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Welcome

Napoleon is a complex and sometimes seemingly contradictory character, which is probably a large reason why he remains so compelling a subject to investigate. He was a dictator, but one who introduced important civil reforms and laws. He was a ruthless military leader who sought dominion over Europe, but one who seemed to inspire great loyalty even among foreign forces. He was self-aggrandising and seemingly obsessed with the creation of his own legend, but he could back it up with victories again and again.

It’s from all of these elements that the calamitous invasion of Russia in 1812 seems to draw, with Napoleon’s vaulting ambition turning sour as his need for victory drew him closer and closer to defeat and ruin. It’s with this in mind that we reached out to Jonathan North, author of Killing Napoleon from Amberley Publishing, to join us this issue to give his insight into these events and what it would mean for Napoleon’s rule. It’s an often brutal story that speaks to the extreme lengths that commanders were willing to go for victory over the enemy.

Napoleon is a remarkable figure, but digging down into the experience of the soldiers and commanders who had to stand at his side is just as fascinating for me and I’m pleased we’ve managed to bring of that to the surface this issue too.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

Editor’s picks

Inside The Arabian Nights
It was a pleasure to speak with Paulo Horta about the origins of these famous tales and the history behind them.

Nazi Rocket Bunkers
Jon Trigg takes us inside the secret facilities that could have decimated the UK and turned WWII in favour of the Nazis.

Medieval She-Wolves
We welcome Sharon Bennett Connolly this issue to highlight the women who ruled with an iron fist.

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University of Exeter’s Professor Richard Toye ponders England if Edward VIII hadn’t abdicated

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In May 1954 the landmark Supreme Court case of Brown v. The Board of Education was unanimously decided 9-0 in favour of the principle that policies segregating schools are inherently unconstitutional in the United States. The legal challenge, lead by future Supreme Court judge Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP, helped to give new hope to the civil rights movement as it entered a decade of legal challenges and long-due social change.
HIGH COURT BANS SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DEFINING MOMENTS

MANDELA ELECTED PRESIDENT
After the first free election in South Africa, Nelson Mandela, released from prison only four years earlier, is elected president. Taking 62.65 per cent of the overall vote, Mandela's ANC forms a coalition with the other two parties taking more than 20 seats to form a government of national unity. From 10 May 1994, Mandela begins his work of reconciliation for the country and repairing South Africa's relations abroad.

1994
DEFINING MOMENTS

THE FOUR-MINUTE MILE

In 1954, Roger Bannister broke the four-minute mile barrier, a significant milestone in the history of athletics. Bannister achieved this feat during a race in Oxford, England, on May 6, 1954, with a time of 3 minutes and 59.4 seconds. This achievement shattered the long-held belief that running a mile in under four minutes was impossible. Bannister's accomplishment inspired countless athletes worldwide and revolutionized the sport of running.
“It ought to be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things”

Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince, 1513
THE RENAISSANCE

Take a closer look at the artistic, architectural and social revolution that swept across Europe and sparked the dawn of a new era.

Written by Jessica Legget, Jonathan Gordon, Melanie Clegg, Katharine Marsh
The Renaissance

**Did you know?**
In the 16th century, van Eyck was incorrectly credited with inventing oil painting.

**Petrarch Becomes Poet Laureate 1341**
Poet and scholar Petrarca travels to Rome to be crowned poet laureate. His speech is considered to be the first manifesto of the Renaissance.

**Renaissance Papacy 1420**
After decades in Avignon, the papacy returns to Rome in 1420 under Pope Martin V. Rome would later become a great Renaissance city thanks to Petrarch's building projects.

**Boccaccio's Great Work 1350**
The Italian writer Boccaccio pens the *Decameron,* a collection of short stories believed to be the first literary expression of humanist realism.

**Council of Florence 1438-45**
The Latin and Greek Churches try to air their differences at the Council of Florence. While this did result in an agreement, East and West never united as hoped.

**Fall of the Byzantines 1453**
As the Ottomans overrun the Byzantine Empire, the latter's thinkers flee west into Europe and begin spreading their ideas.

**The Printing Press 1450**
Having previously been exiled from Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg returns with a printing press that he has perfected during his time in Strasbourg, France. Each letter is on a separate printing block and Gutenberg also makes his own ink that affixes to metal rather than wood.

**A New Medium 1460**
Oil paints become all the rage as Netherlandish artists like Jan van Eyck begin to use them more frequently. This new type of paint meant that colours could be made to be much richer and it was much easier to capture the realism of the subject.

**The Rise of Bellini 1475**
Bellini spent almost all of his 65-year career in Venice. He is perhaps best known for pioneering the portrayal of natural light in his paintings, which became a strong theme in Renaissance art.
The painted ceiling 1508

Despite being most well known for his sculptures, Michelangelo is commissioned by the papacy to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. He fills the space of around 557 square metres with intricate frescoes with common Renaissance symbols such as sibyls. After four long years, the ceiling was finished.

PICO’S 900 THESIS 1486
One of the era’s foremost thinkers, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola pens On The Dignity Of Man, which becomes a key piece of renaissance humanism.

TO INDIA 1488
During the Age of Discovery, Vasco da Gama reaches India via the Atlantic Ocean. European imperialism stretches further than ever before.

THE HIGH RENAISSANCE 1490s-1627
A new period of the Renaissance is ushered in, which will come to be remembered for the works of Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian.

CALVIN’S THE INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION 1536
The first edition of Calvin’s Institutes of the Christian Religion is published, one of the defining works of the Reformation.

MAGELLAN SETS SAIL 1519
Ferdinand Magellan leaves Spain on his bid to find a western sea route to Indonesia. Now land comes under Spanish control, spreading Renaissance ideas further afield.

AN ENLIGHTENED WORLD 17TH CENTURY
Eventually the humanist ideas of the Renaissance begin to give way to a new era, the Enlightenment, as the Scientific Revolution takes place.

Mannerism 1520
From the 1520s, a new artistic era of the Renaissance was born: Mannerism, or the Late Renaissance. In a bid to show off their talents, painters like Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino create elegant scenes, and the style spreads throughout Europe, even appearing at the court of Elizabeth I.

La Dafne 1587
Considered by many to be the first opera ever performed, La Dafne is put on in Florence in 1587. The product of a group of humanists, it is an attempt to revive ancient Greek tragedies. While no music has survived from ancient Greece, the Italians make their best guess of what it would have sounded like.

Did you know?
La Dafne was composed by Jacopo Peri and Jacopo Corsi; the lyrics were written by Ottavio Rinuccini.
House in a former Medici palace in the heart of Florence, the Uffizi gallery is one of the most famous and popular art galleries in the world, attracting over two million visitors every year, who come to see its justly celebrated collection of Italian art - often queuing for over an hour to do so in the busy summer months. The original Uffizi palace was designed by Vasari for Cosimo I de' Medici in 1560 and later linked by a corridor, known as the Vasari Corridor, to the other main Medici residence, the Pitti Palace.

The Medici family were enthusiastic collectors and commissioners of art, and together built up a formidable collection that comprised works by all of the most famous contemporary artists. When the Medici family died out with the death of Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici in 1743, the palace and its wonderful art collection was gifted to the people of Florence and officially opened to the public as a gallery in 1765 - although fortunate visitors to Florence had been able to visit by request since 1581. Since then, the collection has grown so enormous that some of it, in particular its Renaissance sculpture, has been placed in other locations around the city, but the main core collection, which includes world-famous pieces by such luminaries as Botticelli, Raphael, Leonardo and Michelangelo remains intact in the main Uffizi, which currently has over 100 rooms open to the public. Although the bulk of the collection reflects the Italian Renaissance preoccupation with religious scenes and motifs, there are also several mythological paintings on display, as well as many portraits, such as Piero della Francesca's ciborium of Duke Federico da Montefeltro and his wife Battista Sforza.

In May 1993, the building was badly damaged when the Sicilian mafia detonated a car bomb close by, but after extensive conservation work it has now been restored to its former glory.

The Annunciation
Leonardo da Vinci was only in his early twenties and still training as an apprentice in Verrocchio's studio when he painted his powerful Announcement in 1472. As is typical of his work, the painting is full of symbolism relating both to the subject matter of Mary's virginity and the city of Florence, where it was painted. Although Verrocchio almost certainly assisted him, most of the painting is Leonardo's own work.

The Birth Of Venus
One of the most famous and easily recognisable paintings in the Uffizi is Botticelli's stunning mythological allegory The Birth Of Venus, which was painted in the mid 1480s for a member of the Medici family and uses an ancient Roman motif of the goddess Venus standing in a shell as she is blown to shore. The lovely Venus was almost certainly modelled on the famous beauty Simonetta Vespucci.

The Ognissanti Madonna
It's clear from the stylisation and heavy gold decoration that Giotto was heavily inspired by Byzantine art when he created his masterpiece, also known as The Madonna Enthroned, in around 1310. However, although it is influenced by much earlier work, Giotto was an artistic pioneer and the naturalism and use of perspective in this work has often led to it being described as the first true Renaissance painting.

Madonna And Child
Known for his softly pretty Madonnas, Fra Lippi created his most celebrated and best-loved Madonna And Child in around 1455, while he was working for the powerful Medici family in Florence. However, although he was a monk, his serene and beautiful Madonna was almost certainly modelled on his mistress Lucrezia Buti, while at least one of the children was probably based on their son Filippo.
**Doni Tondo**
The Doni Tondo (also known as the Doni Madonna) is one of only three surviving panel paintings by Michelangelo and the only one that he painted without the help of assistants. It was commissioned in around 1507 by Agnolo Doni to commemorate his marriage to Maddalena Strozzi. Dynamic and, thanks to the figures in the background, somewhat enigmatic, it was clearly inspired by Michelangelo's close study of ancient sculptures.

**Madonna Of The Goldfinch**
Raphael was just 22 years old and already one of the most famous artists in Italy when he created this beautiful, touching painting of the Madonna flanked by the infant Christ and John the Baptist in 1505. It was intended as a wedding present for his friend Lorenzo Nasi and would be virtually destroyed during an earthquake - which necessitated a heavy duty ten year long restoration project in 2002.

**Venus Of Urbino**
Titian based his 1534 painting of Venus on an earlier masterpiece by Giorgione, which depicted Venus reclining outdoors. In contrast, Titian decided to move his alluring Venus, who was painted for a Medici Cardinal and may have been modelled on a well known Florentine courtesan, indoors and placed her in front of an everyday Italian interior to make her more relatable and immediate to the viewer.

**Eleanor Of Toledo**
Although the Uffizi is undoubtedly best known for its Italian Renaissance masterpieces, it also houses several paintings from different eras - including a collection of sumptuous Bronzino portraits of the Medici family, who ruled Florence for over three centuries. His 1545 portrait of Eleanor de Toledo, wife of Cosimo I de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, posing with one of her sons is perhaps his masterpiece.

**Bacchus**
Caravaggio was already one of the most infamous and talked about artists in Italy when he painted his celebrated and strangely disturbing Bacchus in 1593, modeling the young god's features on his friend Mario Minniti. If you look closely, you can spot a self portrait of the artist reflected in the wine glass that Bacchus is offering to the viewer.

**Judith Slaying Holofernes**
Although there are sadly very few paintings by women in the Uffizi's enormous collection, one of the undoubted highlights is Artemisia Gentileschi's powerful, energetic and undoubtedly cathartic 1614-20 depiction of Judith, who is a self portrait, savagely beheading Holofernes, who is modelled on Agostino Tassi, a pupil of her father's, who had been tried and found guilty of raping her in 1612.
If the term polymath was coined to describe just one individual it must have been Leonardo da Vinci. The range of disciplines in which he not only excelled but actually added to is intimidatingly long, ranging from painting to engineering and anatomy in cartography. There was little da Vinci couldn’t bend his mind to master.

The artistic works of Da Vinci spread far and wide in part because of the popularity of his work, but also thanks to the many students who passed through his workshop over the decades and left with a touch of his brilliance in their hands. Artistic perspective and use of light and dark contrast were his trademarks, but he also made breakthroughs in his anatomy work.

If anything, the scope of Da Vinci’s imaginative spirit was what had a tendency to get him in trouble. With a reputation for starting, but not finishing work (something that Michelangelo apparently liked to rub in his face) Da Vinci sometimes split attentions and ramming mind meant he was great at ideas, but not always execution.

Famously having designed blueprints for flying machines and tanks, as well as dissected the human body to get a greater understanding of its organs, including the human heart and reproductive system, Da Vinci made massive contributions to the worlds of engineering and science in his lifetime beyond what he put on canvas.

The Mona Lisa remains Da Vinci’s most famous and popular work. Sitting in the Louvre in Paris it is estimated that around 6 million visitors a year come to see this one painting. Other works, like The Last Supper, are also very popular, although in that image’s case numbers need to be restricted as it’s painted on a monastery wall and easy to damage.

In terms of breadth of artistic talent, Michelangelo is nearly unchallenged. His work in painting, poetry and architecture is some of the most profound of the Renaissance period and his sculptures are truly magnificent. It would seem there was no artistic medium that was immune to his talents, and he has often been called the greatest artist who ever lived.

Michelangelo’s work in the depiction of the human body had a big impact on how people not only sculpted, but also painted the human form going forward. The slightly exaggerated Mannerist movement took a lot from his work, a first step away from traditionalist norms of painting. Even in the 19th and 20th centuries, sculptors such as Rodin and Henry Moore cited his influence.

Perhaps in part because of his deeply held religious beliefs, Michelangelo didn’t have the head for science of Da Vinci, but made up for it with the incredible scope of his ambition in the work he did and the often noted devotion and work ethic he brought to projects. He was demanding and ferocious in how he approached a project.

The primary contributions of Michelangelo outside of paintbrush and chisel were in architecture, most notably in his work on St. Peter’s Basilica and its incredible dome that would go on to be mimicked by many other cathedrals, including St Paul’s in London 50 years later and the Pantheon in Paris over 100 years after that.

Of all of Michelangelo’s works it is the most sprawling, ambitious and naturally breathtaking that attracts the most followers, which seems only right. The Sistine Chapel and its ceiling of wonders is something to behold, which an estimated 5 million people do each year. His statue of David, by comparison, is thought to receive 1.5 million visitors.

With a wider contribution to more disciplines, Da Vinci’s genius is hard to deny. Michelangelo is one of the greatest artists to have ever lived, but Da Vinci is one of the greatest thinkers and creators. He failed often, but he succeeded even more and is the very definition of a Renaissance figure.
Hall of Fame

PATRONS OF THE RENAISSANCE

Meet ten people whose wealth and support helped Renaissance art to flourish

POPE LEON X
ITALIAN 1475-1521
A member of the Medici family, Pope Leo X was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and a noted patron of numerous scholars and poets, including the prominent author Baldassare Castiglione. He continued the various artistic efforts left unfinished by the death of his papal predecessor, Julius II, including his work on St. Peter’s Basilica and the patronage of Raphael at the Vatican Palace. However, Leo also focused on his own numerous projects, in particular reforming the University of Rome and expanding the Vatican Library, as well as the building of a new church in Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

LORENZO DE’ MEDICI
ITALIAN 1449-1492
Arguably the most famous member of the Medici family, Lorenzo was renowned for his generosity as a patron of artists, scholars and poets. It was thanks to his sponsorship that some of the most celebrated Renaissance artists, including Michelangelo, Botticelli and Leonardo da Vinci, could work exclusively in the arts without a second job. Lorenzo would ensure that they had everything they needed and even helped to secure them commissions. Interestingly, Lorenzo gained a reputation as one of the greatest patrons of the Italian Renaissance despite the fact he commissioned few major works himself, although he was known for his involvement in various architectural projects.

POPE JULIUS II
ITALIAN 1443-1513
One of the greatest of the High Renaissance, Pope Julius II used his patronage to restore the prestige and authority of the Catholic Church in the years leading up to the Protestant Reformation. He commissioned Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, a stunning example of High Renaissance art, and architect Bramante to rebuild St. Peter’s Basilica in 1506 - a project which ultimately took 120 years to complete. Julius was also a patron of Raphael, commissioning him to decorate the papal apartments in the Vatican (now known as the Raphael Rooms) as well as the iconic portrait of the Pope himself.

FEDERICO DA MONTEFELTRO
ITALIAN 1422-1482
Renowned for his military skill, Federico was the Lord and later Duke of Urbino from 1444 until his death. He spent lavishly on his patronage, hiring architect Luciano Laurana to rebuild his ducal palace as well as to oversee the beautification of the city itself. Influenced by his humanist education, Federico commissioned and collected numerous sculptures, tapestries and paintings, and he also funded the creation of a new library - one so great it was second only to the Vatican.

Julius is famously remembered as the Warrior Pope for his role in the Italian Wars and his quest to restore control over the Papal states.
**COSIMO DE' MEDICI**
**ITALIAN** 1389-1464
The founder of the Medici dynasty, Cosimo used his wealth and patronage to secure his position as the most influential man - and de facto ruler - of Florence. He commissioned various architectural projects including the Medici Palace, designed by Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, which was built during the 1440s and remains today as an example of Early Renaissance architecture. Cosimo was also a patron of the sculptor Donatello, whom he commissioned to create the famous bronze David statue, as well as artists Michelangelo, Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi. His vast collection of books, many of which Cosimo translated himself, formed the foundation of the Laurentian library.

**LUDOVICO SFORZA**
**ITALIAN** 1452-1509
When it comes to the arts, Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, is best remembered as the patron of Leonardo da Vinci. He was responsible for commissioning one of da Vinci’s most iconic works, The Last Supper, as a centerpiece for the Sforza family mausoleum. Responsible for supporting some of the greatest artists in Milan, including the architect Bramante, Ludovico’s patronage was influenced by his wife, Beatrice d’Este, who was renowned for her own artistic taste.

**ELEANOR OF TOLEDO**
**SPANISH** 1522-1582
The only Spaniard on this list, Eleanor made a name for herself as a patron of various artists as the Duchess of Florence, the wife of Cosimo I de’ Medici. She notably purchased the Palazzo Pitti in 1549 and hired architect Giorgio Vasari to enlarge it, also commissioning him to lay out the Boboli Gardens - the Palazzo subsequently became the main seat of the Medici family. Eleanor also founded various churches in the city and she even left funding in her will for the creation of a new convent.

**ERCOLE I D’ESTE**
**ITALIAN** 1431-1505
As the Duke of Ferrara for over three decades, Ercole developed a reputation as one of the most significant patrons of the Renaissance. He notably led the revival of classical theatre, transforming the ducal court at Ferrara into one of the most glittering in Europe. Ercole was also renowned for his taste in music, introducing Franco-Flemish artists such as Heinrich Isaac and Alexander Agricola to his court, with his chapel surpassing the likes of the Vatican.

**ISABELLA D’ESTE**
**ITALIAN** 1474-1533
Isabella d’Este is without a doubt one the most famous female patrons of the Renaissance. Raised at the court of Ferrara, itself a centre of culture during the Renaissance, Isabella was given the same education as her brothers, a rarity at the time. Through her marriage to Francesco II Gonzaga, she became the Marchioness of Mantua and subsequently transformed her new home, becoming the patron of numerous artists such as da Vinci, Titian, Perugino and Raphael. Isabella was even the first woman in Europe to have her own personalised gallery space to display her astonishing collection of art, located in the Ducal Palace.

**ALFONSINA ORSINI**
**ITALIAN** 1472-1520
The artistic financing of the men in the Medici family often overshadowed the patronage of the women. Alfonso was a Medici through her marriage to Piero the Unfortunate and was known for sponsoring the work of artist Marzotto Albertinelli, until her husband’s exile in 1494. Following the restoration of the Medici family to power in Florence, Alfonso oversaw the building of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano as well as a palace in Rome, a feat rarely achieved by women at the time.
Q&A With...

ROBERT C DAVIS

THE ESTEEMED AUTHOR AND PROFESSOR IN RENAISSANCE HISTORY DISCUSSES THE PEOPLE BEYOND THE ART

Robert Davis is professor of Italian Renaissance and pre-modern Mediterranean history at Ohio State University, in the northern US. He is co-author of Renaissance People with Beth Lindsmith, also of Ohio State, who has edited and contributed to magazines at the university for ten years as well as teaching in creative writing.

