ALL ABOUT HISTORY

MEDIEVAL MEDICINE

From leeches to brain surgery, uncover the surprising truth of dark age health

AMERICA'S MOST WANTED

The hunt for John Dillinger

FORGOTTEN WOMEN ARTISTS

How Tate Britain is resurrecting lost masters

ANTI-NAZI FILMMAKER

How Fritz Lang ridiculed the Führer in his work

LOST ANCIENT EMPIRE

Discover the mighty Mycenae and their legacy

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A royal entourage attends to a sick monarch in this 15th-century print

Welcome

We tend to hold a pretty grim picture of medieval life in our minds as a default. The concept of the Dark Ages has probably coloured things a little, while miniatures and illuminations depicting hideous boils and gruesome surgeries have done the reputation of contemporary physicians no favours at all. But as with so much of history, the reality is always more complex than the surface-level understanding. Medieval medicine was primitive in many ways by modern standards, but also very innovative. There was no anaesthetic or a firm concept of antiseptic, and astrology played too much importance on the whole, but they understood wider holistic factors about maintaining physical health, and many remedies are still used to this day.

We welcome Elma Brenner as our guide through these often bloody and stomach-churning stories to understand exactly what medieval health workers hoped and thought they were achieving. For subscribers who now have access to our digital library (more info on page 10), you can enjoy even more medical history content in issues 81 and 128. Meanwhile, in this issue you can uncover the might of the ancient Mycenaeans, discover the lost female artists being celebrated in the Tate Gallery, find out how John Dillinger's crime sprees helped to form the FBI, and much more. As always, I hope you enjoy the issue.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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ALL ABOUT HISTORY

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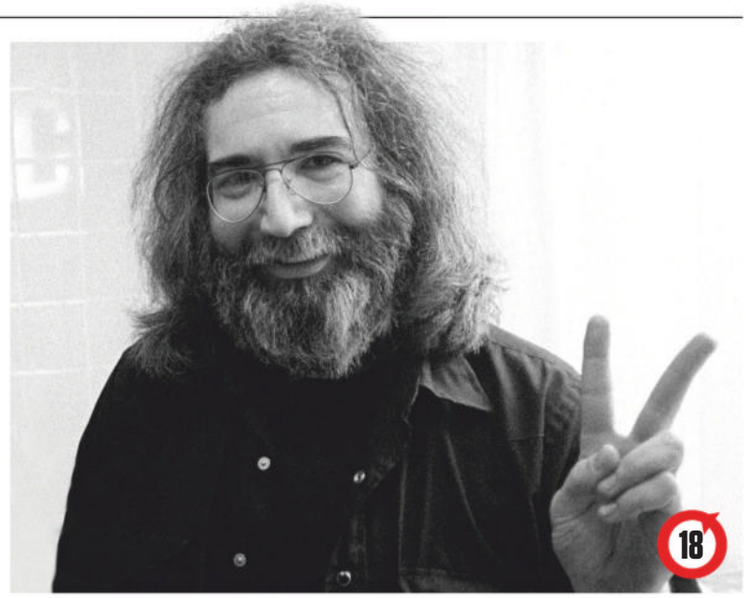

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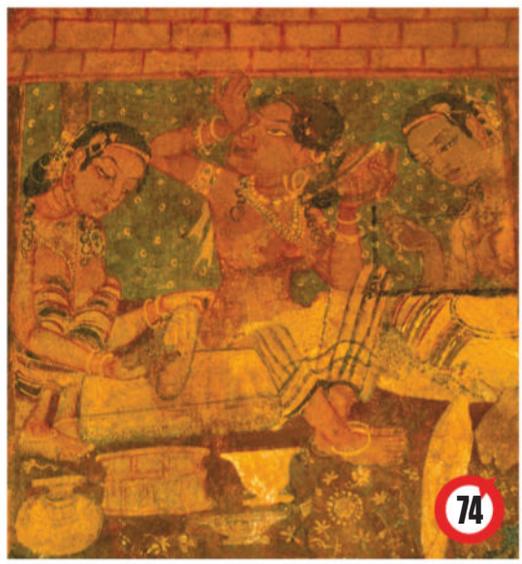

