weld the raw recruits into genuine fighting men. Chief among these were Polycrates of Argos and Andromachus of Aspendus, who lectured their men on proper military technique. Another, Echecrates of Thessaly, performed an exemplary service in preparing Ptolemy's Greek and mercenary cavalry for combat. Uncharacteristically, Ptolemy in his need resorted

to inducting 20,000 native Egyptian men into the army, something that had hitherto been avoided by the originally Macedonian dynasty.

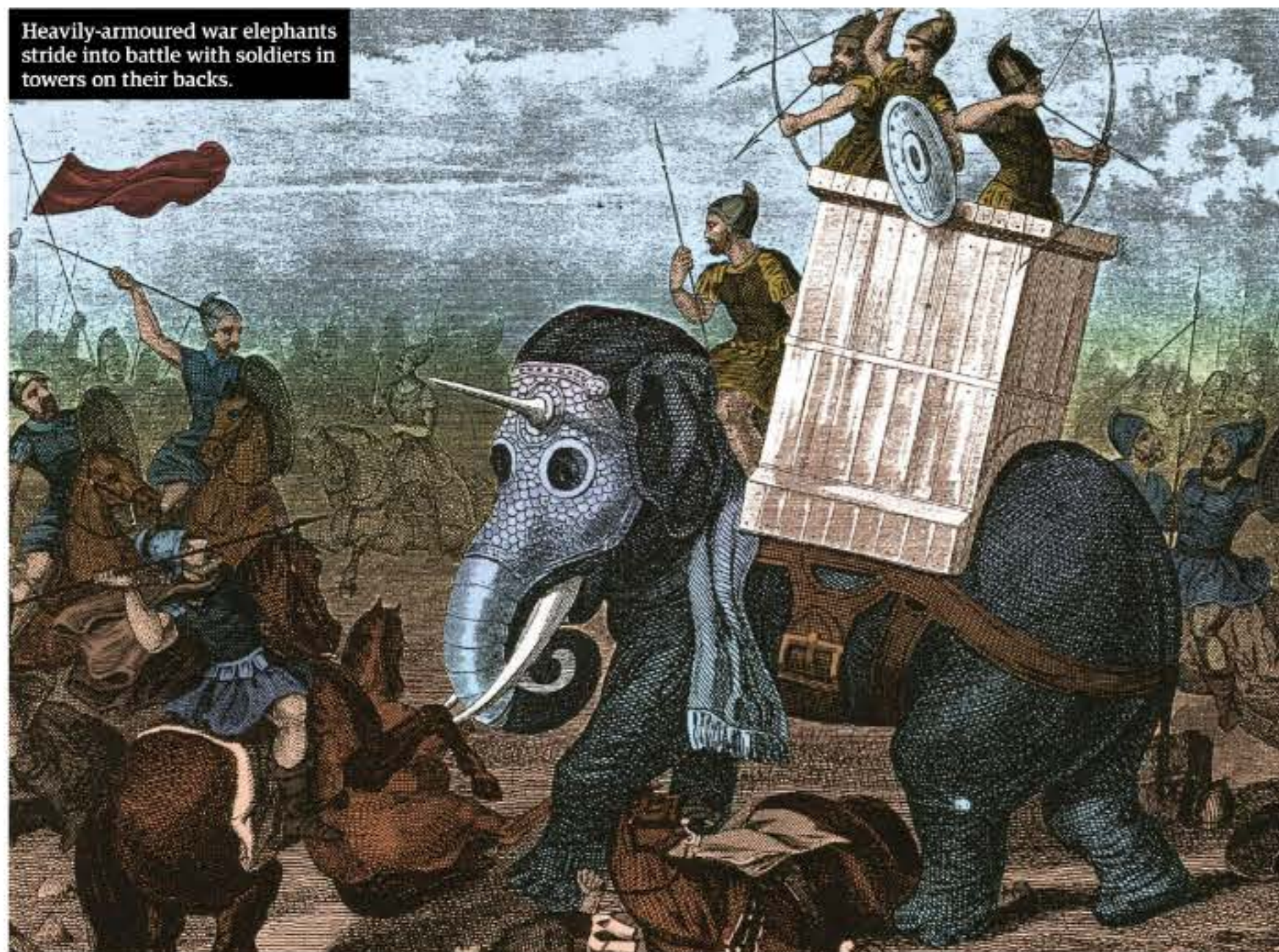
To gain time for all of this recruiting and training, Ptolemy had his senior ministers, Agathocles and Sosibius, stall for time. Exploiting Antiochus' assumption that Ptolemy IV had no stomach for war, the ministers made it known that a negotiated settlement was possible, despite Antiochus's clear-cut theft of Seleucia Pieria. They met with Seleucid envoys in the Egyptian city of Memphis in the south of the Nile Delta. Meanwhile, feverish Ptolemaic military preparations were taking place out of Seleucid sight in the city of Alexandria on the Mediterranean coast throughout 218 BCE.

Antiochus himself allowed matters to drag on for his own reasons. Achaeus, in the north, was still a threat to his rear, and he wanted to have his troops go into winter quarters in Seleucia Pieria.

The showdown with Ptolemy IV would have to wait until the next year.

Thus it was not until the spring of 217 BCE that the Seleucid army moved south. Antiochus' host on the march displayed all of the diverse nature of Hellenistic warfare: light infantry from the east of the empire; Macedonian phalangites bearing long pikes; and trumpeting elephants with battle towers on their backs, all marching slowly along the route to Egypt.

Heavily-armoured war elephants stride into battle with soldiers in towers on their backs.



On his way south Antiochus accepted the submission of several cities and towns, including Aradus, Philoteria, Scythopolis, and Gaddara. He captured Atabyrium and Rabbatamana. Several higher-ranking Ptolemaic officers defected to him as his awe-inspiring army approached the borders of Egypt.

As Hellenistic successor states of the vaunted Alexander's grand empire, both largely adhered to the military system that the Macedonian conqueror had perfected. At the heart of both the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic armies was the infantry phalanx.

Each soldier, or phalangite, was armed with a sarissa, an extremely long pike that could be as much as 20 feet in length. When arrayed in lines, the business end of the weapons held by the men of the first five lines projected ahead of the phalangite of the first line. This meant that the Hellenistic phalanx presented an almost impenetrable hedge of spearpoints against an opponent.

Phalanxes tended to be relatively immobile, and most often better suited for either defence or a deliberate advance. They also required a high degree of training to be effective, since it was no easy thing to manoeuvre with a giant spear in close proximity to other soldiers. Both the Seleucids and the Ptolemies favoured using Macedonian men who were the descendants of Alexander's soldiers who had settled in their empires a century beforehand. It was something of a novelty when Ptolemy IV recruited native Egyptians to serve as phalangites in the run-up to the Raphia campaign.

Both sides staked huge importance on their corps of war elephants. The Seleucids, with their territories abutting India, acquired their animals from that land. A treaty between Seleucus I and Chandragupta Maurya, one of India's greatest kings, called for Chandragupta to provide the Macedonian monarch with no fewer than 500 elephants. Naturally, the Seleucids also monopolised the elephant trade with India for themselves and the Ptolemies were forced to look elsewhere to obtain them, and organised elephant hunting expeditions in the lands of the Horn of Africa. Animals incorporated into the Egyptian army were found in Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea, and Somalia.

The elephants of both empires were topped with fighting towers that could accommodate up to four men. These might be armed with the sarissa, the long pike that equipped the infantrymen, or with bows. Shields were often hung from the sides of the towers. In the battle the men bearing sarissas would jab at opposing elephants or their riders.

The elephant itself would be covered in a coat of bronze scale armour hung over the back and flanks of the beast. It was also bedecked in coloured cloth. Its head was protected by a metal plate adorned with upright feathers. To prevent an enemy from hamstringing the animal, its legs were encircled with laminated bands of bronze.

In one profound way, the two species of elephants, Indian (*Elephas maximus*) and African forest elephant (*Loxodonta cyclotis*), differed, and this would be of crucial importance for the upcoming

SELEUCID EMPIRE

NUMBER OF INFANTRY

62,000

NUMBER OF CAVALRY

6,000

NUMBER OF ELEPHANTS (INDIAN)

102



ANTIOCHUS III

Young Antiochus III was determined to restore the empire of his forefathers to glory. His main opponent would be Ptolemy IV of Egypt.

- Brave and determined
- Youthful and inexperienced

INDIAN ELEPHANTS

The Indian elephants of the Seleucid army were bigger and tougher than the African forest elephants of the Egyptians.