Renaissance People
Lives that Shaped the Modern Age

Thames & Hudson
Robert C. Davis  Beth Lindsmith

Renaissance People is out now from Thames & Hudson
**THE RENAISSANCE IS OFTEN LOOKED AT SOLELY THROUGH THE PRISM OF ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENT. IS THAT TOO NARROW A VIEW?**

We began with the notion that there was far more to the Renaissance than art alone, however much painting and sculpture seem to incarnate the era. In truth, how humanity approaches the past has always changed over time, along with our social and cultural needs. Thus, from the 16th through 18th centuries most Europeans saw the Renaissance in intellectual terms — generally of writers applying classical models of interpretation to contemporary issues involving statecraft, aesthetics and conduct. The notion that the Renaissance was predominantly artistic in its aims and nature was a largely 19th-century creation, fed also to the late Renaissance notion of artistic/creative genius. More recently, with the period’s fracture into historic and art historic fields, there has also been strong interest in the Renaissance in social, gender and technological terms.

**HOW DID THE BUBONIC PLAGUE IMPACT THE SPREAD OF THE RENAISSANCE MOVEMENT?**

The plague’s short-term impact was clearly negative — faced with this apocalypse, many Europeans turned away from intellectual and aesthetic interests to concern themselves more intently with salvation and the afterlife. Yet the disease’s long-term effect was more ambiguous. As waves of plague struck Europe between 1350 and 1500, populations were devastated but productive resources (farmland, fisheries, mines, forests) remained largely intact. The result was that per capita wealth effectively increased: if you survived, then you and your family were probably better off. The demographic decline also created a labour shortage, raising wages for many categories of workers. With both artisans and their clients enjoying rising incomes, there was a broad move towards producing luxury goods, which in turn helped stimulate long-distance markets in exotic products like porcelain, silk, ivory, pigments and jewellery. All of which helped raise standards of production and taste that were vital in encouraging experimentation in all sorts of artistic media.

**HOW TIED WAS CREATIVE OUTPUT AND INNOVATION TO BROADER IMPROVEMENTS IN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EUROPE?**

In Medieval Europe, art was generally financed by the institutional Church or religiously guided craft guilds, monastic houses, or lay confraternities. By the 15th and 16th centuries, however, artistic patronage began shifting: to those involved in such proto-industries as textiles, metalworking and ceramics; to the financial sector; and to those controlling land — and that being made more productive and profitable. Power and wealth (and the options of patronage) concentrated: first among burghers and bankers in northern Italy, then among emerging royalty, the upper aristocracy and high churchmen. This was cemented by a new and active patron class — individuals and families eager to gain reputation, leave their mark, and express their faith through the artistic and architectural works they commissioned. As the artistic Renaissance peaked, around 1520, this rising status and wealth began flowing towards artists themselves, increasingly recognised for their genius and role as interpreters of their society and its values.

**HOW MUCH OF THE RENAISSANCE WAS SPARKED BY THE REDISCOVERY OF CLASSICAL WORKS. HOW HAD THE WORLD BECOME SO DISCONNECTED FROM THIS HISTORY?**

Nearly a thousand years separated the collapse of ancient Rome with the rise of Renaissance learning in Italy. Though copies of many classical works had survived that millennium, these were scattered throughout Europe and needed to be systematically hunted down and copied. Over the centuries Classical Latin, largely fallen from use, had to be relearned. The importance of both these missions was promoted in the early Renaissance by Petrarch and others: as was the emerging science of philology, which developed methods and rules for deciding on the most reliable versions of manuscripts. Significantly, for political and religious reasons, Western Europeans had also lost virtually all knowledge of Classical Greek, on which so much of the Classical aesthetic plus its scientific and philosophical worldview had been based. The process of finding teachers for mastering Greek language again and then locating Greek manuscripts in the rapidly shrinking Byzantine Empire was a crucial part of Europe’s ‘rebirth’ — one that lasted well into the 1500s.

**THE RENAISSANCE IS VIEWED AS A LARGELY EUROPEAN AFFAIR, BUT HOW INFLUENTIAL WAS THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO IT?**

The Ottoman Empire isn’t widely considered a meaningful player in the European Renaissance, though at the time it did serve some scholars and artists as an artistic and political inspiration or foil. From roughly 1450 to 1550, Ottoman forces subjugated or threatened Christian societies along the Mediterranean basin, and for many Christians Turkish power was seen as an existential threat to their civilisation. It was a reaction that, for the most part, prevailed both more traditional European scholars and those who were caught up in new Renaissance ideals. Perhaps the most prominent impact that Ottoman rule had on the Renaissance was the flood of long-forgotten documents in Classic Greek that Turkish conquest of the East released into the West, as some Greek Orthodox refugees fled their homeland and brought such manuscripts with them.
Places to Explore

SEE THE MASTERPIECES

Where to gaze upon original works of art from hundreds of years ago

1 NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY
LONDON

Easy to get to thanks to its central London location. London’s National Portrait Gallery is home to plenty of Renaissance artworks by some of the big names like Leonardo da Vinci, Titian and Raphael. It’s the perfect chance to see Michelangelo’s The Entombment, Jan van Eyck’s The Arnolfini Portrait and Raphael’s Saint Catherine of Alexandria, too. If you’re unable to get to London, though, you can find a virtual tour on the gallery’s website that will allow you to view all of the Renaissance paintings that are on display. From 12 June to 29 September, the National Portrait Gallery will also be holding a free exhibition showcasing the works by 15th-century Spanish Renaissance artist Bartolomé Bermejo. It will prove to be a first as two of the masterpieces – the Madonna of Montserrat and Piedad Desplá – have never been brought to the UK before.

Open daily, 10am-6pm, Friday until 9pm. Free entry. www.nationalgallery.org.uk

2 SCOTTISH NATIONAL GALLERY
SCOTLAND

Home to some of Scotland’s most valuable paintings, the Scottish National Gallery in central Edinburgh is a great place to get up close to some well-known Renaissance works. In fact, there’s even a display focusing on the Italian Renaissance running until 30 September 2020, with free admission. You can see Titian’s Diana and Actaeon and Diana and Callisto, two of his great ‘poesie’ paintings, as well as the rich, vibrant colours of Bassano’s Adoration of the Kings. If you’re after some Raphael, Bernardo Daddi or Andrea del Sarto, you certainly won’t be disappointed on those fronts, either. A trip to the Scottish National Gallery would also be the perfect time to see Hugo van der Goes’ Trinity Altarpiece, which, dating back to the 1470s, is one of the most important religious works commissioned for a Scottish chapel. It also boasts being one of the earliest examples of painting in Scotland that survived the Reformation.

Open daily, 10am-5pm, Thursdays until 7pm. Free admission. www.nationalgalleries.org
3 THE BRANCacci CHAPEL
FLORENCE

Just a few streets over from the Arno River in Florence sits La Cappella Brancacci, or the Brancacci Chapel, considered by many to be one of the birthplaces of Renaissance art. Inside the chapel, adorning its walls, are frescoes that were painted by Masolino and Masaccio between 1424 and 1428, and then finished by Filippino Lippi between 1481 and 1485. It’s thanks to his work in the Florentine chapel before heading off to Rome that Masaccio is often referred to as the first Renaissance painter, making the Brancacci Chapel a must for any Renaissance lover travelling to Florence. Where better to see masterpieces like Masaccio’s The Tribute Money than on the wall it was first painted? After all, it was one of the first works of art to break with the Medieval tradition of painting the world through arbitrary physical laws, instead treating art as a window through which to see reality. If you look closely at the frescoes you’ll even see the painters themselves, as Masaccio features himself in St Peter Entombed, and Lippi drew himself into St Peter’s Crucifixion, which also depicts Botticelli, his teacher and famed Renaissance artist.

Mon/Wed-Sat 10am-5pm, Sunday and religious holidays 1pm-5pm, closed Tuesdays. Entrance fees depend on the day, but they’re €6-10, while under-18s and other concessions go free. museiciviciflorentini.comune.fi.it/en/brancacci

4 ST PETER’S BASILICA
VATICAN CITY

For classic Renaissance architecture, you don’t have to look far in the Catholic capital of the world. St Peter’s Basilica, one of the most famous churches in the world, was designed by some of the Renaissance’s biggest names - Donato Bramante, Michelangelo, Carlo Maderno and Gian Lorenzo Bernini - and it can be found in Vatican City, the papal enclave within Rome. Construction began in 1506, although it would be 120 years until the cathedral was consecrated, and with its dome it has become an enduring symbol of the Catholic Church. The dome, designed by Michelangelo, influenced those of Hagia Sophia and St Paul’s in London, and the Doric columns were borrowed from ancient Greek architecture. While the basilica’s exterior is typical of the Renaissance, inside also pays tribute to some of the art that has become so iconic of its time, such as Michelangelo’s Pietà.

October-March 7am-6.30pm, April-September 7am-7pm. Entrance is free, but there’s a small fee (€6-8) to climb to the top of the dome. www.rome.net/st-peters-basilica

5 THE LOUVRE
PARIS

Perhaps France’s most famous museum, the Louvre is home to so many Renaissance classics. If you want to see The Coronation Of The Virgin, Allegory Of Christianity and Christ Carrying The Cross, this is the place for you. It’s also home to arguably Leonardo da Vinci’s most famous painting, Portrait of Lisa Gherardini, or the Mona Lisa, which he completed in the early 16th century. A wander around the galleries will also bring you to the works of other greats, such as Raphael, whose St Michael, St George and Portrait Of Baldassare Castiglione hang from the walls. Correggio’s Mystic Marriage Of St Catherine and Allegory Of Virtue can also be found in the Louvre, alongside Antonello da Messina’s Portrait Of A Man and Christ At The Column, both of which are oil on wood. If what you’re after is a little of Andrea Mantegna’s spatial illusionism, his Crucifixion, Madonna della Vittoria and Parnassus are also in the Parisian museum, as well as Paolo Veronese’s La Bella Notte and Zeuxis Ousting The Vices. It’s also worth noting that there is an Italian Renaissance visitor trail that will take you around 17 of the major pieces, and more information about this can be found on the Louvre’s website, as well as detailed interpretations of what you’ll see.

Monday/Thursday/Saturday/Sunday 9am-6pm, Wednesday/Friday 9am-9.45pm, closed Tuesday. Admission is €13, or €17 for quick entry. www.louvre.fr
The Vitruvian Man, a drawing instantly recognisable by millions of people around the world, has undoubtedly become a symbol of the Renaissance. Created by Leonardo da Vinci, it was inspired by the work of Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, who discussed the concept of the human body fitting perfectly inside a circle and a square in his Ten Books Of Architecture.

In accordance with ancient thinking, the circle and the square played important roles, representing the divine and the earthly respectively. This belief was related to the Neo-Platonism idea, built on a concept by Plato and Aristotle, that there was ‘A Great Chain of Being’, a universal chain of hierarchy in which humans were placed right in the middle because they had a mortal body and an immortal soul.

By placing a man in the centre, Da Vinci was exploring the theory that the human body was a microcosm of the universe. In other words, the Vitruvian Man was Da Vinci’s attempt to relate man to nature and show that the human body is in fact the world but in miniature - the quote “Man is the model of the world” is widely attributed to Da Vinci.

The Vitruvian Man also demonstrates Da Vinci’s understanding of the proportions of the ideal human body. While Vitruvius never suggested that a human body could fit in a circle and a square at the same time, Da Vinci chose to superimpose his illustration in two different positions. Both men believed that these proportions could be applied to architecture and represented the hidden geometry of the universe.

Even though it was created over five centuries ago, the Vitruvian Man continues to fascinate to this day. Since 1922, it has been held at the Gallerie dell’Accademia in Venice but because it is very delicate, it is rarely put on public display for the sake of preservation. However, it will be going on display between April and July this year, to mark the 500th anniversary of Da Vinci’s death, the first time it will be seen in public since 2013.

Ancient Origins
Vitruvius’ work heavily influenced Da Vinci’s drawing of the Vitruvian Man even though it was written 1,500 years earlier. Having said this, the Renaissance was all about bringing classical thinking back to life.

The Magic Number
The proportions for the Vitruvian Man’s body were calculated using mathematical formulas created by Vitruvius himself. The drawing also illustrates the golden ratio, which Da Vinci also used in two of his most famous works, the Mona Lisa and The Last Supper.

Perfect Illusion
The Vitruvian Man was discovered in one of Da Vinci’s personal notebooks, surrounded by his various notes. However, Da Vinci would later realise that in reality, the perfect proportions shown in drawing did not exist.

A Copycat?
In recent years, it has been disputed whether Da Vinci actually copied the work of his friend, Giacomo Andrea de Ferrari, following the discovery of Ferrari’s Vitruvian Man which predates Da Vinci’s. Despite this, it is still generally agreed that Da Vinci’s version is by far the superior.
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NAPOLEON’S DEATH MARCH

How the misadventure in Russia sowed the seeds of his own downfall

Written by Jonathan North
As with many wars before and since, Napoleon's invasion of Russia 
 began with a ruse. The French 
 Emperor had massed an army of half a million men on the banks of the 
 river Niemen but he feared that, if he were seen 
 on the frontlines, the Russians would know that 
 an attack was imminent. He therefore switched 
 uniforms with Colonel Pagowski of the 6th Polish 
 Lancers and, disguised as the Polish officer, trotted 
 forwards for a final reconnaissance of the Russian 
 position. Just a few hours later, on the evening of 
 Tuesday 23 June 1812, he launched his vast and 
 multinational army across the river. The Russians, 
 aghast and astonished, fell back as the Napoleonic 
 juggernaut rolled into Russia.

This invasion was a momentous event and 
 would have lasting consequences, but its origins 
 lay in a peace treaty signed five years before 
 between Napoleon, Emperor of the French, and 
 Alexander, Czar of Russia. There, on a raft on the 
 quietly flowing Niemen, the two had agreed on 
 war (with England) and peace (with each other). 
 However, closing ports to British ships hurt Russia 
 just as the strengthening of French power in 
 Germany and Poland threatened Russia's interests, 
 so that, by 1810, the Czar was distancing himself 
 from a relationship which was rapidly turning 
 sour. Napoleon, never one to tolerate disobedience, 
 began to move forces eastwards in the spring of 
 1812. Russia, having sensed the coming crisis, 
 made peace with Sweden and the Turks, and 
 waited for the storm to break.

It was quite a storm. Napoleon had at his 
 immediate disposal an army of 450,000 men and 
 would call upon reserves and supports on either 
 flank, elements which would boost this total to 
 around 600,000 men. Although the majority of 
 these were French, a large proportion came from 
 his German, Italian and Polish vassals. Napoleon 
 had made sure to secure Prussian cooperation 
 whilst Napoleon's father-in-law, Emperor Francis of 
 Austria, also reluctantly provided 40,000 men.

It looked as though Europe had united against 
 Russia. But Russia had distance and manpower, 
 as well as patriotic indignation, on its side. So it 
 was that as Napoleon drove for his first objective, 
 Vilnius, which fell four days into the campaign, 
 the Russians opted to fall back in an orderly 
 retreat, eluding that killer blow so essential to the 
 Napoleonic art of winning wars. The French were 
 therefore obliged to lunge forwards in a series of 
 exhausting offensives, and these forced marches 
 through dusty, endless plains took a heavy toll 
 on the young soldiers and, just as importantly, 
 on the army's horses. Both dropped in their 
 thousands and a countryside stripped bare of 
 supplies finished thousands more as they marched 
 onwards. Heinrich von Brandt, whose Polish 
 regiment was full of new recruits, soon saw that 
 regiments like his "were trailing stragglers, who 
 could be seen stretched out along the sides of the 
 road, mixed up with the dead horses."
"The French were forced to launch a series of assaults and fight their way into the burning city"

Napoleon pushed on regardless. The Russians, whilst occasionally turning to hit back at the French, were making for the white, protective walls of Smolensk, and there combine the armies of generals Barclay and Bagration. The Russians were caught between the humiliation of constant retreat and the risk of having their armies destroyed by the greatest captain of the age. For now, cautious heads prevailed, and, fearful that they might be cut off from Moscow, the generals ordered the retreat to resume.

Napoleon rode up to Smolensk on his birthday and was disappointed to see just the Russian rearguard present whilst lengthy columns flowed eastwards. The rearguard was a tough one and the French were forced to launch a series of assaults and fight their way into the burning city. Smolensk was soon a horror to behold. An Italian officer described his regiment's first night in the city: "We spent that night surrounded by ashes and bodies. The dying, the wounded, the living, men, women and children, filled the cathedral and whole families, tears in their eyes, fear and terror in their faces, sheltered in the aisles."

Having seized the smouldering ruins, Napoleon now faced a dilemma. He could stay over winter in Smolensk, consolidating his hold over lands many of his Polish allies saw as rightfully theirs, whilst also bringing up reserves and stockpiling supplies. Or he could push deeper into Russia in the hope that the Russians would stumble during his preferred war of movement, or that the fall of Moscow would bring them to their knees. He therefore chose to advance.

The Russians, fearing they were running out of land to trade for time, soon raised the stakes by appointing the one commander, General Kutuzov, who had the nerve to face Napoleon. On 29 August, Napoleon learned that the one-eyed Kutuzov had reached the army and rightly assumed that the Russians were now resolved to prevent him trampling further on the Russian heartlands. Kutuzov had indeed deployed in the ancient hills and newer earthworks close to the little village of Borodino. It was there that the Russian general now waited, his 120,000 men and 640 guns ready to bar Napoleon's way to Moscow.

Napoleon, massing 128,000 men and 580 guns, came in to the kill. Vanguard met rearguard on 4 September, and, on the 6th, the French Emperor sent column after column against the Russian positions. Thouands were mown down in attack and counter-attack, with positions won and lost from dawn to dusk. The action was concentrated in the centre, and it was there that Napoleon's son-in-law, Prince Eugène, managed to seize Borodino village even whilst the French floundered before the Russian Grand Redoubt. That afternoon the
French made a final convulsive effort to capture the Russian earthworks, sending armoured cavalry up the slope to crash into the massed ranks of exhausted Russian infantry. This was the decisive moment but Napoleon, reluctant to engage his last reserves so far from home, hesitated and the Russians, beaten but not broken, pulled their men out of range.

Napoleon's army suffered an appalling 40,000 casualties (including 49 generals), whilst the Russians lost as many as 47,000 men. Leaving General Junot's Germans the unenviable task of clearing away the bodies, Napoleon staggered on for Moscow, just 70 miles distant. It took the French a week before they caught sight of the golden spires of the former capital. The city was invitingly empty, the Russians having evacuated civilians, while Kutusov, after conferring with his generals, had determined to spare what was left of his army by withdrawing southwards towards Kaluga. The Russians saw that Moscow would act like a sponge, absorbing the French whilst the Russians themselves reorganised in fresher territory. They would also make sure the French would be denied the recovery they so badly needed and so, on the evening of 15 September, just a day after the Great Army had marched into its sombre streets, Moscow went up in flames.

Russian saboteurs had removed the fire pumps and torched the city, and, whilst the Kremlin and parts of Moscow remained untouched, most of Moscow was consumed in a terrible fire. The fort to French morale was enormous. The Russians were signalling that there would be no surrender, no more treaties on rafts, just war to the death. And death surrounded Moscow that autumn, for every time the French sent out parties for supplies, or tried to collect fodder for their famous horses, they were intercepted by vengeful Cossacks and gallant light cavalry.

It was the same all along Napoleon's lines of communication which stretched precariously across the scorched earth between Moscow and Vilnius. Worse, Russian armies were now coming up from the Balkans and down from Sweden, massing to cut that essential conduit for supplies, reinforcements and information. Napoleon, for once irresolute, tried to wring peace from the Czar but his overtures were rejected and so, reluctantly, Napoleon determined on retreat from Moscow. On 16 October preparations were made for the wounded to be evacuated but news that Joachim...
Muñat had been ambushed at Tarutino precipitated a more disorganised exodus. The French were soon streaming out of the city, the hungry soldiers bringing away with them wagons laden with whatever loot they could get their hands on, whilst, a week later, in an act of spite, the Kremlin was mined and partially destroyed. By that time the French vanguard, seeking to break through to the south, was already in trouble as it encountered fresh Russian troops on the road to Kaluga. Napoleon and his marshals, fearing that they could ill-afford another Borodino, altered course and returned to the hunger grounds along the old Moscow-Smolensk road. The infamous retreat had begun in earnest.