MEDIEVAL MEDICINE

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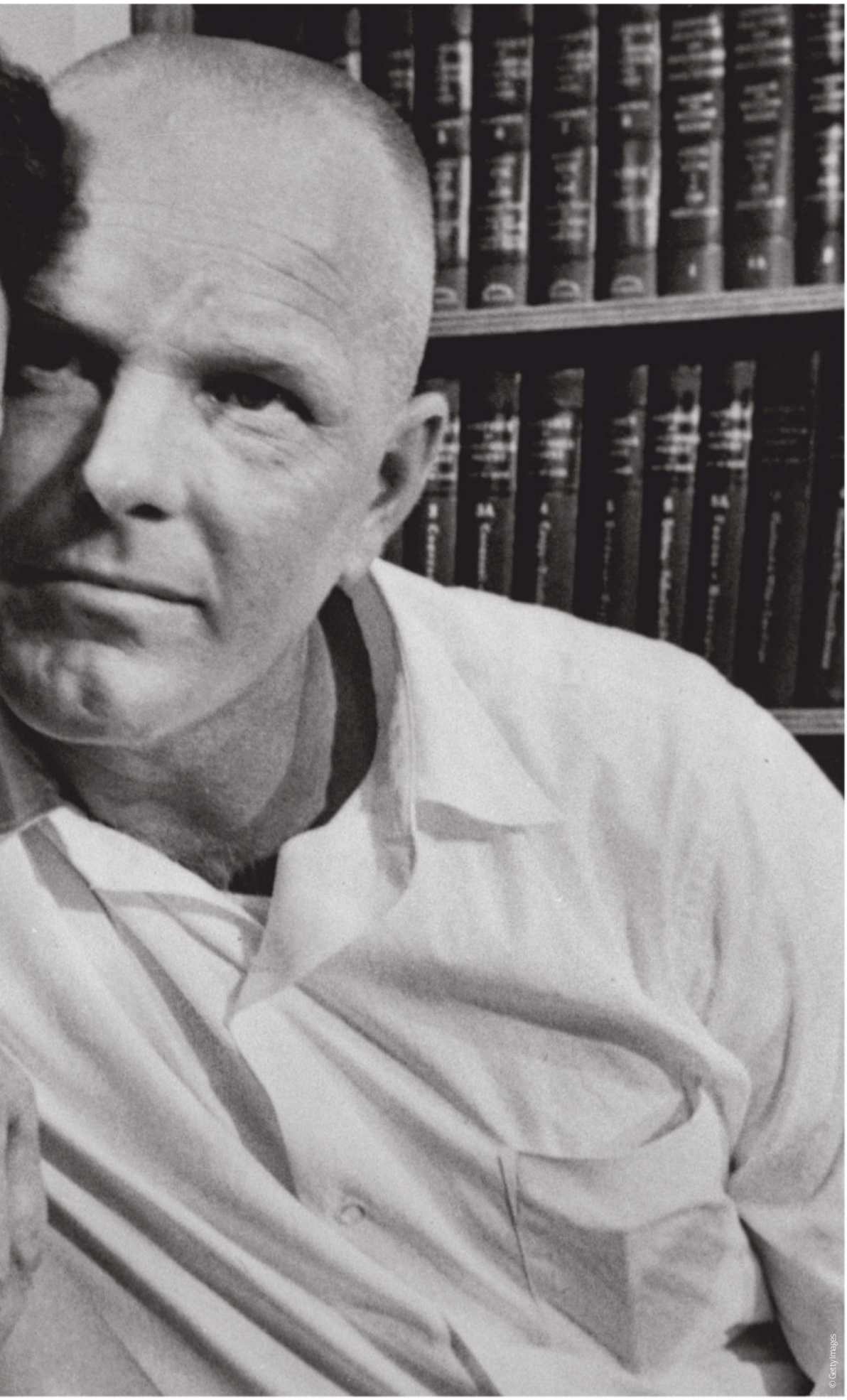
Defining Moments



© Getty Images

12 June 1967

LOVING v. VIRGINIA CASE

The Supreme Court ruled that American laws banning interracial marriage were unconstitutional in the ruling for the Loving v. Virginia case. The case concerned Richard and Mildred Loving, an interracial married couple who had been found guilty in Virginia in 1959 under the state's Racial Integrity Act, which banned marriage between "white" and "coloured" people. The Lovings appealed to the Supreme Court, who also overturned their criminal convictions.