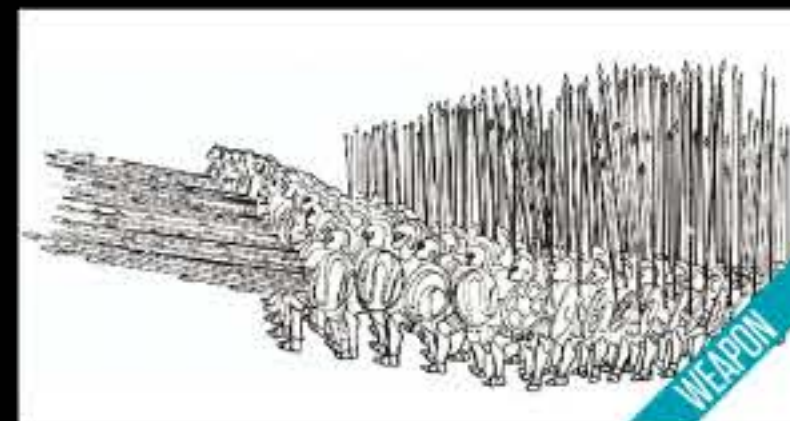
- Strong and big
- Elephants could become unruly if wounded



SARISSA

The sarissa, a 20-foot pike, was the primary weapon of the phalangites of the Seleucid phalanx.

- Long reach
- The sarissa-armed phalanx was hard to move



PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

NUMBER OF INFANTRY

70,000

NUMBER OF CAVALRY

5,000

NUMBER OF ELEPHANTS (AFRICAN FOREST)

73



PTOLEMY IV

Young Ptolemy IV led a debauched lifestyle but managed to rebuild the Egyptian army when Antiochus's intentions became clear.

- Reacted quickly when the Seleucid threat became apparent
- Young and paid too little attention to statecraft

ECHECRATES' CAVALRY

The right wing cavalry under Echeocrates of Thessaly won the battle for Ptolemy with a timely charge against the Seleucid left wing.

- Well-trained and daring
- Had trouble charging prepared infantry



AFRICAN FOREST ELEPHANTS

The African forest elephants refused to take on their Indian counterparts at Raphia.

- Strong and intelligent
- Timid in the face of the Indian elephants



engagement at Raphia. The African forest elephant was utterly unwilling to close with its Indian cousin. It was a significantly smaller animal, standing around seven or eight feet in height as opposed to roughly ten feet for the Indian elephant. It should be borne in mind also that the African forest elephant is not the same creature as the better-known African bush elephant (*Loxodonta africana*), which is larger than the Indian but untameable.

The African forest elephant's reluctance to fight the Indian was understandable given the size disparity. Elephants are intelligent creatures and, at root, unwarlike. They have to be extensively trained to engage in combat. The forest elephants would readily have understood the edge held by the Indian opponents. This meant that in any head-to-head confrontation, the African forest elephants would be nearly useless to the Ptolemies.

Antiochus reached Gaza while Ptolemy had marched out from Alexandria with his reborn army and made his camp at Raphia, the modern Rafah. Antiochus next moved his army closer to Raphia, making another camp a little over a mile distant from that of the Egyptians. A few days afterward, Antiochus again moved, bringing his army to a new encampment around a half-mile from that of Ptolemy. Five days of skirmishing between the armies ensued. At last, both kings were willing to risk a contest of strength and they formed their huge armies up for battle.

The battle initially went in favour of Antiochus. Ptolemy's African forest elephants would not engage in combat with the larger Indian elephants and this, combined with a cavalry charge by the Seleucid right wing, led to the disintegration of the Egyptian left wing. Ironically, this collapse ultimately drew Antiochus too far from the battlefield to have any more impact on the fighting. While he was away, the resourceful Echebrates of Thessaly led the Ptolemaic right wing cavalry in a bold and successful charge against the Seleucid left wing. Meanwhile, the raw Egyptian phalangites had proved their mettle and had defeated the Seleucid phalanx in front of them in the centre of the battlefield. Upon Antiochus' return, there was nothing he could do to retrieve the situation, and he retreated with his army to Gaza.

Antiochus III had lost a battle that he could and should have won had he not allowed himself to get carried away in the rush of success in the opening phase of the fighting. His losses were very heavy.

Some 10,000 infantrymen were killed and 300 horsemen were slain. 4,000 others were made prisoners of the Egyptians. Ptolemy, as was typical for a victor, had lighter losses - 1,500 infantrymen perished along with 700 cavalrymen and sixteen elephants. With the notable exception of Seleucia Pieria, Antiochus had to relinquish all of the gains he had made in the campaign before the battle. He would have another chance against Egypt years later during the Fifth Syrian War of 202-198 BCE. At the Battle of Panium in 200 BCE, Antiochus crushed the Egyptian army and gained control of Coele Syria and large portions of Asia Minor.

214 BCE

Elephants, mercenaries and phalanxes of troops armed with sarissas take to the field in the Battle of Raphia

01 Battlelines drawn

The two armies are encamped less than a kilometre apart. After five days of waiting, Ptolemy leads his army out of the Egyptian camp and Antiochus follows suit. In the centre of his battleline, Ptolemy places his infantry phalanx and his elite infantry. The Ptolemaic left wing is anchored by a mercenary cavalry regiment under Polycrates. On the extreme right wing, Ptolemy sets more cavalry under Echebrates. The spaces between these regiments are filled with soldiers drawn from far and wide including Gauls, Thracians, Libyans, Greek mercenaries as well as native Egyptians. He places his African forest elephants ahead of his cavalrymen on each wing. Ptolemy himself takes a position on the Egyptian left wing.

02 Troops assemble

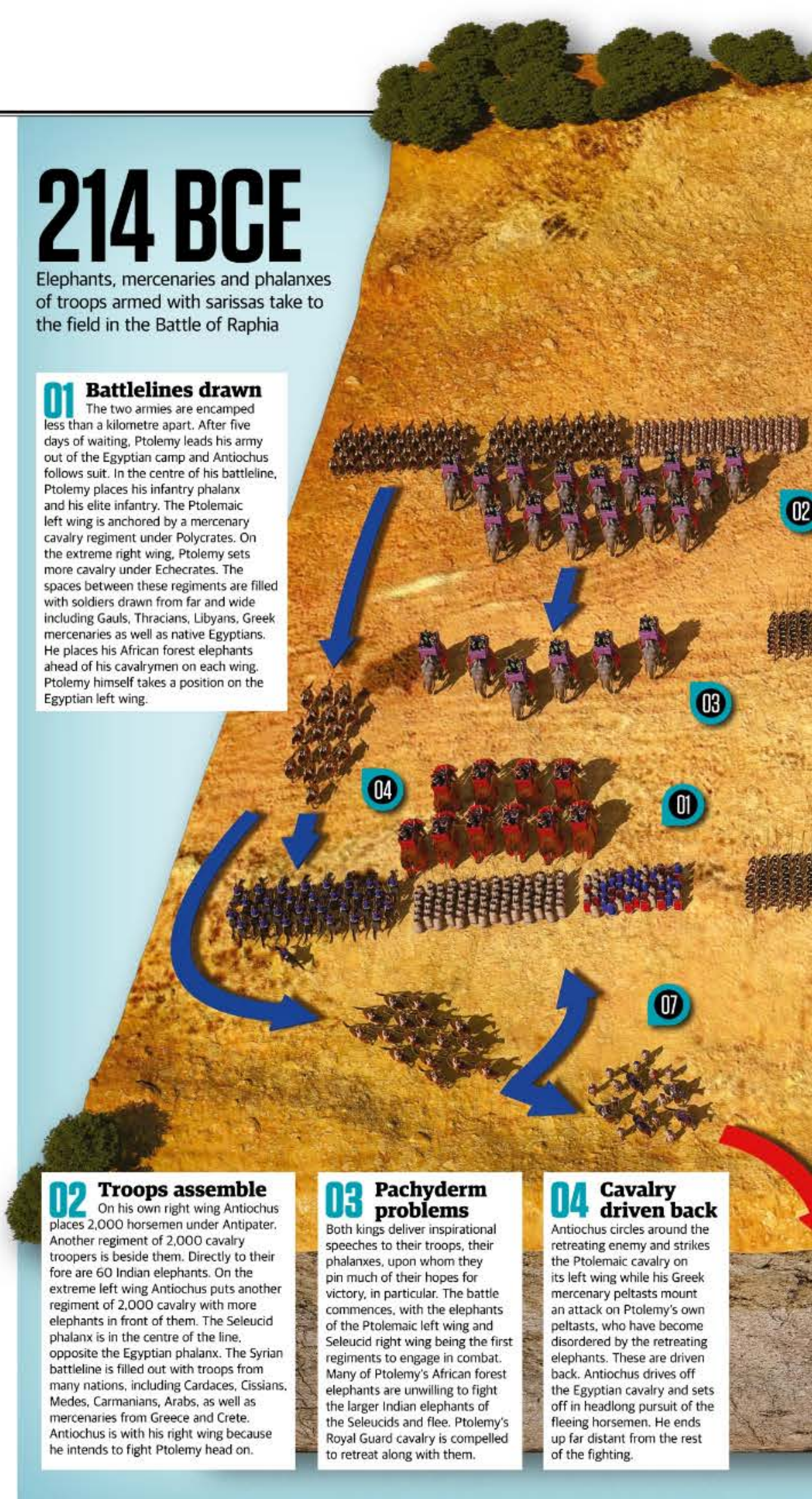
On his own right wing Antiochus places 2,000 horsemen under Antipater. Another regiment of 2,000 cavalry troopers is beside them. Directly to their fore are 60 Indian elephants. On the extreme left wing Antiochus puts another regiment of 2,000 cavalry with more elephants in front of them. The Seleucid phalanx is in the centre of the line, opposite the Egyptian phalanx. The Syrian battleline is filled out with troops from many nations, including Cardaces, Cissians, Medes, Carmanians, Arabs, as well as mercenaries from Greece and Crete. Antiochus is with his right wing because he intends to fight Ptolemy head on.