On 29 October the French crossed over the fields of slaughter at Borodino but the weather was still fresh and bright. Bright enough for Napoleon's soldiers to see the columns of Cossacks who now appeared on either flank, shepherdig them through barren fields and ruined villages. Then, on 4 November, the snow began to fall. Men would slip and fall by the wayside, or exhaust themselves clambering through endless drifts. Horses, not shod for winter, collapsed and were soon eaten, whilst wagons and guns were abandoned. And every morning, around dying camp fires, more and more men remained slumped, unable or unwilling to continue. Those who could were heading for whatever sanctuary Smolensk could provide.

Smolensk, however, proved a disappointment. Those supplies which had been carefully hoarded were plundered and lost when a mass of hungry fugitives broke into the city's warehouses. The retreat resumed on 12 November, but the Russians were gaining in confidence and sliced into the long columns trailing out of the city on 16 November at Krasni. Three army corps were nearly cut off and only Napoleon's Imperial Guard, turning back to savage the Russians, saved the French from a decisive defeat. Victory briefly raised French hopes but bad news soon destroyed it. The Russian armies from the Balkans directed by Admiral Chichagov had arrived from the south and had easily scattered French detachments.
THE INVASION IN NUMBERS

Breaking down how Napoleon's invasion fell apart

1. On 7 September 1812, considered to be one of the bloodiest battles in history, Napoleon achieves a narrow victory at the Battle of Borodino. But one that only seems to intensify Russian resolve to outlast this invasion. 72,000 casualties were recorded from Borodino, with the Russians again withdrawing, denying a decisive victory that could end the conflict.

2. Auxiliary forces break off from the main troop and head for Polotsk where from 17 August 1812 they establish Napoleon's northern flank of the invasion.

3. While Russian forces retreat ahead of the Grande Armée, there are still multiple engagements as the Russians attempt to slow their progress. The first major encounter is at Smolensk from 16-18 August 1812, but the Russian forces get away and scorched earth policy is employed to delete resources for the invading French troops.

4. Reduced resources in front of the French force, including the burning of towns to get rid of any possible shelter, takes its toll not only on the human resources of Napoleon's army, but also on its horses, which in turn reduces the quantity of supplies that can be carried onwards.

5. The Russians defeat French forces at Polotsk, taking out the northern flank and allowing three armies to converge on Napoleon as he retreats. Those who survive join back up with the main force of troops.

6. It's estimated that only 22,000 men return alive to cross the river Neman again on 14 December 1812. Napoleon's forces are decimated and will likely struggle in recovering for the battles ahead.

7. The Grande Armée crosses the Nemen River into Russia Poland. It consists of 550,000 to 600,000 men, the largest fighting force assembled at that time.
One week after Borodino, the Grande Armée enters Moscow to find it abandoned and no officials to surrender the city to the invading force. Even so, Napoleon remains there from 14 September to 19 October 1812, but without assistance in billeting the troops a free-for-all ensues. When fires begin to break out and spread around the city there are no means of putting them out, and the city burns.

Napoleon turns back with no prospect of the Russians surrendering but is forced to travel along the same roads that he had entered Russia on, where supplies had already been depleted or destroyed. What’s more, temperatures are now falling rapidly as winter takes hold.

“Horses, not shod for winter, collapsed and were soon eaten, whilst wagons and guns were abandoned”
around Minsk. They had then pushed on to cut the French line of retreat at Borodino on the river Beresina. The bridge there was burnt in the fighting, effectively stranding Napoleon’s exhausted troops as the Russian vanguard snapped at their heels and their right flank. It was a moment of dire crisis, of tragedy even, but from it came one of the greatest examples of heroism in the history of warfare.

General Gobineau’s light cavalry had discovered a ford near Sudatinka where the water was just 1.5 metres deep, and Napoleon urged generals Eblé and Chasseloup to build two makeshift bridges there from the timbers of the ruined village. The French and Dutch engineers, wading in to the icy but fast-moving water, worked their miracle as diversionary feints kept Chichagov’s men, starved of information on the western bank, away from the construction of the 100-metre-long bridges. Thanks to the exertions of the freezing but heroic engineers, Napoleon’s infantry and horseless cavalry were soon streaming across one rickety construction, whilst what was left of his artillery, as well as the treasury and baggage wagons, rumbled over the other. A gallant band of Swiss Poles and exhausted Frenchmen kept the Russians away from the bridgehead on the western bank, whilst a corps of Poles and Germans protected the rear of the French army as it staggered across the bridges under Russian artillery fire. On the afternoon of 27 November von Zech’s Baden grenadiers were the last formed troops to cross over before, on the following morning, orders were given to burn the bridges, effectively trapping 20,000 stragglers on the eastern bank.

The French, turning their backs on this new tragedy, pressed on towards Vilnius. But they had not yet escaped with their lives, for the temperature now plummeted, the cold becoming savagely inerse, and morale and discipline collapsed altogether. That instinct for self-preservation, in all its brute selfishness, now came to the fore as thousands froze, starved or were cut down by pursuing Cossacks. Many participants described unfortunates being knocked to the ground, stripped, pillaged and left to die by their own comrades, whilst others simply marched past tens of thousands of men imploring help, begging for food or lying slumped and slowly freezing to death.

All eyes looked to Vilnius. But before it was reached, Napoleon took the momentous decision to quit his army. He would return to Paris to

“Thousands froze, starved or were cut down by pursuing Cossacks”
Napoleon’s Death March

The Battle of Borodino

Then about 4pm we received orders that we would attack the redoubt which was to our right. So we set off at a walking pace to the foot of the slope. And there our charge commenced. To the right the battery was to be attacked by the Westphalian cavalry, whose brigade was to strike the very centre of the position. But the heavy fire pouring from the battery so confused the Westphalians that they fell into complete chaos by the redoubt, and then plunged into us as they fell back, almost forcing us to withdraw downhill too. Without wasting any time, the Saxon general, Johann von Thielmann, who was in command of our brigade rallied us despite the cannon fire, led us across to the other side of the earthworks, and using the impetus of our horses we broke over the top and became masters of the battery. The French infantry soon arrived in support, while we turned and in the greatest order moved against the central battery and, in the blink of an eye, this battery was captured by my soldiers. My regiment took over 300 prisoners and one cannon, which I handed over to Imperial headquarters. There were also four more guns but without horses, and so these could not be moved. The mortars were full of Russians. I wanted to protect the defenseless from death, but the enraged soldiers did not listen to their commander’s voice and hacked away, soaked their swords in the blood of the enemy. I myself pulled four frightened and barely conscious soldiers out of the ditches, took them prisoner and sent them to the rear with a corporal. I had two horses wounded under me and my cuirass had three dents from the shot.

From the Memoirs of Colonel Stanislaw Aleksander Małachowski, Polish Cuirassiers

Crossing the Beresina

“We received the order to march for Steblanka. Here two bridges had almost been completed by bridging engineers under the command of General Eblé; these brave men were working in the freezing water. One of the bridges was for infantry, whilst the other was for cavalry and artillery. As we were about to cross the infantry bridge the Emperor came towards us and barked a question at our column: “How many men in your regiment?” The colonel, taken aback by the abrupt tone, hesitated. The Emperor made an impatient gesture and assumed an irritated expression. He turned to me, as I was just a few paces away, and asked me the same question. I replied, telling him so many officers; so many men; he didn’t seem to me to be the same emperor I had seen in Paris; he looked tired and preoccupied. He was, however, still waving the famous grey riding-cout. He galloped off passing down II Corps in its entirety. I followed him with my eyes, seeing him halt before the Ist Swiss Regiment, which was in our brigade. My friend, Captain Rey, was able to study the Emperor at more length and he too was struck by the Emperor’s disquiet. He dismounted and leaned against some of the planks intended for the bridge but stacked by the river. He lowered his head then looked up and impatiently spoke to General Eblé.

“It’s taking too long general.”

“Sure as you can see my men are up to their necks in the water, the ice impairs their work and I have no food or brandy to reward them.”

That will do said the Emperor. He again looked at the ground and then a few moments later, began to grumble again having now seemingly forgotten the general’s words. He knew what the enemy was doing and greatly feared being cut off, before the bridges being completed by an enemy converging upon us from three different directions. I’m possibly not mistaken in thinking that this was one of the most difficult times in his entire life. Even so, he showed no emotion merely impatience.”

From the Memoirs of Louis Bégos, 2nd Swiss Regiment

The Burning of Moscow

“Around midnight I visited the depots that I had established around the city. Arriving at the one just by the Stock Exchange, I noticed that there was a lot of dense smoke but couldn’t see any flames. The officer in charge of the post said that he’d seen something similar happen earlier, but as all the city gates were closed, he thought that it must be some flake of nature and nothing to do with the army. Whilst we were talking we took a closer look at the source of the smoke and it was then that I saw a flash of flame. I ran back to the square and ordered 100 men to follow me, meanwhile placing the rest of the battalion under arms. Even though I’d only been away a matter of moments, when I got back I found that an entire house was now engulfed in flames and that the fire was spreading I sent word to warn the march and he ordered that the pumps be found and that other precautions be taken to prevent the fire from taking hold. There wasn’t much wind and we thought that the fire wouldn’t make much progress. But we had our hands tied because we couldn’t find any pumps and because the gates were locked, and we lacked the means to break them open. I immediately confirmed that the area that was on fire was relatively isolated and that only this part of the city would be affected. Only then did I manage to collect a few individuals and together, we broke down a door and penetrated into the area in which the fire had taken hold. It would have been very easy to put the fire out had we had the pumps. But one of the men who I had with me speaking in Italian, said that there wasn’t a pump in the entire city and that the governor had taken them away with him. He also told me that he thought the governor had given orders to burn the city and that this was to be done by men released from the prisons.”

From the Memoirs of Louis Joseph Vionnet, Imperial Guard
NOT WEATHER READY

How the Grande Armée was poorly kitted out for the job

**Summer Clothing**
The French army believed that it would prove victorious far more quickly than was ultimately the case. With the invasion of Russia only beginning in July and winter conditions known to begin as early as September, they were poorly equipped for a winter campaign with limited cold-weather gear.

**Illness**
Hyperthermia swept through the troops, especially as it retreated from Moscow and struggled to find sufficient shelter even for its ever-depleting numbers. Gathering around camp fires for warmth was nowhere near sufficient anymore for survival.

**Provisions**
Along with not having clothing that would withstand the falling temperatures, the French forces also lacked enough means to carry supplies with them in the face of the scorched earth tactics being employed by the Russians. This had a cumulative effect too, as what horses they had for ferrying supplies began to die from the cold and lack of food.

**Opening struggles**
It's estimated that Napoleon lost around a third of his fighting force in the opening weeks of the invasion before any of the major battles had been fought. Some of this was due to minor skirmishes with Russian troops, some desertions, but also deadly diseases like diphtheria, typhus and dysentery.

prepare for the next campaign, and to arrive before the bad news from the east. From Oszmiana (Ashmyany) he set off in a sledge escorted by freezing Neapolitans who, destroyed by frostbite and cold, gave way at Vilnius to better adapted Poles. Meanwhile, command of the army passed to Joachim Murat, who proved unsuitable to rally an army in its final agonies. That army again destroyed whatever food had been collected in Vilnius and soon abandoned the city, streaming out beyond it in the December snows and abandoning the treasury wagons and any remaining loot from Moscow as it did so. As a few thousand soldiers reached the Niemen, and some tens of thousands of stragglers staggered along in their wake, Murat abandoned the army too, leaving Prince Eugene in charge of the pitiful remains of what had once been the most powerful force in Europe. He threw them into freezing fortresses along the Vistula and awaited Napoleon's return from the ministries and drawing rooms of Paris. The Emperor, having imposed another blood tax on France, and raised another army, was soon back in the fray, facing down the Russians as they spilled into Germany. But the Prussians soon switched sides, followed by Austria and Germany, and these new allies kept the upper hand until they reached the gaunt boulevards of Paris in April 1814. Napoleon's tired veterans and fresh cannon-fodder had tried to stop them, fighting bravely under the same old banners of the Grande Armée, but the calibre of his new army could not match the one lost in Russia.
Indeed that army of half a million men had been completely destroyed, perishing in the fields or disappearing beneath the snow and ice. That January of 1813, Prince Eugene was able to gather some 30,000 survivors capable of continuing the campaign. These as well as the Austrian and Prussian contingents that had largely escaped unscathed on the flanks, were practically all that remained of the mighty host that had crossed the Niemen and the troops subsequently despatched as reinforcements. Of course many thousands had deserted, and made their way quietly back to their homelands, but, even so, the vast majority had perished or fallen into the hands of the Russians. The four largest army corps combined numbered just 6,400 infantry in February 1813. The Old Guard could field just 1,440 men, but only 500 of those were capable of fighting. Individual regiments had ceased to exist. The 6th Voltigeurs and 6th Tirailleurs of the Young Guard were reported as having no survivors in February 1813 - or were so reduced as to be disregarded as units. The 4th Line Regiment had 302 survivors out of the 2,300 men that had marched into Russia, whilst the 53rd Line reported just 52. The cavalry was hit just as badly. The 11th Hussars had 65 officers and men present in early 1813, whilst Saxony’s elite Guard du Corps numbered just 26. Napoleon’s allies and vassals suffered tremendously. The contingent from the Kingdom of Italy had left Italy with 27,400 men, 9,000 horses, 58 guns, 390 caissons and 300 wagons. By mid-December it mustered 796 frozen officers and men and fewer re-crossed the Niemen. Although a small number of stragglers and sick later rejoined, it is estimated that Napoleon lost nearly 450,000 men during the campaign. Paradoxically most of these died of disease or neglect on the march to Moscow and not in the retreat from it.

The Russians, too, had suffered enormous losses. Some 250,000 regular troops had died or gone missing, and tens of thousands were crippled or maimed. Losses amongst the Russian population have never been calculated but were certainly cruel. Moscow and Smolensk had been utterly destroyed. Tens of thousands must have starved to death and thousands more returned from the forests only to find smouldering ruins where once they had made their homes. Their suffering would not finish there, for, as the thaws set in, one more ordeal began in those cities and all along the route along which the French army had passed. As the winter of 1812 turned to the spring of 1813, a typhus epidemic took hold and Napoleon’s invasion of Russia began to claim its final swathe of victims.

“\textit{It is estimated that Napoleon lost nearly 450,000 men during the campaign}”
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Inside the Arabian Nights

The tales of the Thousand and One Nights never seem to lose their appeal, but what’s the real story behind these timeless adventures and parables?

Written by Jonathan Gordon

Expert Bio

Paulo Lemos Horta
Aladdin And The Magic Lamp

*The most famous tale, but not an original*

Aladdin retrieves an oil lamp from a magic cave, only to be betrayed by the sorcerer who sent him. However, a ring given to him by the sorcerer, when rubbed, releases a genie who helps him escape. When cleaning the lamp another, more powerful genie is released who helps Aladdin become rich, marry a princess and build a palace. The sorcerer returns, steals the lamp and uses the genie to transport the palace to his home. Aladdin and the princess pursue and slay the sorcerer. The sorcerer’s older brother hears of this and attempts to get revenge, but the genie warns Aladdin who kills him preemptively and they live happily ever after.

While it may be the most famous tale from the *Arabian Nights*, *Aladdin* is in fact not originally from that collection, but an addition made by French translator Antoine Galland. That being said, the way in which it came to be added is still very interesting. Originating in the coffee houses of the Middle East in the Islamic Golden Age, the *Thousand And One Nights* were reborn in an age of Enlightenment in Western Europe as they were translated for a new audience. As Galland began this process he had only 280 nights worth of stories to tell and he turned to the travel companion of his rival Middle East explorer Paul Lucas. “Lucas wrote these marvellous travelogues of the Middle East and Galland needed his own marvellous stories and he got them from Hanna Diab,” explains Paulo Horta. “These stories include not only *Aladdin*, but *Ali Baba And The Forty Thieves*, *Ahmed And The Fairy Paribanou* and *Sinbad*. The stories that are most influential happen to be told by Hanna Diab, this storyteller from Aleppo to Antoine Galland in Paris in 1769.”

The relatively recent discovery of Diab’s own memoir in the Vatican library has added new context to some of these stories, according to Horta. “We imagined Galland must have used his ideas of Topkapi palace and Istanbul when he’s describing the palace in *Aladdin*,” he tells us. “Hanna Diab’s memory of his trip to Versailles is actually closer in its details than anything that the French translator wrote about Topkapi palace or Istanbul to *Aladdin*. So we imagined that we had French Orientalism, but in fact the fabulous vistas and palaces and the princess and the jewels of *Aladdin* are no less likely or perhaps much more likely because they have a closer textual resemblance to Hanna Diab’s memory of having gone up to Versailles.”

While *Aladdin* may be a later addition to the collection, it still reveals much about the culture not only of the Middle East in Diab’s time, but also from the medieval period, since it has many similar touchstones as other tales in the *Arabian Nights*. The fact that *Aladdin* is set in China, for instance, is a good example of this. “China was already important as a fictional setting, which one could associate trade, with the Silk Road, with luxury goods,” says Horta. “That is already in the original *Arabian Nights* and for *Aladdin*, which was added in French in the storytelling session with this storyteller from Aleppo, in a way this added story is conforming to the convention of many of the Arab stories themselves. It’s a very loose geography. It’s almost like saying ‘in this fabulous rich kingdom’.”

And then of course there’s the jinn or genie, important to Islamic culture and who play big roles in many other *Arabian Nights* tales. “The interesting thing about jinn in the Quran and in Islamic cosmography is that they have free will, so they are not demons and they are not angels and they’re like humans, so in a way they are very relatable as characters,” Horta tells us. “They are much more powerful than they are supposed to be. This is true not only in the *Arabian Nights* and in the cafes of Damascus eight centuries ago, but popular superstition today always abstracts the powers of the jinn that they’re not supposed to have according to the Quran.”
Ali Baba And The Forty Thieves

A parable about appetite and empowering women

Having witnessed a band of thieves enter a magic cave filled with their treasures, Ali Baba enters and takes a small amount of loot. His older, richer brother and his wife discover this, demand to know the password and attempt to loot it all. The brother is discovered and killed by the thieves who then hunt for Ali Baba who is saved on multiple occasions by his brother's former slave Marjanah who foils their plots. She is rewarded with her freedom and marriage to Ali Baba's son.

Another of the tales given to Galland by Hanna Diab and added to the French translation of the Thousand And One Nights was Ali Baba And The Forty Thieves, but one of the things that's interesting about this addition is what was left out. For a start Diab described a table set with food inside the cave, which doubles down on the themes of greed and appetite in the story. And then there's the thieves themselves. "There are all of these details about this band of thieves that don't quite make sense if they're only some kind robbers who got together for a heist," suggests Horta. "The detail that there's a table with food in the notes that the French translator wrote down from Hanna he even describes a meal that they have, like a communal meal. So, that gives us a sense of a tribe that is guarding their communal treasure."

The moral of the tale is that Ali Baba took only what he needed from the cave, but it's still an ethnically grey sequence of events, made even more complex by the violence that befalls his brother when he is trapped inside the cave trying to ransack it later. It's a dark moment that survived the translation even though Galland was aiming for a different audience to the one that Hanna Diab might have typically told the story to. "When the French translator happened to get his hands on this manuscript it was right at the golden age of Mother Goose," Horta helps to elaborate. "1897 is when this caze began in the salons of the aristocracy, so he decided to adapt the stories to these fairytale conventions and the idea that they're meant for women and for women to tell to children, that is a very European moment in the repackaging of the Arabian Nights. If you read the stories as they circulated in oral and written form in the Arab world, they are very adult stories. In fact they had to entertain an all-male audience at a cafe where you would have had men of very different social backgrounds."

And while it was added after the original tales, Ali Baba shares some interesting themes as it pertains to slavery and in particular female slaves, as Horta explains. "Although the story is added in French in this storytelling by this Arab from Aleppo, it follows this pattern of Arabian Nights stories of these women who have their own strategy for success."

Marjanah, having been inherited by Ali Baba, saves the family from the thieves and earns her freedom in the process, seemingly proving her worth beyond her station. It's similar to other, older stories in the collection such as Tawaddud, in which the title character ousts the wisest men in Baghdad or Zamurrud, who is regularly kidnapped, but frees herself and ends up ruling her own kingdom. Despite her position as a slave, the story elevates Marjanah. She has real agency in the events that unfold. "I would tend to agree that she's very self aware in finding out a stratagem for success. She's an empowering character in that regard," says Horta.
The Seven Voyages Of Sinbad The Sailor

The most famous tale, but not an original

Sinbad the Sailor recounts his seven voyages to Sinbad the Porter having heard the poorer man lament his fortune and bad luck at not gaining riches. The merchant Sinbad explains how he made and lost his money many times over through fate, luck (both good and bad), and perseverance. At the end of each tale he gives the porter a gift of gold and asks him to return the next day to hear another story.