© Getty Images

20 June 1975

JAWS RELEASED IN CINEMAS

Based on a novel by Peter Benchley, Steven Spielberg's classic film *Jaws*, about a deadly great white shark, was released in the US. Iconic for its ominous and memorable theme music by John Williams and mechanical shark, it was the first major movie to be filmed at sea. For two years after its release, *Jaws* was the highest-grossing film of all time and is now considered to be the first Hollywood blockbuster.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Images: © Getty Images

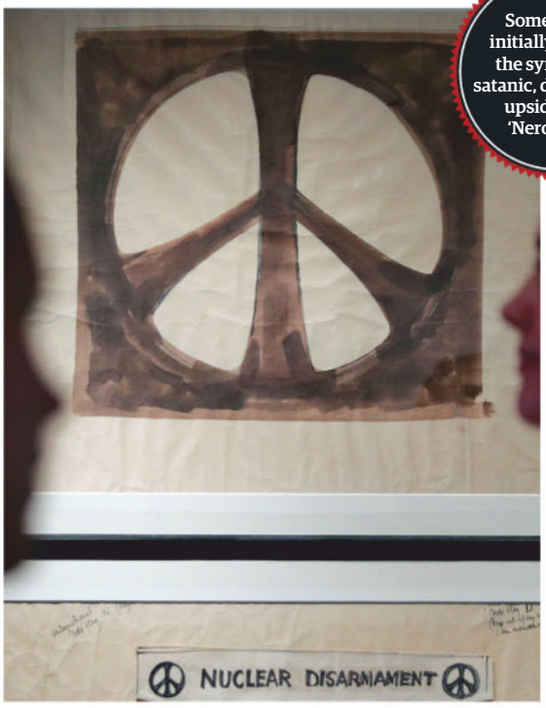
ALL ABOUT HIPPIES

We track the evolution of the hippy movement, from its Beat Generation roots to the rise of the counterculture and beyond