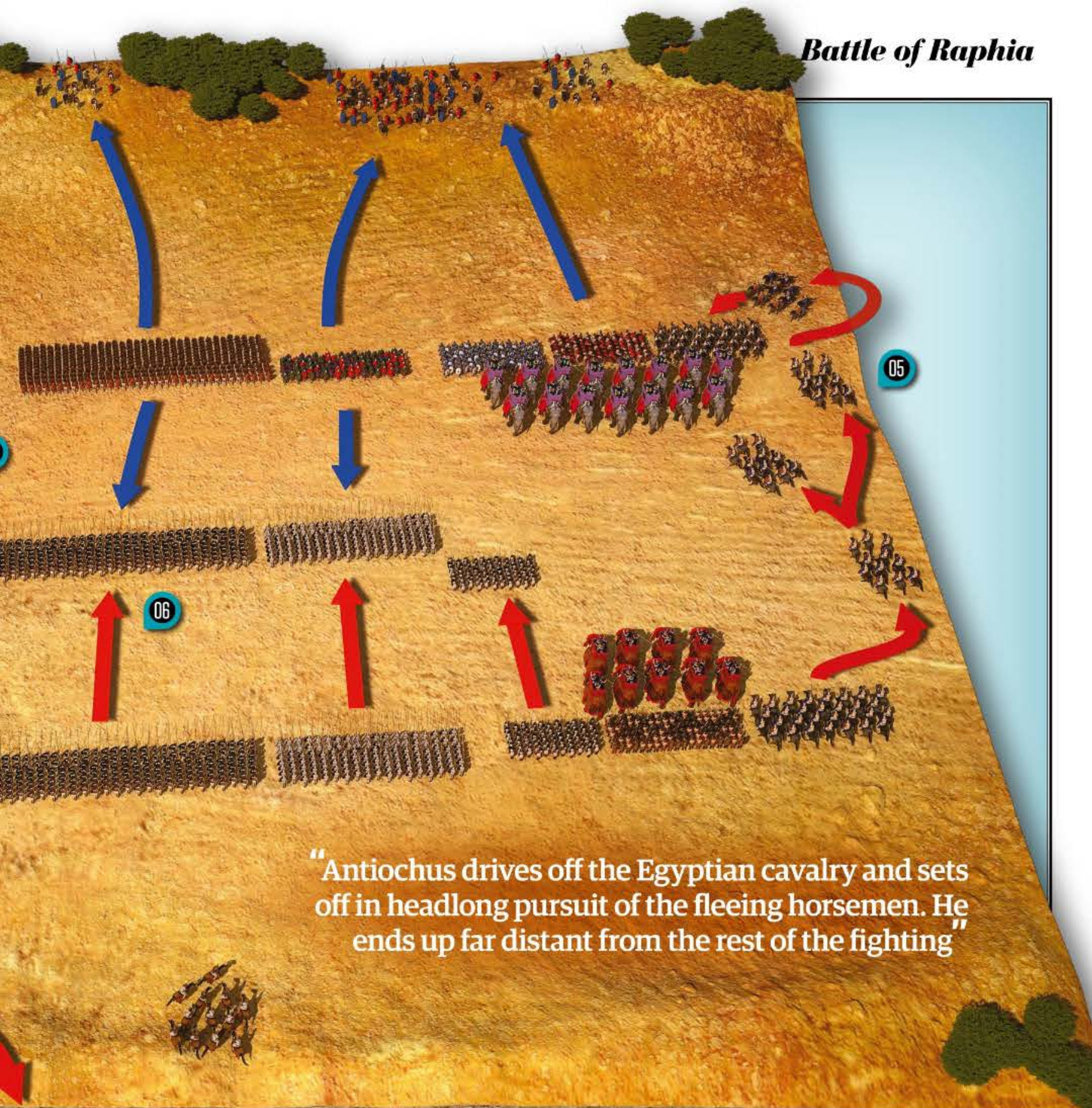
03 Pachyderm problems

Both kings deliver inspirational speeches to their troops, their phalanxes, upon whom they pin much of their hopes for victory, in particular. The battle commences, with the elephants of the Ptolemaic left wing and Seleucid right wing being the first regiments to engage in combat. Many of Ptolemy's African forest elephants are unwilling to fight the larger Indian elephants of the Seleucids and flee. Ptolemy's Royal Guard cavalry is compelled to retreat along with them.

04 Cavalry driven back

Antiochus circles around the retreating enemy and strikes the Ptolemaic cavalry on its left wing while his Greek mercenary peltasts mount an attack on Ptolemy's own peltasts, who have become disordered by the retreating elephants. These are driven back. Antiochus drives off the Egyptian cavalry and sets off in headlong pursuit of the fleeing horsemen. He ends up far distant from the rest of the fighting.





"Antiochus drives off the Egyptian cavalry and sets off in headlong pursuit of the fleeing horsemen. He ends up far distant from the rest of the fighting"

05 Mercenaries attack

On the other side of the field the Egyptian army is faring much better. The Ptolemaic commander, Echebrates, sees that his own elephants are refusing to clash with the bigger Seleucid animals. He gives up on them and orders his Greek mercenaries to attack the Seleucids in front of them while he leads a cavalry charge that flanks the enemy's elephants. He descends upon the rear of the Seleucid cavalry on the Syrian left wing. The Seleucids here are routed and their left begins to collapse.

06 Pushing back

In the centre of the battleline, the infantry phalanxes, up until now not engaged, clash with one another. The Egyptians have the better of the fighting and push Antiochus' best troops backward.

07 Victory achieved

Antiochus, believing himself victorious, is far away when one of his officers points to the battlefield left far behind. A dust cloud can be seen heading toward the Syrian camp. This can only mean that the Seleucids are losing the battle! The king hurries back with his Royal Squadron but only arrives in time to find his men in pell-mell flight. The battle is over. Ptolemy has won a great victory and gains possession of Raphia.

The 'What If' Newspaper

ST HELENA

Interview by Jonathan O'Callaghan

1815

NAPOLEON ESCAPES TO THE UNITED STATES!

Eluding exile, a belligerent Napoleon declares himself King of Mexico and has his sights set on returning to the French throne

EXCLUSIVE Interview With



SHANNON SELIN

Shannon Selin is a historical fiction writer and the author of *Napoleon in America*, which explores what might have happened if Napoleon had made it to the US.

What happened after Napoleon was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815?

He abdicated from the French throne, and he had to figure out what to do, as the allies were potentially going to come and capture him. He spent a bit of time sitting around Paris, waiting to see what was going to happen, and then he went to the

French coast, to Rochefort. He thought he was going to get passports, possibly to go to the United States. However once he got there, he found that the passports he had been hoping for were not forthcoming. So there was dithering back and forth in the port about what Napoleon was going to do. Some of his followers went to see whether American ships were willing to

escape the British blockade. Napoleon decided in the end he wasn't going to try this option, because he didn't think it would be to his dignity to hide himself and go to the US as a fugitive. He wrote a special letter to the Prince Regent, saying he was going to put himself at the mercy of the British people. He got on a ship that took him to Plymouth, but it



The British exiled Napoleon on St Helena in 1818

I'M A TYRANT, GET ME OUT OF HERE! RETURNS

A new series of the hit reality show will be shown in theatres around the country every Saturday night at 8pm. A company of actors will recreate humiliating scenes of the fallen French emperor enduring St Helena's infamous 'beach tucker trials', as detailed by the weekly correspondence of Lieutenants Anthony McPartlin and Declan Donnelly of the Royal Navy.





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Napoleon fantasised about starting a colony in the US

The 'What If' Newspaper

wasn't until he got to Plymouth that he discovered the British were going to send him to St Helena [where he would live in exile until his death on 5 May 1821].

Why did Napoleon consider going to America?

He had been reading a book by Alexander von Humboldt, who was a great German naturalist of the 19th century, about the US, and this seemed appealing to him. He thought it was an attractive destination, and he could perhaps do some scientific exploration there, or just retreat as a private gentleman essentially. He talked about retiring on the banks of the Mississippi or the Ohio River, and about travelling around the Americas on a scientific expedition.