Sinbad was yet another of the tales that Hanna Diab recounted to Antoine Galland as he looked to expand on the original Arabian Nights manuscript he had to hand, but it’s interesting to note he wasn’t the only one making that connection. “There is one manuscript, I believe it was found in Turkey, of the Arabian Nights in which Sinbad was also added independently,” reveals Horta. “So in a way both an Arab language copyist and a French translator had a similar idea that this story kind of belongs and that’s basically how the story collection grew anyway.” Steeped heavily in classical, Homeric traditions of adventure stories, it’s easy to see why Sinbad would be so appealing to anyone looking to bulk out the collection, but it’s the frame story of Sinbad the Sailor telling his tales to the poor and disgruntled Sinbad the Porter that could be even more important to the history of literature.

“For a lot of writers, arguably, the big breakthrough that the Arabian Nights enabled them as writers to include characters from different class backgrounds,” says Horta. “And we don’t remember that, but the fact that we had cloggers and porters as protagonists in these stories was actually quite revolutionary.” Writers such as Dickens, who often cited the Arabian Nights as an influence, would take these ground-level tales of everyday merchants and neer-do-wells and turn them into a new form of gritty, realist literature. There’s often a class struggle taking place in these stories and in some ways Sinbad the Sailor is defending his fortune to his namesake, defending his good luck by explaining the trials he went through to get there. It creates an interesting relationship that those hearing the story could probably relate to, according to Horta. “I think class is so key to the appeal of that story and presumably the people who were listening to the story in the cafes were really like Sinbad the Porter.”

Sinbad as a sort of anti-hero figure has clearly been massively influential on all forms of entertainment since. There’s also a nice sort of synergy through one of the men who translated the stories, Richard Burton. “He translated the Arabian Nights and in his translation he was desperately trying to prove he was a real-life Sinbad. Burton discovered more places and had more fabulous adventures and he was one of the inspirations for Indiana Jones. So, in a way, Sinbad is the prototype for that kind of adventurer who we would then see in The Thief Of Bagdad and Indiana Jones. And he has a bit of a ruthless streak.”

“The fact that we had cloggers and porters as protagonists in these stories was actually quite revolutionary”
The Three Apples
A murder mystery with an odd moral

A woman is found dead and the caliph sends his vizier to seek the culprit. While two different men claim responsibility, it transpires that the husband had been away seeking an apple to cure his wife of illness, had returned with three and later seen a slave with one, who when confronted, claimed to have been having an affair with the woman. The husband killed her in anger, only to discover the apple was stolen by their son and then taken by the slave. The caliph forgives the crime, but demands the slave face justice, only for the vizier's own slave to be identified. His life is also spared as the vizier offers to tell the caliph a story instead.

“It's considered to be one of the earliest instances of a murder mystery,” explains Horta as we begin to discuss this tale of the real historical figures of Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid and his vizier Jafar ibn Yahya attempting to find justice for a murdered woman. Except it's in some ways more like a Pink Panther mystery than an episode of Law & Order. “One of the interesting things about the story is that Harun is constantly shown saying ‘I'm the caliph, this murder happened in my jurisdiction, so it's on my head come judgement day,' but his answer to that is to start making very rash, impulsive decisions. Such as saying to Jafar ‘find the killer and if you don't I'll kill you.'

Harun and Jafar are actually recurring characters through the Arabian Nights, with many tales of their odd investigations and conundrums, often beginning their tales with Harun wanting to sneak out at night and check on the security or happiness of his people. “He wants to right wrongs; he’s kind of like a Batman,” says Horta. “The whole idea is that he might be surrounded by flatterers and people who don’t have his best interests at heart, but he needs to be out among the people. Clearly this is a bit of a myth or legend. We don't know how much of this is based on fact. A lot of Ottoman sultans liked to spread the rumour that they did this themselves for ideological reasons because it played well in the ‘Twitter of the day.’

The one historical truth we do know is a rather dark one. “Harun did order the assassination of Jafar, his trusted vizier, and his kinmen. So his repeated threat of Jafar, I'm going to kill you and I'll kill all of your sons and your uncle, they'll be hung from the gates to the city, that actually happened.”

“He wants to right wrongs; he's kind of like a Batman”

Such an event would have been well known to those reading or hearing this story too, giving it additional veracity and a little edge of darkness. To this day, the motivation behind this killing is unclear and greatly speculated about. Listeners or readers may have wondered, was this the time Jafar finally lost his life?

Another key recurring feature of the Arabian Nights is the importance of apples, but not in the context of the apple of knowledge as it might be more commonly used in Western literature. In another story, Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Parizandou, a healing apple saves a princess. Here again the apple is meant to heal a woman, but its theft sets off the deadly curse of events. “Most of the fruits and other foods that are mentioned in the stories tend to have some kind of meaning,” Horta explains. “So, for example, sesame from Ali Baba’s ‘open sesame’ - it turns out there were these Babylonian legends that the taste of sesame could undo a magic spell, which is interesting when you think about the story. There’s a spell on this cave and in a way we think of ‘open sesame’ as this password, but it could be the undoing of the magic spell so the spell wouldn’t apply.”

The apple here is meant to heal, portends a betrayal, but is actually a red herring.

Ultimately though, no justice is handed out for the crime in this tale. It ends with all parties being absolved and a woman still dead having done no wrong. This might seem a particularly unsatisfying or even callous conclusion, but it makes more sense when you remember the Arabian Nights has its own overarching tale of Scheherazade.
Inside The Arabian Nights

Scheherazade And Shahryar

The outer tale that changes the rest

The story of Scheherazade and Shahryar is the frame of the Thousand And One Nights. Having been betrayed by his wife, Persian king Shahryar has taken to marrying and then killing women each day so he can never be betrayed again. To stop the killing Scheherazade, daughter of the king's vizier, volunteers to spend the night with the king with the plan of telling him stories, but stopping before the end so he has to keep her alive if he wants to hear the climax. After 1,001 nights Scheherazade runs out of tales, but the king has fallen in love with her and makes her his queen.

"Within the story of The Three Apples this young woman doesn't get any justice but there's this other young woman who we're rooting for, which is Scheherazade, and the message we want for her is not kill the person even if you think you've been betrayed," explains Horta. It's true that when you consider Scheherazade's plight and her attempt to convince the king that killing women for perceived slights is wrong, telling tales of forgiveness and mercy seems much more reasonable than telling tales of righteous justice.

"It's almost like the writer is telling you that power, even when it's trying to be just, you see something arbitrary about it or you see injustice," suggests Horta. "A lot of the stories have this sort of weird tension between a frame where a Harun-like figure is supposed to represent the centre of Baghdad, at the central palace, goes out into the city in disguise, rights the wrongs Batman-style, but the individual stories that are imbedded within these frames are often stories of transgression, of social upheaval, of sexual transgression. There's a contradiction."

It's a contradiction that begins to make more sense when seen through the prism of Scheherazade attempting to teach Shahryar about forgiveness and temperance, but it takes on yet another meaning when you examine why that framing might be useful to disguise other messages in the text. "These stories are often about merchants and in a way they are rubbing against mores or societal structures that don't really give them much political power and yet they are the engine that drives the economy. In a way it makes sense that there is a tension between the sultan or the Shahryar figure or the king and the kinds of characters that we root for." In this respect the Arabian Nights is quite anti-establishment and anti-authoritarian. Its stories frequently mock the rich and powerful and elevate the lowest in society to new heights, whether through good fortune or hard work.

Even the later tales added by Hanna Diab and Antoine Galland take on new colours when considered with the framing of Scheherazade. "Once you recontextualise these stories as told by Scheherazade that changes those stories," Horta agrees. "So, in a way the original themes will end up winning out if you are printing these stories and editing them in such a way that they are told by Scheherazade."

It actually reveals just how deft Diab and Galland were in how they brought their additions to the collection. As the more modern entries, it's no surprise they resonate with contemporary audiences, but there's something else there too. "Maybe there's something to the fact that Ali Baba and Aladdin were basically co-created by a Syrian and a Frenchman, and it was a Syrian who had travelled to Paris and a Frenchman who had travelled to Istanbul. Maybe that's a part of their universality," concludes Horta. "Those stories are not entirely Western or Middle Eastern. There's a kind of synchronism or mixture that helps different kinds of people see themselves in these stories."
HITLER'S SECRET ROCKET BUNKERS
D-Day. The Allies had successfully landed in Normandy and begun the liberation of France. The Nazi empire was crumbling. In desperation, Hitler turned to Germany’s scientists and their vaunted ‘Wunderwaffen’ (wonder weapons) with the order: "Destroy London!"

Written by Jonathan Trigg
The man entrusted with carrying out Hitler's command was an undistinguished 63-year-old artillery officer - Generalleutnant Erich Heinemann, and his Luftwaffe subordinate, Oberst (Colonel) Max Wachtel. On the night of 13 June 1944 it began, as one eyewitness remembered: "The air raid sirens sounded in Woolwich just before the first light of dawn ... a strange sounding 'plane' was over Blackheath Park less than two miles from us, flying low ... with its tail ablaze and leaving a short trail of brilliant flame." Then it fell to earth and exploded next to the railway bridge on Grove Rd in Mile End, killing a number of civilians. This was the first FZG.76 missile to hit London - nicknamed 'doodlebugs' or 'buzz-bombs' by the British, they were christened 'V-1s' or 'Vergeltungswaffen-I' (Revenge weapon-s') by the German journalist Hans Schwarz von Berk. Londoners soon learned to dread them: "...the trauma of hearing the approaching sound, hearing it close overhead, then the abrupt cease of the deafening pulsation, followed by those dreadful seconds of silence until the ear shattering explosion came."

In reality, the V-1 offensive was a marked failure. Of the 8,617 fired at Britain that summer, over a thousand crashed shortly after taking off, and an additional 3,852 were brought down by Allied fighters, barrage balloons or anti-aircraft guns - only around one in four actually hit the country. Air attacks on the V-1's distinctive ski-shaped storage bunkers, and the transport links that supplied those same sites with fuel and additional missiles, further degraded the effectiveness of the assault, and with the German disaster at Falaise in early August, the Allied armies were able to advance across northern France and capture the vast majority of the V-1's launch sites. During that advance, Allied soldiers came across several massive concrete bunkers - too far inland to be part of the Nazis' flawed Atlantic Wall coastal defences. These were the precursors to today's modern underground missile silos - Hitler's secret rocket bunkers.

The V-2

Two years earlier in 1942, Arthur Harris's RAF Bomber Command began its campaign against Nazi Germany in earnest. The first 1,000-bomber raid against Cologne devastated the city and caused terrible casualties. Hitler demanded revenge, but Hermann Goering's Luftwaffe was outmatched and overstretched. It was down to his architect-cum-armaments minister, Albert Speer, to propose a solution - the world's first ever long-range ballistic missile offensive. The V-1 was but one of a whole series of technologically-advanced weapons developed by German scientists in an attempt to turn the tide of a war that was increasingly flowing against the Third Reich. At the Peenemünde rocket research facility on the Baltic coast, Walter Dornberger and Wernher von Braun had built and tested a rocket designated
as the Aggregat 4 - the A-4 for short. The world would come to know it as the V-2. At a thousand kilos, its warhead was bigger than the V-1's, and its range of some 200 miles was 40 more than its little brother, but it was that speed that really set it apart. The V-1 flew at 400 mph - a bit more than a Spitfire - whereas the V-2 reached almost 3,600 mph; it was untouchable, undetectable in flight and there was no defence against it. During a test flight on 20 June 1944 a V-2 became the first man-made object to travel into space. The question for the Nazis was where to target it? For Hitler the choice was obvious - London. On 22 December 1942 he gave the go-ahead to start mass production of the rocket.

**Concrete megaliths**

While the army, and indeed some voices within the rocket programme - including that of Dornberger himself - advocated mobile launching as the way forward, Hitler preferred the grandiose, and opted instead to replicate the huge reinforced concrete U-boat pens, built on France's Atlantic coast, as the best way of protecting the V-2s from Allied aerial attack. The U-boat pens were proving almost impervious to even the heaviest bombing, and the Nazi dictator believed that underneath the safety of a massive hardened dome the V-2s and all their associated infrastructure and personnel would remain unmolested and able to launch wave after wave of missiles against the British capital and other major cities.

Surveys over the winter of 1942/43 identified a suitable location on the south-eastern edge of the 850-hectare Forêt d’Éperlecques in the Pas-de-Calais. Just to the west is the village of Watten, leading to the site being called the Blockhaus d’Éperlecques, the 'Watten bunker' or simply 'Watten'. Codenamed Kraftwerk Nord West (Powerplant Northwest) by the Nazis, 6,000 forced labourers were shipped in to begin excavation and construction in early 1943.

The bunker was huge. Built by the paramilitary Organization Todt (OT) to a 'special fortification standard' - Sonderbaustabke - the main building would be the liquid oxygen (LOX) production facility that fueled the rockets and this was 92 metres (302 ft) wide, 28 metres (92 ft) high, with working levels descending 6 metres (20 ft) below ground. It was protected by a reinforced concrete roof five metres (16 ft) thick, and walls 3.3 metres (11 ft) thick. Two hundred thousand

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**TARGET NEW YORK!**

The Nazi dream of a missile that could reach the eastern United States

Nazi Germany considered rocket attacks against the eastern seaboard of the United States as early as 1937, but it wasn't until July 1940 that Walter Dornberger drafted a report for Hitler outlining plans for an Ameikaraketel, even though at that point Germany and the US weren't at war. Designated the 'A-9', the new rocket was envisioned to be a modified A-4 with a far greater range, but carrying the same 1,000 kg warhead. Some preparatory work was done by senior members of the Peenemünde team, including Hermann Oberth and Walther Thiel, but it wasn't until 1944 that the project, now codenamed 'Projekt Amerika', was seriously looked at. The first design with swept-back wings was discarded in favour of a booster rocket approach labelled the 'A-10', comprising six A-4 combustion chambers bundled together with the A-9 fixed atop. The A-10 booster would burn for approximately 50 seconds and then detach to leave the A-9 to continue onto its target - this would have made the A-9/A-10 the very first multi-stage rocket in history. No guidance system at the time could cope with the 5,000 km flight distance, so it was decided to install a pilot in the missile. The pilot would then use radio beacons on U-boats in the north Atlantic to guide the 20-metre long rocket on its terminal trajectory. When the Wizernes bunker site was liberated in September 1944, an Allied analyst reported that part of the complex was aligned within half a degree of the Great-circle bearing on New York (Great-circle navigation is the practice of navigating an object along the shortest distance between two points on the globe), and when Duncan Sandy's 'Crossbow Committee' commissioned a report for the War Cabinet on the Wizernes bunker it stated that "...the dimensions of the site make it suitable for the A-4 (V-2) rocket, but the possibility of a new rocket up to half as long again as the A-4 and twice the weight cannot be ruled out."
Inside The Dome
This is Wizernes, now known as La Coupole (The Dome), a V-2 Rocket bunker built between 1943 and 1944 in Pas-de-Calais, Northern France. The site was converted into a museum in 1997.

Bomb Proof
The design of the facility was supposed to make it bomb proof with a 5-metre thick concrete dome protected by another 2 metres of steel reinforced concrete on top of that.

Target: London
La Coupole was built on the site of an abandoned chalk quarry and its purpose was as a launching ground for rockets that would bombard London and the south of England.

Operation Crossbow
Once discovered, Allied forces began air raids on La Coupole without much success. However, they switched to the 5,400 kg Tallboy bombs, which devastated the outer construction area.

Unfinished Plans
This sketch shows a little of how the missile base was supposed to operate, with rockets wheeled out of the facility ready for firing. However, the Allies captured it before it could be used.

tons of concrete and 20,000 tons of steel were needed for the bunker, within which some 250 personnel would man and run a mini-production plant capable of assembling, fuelling, arming and launching 35 missiles a day, as well as storing up to one hundred and eight. External supplies would be brought in by rail to the bunker’s own bomb-proof railway station on a specially-built spur line, with the entire site powered by an integral power station with a 2,000 horse power (1.5 MW) generating capacity.

As far back as November 1939, the British began to pick up information about ‘secret weapons development’, and Peenemünde itself was identified as a site of special interest by aerial photo reconnaissance as early as January 1943. The result was Operation Hydra - an RAF bombing raid conducted by almost 600 aircraft during the night of 17/18 August 1943, which damaged the facility, killed over 180 German staff including technicians and scientists, and severely delayed rocket testing.

Hydra was the opening salvo in Operation Crossbow – the Allies’ plan to search out and destroy the V-weapon threat.

Operation Crossbow
The first phase of Crossbow from August 1943 up to June the following year, saw mainly American bombers drop 12,668 tons of bombs on over 60 V-1 launch sites, as well as hitting Watten and another site at Mimoyecques. The raids were so heavy and persistent that the Luftwaffe regiment tasked with the V-missile programme wrote in its War Diary that: “The number of French workers on the sites is diminishing because of the continual air raids. Even the system of bermuses for increased production is no longer attracting them.” Watten, first attacked on 27 August, had over 500 tons of bombs dropped on it eight additional raids between January and June 1944, and while none penetrated the concrete roof, the damage to the site in general, as well as its road and rail links, was so complete that the idea of using it as the main V-2 launching base was abandoned.

The OT settled on an alternative site less than nine miles away in an existing limestone quarry at Wizernes. A new construction technique pioneered by the OT engineer Werner Flos, called ‘earth forming’, would be used to frustrate Allied air attack - this approach called for the reinforced concrete roof; 5 metres (16 ft) thick and 71 metres (233 ft) in diameter - to be built on top of an earthen mound, and then once complete, the earth would be dug out from underneath its 55,000 ton mass to form the inner chamber. This chamber was a huge octagonal rocket-preparation hall directly under the dome. It was never completed but would have been 41 metres (135 ft) in diameter and up to 33 metres (108 ft) high - easily enough to accommodate a fully-fuelled and armed 12.5-ton V-2 standing 14 metres (46 ft) high.
Running away from this central chamber would be some seven kilometres (4.3 miles) of tunnels cut into the side of the quarry itself, housing barracks, LOX production facilities and missile storage bays. An underground rail tunnel - codenamed Ida - would connect Wizernes to the main line some miles away, so missiles could be delivered unhindered, and then launched from one of two launchpads, Gustav and Greifchen.

Overseen by the German construction firms Philipp Holzmann AG of Frankfurt am Main and the Grossdeutsche Schachtbau und Tiebohr GmbH, some 1,400 workers beavered away to first build the dome and an additional bomb-proof 'scint' or Zerstehellenplatte of steel-reinforced concrete, 14 metres (46 ft) wide and 2 metres (6.5 ft) thick, surrounding the dome itself and supported by a series of buttresses. Codenamed Schrotwerkg Nordwest (Northwest Grave Works), the site was quickly identified by Allied overflights - perversely it was the elaborate care taken to camouflage it that gave it away - and bombed. Beginning in March 1944, Wizernes was repeatedly raided with the dome suffering one direct hit on 6 May, although it wasn't penetrated.

Eventually it was decided to use Barnes Wallis's 12,000lb Tallboy 'earthquake' bombs to pierce what were termed the 'Heavy Crossbow' sites at Watten, Wizernes and Mimoyecques. Beginning on the night of 19 June over Watten, the elite crews of the RAF's 617 Squadron of Dambuster fame sought to smash the Nazis' giant concrete rocket bunkers. Wizernes was attacked on the 24 and again on 17 July, and although not a single bomb hit the dome itself, several near misses undermined the super-heavy structure and its foundations, forcing the Nazis to abandon any further work on the site. As Domberger commented: "Persistent air attack with bombs so battered the rock all around that in the spring of 1944 landslides made further work impossible." A German report dated 28 July 1944 stated that, "...the whole area around the dome has been so churned up that it is unapproachable, and the bunker is jeopardised from underneath."

As for Mimoyecques it was raided on 6 July, its entrance tunnels and shafts were collapsed, enmeshing several hundred forced labourers and their German co-workers.