So would he have lived a quiet life in America?

If you look at what the options would have been, the first is just to settle peacefully. That's what his brother Joseph Bonaparte did. Another of his options would have been to attempt to gather his followers there and to peacefully start a colony, creating a sort of new mini-France within the US. That's something he fantasised of doing when he was on St Helena. And in fact the Bonapartists who did flee to the US actually did try to start colonies in Alabama and also in Texas.

There was some argument that perhaps the purpose [of these colonies] was to rescue Napoleon from St Helena, and put him on the Mexican throne. The third possibility is this Texas expedition, which Napoleon might have got involved in if he was really in search of a new throne. He might have got involved in launching an invasion of Spain's American colonies, because most of them were seeking independence from Spain at that point.

There were revolutionary wars going on in these places, and the most obvious candidate if he was in the US would have been Mexico. At one point when he was on St Helena and learned that Joseph had successfully reached the US, Napoleon said if he was in his place he would build a great empire in all of Spanish America. So there are some hints that this was playing on his mind.

If he had started a colony in the US, would that have been tolerated?

Given Napoleon's penchant for governance, this would have caused friction with the Americans, but would

not necessarily have greatly altered world history - the exception being if he tried to do it in Louisiana, where there was a sizeable French-speaking population and Napoleon was well regarded. This could ultimately have led to an attempt to secede, which would have been resisted by the American government.

Could Napoleon have had a lasting impact on the Americas?

I don't think he could have done anything comparable with what he did in Europe, because he didn't have the infrastructure, the familiarity with the culture or the political situation there or the geography. And he just didn't have the number of followers that were needed. Where he could have had an influence would have been in Spanish America, lending his support to one of the groups there. But there were so many individual players there, and in that stage of his life his health was declining. He died of cancer in 1821, and the symptoms were already showing as early as 1818. He was passed his prime. I don't think the fire was still in his belly in the way it had been earlier.

Would he have changed the outcome of any of the independence revolutions in Central or South America?

Napoleon, in search of a new throne, might have tried to launch an invasion of one of Spain's American colonies, which were then seeking independence. The most obvious candidate would have been Mexico, via Texas. There is some suggestion that Mexican patriots may have offered to put Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of an independent Mexico. Napoleon might also have meddled in other Spanish American colonies where his supporters had landed up. For example, Napoleonic General Michel Brayer briefly commanded the cavalry in Chile's independence army and allegedly lent his support to a reported plan to rescue Napoleon from St Helena.

Would Napoleon have been safe in America?

A very real possibility is that Napoleon would have been assassinated in America by a supporter of France's Bourbon regime [which ruled France in his stead]. Napoleon certainly feared that outcome, and it is one of the things that deterred him from going to America.

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“Napoleon, in search of a new throne, might have tried to launch an invasion of one of Spain's American colonies”



Alexander von Humboldt's writing sparked Napoleon's interest in America

Napoleon could have influenced the Mexican-American War



Is there any scenario where he returns to France?

He likely would have tried to undermine the Bourbon regime in some fashion, and try to drum up support to return to France, or for his young son to be placed on the French throne. But with the allies occupying France, I think the chances of that were quite slim.

He'd already had two kicks of the can, and the French people were tired of war and Napoleon at that point. The allied governments would have done everything in their power to stop him from coming back.

What would Napoleon's involvement have meant for the Americas?

If Napoleon had embarked on a military adventure in the Americas, it could have led to an attempt by Spain or France to intervene directly in the Americas. Or, if Napoleon had fiddled around in Texas, it could have provided the US with an excuse to take Texas earlier than it actually did [from Mexico in 1845]. And Russia had posts on the west coast of North America at the time, and it might have taken advantage of the opportunity to take its foothold on the continent. Or Cuba could have wound up in French or British or American hands. So there are possibilities for how Napoleon could have had a lasting impact.

Is there a particular path for Napoleon that was most likely?

I like to think that the most likely might have been that he would have still undertaken a military venture. But speaking more as a historian, he would have lived peacefully, fretting about it, and possibly thinking more in terms of how to influence events in France or in Europe that would favour his son attaining the French throne at some point. His health at that stage of his life was not great, and he didn't have a large core of supporters around him. I don't think he would have had a large enough following to make a bit difference.

Would Napoleon going to America change the story of his life at all?

It was during that period [on St Helena] that Napoleon really built his reputation in a favourable fashion. He was dictating his memoirs there, he had sympathetic followers, and he was able to craft a real propaganda effort in his favour. Even within Britain, people began to refer to him much more sympathetically once he was on St Helena.

So if that St Helena period had not happened, his reputation may not have been the same today as it currently is. That could have cemented his reputation more as kind of a loser rather than as a great man in world history.

PRUSSIA ON THE RISE

Victory at Waterloo was as much a victory for the Kingdom of Prussia, as it was for Great Britain, and the Prussian commander Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher had agitated for Napoleon's execution rather than exile.

If the Emperor had continued to make trouble and flee his isolated island internment, Prussia's hardline stance might have been vindicated and Britain would have been left humiliated on the world stage.

In response, Europe's great powers may have looked to Berlin for an answer to the 'Napoleon problem', rather than London, perhaps resulting in a more punitive occupation of France and a Prussian-led Eighth Coalition. Finding allies in a Spain smarting from the loss of their American possessions, a new balance of power may have emerged on the continent, viewing France as a rogue state, and Britain as the weak link in the international order.

Blücher gives Napoleon a beating in this 1814 satirical cartoon by James Gillray



WATERLOO VETERANS: "WE TRIED OUR BEST"



A march organised by Help for Hussars will be passing through London on Sunday to raise awareness of the wounded veterans of the Battle of Waterloo, many of whom feel ignored by the government.



Finland's General Mannerheim inspects White troops in Vaasa during the Finnish Civil War

**In The East:
War Without End,
1918-1923**

is on at the Musée de l'Armée, Paris until 16 January 2019.
Find out more at musee-armee.fr

A WORLD WAR WITHOUT END?

Eight objects from the Musée de l'Armée's new exhibition that put paid to the lie of peace in 1918

The end of the Great War of 1914 to 1918 brought about the collapse of four great empires. The Russian Empire was torn apart by a revolutionary Civil War between Bolshevik Reds and nationalist/conservative Whites; the Ottoman Empire was partitioned by Britain and France without the consultation or consent of Arab nationalists; the Austro-Hungarian Empire was replaced by myriad new Slavic states

who fought over borders and political settlements; and the German Empire lost a chunk of its eastern marches to birth the first independent Poland since 1795. In *The East: War Without End, 1918-1923*, a new exhibition at Musée de l'Armée, the French national military museum in Paris, tells the story of these conflicts, many of which are largely overlooked in the west yet continue to define much of modern geopolitics.

The legacy of 1918 can be seen in the poisonous ethnic and cultural fault lines that have led to war in Crimea and Ukraine, and Franco-British division of the Middle East that created nearly a century of instability in the region.

Collecting artefacts from museums across Eastern Europe as well as its own archives, *In The East: War Without End, 1918-1923* is on at the Musée de l'Armée until 16 January 2019.

FREIKORPS HELMET

In Germany's unstable new Weimar Republic, fear of a socialist takeover drove demobilised soldiers to join right wing paramilitary "free corps" and fight running street battles with their communist counterparts. Freikorps units existed outside of Germany's new borders too and in the Baltic, they were formed to thwart the Red Army's attempt to reattach Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to Russia. Ultimately, their aim to restore German domination made them not just enemies of the communists, but the local population who no more wanted to be ruled from Berlin than from Moscow.



THE BANNER OF KING FAISAL

Faisal I bin Hussein bin Ali al-Hashemi flirted with both the Ottomans and the Allies during the First World War with a view to creating an independent Arab state in the Middle East. After the war Faisal was proclaimed King of Syria in March 1920 which spooked France who were increasing their influence in the region - especially as Faisal's 'Greater Syria' included what is now Israel, Palestine, Jordan and Lebanon. A brief Franco-Syrian War ended in July 1920 with Faisal's ejection from the country (where he was offered the throne of British-held Iraq instead) and the capture of his standard.



UNIFORM OF THE RED TERROR

Seizing power in the chaos of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's dissolution, Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic immediately followed in Lenin's bloodied footsteps by forming Red Terror groups - such as the 'Lenin Boys' - to purge the countryside of "counter-revolutionaries". After one month of repression and 590 executions, the Romanian army entered Budapest to restore order and in their wake Hungarian nationalists began a White Terror of their own in order to rid the whole nation of communists.