The Anglo-American 'bomber barons', the RA F's Arthur Harris, and the USAAF's Carl Spaatz and Jimmy Doolittle, were no fans of Crossbow, believing it an unnecessary diversion from their main focus - the destruction of Nazi Germany's industries and cities. Churchill thought differently. To his mind the British population had suffered enough after nearly five years of war on their doorstep and while the V-missile threat never achieved any real military significance, the potential for it to cause massive damage and horrific casualties, couldn't be discounted. Hence the priority placed on Crossbow and its destruction of Hitler's secret concrete rocket bunkers. The results speak for themselves - not a single rocket of any type was launched from the designated sites at Watten and Wizernes.

Aftermath

With France liberated, the V2s withdrew to the Netherlands, and without a bunker site to utilise, the Army reverted to its preferred launch approach using Meillerwagen mobile firing batteries, manned by regular soldiers with specialist training, which presented an almost impossible target for the Allied air forces. The first V2 hit London on 8 September 1944, and the very last on 24 March 1945 - Norwich and Ipswich were also targeted. Eventually some 1,359 V2s would be sent hurtling towards England, with just over a thousand of them hitting the country, killing 2,754 people and wounding another 6,523.

In 1943 Hitler declared that: "The A4 is a measure that can decide the war", but in reality the A4/V2 ended up failing as much as its predecessor the V1. Innocent civilians were killed and injured, but the course of the war wasn't altered. At a time when the Wehrmacht needed every fighter aircraft, panzer and gun the country could manufacture, huge effort and resources were poured into a programme, that while revolutionary, came too late to save Hitler's Nazi empire. As it was, the huge scale of the bunker construction project grabbed Allied attention, and the subsequent bombing campaign crushed it.

With the war over, the Americans and Soviets scrambled to secure Nazi rocket technology and the men who invented and developed it. The most famous - Werner von Braun - ended up in the US working at NASA and helping the Americans not only develop a nuclear missile arsenal, but also reach the Moon, while Coalition forces in the First Gulf War came under attack from Soviet-made Scuds that were directly descended from the V2.

In France, both the Wizernes site - now known as La Coupole (the Dome) - and Watten are now museums; the former opened to the public in 1997, and the latter a privately-owned attraction that details the history of the site and the story of the V-weapons programme.
Catholic Hysteria
From 1570 - 1680, Protestant England was besieged by rumours of a Catholic conspiracy. But how much was true, how much was fake news?

Written by Harry Cunningham

In 1680 England was in a state of crisis. Allegations had been made in a manuscript by ex-priest Titus Oates of a clandestine fifth column of Catholics operating in secret. This group had the motive and – with the help of Catholic France and Ireland – the means to carry out their threat: to invade England, overthrow the king, burn London to the ground and install the Duke of York, who had known Catholic sympathies, as king, under the Pope.

When the magistrate investigating the claims in the manuscript, Sir Edmundberry Godfrey, was mysteriously murdered, panic set in. The plot took on a life of its own. With nothing more than Oates as a star witness, members of the House of Lords were impeached (trial by their fellow peers in the Lords chamber) and duly executed for their supposed involvement in the plot. The queen’s physician, Sir George Wakeman, and the queen herself were placed under suspicion. Meanwhile, Protestant-minded MPs came together to pass acts of parliament at first limiting the powers of the Duke of York and then to explicitly exclude him from the line of succession. Charles only managed to stop the rebels by dissolving parliament. The tension in London was palpable. There were genuine fears a second civil war might break out.

There was just one problem. The allegations had been completely made up by Oates, a serial liar and fantasist who revelled in the celebrity status that being the mouthpiece of the so-called Popish Plot brought him.

But why were the public and the government so keen to take Oates at his word? Was this all just about Catholicism? Were the people generally fearful of Catholic threats or was Catholicism just a way of talking about other’s anxieties? Certainly, there was fear of change as the Early Modern reached its zenith and colonial rivalries in the new world led to new ways of trading and a more advanced economy back home. Then there was England’s increasingly fraught relationship with its nearest neighbours Scotland and Ireland, and underlining it all were unanswered questions from the Civil War and the Reformation about the relationship between monarch and parliament, and Church and State.

For over a century successive Protestant monarchs from Elizabeth I to Charles II had been haunted by Catholic plots, fake and real. The tension has its origins in the 1530s. Historians largely agree that Henry VIII’s break with Rome
had little to do with religious doctrine. His key aim was to assert his monarchical authority over the Papacy, with the key doctrinal tenants of Catholicism remaining in place. It was only when Henry's young son Edward VI became King in a regency, overseen by Protestant nobles, that a fissure erupted in English society as successive monarchs tried to force their own religion on the country.

Succeeding Edward VI, Mary I earned the nickname Bloody Mary for her attempts at re-Catholicising the country in the 1550s - burning those at the stake who refused to recant and marrying the Catholic King of Spain to reaffirm England's commitment to Catholicism.

The challenge for Mary's successor Elizabeth I was how to bring the country back together in a way that allowed Catholics and Protestants to live side-by-side. Her initial religious settlement can largely be characterised as a softer version of Edward VI's Protestantism. She took the title of Supreme Governor rather than Head of the Church and allowed some elements of the Catholic doctrine to remain.

To begin with Catholics were generally allowed to practice in private, so long as they attended church services regularly. The Act of Supremacy 1559 also offered a more limited definition of what constituted heresy. What was at issue was the monarch's authority, not doctrinal issues themselves.

However, by the 1580s this policy completely fell apart. A whole series of Catholic plots were exposed and halted by Elizabeth I's spy chief Francis Walsingham. The most famous of which - the Babington Plot - involved Elizabeth's cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. Then under house arrest in England after she was deposed from the Scottish throne, Elizabeth had no choice but to act. The tolerance she had extended to the Catholics, who were uncompromising in their own beliefs, was clearly being interpreted as a sign of weakness. In 1587, begrudgingly, she executed Mary which precipitated more or less open warfare with Catholic Spain.

Elizabeth's Protestant victory over the Catholic Armada in 1588 would help foster the narrative that England, a tiny island that stood alone in Europe and the world, was a special country on the cusp of fulfilling its destiny as a global imperial player against the odds.

However, the reality was Elizabeth I's victory hardly settled things. After her death, the entire apparatus of the state came within a hair's breadth of being wiped out. From the king and his heir to the entire House of Commons and the Lords, all were assembled for the state opening of parliament in November 1605 when a last-minute tip off led to a search of the cellars...

For Elizabeth I's successor James VI, raised a Protestant, the Gunpowder Plot shook him to the core. Only two years into his English reign, it reminded him of his vulnerability and shored up his belief in the Divine Right of Kings. His authority alone was what should determine the future of England, as it did in Scotland.

For a while everyone in London was under suspicion. You only have to read the later plays of Shakespeare - Macbeth, King Lear - and the

"A whole series of Catholic plots were exposed and halted by Francis Walsingham"
bloody revenge tragedies of Thomas Middleton and John Webster to get a sense of the poisonous political climate in the nation.

But the biggest and most profound effect James’s regime had was on his second son - Prince Charles - who unexpectedly became heir apparent following the death of his elder brother Henry, Prince of Wales.

His first mistake was to take as his wife Henrietta Maria, who was both French and Catholic. Gossip and rumour began as to how the Supreme Governor of the Church could be married to a Catholic. When he acceded as Charles I he refused to compromise and ruled without parliament for years at a time. Matters of state religion, of tax rates, of war and peace, all were - in the king’s mind - solely his domain. Parliament was, at best, an advising chamber designed to help him rule; and, at worst, merely an exercise in rubber stamping.

But for all the blood split in the showdown between king and parliament in the Civil War and the equally tumultuous years of the interregnum - the years between the kings - the underlying issues between the role of parliament and king, Church and religion were not resolved.

It might be easy to think that the execution of his father at the hands of the parliamentary elite in 1649 was more than enough to motivate Charles II into toeing the line when he was finally restored in 1660. However, the role of the monarch was essentially unchanged.

There was nothing to stop Charles II from dissolving parliament and ruling on his own if he so wished. There were also fears that his attempts to legislate for religious toleration by way of the Royal Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, which relaxed the Act of Uniformity, were seen as a slippery slope. Was Charles trying to turn England into a Catholic country once again?

As Charles continued to govern in the country at large, but particularly in London, the embers...
17th CENTURY FAKE NEWS
How fabricated new stories, exaggerated accounts and even fake newspapers helped spread the Popish Plot

SIR JOHN TEMPLE’S HISTORY OF THE IRISH REBELLION

John Temple’s ‘history’ of the Irish Rebellion of 1641-2 was first published in 1646 but republished in the 1670s. The text is subtitled ‘Barbarous cruelties and bloody massacres which endured thereupon’ and is now believed to have greatly exaggerated the events of the rebellion that had taken place.

As historian Ethan Slagl explains, it “contextualized the atrocity [...] within a well-established view of history which saw Protestants as a weak and persecuted minority, forever defending themselves against the forces of a popish Antichrist.”

Temple and those who reprinted the work also failed to adequately point out to readers that Temple was a lawyer and a member of both the English and Irish House of Commons, who had assisted the English government in putting down the rebellion.

This work was part of a concerted effort to portray Ireland as a lawless place, overrun by Catholics, to the English. Newspapers brought “strange and lamentable news from Ireland,” one of which described a “maid at Dublin” who “was found with her flesh burnt off her arms, and lying by her black like burnt leather.”

SECRET HISTORIES

Titus Oates’s explosive manuscript was just one title in what could be described as genre in its own right. The Secret History Of The Most Renowned Queen Elizabeth And The Earl Of Essex, anonymously published for ‘Will with the Wisp at the sign of the Moon in the Eclipse’ in 1680 was full of misinformation about how the queen had been manipulated by her closest minister. Later came the publication of The Secret History Of The Medias (1686) and The Secret History Of Charles II And James II (1690) when both were safely in their graves. All were more like conspiracy theories rather than real works of historical scholarship.

‘TRUE’ DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

During the lapse of the licensing act, after parliament had been dissolved by Charles II and so MPs could not sit to renew it. Nathaniel Thompson printed a newspaper called the Domestic Intelligence, a copy of an existing paper published by Benjamin Harrison. Harrison’s paper had a strong Whig and therefore pro-exclusionist stance whilst Thompson did not share the same view. Issue 16, dated 26 August 1679 was a hoax and its regular readers would have found a very different political hue to their usual coverage.

Eventually, Thompson started printing his paper as the ‘True Domestic Intelligence’ to distinguish itself from its rival.

In the year of the devil, 1666, London’s overcrowded streets caught fire in hellish scenes that were blamed on a Catholic conspiracy.

Henry VIII’s break with the Catholic Church in Rome sent shockwaves through England: the consequences of the radical move would be felt for centuries to come.

of suspicion and innuendo that would ignite the capital in the late 1670s simmered gently. This was in part not just because of the political system, which largely kept ordinary people excluded from debate, but also because of the printing press and increased literacy rates, which were at record highs in the capital.

Newspapers circulated around the capital where people lived together in close quarters claiming to tell the truth about ‘what was really going on’ behind closed doors.

Titus Oates claimed to have created a ‘true account’ of the events of the Popish Plot. What made his manuscript seem believable was its emphasis on history and tradition to reiterate its claims.

One example of this is how Oates linked the Great Fire of London in 1666 to Rome and ultimately his Catholic conspiracy. He hinted that burning cities and people (as Mary I had been so keen to demonstrate) was a key technique that originated in Rome. It was in the tradition of the Emperor Nero who was allegedly responsible for burning Rome to the ground but also in the tradition of the devil himself and the fires of hell.

But of course all of these events have focused on England and Wales when
There were in fact three independent nations on the British Isles. England's relationship with Scotland and Ireland and the way in which politicians in London shamelessly played countries off against each other, also contributed to the tensions.

England and Scotland had been joined in a Union of the Crowns since the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 and the accession of James VI, already King of Scots. Almost immediately he attempted to join his separate kingdoms in political, as well as monarchical, matrimony.

But James' plan did not bode well with his English parliament who were concerned that Union was a by-word for Scottish domination and autocratic government. Arguments about England being flooded by poorer, less-educated Scots are best expressed by the Danish Ambassador to England, Christopher Lindenov who recalled that English lords feared "...if union were enacted, most Scots would move to England and Scotland would finally become a waste and unpeopled land." Various trade partnerships were also considered and another attempt at a Union was made in 1670 but both failed. The fear persisted that Charles II had the same motives as his grandfather, to pursue a Union for political purposes - to make it easier to govern England with the backing of Scottish MPs in one British parliament.

It is clear that Scots were largely in favour of the continuation of the monarchy under the Duke of York - the Stuarts were after all a Scottish dynasty - and a parliament that had Scottish MPs may not have passed the exclusion bills. Equally, had the king given royal assent to the exclusion bills in England then the Duke would still have eventually become King of Scots and England would have a different monarch when Charles II died - his illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth, a likely contender. The tensions this created may well have started a war between the two countries. During the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, the Duke was sent to the Scottish Highlands, ostensibly to keep him away from London. In the minds of the plotter this was just another sign that Charles was preparing an invasion from the north should a Civil War break out or trust in the monarchy collapse.

Ireland had a Catholic majority, despite attempts by Cromwell to create Protestant settlements on the island. It also had a bogus democratic structure. Poyning's Law effectively gave the English Privy Council a power of veto over Irish law and the size of upper chamber was inflated - tripled in size - by the Stuarts so it did not accurately represent the religious makeup of the country. However, whilst this might seem repressive, the reality of governing Ireland required accepting a larger degree of tolerance towards Catholics than would have been acceptable in England.

Historian RF Forster describes how "A Catholic schoolmaster was teaching in every parish in Limerick in 1670" and the Catholic Church during the 1670s was "lively, active and increasingly visible" whilst Catholics owned around 29% of the land. Back home in England this reality was ignored.

Despite the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, Charles II got his way. Titus Oates was exposed as perjurer and sent to the stocks and the Duke of York succeeded him as James II/ VII in 1685. But his reign was - predictably - disastrous. His attempts to re-introduce Catholicism ended with him being forced to flee England in disgrace.

When his daughter Mary and her husband Prince William of Orange were installed as joint sovereigns in 1688 it was on the condition that they upheld a Bill of Rights. No Catholic would ever take the throne again and England would now have a constitutional monarchy, in which, increasingly, parliament led the country and the monarchy became merely a symbol. The rifts and factions regarding religion and the right to rule that had plagued England for 100 years were - for a time - put to bed at last.
Philosopher

It's time to re-examine the legacy that the last of the Five Good Emperors has left behind

Written by Katharine Marsh
or Despot?
War raged on the Danube in the 170s CE. On one side were the Celtic tribes, who had launched a threatening invasion over the river and into Roman territory. On the other side were the fearsome Roman legions, an imposing force with their military discipline and relentless training. At their head was one of the co-emperors, Marcus Aurelius, the man who brought them to the cusp of victory before his death. But when he wasn’t leading his troops, he had time to kill in Germany.

It’s at this time, when Marcus was leading his troops in the Marcomannic Wars in 166-180 CE that it’s thought he wrote Meditations, the work he has since become famous for. When people think of the emperor now, they don’t remember his time at war. They don’t recall his leadership of his nation through drought and plague. Everyone knows Marcus as the philosopher-king, the Stoic who became the last of the so-called Five Good Emperors before, in Edward Gibbon’s eyes, Commodus took over and precipitated the empire’s downfall. After almost 2,000 years, it’s the philosophy we remember. But is it fair to shoehorn such a complex character into such a small box?

To answer the question, it’s important to go back to Marcus’ youth. Like many an emperor before him, he wasn’t born in the purple - that is, he wasn’t born to an emperor. No one knew that one day he would rule one of antiquity’s greatest empires. However, having said that, his upbringing was certainly upper class; brought up in a mansion on the upmarket Caelian Hill in Rome, the world was his.

Educating children in ancient Rome was about giving them the best start in life - especially the boys - and so Domitia Lucilla made sure to provide that for her son. It was usually down to the lady of house to organise her sons’ educations, and with Marcus’ father dying when he was a young boy, the burden rested on Lucilla’s shoulders, although Marcus’ grandfather did help. A tutor was found for Greek lessons, and another for elocution. A third would be in charge of his moral welfare and general development as he grew into his teens. It was a classic education, and it was clear that Marcus was being primed for one thing: his rise through Rome’s political hierarchy.

In his teens, more teachers came. One taught geometry, another music. But it was the art teacher who found something within the young Marcus; Diogenes introduced him to philosophy, and it was something that Marcus would never forget. “From Diogenes... [I learned] to have an affinity for philosophy,” he would write in his Meditations. Diogenes would be the sixth mentioned out of 17 people who had an impact on his life - not bad going for a secondary school teacher.

When he was 12, Marcus did what many 12-year-olds do: he declared what he wanted to be when he was older. His dream was to be a philosopher, and he began to dress like one. He slept in a Greek cloak on the ground until his mother begged him to sleep in a little bed. His heart was set on this new direction.

So philosophy would always be Marcus’ first love but, as it would transpire, he was going to rule some day. At the age of just 17, his life would change forever when he found out that he would be emperor. It would take 20 years until he finally donned the purple toga, and during that time it was a battle between politics and philosophy. Marcus would become consul three times and he was forced to move to the imperial palace. He wasn’t too fond of his new abode, as he makes clear in Meditations: “Let nobody any more hear you blaming palace life: don’t hear yourself blaming it.”
Philosopher Or Despot?

Up, up, up the Cursus Honorum (course of office) he’d gone, until the fateful day arrived in 161. Antoninus Pius was dead. He’d gone relatively peacefully but now the burden of the Roman Empire lay on the shoulders of Marcus and his adoptive brother, Lucius Verus. Hobbies and interests had to be put to one side because they were in for a bumpy ride.

Duty came before anything else. As Marcus was bestowed the standard imperial titles of Augustus and Pontifex Maximus, he accepted them with a heavy heart. Gone was his freedom. Almost immediately, war was afoot. The rivalry between Parthia and Rome had finally reached boiling point, and King Vologases IV decided to invade Syria, managing to overthrow its governor. The time had finally come to sort the Parthians out.

Out of Rome’s two co-emperors, Marcus was definitely considered the senior from the start, and it was he who noticed that the presence of an emperor was needed on the eastern border. But it wouldn’t be Marcus who would go – he would send Lucius to sort out the problem, while he stayed in Rome to consolidate their rule. But despite the fact that he didn’t travel there himself, Marcus knew exactly what needed to be sent, dispatching three of the top legions that were currently on the Rhine and the Danube, as well as part of the Praetorian Guard – the emperors’ bodyguards – and thousands of auxiliaries. It was a shrewd move, and one designed to result in an early victory for the adoptive brothers. It was an impressive feat for someone who had had minimal military experience.

The Romans would be victorious in 165-166, Roman soldiers began to come back to Rome as the war eased off. The final victory being won in 166. Marcus and Lucius claimed the names Armeniacus and Parthicus in celebration, and Lucius headed home for his triumph – but he should have stayed away.

As the legions spread back through the empire, they brought something with them that was more deadly than their weapons. Seeping into every city and settlement was a vicious plague. The disease swept across the empire and down the Italian peninsula, killing 5 million Romans before it died out itself in 16 years later. It was clear to all that the mighty Roman Empire was weakened, and it wouldn’t take long before outsiders realised that this was their chance to invade.

To the north were Germanic tribes, but they weren’t considered too much of a threat. Having signed a peace treaty with the Romans, they were expected to stay on their side of the Danube, but with unrest and rioting among the tribes, they needed to spread out. The Marcomanni and Quadi tribes headed further and further south, until they found themselves at the Roman border. Luckily for them, it was largely undefended thanks to Marcus having sent most of its soldiers to Parthia and suffering from plague. The Marcomannic Wars had begun. It was to be one of Marcus’ greatest tests, but it would also cement his legacy in another field.

Weighing the Legacy
Was Marcus Aurelius more of a philosopher or a despot?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHILOSOPHER</th>
<th>DESPOT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Writing something like Meditations was a very Stoic thing to do</td>
<td>Was able to command incredible respect from his subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set up the four Choirs of Philosophy in Athens</td>
<td>Spent time on the front in the Marcomannic War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became deeply enamoured with philosophy from a very young age</td>
<td>Was ruler during era of increased persecution of Christians in provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepted leadership somewhat unwillingly – he had wanted to dedicate his life to philosophy</td>
<td>Flattered the Senate by asking permission for spending despite being supreme leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally tried to live his life by philosophical principles – at least, as far as we can tell</td>
<td>Chose a hereditary heir to succeed him, the first emperor to do so for nearly 100 years</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Rise to Power

There were 20 years between being named an heir and becoming emperor.

Birth
Born to Marcus Annius Verus III and Domitia Lucilla, Marcus enjoys a wealthy upbringing on the Caelian Hill.

A Young Priest
Aged just eight, Marcus is made a priest of Mars in the college of the Salii. He would become a leader of the dance, seer and master.
In 168, both co-emperors made their way to the border along with a Roman force to dispel the barbarians. Leaving the legions there, they soon made their way back to Rome, but time was running short for one of them. In 169, Lucius died, leaving Marcus, the reluctant ruler, in sole charge of the Roman Empire. Realising he had to step up and take charge, Marcus headed to the warzone once more. He couldn’t risk the empire looking weak after the death of another emperor.

Leading the Roman war machine from Carnuntum, 40 kilometres from modern-day Vienna, this was where Marcus’ complex character began to come into play. While directing an army against a foreign invasion, the emperor began to write down some of his thoughts – his meditations, if you will – in a rambling collection that grew over time.

Later dubbed Meditations, Marcus’ writings are arguably what has brought him the most fame, but the irony is that it was never meant to be seen. Taking the form of a personal notebook, it seems to be a way for Marcus to engage in philosophical exercises that would change his behaviour and way of thinking, for in the ancient world, that’s what philosophy was all about. It wasn’t about theoretical arguments, but discovering how to carry out your life. As such, it’s possible, to a certain extent, to treat Meditations autobiographically. In a rare occurrence with the Roman rulership, we have a chance to see directly into an emperor’s mind.

The original name of Marcus’ writings was Ta eis heauton, or To Himself, and the emperor refers to himself in both the first and third person throughout as he pens his thoughts on himself, leadership and life. It’s almost become a textbook for Stoics over the preceding centuries, and it’s that fame that has increased Marcus’ legacy as a philosopher above all else. Having said that, there were things that he did in his lifetime to support this view, such as creating four Chairs of Philosophy in Athens, with one each for the principal philosophical traditions: Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic and Epicurean. Out of those four, though, it was Stoicism that would define the emperor. He was described as a Stoic by Julius Capitoinus, one of his ancient biographers, and he makes reference to a number of Stoics who had taught him throughout Meditations.

Marcus seemed to refer to the version of Stoicism that was put forward by Epictetus, who proposed three areas of study that an apprentice philosopher should be trained in: desires and aversions, the impulse to act and not to act, and freedom from deception. These corresponded to the early Stoic ideas of the physical, the ethical and the logical. Marcus was certainly a follower of this strand of Stoicism, as can be seen in Meditations 9.7: “Erase the print of imagination, stop impulse, quench desire; keep your directing mind its own master.”

The reflection upon oneself was also a Stoic idea, and the emperor does seem to have been analysing his own thoughts, while rejecting those he thinks detrimental to his person. It was clearly a personal process, as he had no audience to define himself to. And as a seemingly unending war raged on outside his camp, Marcus wrote. But why? Many have suggested that philosophy was always Marcus’ first love, and that’s hard to refuse when you learn of his upbringing. Others have put forward the idea that he felt intellectually unstimulated being away from his court for so long, so he set himself the exercise of writing down his thoughts.

From the evidence we’ve seen so far, there seems to have been almost a 50-50 split between Marcus’ acts as a Roman leader and a philosopher – but there is another piece of evidence to support the former. In 175, rumours were circulating. There were whispers that the emperor was dead, and so in Antioch, one of his former generals, Avitus Cassius, proclaimed himself leader of the empire. But Marcus wasn’t dead, and made the trek easy to prove it. The speed with which the insurrection was put down, and with such little
LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON?

Sometimes it just doesn’t run in the family

If there’s one thing that the 2000 epic Gladiator got right, it’s that Marcus and his son Commodus were entirely different characters. Where Marcus was revered by his people, Commodus was hated at an almost Nero-like level, with ancient historians later calling him “accursed and foul”.

Of around 13 children, only five of Marcus and Faustina’s offspring lived to adulthood, the only boy being Commodus – in fact, he’d had a twin brother who had died. But many had wished Commodus had perished with him. Julius Capitolinus went so far as to write “had [Marcus] been truly fortunate, he would not have left a son.” Of course, he was writing with hindsight, but the point still stands: why were father and son so different?

Marcus tried to give his son the best start in life, with an unrivalled education that Commodus seemed to enjoy. But the drive just wasn’t there, and he couldn’t have been less interested in politics. While he served in the Roman army by his father’s side in the Marcomannic Wars, he was keen to seek peace after Marcus’ death, with many questioning if his mother had had an affair. Surely this man who began a 12-year reign of terror couldn’t be the son of the great Marcus Aurelius?

bloodshed, proved Marcus’ power, and that wasn’t something that came from philosophy. This was a man who commanded respect, who had seen the city of Rome through flood and famine, who had subdued the Parthians.

Those familiar with the 2000 film Gladiator may remember Marcus’ last conversation with Maximus when he posed the question. “Will I be known as the philosopher, the warrior, the tyrant?”. It has been impossible to go through every piece of evidence that points to the legacy Marcus has left behind - entire books have been written on the subjects, after all - but we’ve gained a solid understanding of who the emperor was and where he came from.

There are strong arguments for Marcus the philosopher, but to what extent can he actually be classed as one? The largest surviving relic we have is Meditations, but does that make him a philosopher, or just a follower of philosophy? He came up with no original treatises, instead choosing to study and follow the greats like Epictetus and Epicurus, and it’s hard to know how much he actually wrote. It could also be argued that he’s only remembered as a philosopher because he was the only emperor of that ilk - the others are remembered for being tyrannical, unmatched in war or for their reforms, while Marcus’ love of philosophy shone above all else.

Leadership, and military command, seemed to suit Marcus well. Cassius Dio wrote that “he ruled better than any others who had ever been in any position of power”, and while he suffered losses, he ultimately kept the empire together when it was at risk of being torn asunder by invaders. He led his people through famine, plague and war, keeping peace internally while showing little mercy to his enemies. He was also actively involved in internal state affairs, and evidence can be found of this on his triumphal column in Rome. One panel shows a relief of the emperor reading a petition, and it’s well known that he read and replied to similar items that came from all over the empire. On top of this, he acted as a judge and attended Senate meetings, showing that his role was something that he took incredibly seriously. But then perhaps this was Marcus reaching for a philosophical ideal, as he wrote: “Wrestle to be the man philosophy wished to make you.”

So why do we remember Marcus more for his philosophy than his leadership? Is it because he left something tangible behind with his Meditations? Or is it because his rule was overshadowed by his son, Commodus, who has come to be considered one of Rome’s most depraved rulers? Does he even deserve the reputation he’s been left with?

However you see Marcus Aurelius – whether it’s as a philosopher, a leader, or anything else - his words echo down the centuries. It’s perhaps a little ironic that the man whose legacy has lasted for almost 2,000 years once wrote: “You do not have thousands of years to live. Oscillating in the mid 19th century.
UNEASY LIES THE HEAD that wears a crown

Writer
William Shakespeare

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Medieval She-Wolves

Murder, revenge and adultery. Would it surprise you that parts of the story of Cersei Lannisters can be found in the stories of the real she-wolves of medieval history?

Written by Sharon Bennett Connolly

Ruthless, methodical, direct, unrelenting. driven. Just some of the words that might be used to describe some of the most powerful and influential women of the long, dark medieval era. Of course different terms may have been used about them at the time. Manipulative, conniving, duplicitous, power-hungry and so on. In fact such terms were probably still being passed around until fairly recently when we began to reassess centuries of gender-driven bias against these women.

Does that alone make them people to be admired? No, not necessarily. No more than we might admire the men of this era who were similarly motivated or compelled towards power. Their stories are, however, hugely compelling and are hard to view without some admiration given the societal hurdles they were forced to overcome in a world where power more often than not lay in the hands of men. Still, the medieval queens and consorts navigated the halls of power and managed to carve for themselves some portion of political influence that was not only used to protect themselves against the tides of fortune that might otherwise scupper them, but used as a foundation from which they struck out and made advances for themselves.

Such women, who came to be deemed she-wolves as a derogatory epithet, a term that has been somewhat reclaimed as an empowering association in the centuries since, remain massively interesting figures. And with the success of shows like Game Of Thrones with its fictional versions of similarly powerful and driven women, we can't help but think that they remain as influential now on our understanding of the way women are expected to wield power as they would have been in their own time. So, what follows is a series of profiles on some of the most important 'she-wolves' of medieval history from the 10th to the 14th century, from consorts to warrior women, usurpers to natural-born leaders. Cross them at your peril.
“While often magnanimous in victory, Æthelflæd could be ruthless when it was her friends who were attacked; even she was not immune from the desire for revenge.”

The daughter of King Alfred the Great, Æthelflæd was married to Æthelred, calfoman of Mercia. Æthelflæd was a strong, brave woman and is often regarded more as a partner to Æthelred than a meek, obedient wife. Although she exercised regal rights in Mercia even before her husband’s death, after Æthelred died in 911 CE, it was left to Æthelflæd to lead the Mercians in the fight against the Danes. Alongside her brother, King Edward of Wessex, it is universally acknowledged that Æthelflæd helped to push back the Viking incursions. Losing four of her greatest captains in the battle to capture Derby in 917 CE, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reported: With God’s help Æthelflæda, lady of Mercia, captured the fortress known as Derby with all its assets. Four of her favoured ministers were slain inside the gates. In 918 CE, Æthelflæd captured Leicester, ravaging the countryside around the town until the Danes surrendered.

The combination of her indefatigable forces and compassion in victory saw the Danes soon suing for peace; in the summer of 918 CE the noblemen and magnates of York sent emissaries to Æthelflæd, promising that they would surrender to her. She personally led campaigns against the Welsh, the Norse and the Danes – though whether she actually wielded a sword in battle is unknown.

While often magnanimous in victory, Æthelflæd could be ruthless when it was her friends who were attacked. In June 915 CE, on the feast of St Cyriac, Æthelflæd’s good friend, Abbot Egbert, was murdered for no known reason. The Mercian abbot and his retinues were ambushed and killed while travelling in the Welsh mountain kingdom of Brycheiniog. The abbot had been under Æthelflæd’s protection and within three days she was leading an army into Wales to exact revenge. Her army ravaged Brycheiniog, burning the little kingdom and taking many hostages. Although King Tewdr escaped Æthelflæd, his wife did not; Queen Angharad and 33 others were taken back to Mercia as hostages. Æthelflæd’s strength and determination was complemented by her quick actions and an impressive ruthless streak. When the Welsh king eventually submitted to Æthelflæd, he promised to serve her faithfully.

Æthelflæd died suddenly in June 918 CE. She did not live to see the successful conclusion to the work she and her brother had worked tirelessly to achieve; between 910 and 920 CE all Danish territories south of Yorkshire had been conquered.
Isabella of Angouleme
Queen of England

At first sight, it is easy to have sympathy for Isabella of Angouleme. She was married at a very young age - she was no more than 12 and may have been as young as ten - to ‘bad’ King John, the man who left women to starve in his dungeons and murdered his own nephew. Isabella and John were married in 1200 and, after 16 years together, they had five children: the youngest, Eleanor, was born in 1215.

When John died in October 1216 CE, however, Isabella didn’t spend much time seeking to comfort and protect her children. As soon as her oldest son, Henry III, was crowned with her own ‘chaplet’, Isabella started making arrangements to go home, to her own lands in Angouleme, France. In 1217 CE she left England, supposedly escorting her daughter, Joan, to her new family, but she never returned. Joan had been betrothed, at the age of four, to Hugh X de Lusignan, Count of La Marche and the son of Hugh IX de Lusignan.

In 1220, however, in a scandalous about-face, Hugh IX repudiated Joan and married her mother, his father’s former betrothed. And poor nine-year-old Joan’s erstwhile betrothed was now her stepfather! But worse was to come...

Isabella wrote to her son, Henry III, to explain and justify why she had supplanted her own daughter as Hugh’s bride, claiming that his ‘friends’ were worried about Joan’s youth and forcing Hugh to repudiate the English princess in favour of a French bride who was old enough to bear him a son. Isabella had married Hugh to stop him going over to the French and to guarantee his allegiance to her son. Ironically, the proposed union of Hugh IX and Isabella, and of their lands, was the reason John had married Isabella in the first place – to prevent the lands of La Marche and Angouleme challenging Plantagenet superiority in the region. Little Joan was returned to England towards the end of 1220, but the arguments over Isabella’s English lands continued and they were confiscated, for a short time, in 1221 CE.

Instead of being sent back to England, as you would expect, Joan went from being Hugh’s betrothed to being his prisoner. She was held hostage to ensure Hugh’s continued control of her dower lands, and as a guarantee to the transfer of his new wife’s dower. England, on the other hand, was withholding Queen Isabella’s dower against the return of Joan’s dower lands.

Isabella would not retire in peace, however, and in 1224 CE she and Hugh betrayed Henry by allying themselves with the King of France. In exchange for a substantial pension, they supported a French invasion of Poitou (the lands in France belonging to the King of England, her son) although she reconciled with Henry in 1230. Isabella and Hugh continued to play the kings of France and England against each other, always looking for the advantage. In 1242 CE, for example, when Henry III invaded Poitou, Hugh X initially gave support to his English stepson, only to change sides once more. Isabella herself was implicated in a plot to poison King Louis IX of France, only to be foiled at the last minute.

As contemporaries described her as ‘more Jezebel than Isabel’, accused her of sorcery and witchcraft, Isabella of Angouleme’s reputation as a heartless mother and habitual schemer seems set to remain. With little to recommend her, she stands out as a she-wolf with an impressive ruthless streak even against her own son.
Isabeau of Bavaria
Queen of France

For centuries Isabeau of Bavaria has been accused of almost every crime imaginable, from adultery and incest to treason and avarice. Various described as being beautiful and hypnotic or so obscene that she was crippled, the chroniclers have not been kind to Isabeau. According to them, her moral corruption led to the neglect of her children and betrayal of her husband and country.

However, they ignored the challenges faced by a queen whose husband was sinking deeper and deeper into the realms of insanity, going so far as killing four of his own knights during one mental breakdown and thinking he was made of glass in another. Married to King Charles VI of France, also known as Charles the Mad, Isabeau was left to raise her children and navigate the dangers and intrigues of court politics with little assistance from her mentally disturbed husband.

Her political alliance with Louis of Orléans, her husband's brother, led to her imprisonment amid slanderous rumours of adultery and incest - from the opposing political party.

To add to this, France was - not that they knew it at the time - halfway through the conflict with England that would become known as the Hundred Years' War. The war was going badly for France – Henry V defeated them at Agincourt – and Isabeau was forced to put her signature to the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 CE. In that instant she disintegrated her own son, the Dauphin, making Henry V heir to King Charles and handing France over to England. Much of Isabeau's life and career has been re-examined in the 20th century and she has been exonerated of many of the accusations against her, but, despite the fact Isabeau was backed into a corner, she still signed away her son's inheritance in favour of a foreign power.

Zoe Perphyrogenita lived much of her life in relative obscurity. At the age of 50, in 1026, she was married to her father's designated successor, Emperor Romanos III, and became empress consort when he succeeded to the throne in the same year. Zoe was described by a palace courtier, Michael Psellus, as 'a woman of great beauty, most imposing in her manner and commanding respect...a woman of passionate interests.'

As empress consort, Zoe asserted herself. Her younger sister, Theodora, was sent to a monastery. Neglected by her husband, Zoe took a much younger, teenage lover, Michael. Together they conspired to dispose of Romanos and he was drowned in his bath in 1034.

Zoe promptly married her lover and made him Emperor Michael IV. Their marriage, however, was full of distrust and Zoe was allowed no power or say in government. Michael IV then banished Zoe to a monastery. Not to be forgotten, Zoe began scheming to reclaim her throne. After she was allowed back to court, and unable to bear her own children, Zoe adopted Michael IV's nephew, another Michael, and made him her heir. Michael IV's life would have probably ended in the same way as his predecessor, Romanos III, drowned in the bath or with a knife in his back, had he not died of natural causes in 1041 CE. His nephew, Zoe's adopted son, ascended the throne as Michael V. When Michael V was crowned, Zoe was again banished to a monastery, an act which caused an uprising in Constantinople. Michael V was deposed after only four months of disastrous rule. He was exiled to a monastery, but complaints about such lenient treatment meant that Zoe issued orders for his mutilation and he was blinded, an act symbolically rendering him incapable of ruling.

Now 64 years old, Zoe was empress once again. Her sister, Theodora, was retrieved from her monastery to rule beside her, though Zoe's throne being placed slightly further forward, at the joint coronation ceremony, was an obvious indication of which of the sisters was in charge. In the same year, 1042 CE, Zoe took a third husband, Emperor Constantine IX, who co-ruled the empire, with the two sisters. Constantine outlived his wife: Zoe died in 1050 CE, aged about 72. A ruthless empress who knew what she wanted, she was not afraid to dispose of her rivals - whether they be a husband or an adopted son.
“Eleanor did, however, commit one of the most heinous crimes a woman could in the medieval world”

Eleanor of Aquitaine

Queen of France, Queen of England

Eleanor of Aquitaine is iconic. Probably the most famous woman of the middle ages, she is the only woman to have ever worn the crowns of both England and France.

Eleanor’s long life saw her weather the dangers of crusade, scandal, siege, imprisonment and betrayal to emerge as the great matriarch of Europe. When her first husband, Louis VII, led the Second Crusade, Eleanor went with him, only to find herself mired in scandal. Eleanor’s uncle Raymond of Toulouse, Prince of Antioch, welcomed Eleanor warmly and lavished such attention on her that rumours arose of an affair. Despite a lack of concrete evidence, Eleanor spent most of the crusade under close guard on her husband’s orders.

Louis and Eleanor’s marriage had been dealt a fatal blow; they left the Holy Land in 1149 and their divorce was finally proclaimed in March 1152. By May 1152 Eleanor was married again, to the man who would become her first husband’s greatest rival. Henry of Anjou became King of England in 1154 and eventually built an empire that extended 1,000 miles, from Scotland in the north to the Pyrenees in the south.

Later rumours again mired Eleanor in scandal, accusing her of murdering Henry’s lover Rosamund Clifford. In one extravagant version, Rosamund was hidden in her secret bower within a maze but, with the help of a silken thread, a jealous Eleanor still found her and stabbed her while she bathed. In another the discarded queen forced Rosamund to drink from a poison cup. Of course, a closely guarded prisoner in Old Sarum or at Winchester as Eleanor was at the time of Rosamund’s death, it was impossible for her to do any such thing.

Eleanor did, however, commit one of the most heinous crimes a woman could in the medieval world: she rebelled against her husband. In 1173 CE her eldest son by Henry, also called Henry, rebelled against his father and fled to the French court for support. His father-in-law, King Louis VII, welcomed the disgruntled Angevin prince and Eleanor of Aquitaine, having sided with her sons against her husband, sent two of her other sons, 15-year-old Richard and 14-year-old Geoffrey, to join their elder brother at the French court, while she rallied her barons in Poitou to their cause. In 1174 CE, when the rebellion failed, Henry accepted the submission of his sons.

Eleanor, who was captured as she rode towards safety in France, was not so fortunate. While it was not encouraged for sons to rebel against their father, it could be seen as boys flexing their muscles. For a wife to rebel against her husband was practically unheard of, and therefore deserved harsher punishment. Unforgiven and defeated, Eleanor was sent to perpetual imprisonment in various castles. She was only released after Henry II’s death, when her favourite son, Richard I, the Lionheart, ascended England’s throne.

If she had done everything of which she was accused – murder, incest, adultery and rebellion - Eleanor would be the ultimate she-wolf. As it was, her rebellion, an act unprecedented for a queen, meant she paid the price with her freedom for the next 15 years.
Isabella of France was the wife and queen of Edward II of England. In 1325 CE, after 17 years of marriage, during a trip to France to negotiate terms with her brother, the French king Charles IV, who had seized Edward's lands in France, Isabella saw an opportunity to take a stand against the unfairness of her situation. Ignored, spied on and persecuted by her husband's favourite, the hated Hugh Despencer, Isabella refused to return home. Isabella took to wearing widow's weeds and claimed: "Someone has come between my husband and myself, trying to break this bond. I protest that I will not return until this intruder has been removed but, discarding my marriage garment, I shall assume the robes of widowhood and mourning until I am avenged of this Pharisee."