THROUGH HISTORY

NEGOTIATION AT VERSAILLES

The inaugural sessions of the Paris Peace Conference began 18 January 1919 in the Quai d'Orsay clock room at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Though 32 countries dispatched diplomats, decisions were made by the 'Big Four' - the US, UK, France and Italy. The treaties which emerged rebuilt Europe for what they hoped would be a new era of lasting peace, carving out new nations, dividing the Middle East between the victorious allies, and holding Germany accountable for the war in the Treaty of Versailles.



THE CLARION CALL

This bugle was used by the French corporal-bugler Pierre Sellier of the 171st Infantry Regiment on 7 November 1918 at La Capelle to signal the end of hostilities. At around 8.20pm a group of four German generals and politicians crossed the frontline to negotiate the armistice of 11 November. Riding on the duckboards of their staff car was a German bugler who sounded the ceasefire as they drove by, but as they crossed into French lines Sellier took up his post to continue the message of peace.



WHITE RUSSIAN DAGGER

This khanjali dagger was presented to French General Henri Gouraud by a White Russian officer who joined the French following nationalist defeat in the Civil War. With its origins in Georgia and the Caucasus, the double-edged khanjali was traditionally worn by Don Cossacks. Their militaristic culture and long history of service to Russia's emperors made them instinctively loyal to the Tsarist regime and a natural source of manpower for the White Army, and the Don Cossack host joined the White cause in 1919.



RUSSIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

A 1923 passport issued in Belgrade, capital of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, for a pair of young Russian refugees. Following the instability of the Bolshevik Revolution and Russian Civil War an estimated one to three million refugees – many of them the families of anti-communist White officers and intellectuals seen as friendly to the old regime – either crossed the fluctuating borders with the Baltic states and Poland, or across the Black Sea from Ukraine to Turkey. From there they crossed back into south east Europe through Greece and Bulgaria.

**"TO ARMS!
JOIN THE
LIGHTNING
ARMY!"**

Mistakenly seen as easy prey by the belligerent Bolsheviks, the newly formed Second Polish Republic had no desire to doff the cap to the Russian Empire, communist or otherwise. Warsaw decided instead to strike eastward and expand its borders to those regions of Ukraine and Belarus with a significant Polish population. The Polish-Soviet War of 1919-1921 quickly faced an overwhelming counter-attack as the Red Army gained the upper hand in the Civil War and was able to free soldiers for a second front.



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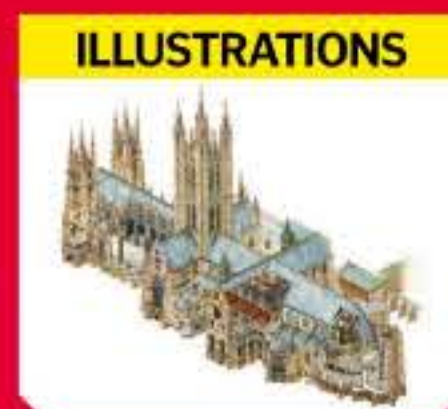


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On the Menu

ROYAL MINCE PIES

Ingredients

For the Mince:

- 454g cooked beef
- 454g beef suet
- 454g raisins
- 454g currants
- 170g candied citron
- 170g candied orange
- 170g candied lemon
- 1/3rd teaspoon ground nutmeg
- 1/3rd teaspoon ground cloves
- 1/3rd teaspoon ground cinnamon
- 454g sugar
- 226g stewed pears
- 226g stem ginger in syrup
- 2 oranges
- 2 lemons
- 142g rum
- 142g brandy
- 142g port

For the Pastry

- 225g flour
- 115g butter
- 4-6 tsp milk
- 1 tsp sugar

A SWEET MEATY TREAT WORTHY OF QUEEN VICTORIA BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 19TH CENTURY

The origins of the mince pie – once containing literal mince meat, often tripe or tongue – are distinctly Medieval, but during the mid-18th century this meat feast was given a sweet touch as plantations on Britain's Caribbean colonies made sugar more affordable and more widely available.

Charles Elmé Francatelli, Queen Victoria's chef from 1840 to 1842, recorded an indulgent royal recipe in which the roast beef was accompanied by raisins, currants, suet, candied citron, orange, lemon, spices and sugar, stewed pears, preserved ginger, grated orange and lemon rind and juice, one bottle of rum, one bottle of brandy, and two bottles of port. It would be another two decades before meat was seen as an optional ingredient with the legendary Mrs Beeton outlining a meat-free mince pie in her 1861 book *Household Management*.

METHOD

- 01** To prep: chop/mince the beef and suet into small pieces, do the same with the candied lemon, orange and citron. Grate the orange and lemon zest and squeeze out the juice, discarding the pips. Chop the stewed pears and ginger into small pieces.
- 02** Mix all the ingredients for the mince together in a large bowl using your hands or a wooden spoon for a minute or so until the ingredients are evenly distributed. Transfer the mixture to a saucepan and heat over a very low heat for three to five hours, stirring occasionally.
- 03** Preheat the oven to 200C/400F/Gas 6.
- 04** Sift the flour into a large mixing bowl and add the butter in cubes. Rub the cubes into the flour using your fingertips until it has the consistency of breadcrumbs. Gradually add a tablespoon of water at a time to the pastry mixture until it comes together as a stiff dough.
- 05** Empty the dough onto a lightly-floured work surface and knead until smooth and elastic. Roll out the pastry to a thickness of 1cm and cut into discs using an upturned bowl. Place a mug in the centre of each disc and draw the sides of pastry up against it to make the case.
- 06** Divide your mincemeat mixture evenly between the pastry cases.
- 07** Roll out the remaining dough again and using the mug, cut eight lids. Place each lid on top of its pie and pinch the pastry together to prevent leakage. Using a knife, cut a cross or a pattern into the top of each lid to allow steam to escape.
- 08** Place the pies onto a baking tray and bake in the oven for 20 minutes, or until the pastry is golden-brown. Remove the mince pies from the oven and cool on a wire rack.
- 09** Eat, and have a very Merry Christmas.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

BLACK FLAGS, BLUE WATERS

An epic, scholarly new history of piracy's golden age

Author Eric Jay Dolin **Publisher** Liveright **Price** £21 **Released** Out now



Black Flags, Blue Waters by Eric Jay Dolin, reveals the history behind the golden age of piracy that swept the waters around America in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. It was a time when legends were made, money talked and justice wasn't always done.

Dolin's work is a new take on the well-trodden path of pirate history, as scholarly as it is entertaining. He doesn't shy away from the *Boy's Own*-ish tales of roguish pirates that have made these men and women so fascinating for centuries, but nor does he lose sight of the economic and political imperatives that created

such a perfect breeding ground for piracy, relatively short though their golden age was.

In *Black Flags, Blue Waters* Dolin brings colonial America vividly to life and examines how the colonists and officials clashed and collaborated, and how piracy played its part in building the new economy. He looks back into the archives to discover how this mutual backscratching turned into animosity and examines how the increasing economic clout of America meant that pirates, once tolerated and sometimes even celebrated, found themselves hunted across the oceans.

Of course no history of piracy would be complete without a few famous names and Dolin provides them in spades. Rest assured that names such as Blackbeard, Stede Bonnet, and Captain Kidd are well-represented, as are the forces of law and order, including figures such as Ben Franklin

and Robert Snead, a man who learned early on that it didn't do to tangle with pirates. Though some of the pirates whose exploits are included here have become rather romanticised figures over the centuries, Dolin doesn't flinch from providing the sometimes gruesome facts behind their exploits but this isn't a sensationalist book, and it is firmly anchored in solid research.