With her son Edward, the heir to the throne, with her in France, and with the help of her close friend and adviser - and, quite possibly, her lover - Roger Mortimer, Isabella started attracting support from Edward's disillusioned subjects. In 1326 CE, she launched the invasion of England that would see her husband fleeing for his life in the face of her advancing army. Edward and Hugh were captured near Llantrisant in Wales. Edward was sent to imprisonment in Berkeley Castle. Hugh Despencer was taken before a military tribunal in Hereford, blinded for the collapse of the queen's marriage and humiliating Isabella. He was given no right to reply. Paraded through Hereford, before being dragged on a sled to the town square, Despencer suffered the full horror of a traitor's death. He was hanged from a specially-erected gallows, 50 feet high, cut down whilst still alive, his intestines were cut out and burned before his eyes, before his head was cut off to end his agony.

Despencer's death demonstrated the anger Isabella felt towards her husband and his favourite. Edward's death may well have been just as gruesome - or not at all. Some claim he escaped to the continent, dying years later in Italy, while others are convinced that he was killed in Berkeley Castle, although probably not by a red hot poker up his bum. Whatever happened to Edward, Isabella's revenge was complete; Despencer had been destroyed and Edward was deposed and replaced with his son, the 14-year-old Edward III.

For three years Isabella and Mortimer ruled England, only to be themselves deposed by Edward III when he turned 18; their own arrogance and mismanagement of England causing their downfall. Mortimer was hanged at Tyburn and Isabella spent her remaining years in house arrest, the she-wolf who had launched an invasion of England and deposed - and possibly murdered - her husband, only to be deposed herself.
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By the time they faced each other on the sun-scorched sands of Zama the Mediterranean powerhouses of Rome and Carthage had been at war with one another for 62 years (although there were stretches of ‘peace’). Yet while tensions in the region had always made a decisive encounter between these two titans inevitable, the timing of this one in 202 BCE was accelerated by flagrant Carthaginian opportunism.

Since audaciously crossing the Alps and descending into northern Italy in 218 BCE, Hannibal’s army had terrorised the peninsula relentlessly, inflicting a series of catastrophic defeats upon a dumbstruck Rome that saw Carthage gain the advantage in the early years of the Second Punic War. Yet Rome refused to surrender in the face of these crushing setbacks, somehow holding its nerve following the
almost total evisceration of an entire army at the Battle of Cannae in 216. Critically for the future of this mammoth tussle, one of the few Romans to escape Hannibal's trap at Cannae was a promising young soldier named Publius Cornelius Scipio.

Born into an Etruscan family in 236, Scipio was seemingly destined for a life serving Rome on the battlefield due to his lineage. His father, with whom he shared a name, had served as consul (the highest elected position in the Roman Republic), and in 218 he took his 18-year-old son with him when he marched to confront Hannibal's newly arrived force in northern Italy. In the winter of that year the Romans faced their invaders at the Battle of Ticinus, a clash that saw them soundly beaten by Hannibal's rapid cavalry and Publius Cornelius saved from certain death by his valiant son riding to his rescue.

Subsequent defeats at Trebia and Cannae sent panic rippling through Italy, with the prospect of Hannibal marching on Rome a growing possibility in frenzied Italian minds. Scipio's father prudently attempted to sever Hannibal's supply lines in a bid to isolate him, but he was cut down along with his other son, Gnaeus Scipio, while campaigning against Carthaginian interests in Spain in 212.

Still grieving the loss of his father and sibling, Scipio returned to Rome. Yet he would not let his father's defeat or personal suffering stunt his progress. Determining to avenge his fallen relatives, Scipio boldly volunteered to lead a fresh assault on Spain and reclaim the mineral- and labour-rich territory for Rome. His drive and ambition must have come as some relief to the rest of Rome's commanders, for none of them were willing to raise their hand and lead a campaign widely deemed to be a suicide mission.

Supported by 10,000 footsoldiers and 1,000 horsemen, Scipio, who was by now still only 25, landed his invasion force in northeast Spain in 211. He wasted little time in harassing the Carthaginian rulers of the region, and by 209 he'd fought his way to Carthago Nova (New Carthage) in the south and taken the city, along with its vast wealth. This was followed up with victory in 208 at Baecula and then another triumph at the Battle of Ilium in spring 206. On both occasions Scipio outfoxed generals far more experienced than himself, his rout of Hannibal's brother Mago in 206 effectively finishing a glittering war that had seen him secure Spain with great speed.

Success on this grand scale would probably have sated the appetite for glory of every other
commander in Rome, but as Scipio headed once more for home he was not dreaming of whiling away the rest of his days in luxury. With his customary energy and guile he immediately began to manoeuvre himself into position for election as consul in 205, a prestigious role that he was duly granted at just 31 years of age.

The post of consul afforded Scipio the requisite authority to begin plotting a truly daring military campaign, one that he believed would finally put an end to the war with Carthage: he would strike at the enemy’s heartlands.

Frustratingly for Scipio, the conservative voices within the Senate (a quibbling majority) were so astounded by the sheer scope of his ambitions that they refused to even entertain the notion. By withholding Rome’s resources the ruling classes hoped to exhaust Scipio’s plans at birth, but they had seriously underestimated Scipio’s reserves of both creativity and resolve. If the Senate wouldn’t provide him with an army then he’d raise one himself.

As the highest elected official in Rome, Scipio faced no resistance when he requested the governorship of the island of Sicily. The reason for his request probably wasn’t clear to the Senate, which only made it all the more cunning on Scipio’s part. Stationed on the island as a rather unjust punishment for their defeats at Truilia and Cannae, veterans of Rome’s early struggles with Hannibal had endured military perjury since 216. Crucially for Scipio, these very men were both extremely experienced in the art of fighting Cartaginians and, even more importantly, desperate to rebuild their reputations by defeating Hannibal in battle. Scipio’s call for volunteers resulted in a crack force of 7,000 men, more than enough to scare the Senate into finally supporting his dream of invading North Africa.

With Sicily as his base, Scipio set sail across the Mediterranean in 204, making landfall on Carthage’s north coast near the city of Utica. Prudently, he sought an alliance with Masinissa, a prince of Numidia, a land known for its excellent cavalry. By 203 the allies were besieging the city, and despite Carthage’s efforts to lift the siege with an army comprising their own soldiers and those loyal to Syphax, another Numidian noble, Scipio soon took it.

Carthage’s prospects now looked dire, and the situation was to worsen significantly that same year when Scipio and Masinissa once again combined to destroy a Carthaginian host, this time at the Battle of the Great Plains. Thirty-thousand men had either been slain or captured, and their general, Hasdrubal Gisco, would later select suicide over being taken apart by an enraged gang of Carthaginians.

Where once it was Rome beset by panic as a foreign invader approached, now it was Carthage’s turn to collapse into a wild episode of hysteria. Their dreams of forcing a weakened Rome to the negotiating table had been turned on their heads; now it was they who were scrambling to agree a peace deal. Fortunately for them, Scipio was a man of fair judgement.

Standing by his principles, Scipio informed Carthage that their overseas territories were to be confiscated, its fleet was to be drastically reduced and it was to pay war reparations. By any standard these terms were incredibly lenient given the destruction Hannibal had wrought on the Italian Peninsula. Carthage would have been wise to stick to them.

Despite having escaped a string of military defeats relatively unscathed, Carthage, or more specifically its senate, failed to appreciate its fortune, and instead seized the first opportunity to hit back at their vanquishers by seizing a stricken Roman fleet off their coast and stripping them of their supplies in 202. Deeming the peace treaty offered by Rome as an inconvenience, the Senate, which was comprised of influential citizens overseen by two ‘suffetes’ (judges), recalled a disgruntled Hannibal from Italy and prepared to make a final stand despite Hannibal’s warnings that his army wasn’t ready to fight. They could not have dreamed up a better casus belli for Rome, which couldn’t tolerate this gallant display of arrogance.

Having remained in North Africa, Scipio once again marched to confront Carthage. His army of approximately 25,000 met Hannibal’s force of around 40,000 men on 19 October near what is...
Battle Of Zama

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<th>ROMAN REPUBLIC</th>
<th>CARTHAGINIAN EMPIRE</th>
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<td><strong>NUMBER OF ELEPHANTS</strong></td>
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**SCIPIO AFRICANUS**
- An energetic and resourceful commander. Scipio would inflict six major defeats on Carthage in a glittering military career.
- Smart and aggressive, Scipio had gained vital experience in the field from his campaigns in Spain.
- Compared to Hannibal, Scipio was still inexperienced.

**HANNIBAL BARCA**
- An exceptionally brilliant general. Hannibal had waged war on Italy for 16 years prior to Zama.
- An ingenious military strategist who was yet to taste a significant defeat.
- Commanded a force largely comprised of inexperienced recruits and foreign mercenaries.

**CAVALRY**
- Scipio's cavalry would deliver the fatal blow at Zama.
  - Fast, agile and daring.
  - Lured from the field for much of the battle by the threat of pursuing their beleaguered counterparts.

**SACRED BAND**
- These troops were drilled from a young age in the art of fighting as a phalanx.
  - The Sacred Band were equipped with a high standard of both armour and weaponry.
  - Horribly exposed when confronted with Scipio's marauding cavalry.

**GLADIUS**
- A staple among Rome's legionaries, this short sword was carved in steel.
  - An extremely efficient weapon in close-quarters combat, the gladius could be used from behind a shield to make a stab at the enemy.
  - Little use against Carthage's famed slingers and spear-throwing cavalry.

**WAR ELEPHANTS**
- Caught on the plains of Africa, these graceful giants could be transformed into the ancient world's answer to a tank.
  - The mere sight of a charging elephant clad in armour could strike fear into the heart of even the most experienced veteran.
  - Unusually and volatile temperamentally, elephants were prone to panic and inflicting losses on their own soldiers.
command, the Numidian riders waiting on Scipio's right flank recognised the opportunity unfolding before them and hustled towards the chaos.

Events were moving beyond the control of either general, and it wasn't long before the second division of war elephants was pouring forwards. This time the beasts reached enemy lines only to stride into Scipio's well-laid trap, the gaps in his ranks funneling the elephants towards the Roman skirmishers at the rear. Many of the poor animals were cut down, and those who did manage to flee did so in terror.

Now came the turn of Scipio's Roman riders. Starting out from the left flank, these lightly armoured horsemen advanced towards the Carthaginian cavalry opposite them. A vicious engagement erupted as each side slashed at each other while trying to steady their steeds. Scipio's men soon gained the advantage and chased their foes from the field, a development that now meant only infantry remained. Both sides duly advanced.

No quarter was given in the carnage that followed the two sides colliding, although both commanders kept their last line of troops in reserve for as long as possible. In fact, some historians have pondered why Hannibal was so uncharacteristically conservative in his approach. It could be argued that the general was merely biding his time, waiting for the best moment to commit his formidable veterans.

Ultimately, it made no matter that Hannibal's army had managed to fight Scipio's to a standstill, for they could never have foreseen the menace approaching their rear. Whether they finished routing Hannibal's cavalry first is not clear, but what is beyond doubt is that Scipio's horsemen returned to the battle precisely when it was poised to go either way. Valiantly struggling to hold the Roman infantry back, Hannibal's footsoldiers were completely exposed as the enemy cavalry smashed into them from behind. The Carthaginians were surrounded and systematically cut down or captured. Hannibal had suffered his first major defeat.

Scipio's victory at Zama finally ended the Second Punic War, a struggle that had begun in 218, and this time his terms would not be so kind to Carthage. When Scipio demanded Carthage surrender its elephants, the entirety of its fleet, and pay Rome the truly enormous sum of 10,000 talents (245 tons) of silver, they were in no position to resist. Yet while these terms were humiliating, the ultimate insult for the once mighty empire of Carthage was Rome's instruction that Hannibal's homeland was henceforth forbidden: from waging war without first being granted permission by the senate in Rome. A once feared giant was now nothing more than a disarmed client state. Scipio returned triumphant to Rome.

For Carthage, the true cost of defeat at Zama would not be paid in full until the spring of 146, when a ruthless Roman army laid siege to the city, slaughtering up to 350,000 people, enslaving a further 50,000 and then destroying every building brick by brick. By that stage their often underestimated saviour was long dead, Hannibal having chosen poison over falling into Rome's hands.

**OCTOBER 202 BCE**

**Order of battle**

Having failed to convince Scipio to agree to peace, Hannibal displays his 80 elephants in two divisions at the front of his army and positions his Gauls and mercenaries in the first row behind them. His raw recruits form the second line, followed by his highly experienced veterans. In contrast, Scipio neatly aligns his army into three rows split into columns with gaps between them. He positions his light skirmishers within these openings.

**Beasts of battle**

As was the custom in ancient warfare, both sides arrange their cavalry units on their flanks. Scipio places his Roman horsemen on his left flank, and his skilled Numidian riders on the right. Hannibal counters this by situating his own battle-hardened Numidian cavalry on his left and Carthaginian horsemen on the right. Critical for Scipio, he held the numerical advantage when it came to cavalry, an asset Hannibal had always relied on in previous campaigns.

**Unleash the elephants**

In a sudden manoeuvre that may not have been intended, the left division of Hannibal's elephants begins charging towards the Roman ranks. However, instead of crashing into the enemy, the confused animals wheel left and career into the Carthaginian cavalry. Scipio's Numidians capitalise on this and ride into the fray.

**Thundering into a trap**

Now it was the turn of the right-hand elephant unit to advance. Displaying incredible calm, Scipio's units urge Hannibal's shrieking beasts into the pre-laid gaps, where they are duly scythed down by the Roman skirmishers. These elephants that do survive the encounter flee in terror. Scipio has levelled the field by removing Hannibal's most dangerous weapon.
**Battle Of Zama**

**05 A clash of cavalry**
Scipio now unleashes the horsemen on his left flank. They ride hard towards their opposite number and chase them from the field after a brief but brutal fight.

**06 Infantry, advance!**
With the elephants and cavalry removed from the field, both sets of infantry begin their slow trudge forward. Scipio's first line plunges into Hannibal's Gallic troops. The initial fighting is ferocious, but soon the Romans start to gain ground, a development that causes Hannibal's mercenaries to quit the battle in fear.

**07 Reinforcements enter the fray**
With his first line in tatters, Scipio sends in his second row of troops to stiffen them. Even so, Hannibal's second line, all fresh recruits from Carthage, manage to halt the Roman advance and hold their positions admirably. Both sides fight themselves to a standstill, and Scipio soon recalls his men to rest and reform their positions. Hannibal's best men have yet to move, giving Scipio enough time to arrange his remaining troops into one solid line.

**08 The final push**
With his as yet unused third line now forming two solid flanks either side of his weary first and second ranks, Scipio then prepares to confront Hannibal's reserves, a core of veterans who are regarded as history's most experienced soldiers. The two armies collide once more and are instantly pitted into a merciless struggle. Numerically both sides are now evenly matched - the outcome of the battle now hangs in the balance.

**09 The cavalry returns**
Just as it seems that Hannibal may once again secure a stunning victory against a Roman army, Scipio's cavalry return from their pursuit of their Carthaginian opponents slamming into the rear of Hannibal's veterans. To their immense credit, Hannibal's seasoned campaigners do not fold, instead choosing to stand and fight to the bitter end despite now being hopelessly surrounded. Many are cut down where they stand, while those who survive are taken prisoner.

**10 The war is over**
Having routed Carthage's last standing army, Scipio rampages Hannibal's camp before returning to Utica. After 16 years of battling the Second Punic War has finally been won.
EDWARD VIII HOLDS ONTO THE THRONE

The ‘playboy’ king is on the verge of causing a constitutional crisis as he refuses to abdicate, passing the crown to brother Albert.

What were the circumstances leading up to Edward ultimately becoming the king?
Up until he became Edward VIII in 1936 he was the Prince of Wales and was, of course, the son of George V, with whom he had a rather difficult relationship. His father was someone who was very traditional and had a very strict idea about the role of royal duty. By contrast Edward was really a bit of a playboy who had various affairs with a number of women and who liked socialising and drinking, and really not being the frankly kind of unrewarding but dutiful monarch like George. In some ways he was somebody who looked on the surface as though he might be a very modern kind of dynamic monarch, which could excite people in the age of the mass media, and yet this didn’t really work out because at the end of the day he wasn’t prepared to put his royal duties before his own personal interests.

KING’S PARTY FORMED, CHURCHILL NEW PM

After prime minister Stanley Baldwin handed his resignation to the king and parliament was dissolved in the ongoing constitutional crisis, a new government has been formed by the newly created King’s Party lead by Winston Churchill, a long-time supporter of Edward VIII. This new government’s first order of business will be pushing through approval of the King’s marriage to Wallis Simpson and most likely hold fresh elections at the earliest convenience as the other parties begin to fracture.
FDR SENDS LETTER OF SUPPORT FOR NEW GOVT

It would appear that relations between the UK and United States are at an all-time high after King Edward VIII pushed forwards with his plan to marry a US citizen. US President Franklin D Roosevelt has already sent a letter of support to Winston Churchill to endorse his new government and offer support from America for plans with the marriage.
After George V died in 1936, what was Edward's short reign as king like starting on 20 January 1936?
Well there was the famous moment where he went to South Wales, which of course was at a time of considerable economic distress, and he saw the conditions people were experiencing with unemployment and so on, and he made what might seem a rather bland remark of "something must be done". This was kind of venturing into overseeing his realm and venturing into the realm of politics. So for those who wanted to champion him or later viewed him as a dynamic caring monarch who had been done in by the establishment, this was one of the pieces of evidence that they used, the idea that he was some kind of radical social reformer. He obviously didn't really have a substantial [understanding] of the existing order of things but it kind of helped create the narrative that he was pushed aside by the conservative establishment.

Why did he abdicate after just 326 days?
Well there are two different parts of the story really. The first is that he wished to marry an American woman, Wallis Simpson, who was twice divorced. And this was a bridge too far for the government and indeed probably for quite a lot of people in the country. So I think at one level it was simply that he wanted to marry somebody who didn't really fit in with the accepted or established norms of who a king should marry, but ultimately it was that he declined to take the advice of his ministers. And the king's constitutional position means that he has to do that, including in what might seem like purely personal affairs like marriage, because this is something that can potentially affect the future of the state. So really it was partly his genuine obsession with Wallis Simpson but also his refusal to give up that obsession and follow the advice of his ministers. He couldn't really stay as king and reject that advice and so chose to step down.

Is there a scenario where he could have continued as king?
Had he decided well yes I'm going to definitively give up his relationship and ambition to marry Wallis Simpson, then yes he could have stayed king and nobody could force him to abdicate. But probably I think there was a collective sigh of relief from the government when he did abdicate. That's not saying that there was a plot to get rid of him, but George VI who followed him was somebody who was much more cognizant of the perceived duties and responsibilities of the monarch, and did not cause the government any difficulties at all. Had Edward continued then some other such incident or crisis could well have occurred again.

How might things have been different under Edward VIII than George VI?
Edward was quite a lazy person who didn't really enjoy reading official papers or turning up and doing the standard ribbon-cutting ceremonies. He made his boredom fairly obvious on some occasions. And by contrast George was somebody who was dutiful and famously had a speech impediment which made it a challenge for him to broadcast. George fitted more naturally into the expectations of the role, in spite of the fact that he wasn't necessarily going to be as popular a figure, because he was dramatically less charismatic.

Is it true Edward was a Nazi sympathiser, having toured Germany and met Hitler in 1937?
There's scope for arguing about it. You can see him in pictures kind of giving the Nazi salute, which of course was a common greeting which everybody did in Germany and he's hardly the only person to have toured Germany, but I think that his basic enthusiasm is pretty clear. He wasn't exactly an ideologue or somebody who thought about politics terribly hard, but he was certainly somebody who got a lot closer to the Nazis than anybody really ought to have felt comfortable being. And then there is the question of was he in 1940 contemplating somehow coming back and being restored to the throne by the Germans. Now there the evidence all gets very murky and ambiguous and therefore I don't think you can definitively say that he was doing that, but there are enough questions in the archival record to make you wonder about it. And of course, Churchill sent him off as far away as he decently could to be Governor of the
Edward may have set the tone for a more progressive monarchy in Bahamas in 1940, to really get him out of the way.