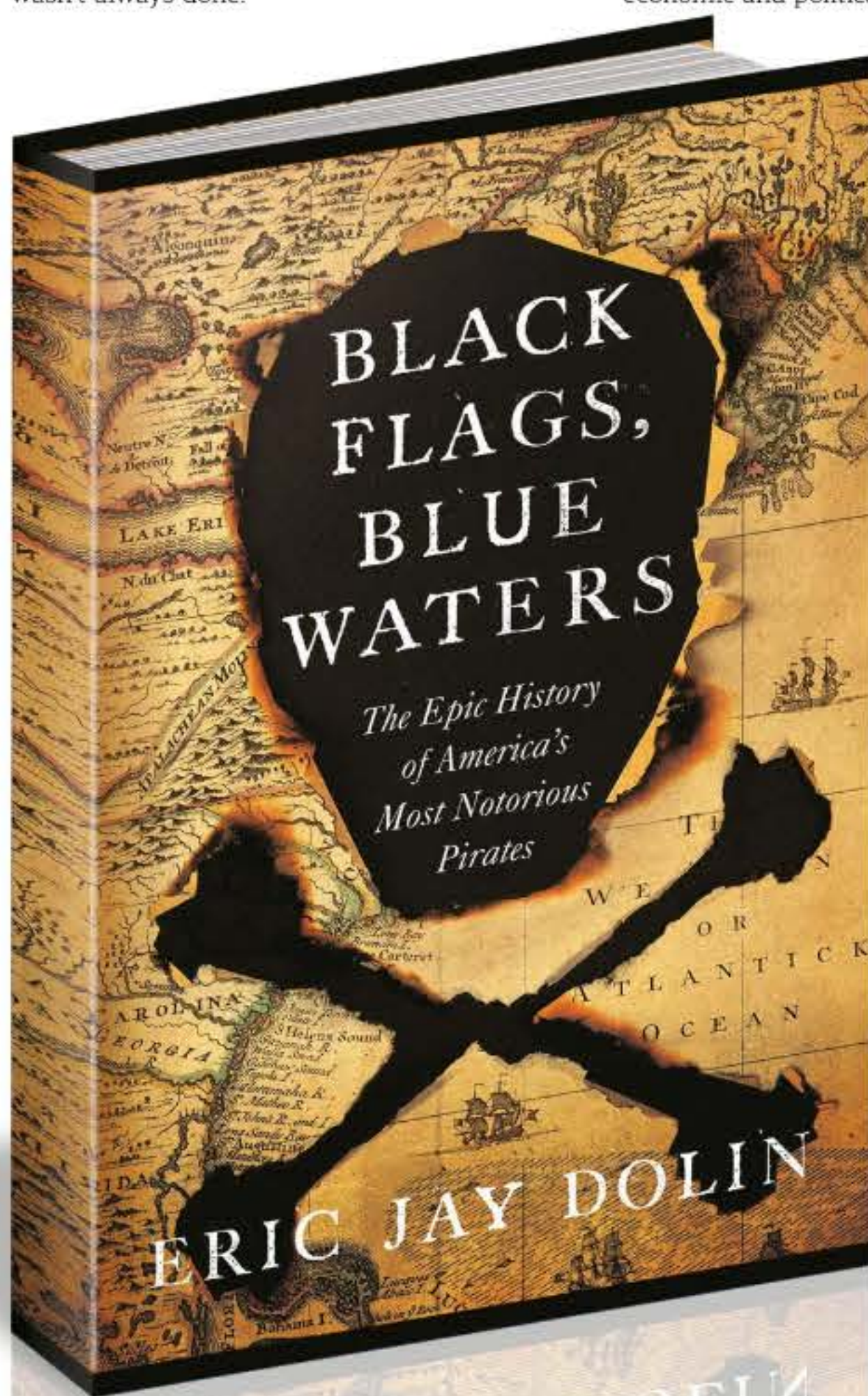
"Dolin's work is a new take on the well-trodden path of pirate history, as scholarly as it is entertaining"

Eric Jay Dolin is clearly comfortable with the material at his disposal and has previously written histories of whaling and the opium trade, amongst others, and he has an eye for the sort of detail that brings colonial North America springing from the page. Keeping such a sprawling, complex world with so many larger-than-life characters in check is no mean feat, and it is one that Dolin manages with considerable aplomb. He teases fact from folklore and cuts through the hyperbole of legend to breathe new life into even the most famous names on both sides of the law, presenting both the pirates and their foes as very real and complex people, rather than cartoonish sea dogs and beleaguered lawmen.

This book will appeal not only to scholars of the golden ages of piracy and exploration, but to anyone who enjoys a dramatic, well-told story. *Black Flags, Blue Waters* is an important work in its field, rich in scholarly sources and providing some welcome historical context for piracy's heyday and inevitable decline.

It is immensely readable, and at least as thrilling and action-packed as any pirate legend!

Gripping and dramatic, this book takes readers back to the dawn of the New World





Book



TV



Podcast



Film



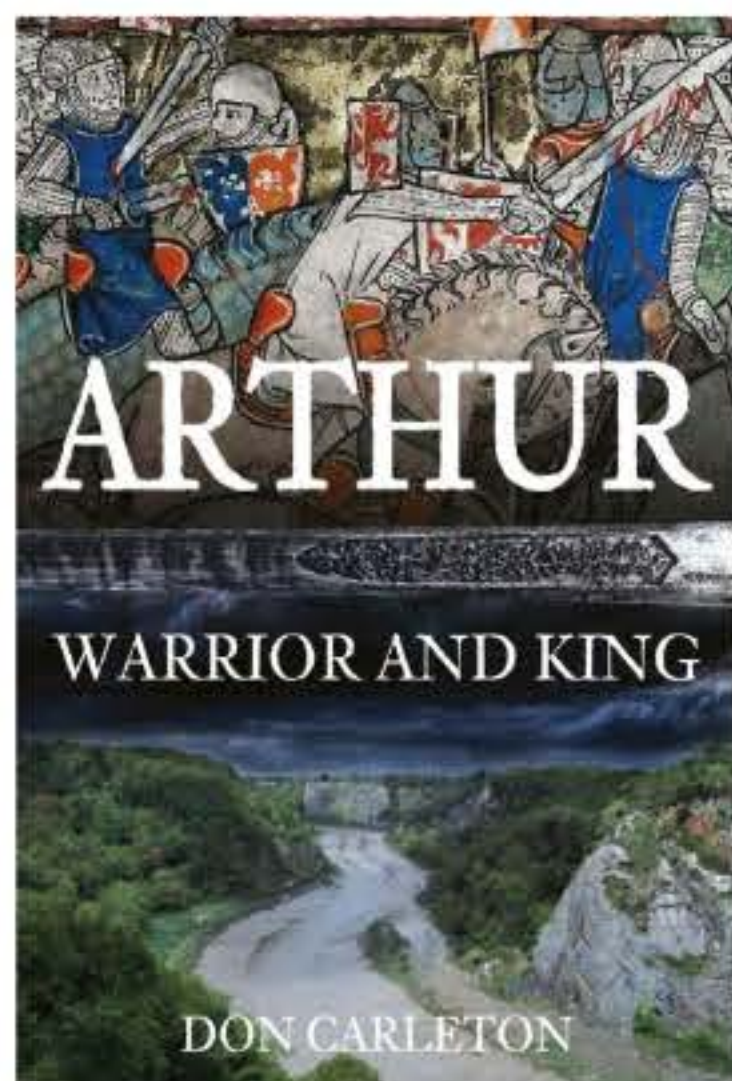
Games



Other

Reviews by

Catherine Curzon, Ben Gazur, James Hoare, Jessica Leggett and Beth Wyatt



ARTHUR: WARRIOR AND KING



A pseudo-historical search for a pseudo-historical king

Author Don Carleton Publisher Amberley Publishing Price £20 Released Out now

King Arthur is one of the most widely recognised, and yet least knowable, figures in British history. Unfortunately *Arthur: Warrior and King* does nothing to get us closer to the truth. The book claims to reveal the real Arthur to us down to his hair colour, but fails to convince us he ever existed at all. Many literary and historical sources on the life of Arthur are quoted but their interpretation is troubling. For example, a poetic reference to Arthur sweeping his foes from the field like a wave must, the author insists, point to him unleashing an actual flood in battle.

Surmises such as this are piled ponderously up to increasing heights of incredulity.

It is not even an entertaining read. Lengthy sections deal in tedious detail with place-name etymologies that leave the reader equal parts bored and confused.

We are also treated to cameo appearances by the Loch Ness Monster, Mary Magdalene building the first church in Britain (or the world!), and a comet causing a natural disaster. Extraordinary claims require extraordinary proofs but the evidence presented here is always prefaced with an "if", a "may", or a "perhaps". Lurking in the background are glimpses of life and warfare in the 6th century which would make an interesting study. This is not it.

King Arthur is not returning from Avalon to rescue us in our time of need. If he was he would have come back to prevent the publication of this book.

"It is not even an entertaining read. Lengthy sections deal in tedious detail with place-name etymologies that leave the reader equal parts bored and confused"



A SUPERNATURAL WAR



Oh what a spooky war

Author Owen Davies Publisher Oxford University Press Price £15.99 Released Out now

In most studies on spiritualism and the occult - and indeed on changing culture generally - the Great War acts as an iron curtain between a simpler age and a darker, more anxious one. It's either the trauma that opens a history, or the watershed moment that ends it, and with supernatural thinking especially it has been incredibly ill-served. Professor Owen Davies is one of the undisputed leaders in his field, and this comprehensive study covers the use of fortune telling for wartime propaganda, spiritualism, charms and talismans, conventional religiosity, and accounts of spectral soldiers and angels haunting the front.

A Supernatural War is a fascinating deep dive that offers tantalising glimpses of a very different world, from domestic violence cases where the wife's consorting with mediums is cited, to the role of female

constables in the crackdown on fortune tellers under the Vagrancy Act, to the booming trade in cauls - the membrane covering the heads of some infants at birth - as protective amulet to seamen.

It's the gentle debunking of assumed truths that proves the most rewarding, for example the story of the Angel of Mons - the heavenly host and spectral Agincourt bowmen attending to the British Expeditionary Force in August 1914 - began not as a hoax or a battlefield legend, but a piece of short fiction repeated out of context.

A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith During the First World War is impossible to describe without simply rattling off a list of highlights.



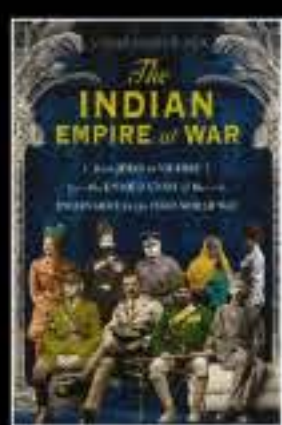
Book of the Georgians

From lusty monarchs and long-suffering queens, to the incredible flowering of culture, conflict and colonialism, **All About History's** brand new 147-page **Book of the Georgians** lays bare this dynamic period of British history. Discover how the House of Hanover went from regional rulers to constitutional monarchs, how humiliation in the American Wars of Independence ended with Great Britain's rise to global superpower, how dreams of a Stuart restoration died with the failed Jacobite Rebellion, and how Napoleon Bonaparte's grand designs were cut short at Waterloo.



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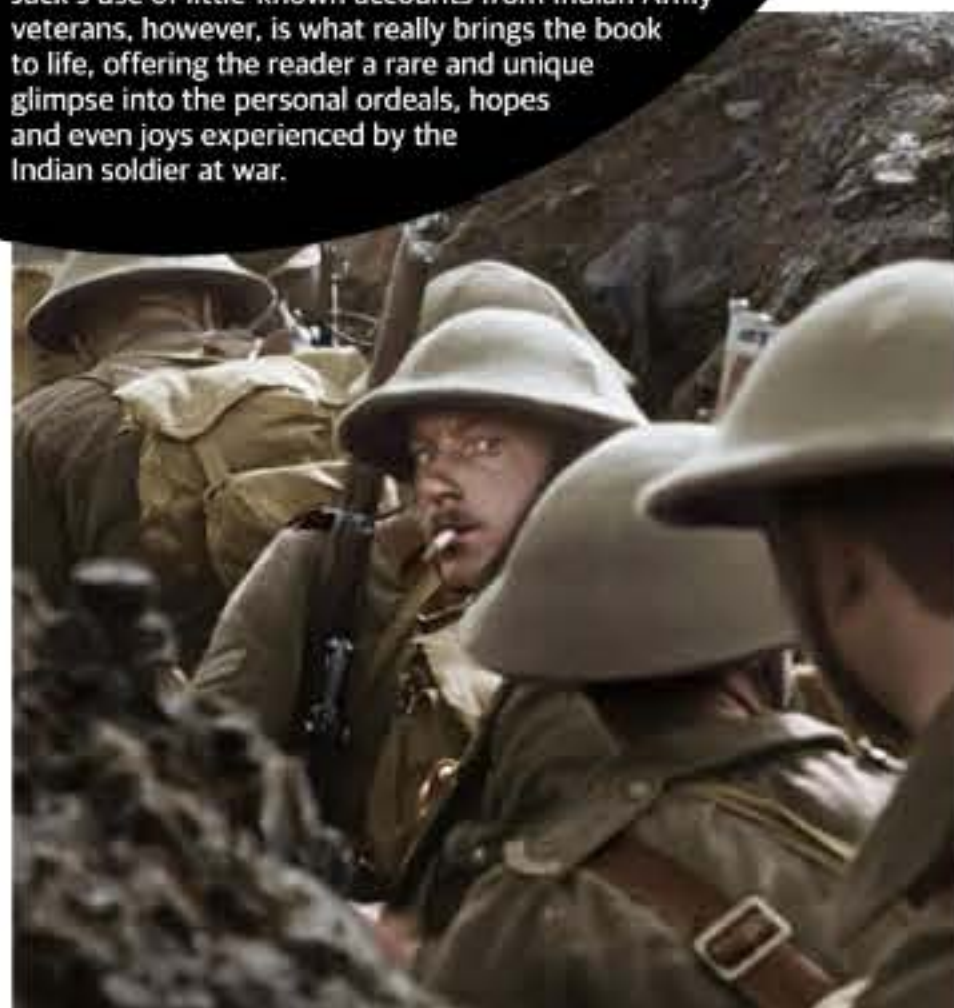
HISTORY WAR RECOMMENDS...

Out
now!

THE INDIAN EMPIRE AT WAR

Author George Morton-Jack Price £35 Publisher Little, Brown

Basing his research on material from archives across a dozen countries and previously unpublished veteran interviews, the author sets the scene by examining the hugely multicultural Indian Army as it was just prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. The majority of the book, of course, focuses on the Indian Army during World War I, and in particular the Middle East, where it fought against the Ottoman Empire. Morton-Jack's use of little-known accounts from Indian Army veterans, however, is what really brings the book to life, offering the reader a rare and unique glimpse into the personal ordeals, hopes and even joys experienced by the Indian soldier at war.

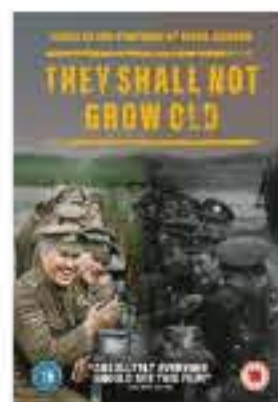


THEY SHALL NOT GROW OLD



The most realistic portrayal of the men who fought and died on the Western Front you'll ever see

Director Peter Jackson Certificate 15 Release date Out now



The Great War was more than the first monumental global conflict of the 20th century - it was the first war to be captured in moving images.

Black and white footage of what we call poor quality

today has been shown in archive reels for decades, illustrating the horrors of battle and the lives of the soldiers on the front line. But that's all changed now.

Probably best known for directing the legendary *Lord of the Rings* series, Peter Jackson has teamed up with the Imperial War Museum to create a new epic - one that will be remembered alongside the people it shows. Don't be fooled by the opening of *They Shall Not Grow Old* because after the monotone footage showing the lead up to the war and

the training new recruits underwent, you'll glimpse something that's brand new as you see the front line in France in glorious Technicolor thanks to new technology.

Explaining the emotions you'll feel is nigh on impossible. As you're taken through life in the trenches, the push over the top into no-man's-land and how they coped with disease and death (including real archival images of dead bodies), you'll hear the voices of the veterans of the British Army themselves. The storytelling is limited - you won't hear about what else went on in the war, or what specific battles the footage is from - but what it lacks in that regard, it more than makes up for in humanity. It's time to see the soldiers of War War I as never before, and it's time to really understand why they won't be forgotten and why they shall not grow old.

Haunting,
Human,
Poignant
KM

UNQUIET WOMEN

Breathing new life into the narratives of 'forgotten' historical women



Author Max Adams Publisher Head of Zeus Price £20 Released Out now

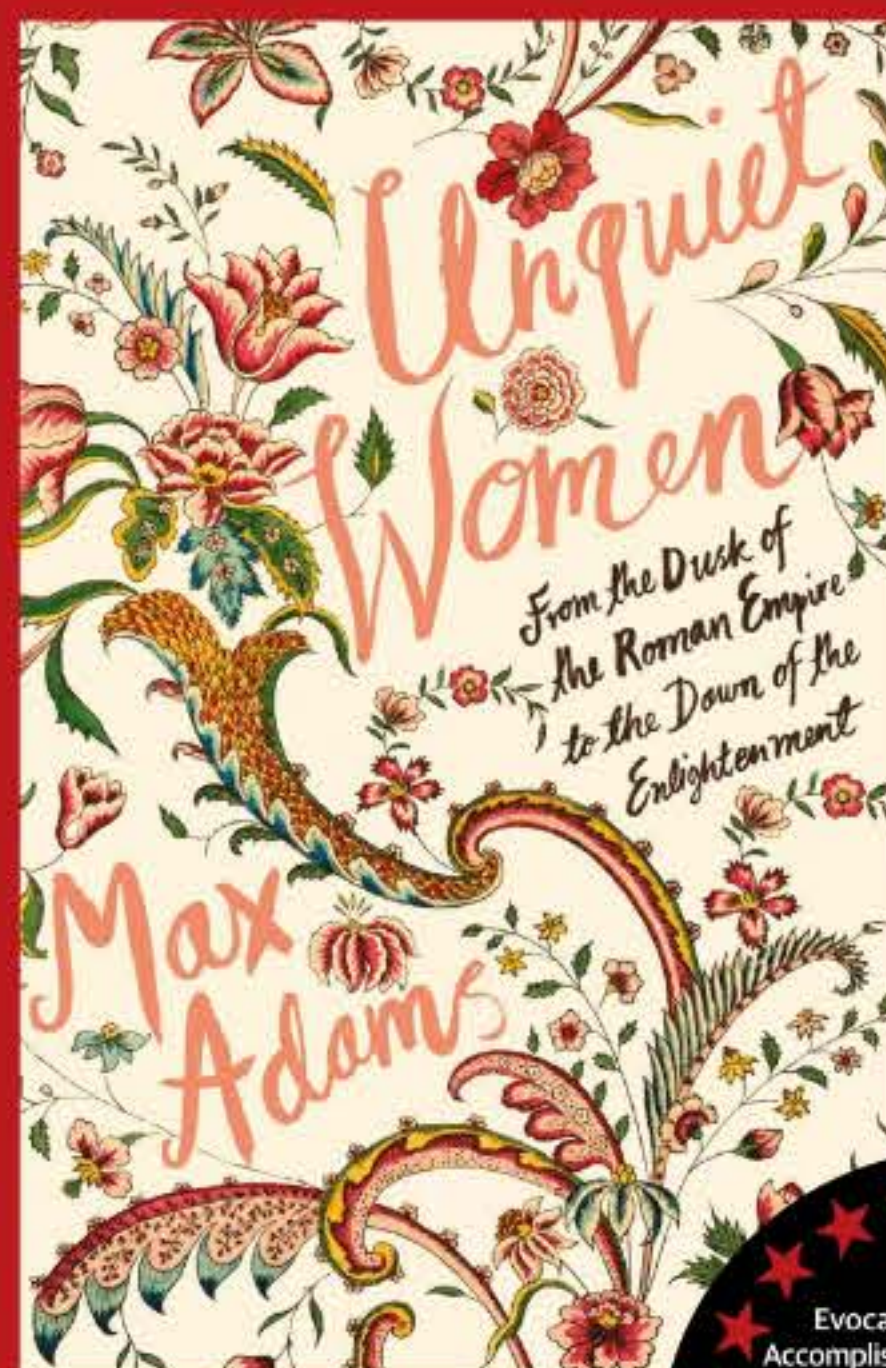
Efforts to rewrite women back into history have exploded in recent years, with various works bringing to the fore the rebels, the pioneers, the forgotten. Now Max Adams introduces us to his *Unquiet Women*, inspiring individuals who lived incredible lives between the last days of Rome and the Enlightenment, and yet are rarely remembered today.