**Would Edward have been a threat to Churchill, including his calls for peace with Germany at the outbreak of the war?**

I don’t think he really posed any threat to Churchill’s position but he was somebody who rather liked Neville Chamberlain as a lot of people did and was sceptical towards this new figure bouncing in and trying to do things in a rather unconventional way. Would he have been somebody who in some way made more difficulties in 1940? Would he have been for or against Churchill at that point? What would his attitude be, the idea of a compromise peace with Germany for example? You could say that his interest in touring Nazi Germany and fascist sympathies were to some degree partly at least a product of the fact that he’d abdicated, so you might think his ideas might not have evolved in the same way had he remained king.

**Could we have seen a different political leadership heading into the war if he refused to abdicate and caused parliament to dissolve?**

If he refused to abdicate that would be a very difficult situation, because he could only marry with the government’s permission. I suppose he could have stayed on and somehow tried to get his case out to the country and created a genuinely larger constitutional crisis. The national government was notionally a coalition but it was very heavily dominated by Conservatives that had won a big majority in the 1935 general election, and the Labour Party only had 135 seats. Pretty much all significant MPs were agreed about the king’s position. There was a small group who might have formed the basis of a so-called King’s Party, including Churchill, but would they have really stood a chance at a general election? I think not. So if a general election had somehow come about I rather suspect that Stanley Baldwin would have won it again in 1935 and he would have ended up in a not totally dissimilar situation to the one that you did have with him then retiring in 1937 and Neville Chamberlain taking over.

**Could he have been a successful king?**

I suppose there was a way in which he could have made a success of being king. He could have got over himself and decided to do his duty but do it in a more inspiring way than perhaps George did. In some ways he can be seen as the precursor of the modern monarchy, that people see as unconventional. He was a precursor of some of the tensions which developed in the post-war monarchy.

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**Divorce and The Line of Succession**

Dating back to Henry VIII and his attempts to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, leading to England breaking with the Catholic Church in 1534, the monarch has been defender of the faith as the head of the church in England. For the longest time, the Church of England allowed divorce, but frowned upon remarriage while a former spouse was still alive and as the head of the church, this was an important principle to uphold for the king or queen. And since the sitting monarch needs to approve marriages for anyone in the line of succession, it essentially held for all members of the royal family too. That is until 2002 when the Church of England changed its rules and started recognising marriages of divorced persons ‘under special circumstances’. It is thanks to this rule change that Prince Harry and Meghan Markle were allowed to marry in 2018.

**WILL THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COLLAPSE?**

What remains remain of the British Empire appear on the verge of declaring complete independence from the British Isles as disagreements abound around the marriage of Edward VIII to Wallis Simpson. The dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa have all made it clear they are completely opposed to the proposed nuptials.
LOVE AND RESISTANCE
OUT OF THE CLOSET INTO THE STONEWALL ERA

As the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall riots approaches, take a look back at the early years of the LGBTQ movement.

Delving into the archives of the New York Public Library, Love And Resistance: Out Of The Closet Into The Stonewall Era, edited by curator Jason Baumann, offers a collection of over 100 powerful images capturing the LGBTQ civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and the protests that surrounded the pivotal Stonewall riots.

In a moving introduction, renowned author Roxane Gay states that the images, taken by leading photojournalists Diana Davies and Kay Tobin Lahusen, record “a time when queer people were emerging from the margins and asserting their right to do so.” Both were pioneering activists, with Davies documenting gay, lesbian and trans liberation and Lahusen capturing key moments, while also helping to found the Gay Activists Alliance in 1969.

Baumann emphasises that their images “seem as timely now as when they were first taken” because of “the deep divides and fierce debates currently taking place in the United States regarding gender, sexuality, race and power.” Divided into four sections – Visibility, Love, Pride and Protest – Love And Resistance explores the progression of the LGBTQ movement and the presence of love, humanity and resistance in the face of widespread persecution and entirely senseless oppression.
FIGHTING FOR EQUALITY

Aside from personal portraits, Lahusen also took photographs of gatherings at political demonstrations. Taken in 1965, this image captures a protest against the discrimination of homosexuals from federal employment—the men and women who took part were smartly dressed, to emphasize that their sexuality made no difference to their ability to work.

LESBIAN FEMINISM

Pictured at the Christopher Street Liberation Day in 1971, the marchers hold high a “Women’s Liberation is a Lesbian Plot” banner—a slogan which was used by the Lavender Menace. The original Stonewall Inn was located on Christopher Street and the street subsequently became the centre of the LGBTQ movement in New York.

LOVE IS LOVE

Lahusen took this photograph of an unidentified couple at the 1971 Integrity Conference in Philadelphia. A number of activists were known to use pseudonyms to protect their identities, although some chose different names as a better expression for themselves.
"GAY POWER"
This woman – known only as "Ida" – was a member of the Gay Liberation Front and the Lavender Menace. The latter was formed in retaliation to attempts made to exclude lesbians from the feminist movement, notably with the National Organisation for Women.

STANDING TALL
Davies took this iconic portrait of photographer Dorré Gottschalk, holding her "I Am Your Worst Fear I Am Your Best Fantasy" sign at the Christopher Street Liberation Day march in 1970. Gottschalk was an active member of the Radicalesbians, the Gay Liberation Front and other separatist communities.

FIGHTING OPPRESSION
The Gay Liberation Front was formed in 1969 following the Stonewall riots, and here they can be seen marching through Times Square, New York City. The GLF introduced "a new generation of people" to LGBTQ activism as well as "a number of movements for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender liberation."
**AN ICONIC FIGURE**

Judy Carlin and Stephanie Myers, members of the GLF, are pictured at a demonstration in New York City in 1970. Myers is holding a “Sappho Was A Right-On Woman” sign in reference to the ancient Greek poet who lived on the island of Lesbos, from which the term lesbian is derived.

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**ONLY HUMAN**

This intimate photograph was taken by Lahines of her partner, Barbara Gittings, who was also a pioneer of the LGBQ movement in her own right. Candid images such as this one emphasized that lesbians were indeed happy, normal human beings.
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On the Menu
RUSSIAN NAPOLEON CAKE

Ingredients
For the pastry:
- 400g cubed, cold butter
- 500g all-purpose flour
- 2 large eggs
- 160ml cold water
- ½ tsp salt
- 3 tbsp vodka (omit if you want)
- 1 tbsp white vinegar

For the cream filling:
- 225g butter
- 15g flour
- 35g cornstarch
- 6 egg yolks
- 130g sugar
- 700ml whole milk
- 50ml water
- 2 tsp vanilla extract

A FESTIVE AND PATRIOTIC PATISSERIE RUSSIA, 19TH – 20TH CENTURY

NAPOLEON CAKE, made with multiple layers of flaky pastry and light pastry cream, is considered a national dessert in Russia. Traditionally served at times of celebration and similar to the French style mille-feuille pastry, the cake’s origin is unknown, but it was supposedly developed to celebrate the 100-year anniversary of Napoleon’s defeat in the Patriotic War of 1812.

Although the cake was possibly created before then, in a further nod to Russia’s historic victory it is believed that many layers of the cake symbolize Napoleon’s Grande Armée, while the pastry crumbs used for decoration represent the snow that snowed his troops in Russia. While there are various different recipes, we have chosen one that appears to be the most authentic.

METHOD

01 Start by making the pastry first. Using either a food processor or your hands, mix the butter and flour together until it turns into a crumb texture. In a separate bowl, whisk together the eggs, salt, water, vinegar and vodka until you get a smooth consistency.

02 Create a well with the crumb mixture and then pour the egg mixture into the middle. With your hands, incorporate the dry and wet ingredients together until they form a dough - gently knead together to ensure everything is incorporated, but don’t over knead.

03 Divide the dough into 12 equal pieces and roll them into balls. Wrap each ball in cling film and place in the fridge to chill for 30 – 60 minutes. Once the dough is ready, preheat the oven to 220°C and on a floured surface, roll each ball into a thin 20cm circle.

04 Move the dough on to a baking tray, carefully pierce with a fork and trim the edges to neatenn them - keep the rough scraps on the tray to bake because they will be needed later. Bake each layer for 8 – 10 minutes until golden brown.

05 Once all 12 layers are baked, leave them on a wire rack to cool down. To make the cream filling, whisk together the egg yolks, sugar, cornstarch and water,

06 Pour the milk and flour into a large saucepan. Whisk the mixture and heat gently, stirring until it starts to steam and reaches a smooth consistency. Slowly add the warm milk to the egg mixture a little bit at a time.

07 One combined, return the whole mixture to the saucepan. Cook over a low-medium heat and stir gently for about 8 – 10 minutes until the custard thickens. Remove from the heat and whisk in the butter and vanilla extract until the whole mixture is incorporated.

08 Cover the custard with cling film and cool at room temperature. Once cooled, you can assemble the cake. Using a spatula evenly spread some of the cream filling between each pastry layer before covering the top and sides of the cake with the remaining cream.

09 Take the baked scraps of pastry and crumble over the cake for decoration. Chill the cake in the fridge overnight and remove one hour prior to serving.
THE LEAGUE OF WIVES

A powerful story that highlights the courage and bravery of military spouses

**Author** Heath Hardage Lee  **Publisher** Constable  **Price** £20  **Released** Out now

A ready optioned for a Hollywood movie, there is a considerable amount of hype surrounding The League Of Wives. As we all know, quite often hype can be a negative thing, particularly if the book does not meet our bolstered expectations. However, we are pleased to say that this book is a must-read and one that we couldn’t put down.

Recounting the story of the wives who fought to bring home their husbands who were taken prisoner or went missing during the Vietnam War, it’s not a light read. It is heart-wrenching to learn that these women “were seen not as bereaved individuals who needed comforting but as the stuff of public relations nightmares, and potential liabilities for the POWs”.

Then, in 1966, a disturbing video emerged from North Vietnam. It was a propaganda interview, broadcast on national television, with POW Admiral Jeremiah Denton. His wife, Jane Denton, their children and family were shocked to see how haggard he looked, but they didn’t understand the full implication of the footage - in it, he blinked the word ‘torture’ in morse code.

It confirmed the fears that the American POWs were actually being treated as war criminals, yet their wives were still being kept in the dark. Jane, along with Sybil Stockdale (the wife of Jim Stockdale, the highest-ranking Navy POW) and other POW/MIA wives, continued to visit Washington for answers but with no success - President Johnson was sticking to his ‘keep quiet’ policy.

Frustrated, Sybil took matters into her own hands and founded the National League Of Families in 1967, which included Jane and the rest of the wives, to advocate for the safe return of their husbands. It is hard not to immediately think of the growing feminist movement emerging in the United States at this time, although Lee makes it clear that these women did not identify themselves as ‘feminists’.

Not only were these women fighting on behalf of their loved ones, but they were doing so in the midst of both the financial and emotional turmoil caused by the impact of their husbands going missing, and the government’s failure to support them. There are numerous moments that are just so cold and cruel you might wish in vain that they are a work of fiction - but they are not.

The League openly challenged the government, travelled to North Vietnamese embassies across Europe, held both local and national meetings, and launched a media campaign to get their voices heard.

“There are moments so cold and cruel, you might wish in vain that they are a work of fiction”

By the time President Nixon entered the White House, the powerful lobbying of these women could not be ignored like it had been under the Johnson administration.

Despite Nixon’s downfall after the Watergate Scandal, many of the POW/MIA wives continued to lead him for the return of their husbands, which finally happened in 1973. While it is uplifting to read that many of the men were returned safely, it is also heartbreaking that many of them still MIA, never came home - even their remains were never found. Ultimately, the author, Heath Hardage Lee, sums it up rather nicely when she concludes: “Sybil and her League Of Wives remain role models for courageous women who speak the truth to power today.”
A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE

The little-known story of a woman who changed history

**Author** Sonia Purnell  **Publisher** Virago  **Price** £20  **Released** Out now

Virginia Hall is a name that will be unfamiliar to many, yet thanks to Sonia Purnell's excellent new biography of this remarkable woman, that situation is about to change.

The story of Virginia Hall, a Baltimore socialite who abandoned her wealthy fiancé to become first an ambulance driver then an SOE agent in occupied France, is one that would seem far-fetched were it fictional. Known as the 'spying lady', Hall lost a leg after a pre-war shooting accident but to her, this was merely an inconvenience. Operating behind enemy lines during World War II and escaping her enemies via an arduous trek through the Pyrenees, Hall faced the constant threat of arrest, torture and death, and at times the book reads almost like a thriller, filled with danger and suspicion. Yet after the war she was sidelined to a desk job for the CIA, her celebrated and highly decorated career less important than her gender and perceived disability.

In *A Woman Of No Importance*, Sonia Purnell brings Virginia Hall vividly back to life. She emerges as a key figure in the history of wartime intelligence, brave, uncompromising and completely dedicated to a mission that at times seemed more like a death sentence. Purnell's prose is perfectly in tune with her subject and impeccably researched. Her understandable admiration for Hall is clear and infectious. This appeal of this book isn't limited to enthusiasts of intelligence stories and wartime tales, but to everyone who loves a well-told story that deserves to be heard.

A HISTORY OF NURSING

A useful introduction to the early days of the profession

**Author** Louise Wyatt  **Publisher** Amberley  **Price** £14.99  **Released** Out now

In the 96-page *A History Of Nursing*, Louise Wyatt attempts to explore the history of the profession and examine how it developed from its earliest days in the ancient myths of folklore to the very different demands of the modern era. It's an ambitious undertaking but one that will prove entertaining and informative for anyone looking for an introduction to this fascinating topic.

This is a fast-paced, barely-pauses-for-breath trot through the greatest hits of centuries of nursing. As well as broader chapters on matters such as Nursing in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, there are summaries of specialisms and of course, more than a few famous nursing names. However, Wyatt doesn't simply revisit familiar stories, but instead turns the spotlight on lesser-known nurses throughout history in a series of short biographical summaries that will hopefully lead to readers seeking out more information about these trailblazers.

Though it's a slim volume, Wyatt's book is richly illustrated with a mix of photographs and illustrations, and her prose is enthusiastic and accessible. She clearly knows her subject well and cares about it too, which is hardly surprising given she trained as a nurse herself. The book, however, could have benefited from higher production values, especially given its price point. The text and images at times feel very cramped and though there's a bibliography, the lack of an index is disappointing. That said, it's a useful and readable way to bring yourself up to speed on the evolution of an incredibly important profession.
THE IMPERIAL TEA PARTY

Family and royal life mix messily in this fun account

Author Frances Welch Publisher Short Books Price £8.99 Released Out now

Queen Victoria and her family have been the subject of numerous books, but this new offering by Frances Welch should have no trouble standing out in a crowded field.

The Imperial Tea Party focuses on the three occasions the British and Russian royal families met in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

These were not only diplomatic encounters in a time of enmity but dysfunctional family get-togethers - the Tsarina Alix was said to be the favourite grandchild of Queen Victoria, and Edward, Prince of Wales' wife Alexandra was the sister of Tsar Nicholas II's mother, Maria Feodorovna.

Welch deftly guides the reader through the meetings at Balmoral, Scotland, in 1896; Reval (now Tallinn), Estonia, in 1908; and the Isle of Wight, in 1909, which were rife with mishaps though generally seen as successes.

Using family nicknames to add a touch of familiarity and intimacy to the pages - Alix, Nicky, Nicholas, Bertie, Edward etc., Welch gifts us with a sequence of humorous anecdotes including the Tsar's grumblings over hunting trips at nayswep Balmoral with his overbearing uncle Bertie, and clothing grievances such as Bertie appearing in his new far-too-small Russian military uniform at Reval. These scenes are framed by the political goings on in both countries as well as the frantic arrangements of every aspect of the royal visits.

It's an engaging jaunt through the dynamics of an eccentric extended family, but one framed by the growing turmoil of autocratic Russia and the poignancy of our knowing that war and revolution was to soon follow.
TOLKIEN

The Lord Of The Rings Author gets the biopic treatment

Certificate **TBC**  Director Dome Karukoski  Cast Nicholas Hoult, Lily Collins, Colm Meaney, Craig Roberts  Released: 3 May

There exists a certain tendency in British biopics. Movies about the past and figures of historical interest boast little aesthetic imagination, and arguably have too much reverence for the subject matter. There is a fundamental lack of honesty and nuance. Films with all the **pizzaaz** of an underfunded provincial museum diorama, these middlebrow Brit-specific types of biopic are directed too tastefully and respectfully, Opting to recreate times, periods and lives in such a way that the filmmaker’s role is that of the mortician or taxidermist, preserving a body in formaldehyde, stuffing and mounting it for display. Dome Karukoski’s Tolkien (2019) sadly conforms to type.

JRR Tolkien (1892-1973) is among the greatest fantasy writers of the 20th century. His novels The Hobbit (1937) and The Lord Of The Rings (1954) are rightfully deemed iconic and spawned Peter Jackson's hugely popular Oscar-winning big screen adaptations. Yet there exists more than a touch of grandiosement in the script by David Gleeson and Stephen Beresford, which cannot escape the fact Tolkien’s life really wasn’t very outwardly interesting at all. This presents a huge problem for a drama with little momentum to start with. The screenwriters and Karukoski therefore attempt to liven up proceedings by placing CGI-assisted imagery of dragons, knights and demonic creatures in real-life settings, as if we’re to readily believe Tolkien was a William Blake-like seer. We’re sorry to say, he wasn’t.

While the stylised WWI trench scenes – all sopha light, billowing, suffocating black smoke and blasts of consuming fire – are the most vivid passages of the film, it’s equally a stab at unconvincing dramatic license, a weak creative ploy and attempt at masking inherent problems in a general concept. The author, too, routinely pooped suggestions his days of combat inspired such hellscapes as Mordor.

Nicholas Hoult does good work as Tolkien because the actor is incapable of putting in a bad performance. But Karukoski’s English-language debut feels like an airbrushed hagiography - one determined to make an egghead Oxford scholar into an everyman figure, and relatable through his outsider credentials (a humble middle-class man in a world of toffs). While left with little money upon his parents’ deaths, handy family connections still ensured a private education and entrance to Oxford, where he initially floundered before getting drunk one night and impressing a philology professor. So much so, he’s given a scholarship and allowed to stay on.

The University of Oxford portions of the film attempt dramatic oomph by dressing them up as a tragic comment on artistic lives lost to the war, echoing a major theme of 1920s literature and society known as the Lost Generation. Close pals of Tolkien’s went to the front and were subsequently given a burial in a corner of a foreign field forever England. These friends represented a ‘fellowship’ and ‘a journey’, we’re told – in case we missed the ham-listed point from the storytelling alone.

“The author, too, routinely pooped suggestions his days of combat inspired such hellscapes as Mordor”
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Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

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**A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS**

*Director: Fred Zinnemann  Starring: Paul Scofield, Wendy Hiller, Leo McKern  Country: United Kingdom  Released: 1966*

An award-winning historical film that proves that accuracy does not have to be sacrificed for entertainment

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**VERDICT** A film that values both drama and accuracy

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**01** At the beginning, Thomas More is rebuked by Cardinal Wolsey for refusing to support his attempts to secure a divorce for King Henry VIII from the Pope. It is true that More opposed Henry’s annulment from Catherine of Aragon and his remarriage to Anne Boleyn.

**02** In the film, More is appointed as Lord Chancellor by the king after the death of Cardinal Wolsey. However, in reality Wolsey was actually stripped of his position a year before his death, at which point it was awarded to More.

**03** More’s refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, recognising King Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church, is accurate. He was then imprisoned in the Tower of London and placed on trial for high treason, for which he was found guilty.

**04** Richard Rich did exist in real life, although the film’s portrayal of him is rather inaccurate in terms of his longstanding relationship with More. However, the moment where Rich testifies against More at his trial, which was likely perjured, is accurate.

**05** Before his execution at the Tower Hill, More stands on the scaffold and calmly states “I die His Majesty’s good servant but God’s first,” and forgives his executioner. This actually did happen in reality, according to contemporary sources.
THE EGYPTIAN UNDERWORLD
EXPOSED
THE DARKER SIDE
OF THE ANCIENT CIVILISATION

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D-Day, the Allied invasion of Europe, began on the night of 5-6 June 1944. At 07:00 hours on the 5th, Britain’s first Corps and XXX Corps came ashore to withering fire from the entrenched German forces. Within the initial critical couple of hours some 30,000 soldiers, 300 guns and 700 armoured vehicles were landed, a magnificent achievement and, though the sands were soon choked with the muddle of all organisms and a swelling tide, the British were firmly lodged and a bridgehead was secured.

This is the story of the British soldiers’ experience of the beach landings on that fateful morning - the spearhead of Operation Overlord.

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