His global cast has been assembled to show us that women of these times were not all either royals, nuns or otherwise invisible.

And their stories sparkle off the pages. We learn of the formidable legacy of Alfred (Ælfred) the Great's daughter Æthelflæd, 'Lady of the Mercians'; meet Mary Astell, the philosopher who went toe-to-toe with John Locke; and discover how Anna Comnena constructed the *Alexiad*, the epic retelling

of the life of her father Emperor Alexius I of Constantinople. Each chapter is also accompanied by one or more passages examining wider tales of women's experiences. The chapter *Testaments* - exploring early Medieval writing - includes sections on the women found with the Oseberg ship burial discovered in Norway in 1903, and the cultural golden age of Al-Andalus, the heart of Islamic Spain (now Andalusia).

These lives are skilfully placed by Adams to present an engaging work demonstrating the diverse legacies of such women who in their own way were able to subvert some part of the gender constraints of their time. *Unquiet Women* is a timely work which is beautifully designed and executed, embodying a charm and power of its own from the remarkable women within its pages.



Evocative,
Accomplished,
Essential
BW



THE FAVOURITE

A hilarious yet emotive period drama that breaks all the rules of its genre



Certificate 15 **Creator** Yorgos Lanthimos **Cast** Olivia Colman, Rachel Weisz, Emma Stone, Nicholas Hoult, Joe Alwyn **Released** 1 January 2019 (UK)



When it comes to the silver screen, films set in 18th century England are few and far between, and one monarch who is consistently overlooked is Queen Anne, the last of the Stuart dynasty. Yet if there is one thing *The Favourite* proves it is that Anne's reign deserves to be shone in the spotlight.

The film centres around Queen Anne, played by Colman, and the two women who compete for her favour - Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, played by Weisz, and Abigail Masham, played by Stone.

Abigail arrives at court as Sarah's cousin and a former lady, who has lost her fortune and

standing thanks to her father's reckless gambling. Sarah gives her a job in the palace kitchens, unaware that Abigail is willing to do anything to get back to the top.

It is a rarity in cinema to see a film led by three women, Queen Anne played by Colman, Sarah Churchill by Weisz, and Abigail Masham by Stone, let alone a period piece.

The triangle between Anne, Sarah and Abigail provides an interesting dynamic against a backdrop of political intrigue and war, which manages to keep you captivated for the entire film. Refreshingly, it is great to see that none of these female characters assume the typical victim or femme fatale roles, but rather they are all shown to be complicated women fighting for power and love in a man's world - rather than just sat around gossiping over tea, they are shooting and hunting just as well as any of their male counterparts.

Speaking of the male characters, particularly Lord Harley and Lord Godolphin, it is entertaining to see them rely on Abigail and Sarah in order to gain the elusive access to the queen - and to the power - that they need.

Colman is mesmerising as Queen Anne, a character who spends the majority of the film acting like a spoilt child - largely due to the fact that Sarah has infantilised her. However,



Sarah is well aware that the power she relishes is dependent on Anne and so she often had to mollify her and although the audience is only given mere glimpses, it is clear that their relationship goes beyond friendship.

One of the most poignant moments of the film occurs during a conversation between Anne and Abigail, discussing the queen's devotion to her pet rabbits. As the audience discovers these rabbits represent the 17 children Anne has lost either through miscarriage or stillbirth.

It evokes both heartbreak and sympathy for the queen, who spends the majority of her days being wheeled around the palace as she suffers from crippling attacks of gout.

Bawdy, dramatic, funny and emotional all rolled into one, *The Favourite* is certainly unconventional for a period drama.

The film is peppered throughout with swearing and moments of obscenity, driving home the point that Lanthimos clearly did not want it to fit into the stereotypical politeness that usually defines this genre of movie - and should appeal to anyone who enjoys an engaging historical drama.

Visually stunning, *The Favourite* will keep you gripped right to the end.



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HISTORY HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

OUTLAW KING

Director: David Mackenzie **Starring:** Chris Pine, Aaron Taylor-Johnson, Florence Pugh, Billy Howle **Country:** United Kingdom/United States **Released:** 2018

Netflix's new action film is visually stunning but how does it fare in terms of accuracy?



VERDICT Far from perfect but *Outlaw King* beats *Braveheart* any day

01 At the beginning of the movie, Robert the Bruce, played by Chris Pine, pledges his allegiance to King Edward I of England in 1304.

This did happen in real life and in fact, Robert submitted to Edward two years earlier, in 1302.

02 In Scotland, King Edward uses a trebuchet named 'the Warwolf' - this trebuchet really did exist and was possibly the biggest one to have ever been built.

This film also gets props for largely accurate historical clothing, with no kilts in sight.

03 Bruce's marriage to Elizabeth was politically motivated in real life and probably less romantic than it is portrayed on screen. However, the film correctly depicts Elizabeth being imprisoned and she would remain in England for eight years.

04 The film accurately depicts Bruce stabbing John Comyn to death after becoming scared that he will betray him to King Edward. It is also true that Bruce was later pardoned for committing the murder by the Bishop of Glasgow.

05 Although the movie concludes following Bruce's victory at the Battle of Loudoun Hill in 1307, in reality his fight for Scottish independence continued for another two decades. The fact that the Prince of Wales is at the battle is also historically inaccurate.



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TIME TO REMEMBER



The First World War began for the British on 4 August 1914 when the Germans invaded Belgium. The magnitude of the losses suffered in the 1,560 days that followed will stay with us forever. By the time the Armistice agreement was signed on 11 November 1918 at 5am, nearly one million soldiers from the British Empire had fallen. To mark the centenary of Armistice Day, Col&MacArthur has designed this stunning limited edition Armistice 1918 watch. Behind its sleek styling and Swiss quartz movement, the watch encapsulates the historical events that ended the Great War.



To symbolise the time the Armistice was signed, the number 5 on the watch is coloured red. Alongside it is printed N 2419D, the number of the wagon in which the end of the war was formally agreed.

Although the Armistice was signed at 5am, soldiers kept fighting for six more hours. The last to fall was Private George Edwin Ellison of the Royal Irish Lancers. His initials appear at 09h30 on the watch, the time that he died.



Thanks to the poem "In Flanders Fields", the poppy became a prominent Remembrance Day symbol and replaces the 11 on the watch, the time the war ended, alongside the date of the Armistice.

For a unique touch, the watch can also be engraved on the back to pay tribute to an ancestor, creating a treasured family heirloom, or in remembrance of a heroic soldier, doctor or nurse who played a part in the war.



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Col&MacArthur is a watchmaking company created by Iain Wood, a former Scots Guard, and his associate Sebastien Colen. The company is built on a common passion for horology and founding values of pride, heritage and commemoration, something that's helped them become official watch supplier for the Royal Guards of Buckingham Palace and the British Army.

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