Main image: © Getty Images

Written by Emily Staniforth, Callum McKelvie, Rowena Cockett & Jonathan Gordon

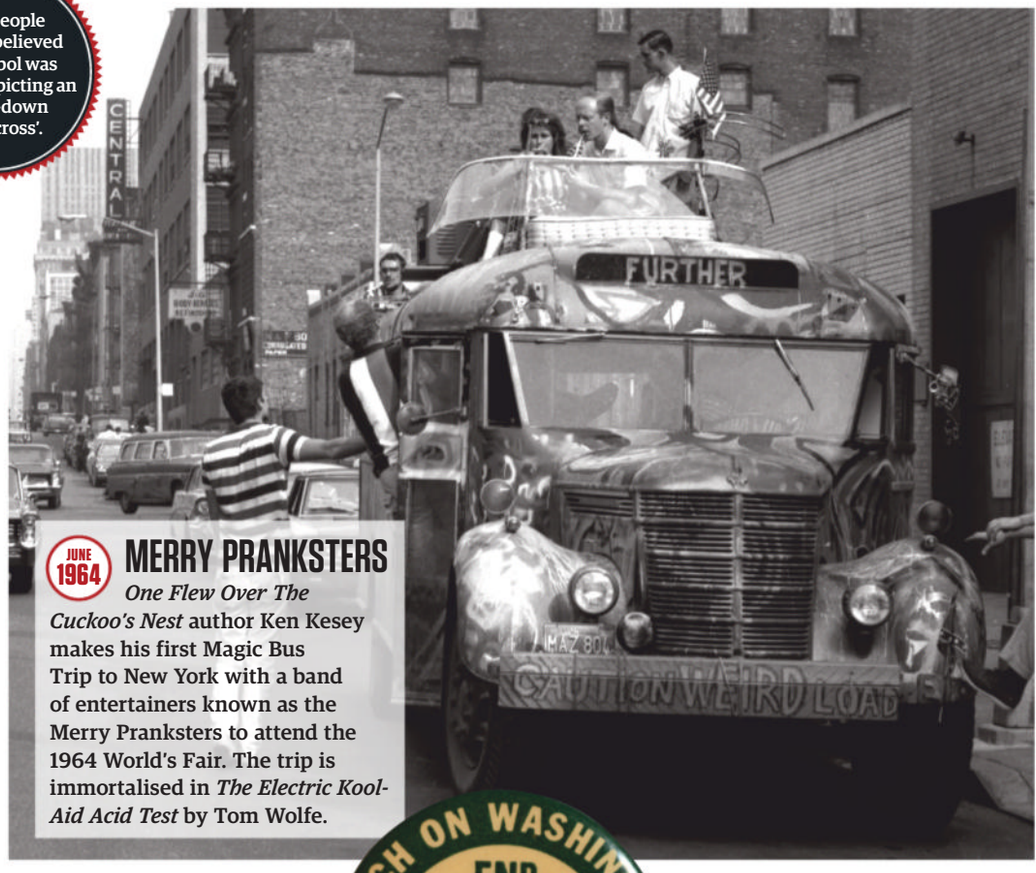
Key Events



Some people initially believed the symbol was satanic, depicting an upside-down 'Nero-cross'.

17 FEB 1958 GIVE PEACE A CHANCE

The peace symbol is introduced by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at their inaugural meeting in London. It is designed by Gerald Holtom and is based on the semaphore signals for N and D.



JUNE 1964 MERRY PRANKSTERS

One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest author Ken Kesey makes his first Magic Bus Trip to New York with a band of entertainers known as the Merry Pranksters to attend the 1964 World's Fair. The trip is immortalised in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* by Tom Wolfe.

A NEW VOICE
26 OCTOBER 1955

Taste-making weekly paper *The Village Voice* is launched focusing on culture and long-form investigative news, offering an alternative to mainstream outlets of the time.

FREE SPEECH
3 OCTOBER 1957

The publisher of Allen Ginsberg's influential beat poem *Howl* is acquitted of obscenity in landmark free speech case. The case was brought due to the poem's sexual content.

LARGEST PROTEST
17 APRIL 1965

March Against the Vietnam War is the first major rally against the war in the US, organised by the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and attended by 20,000, the most up to that point in time.

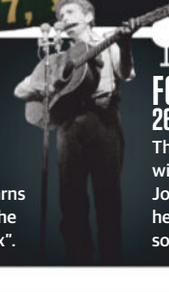
BEAT GENERATION
5 SEPTEMBER 1957

Originally written in 1951, *On The Road* by Jack Kerouac is published, marking the height of the hugely influential Beat Generation who inspire the counterculture to come.

17 FEB 1958

PARTING WORDS
17 JANUARY 1961

In his farewell address, before John F Kennedy was inaugurated as president, Dwight D Eisenhower warns of the increasing influence of what he calls the "military industrial complex".



JUNE 1964

FOLK FESTIVAL
26-28 JULY 1963

The Newport Folk Festival takes place with performances by Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Phil Ochs and Pete Seeger, helping to set folk music as the soundtrack of the counterculture.

05 SEP 1965 HIPPIES NAMED

Michael Fallon uses the term 'hippies' to refer to the San Francisco counterculture scene in an article for the *San Francisco Examiner*. The article discusses the growing Haight-Ashbury community and their feelings on marijuana.

The Monterey Pop Festival was one of the attractions in San Francisco this summer, promoted in a song by Scott McKenzie.

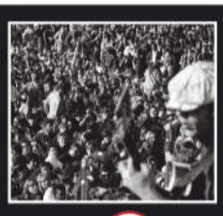
The death of their manager, Brian Epstein, had also pushed The Beatles to seek rest when they did.

JUN-SEP 1967 SUMMER OF LOVE

An estimated 75,000 to 100,000 hippies travel to the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco in a summer of protest, drugs, music, artistic expression, alternative religions and more. Local authorities cracked down with vagrancy laws, drugs busts and even redrawing bus routes away from Haight-Ashbury.

15 FEB 1968 THE BEATLES IN INDIA

After their meteoric rise and global fame, The Beatles travel to India to study Transcendental Meditation with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, bringing a mass of attention to the movement. While there they reportedly wrote 48 songs, forming the backbone of their upcoming White Album.



HUMAN BE-IN
14 JANUARY 1967

The Human Be-In event is held in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco and attended by 20,000 people, thought to be a catalyst for the Summer of Love to come.

DRUG ENFORCEMENT
8 APRIL 1968

Following a directive from President Lyndon Johnson, the US Congress establishes the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to prevent illicit trafficking of controlled substances.

THE LOTTERY DRAFT
1 DECEMBER 1969

The first draft lottery since WWII is held in New York to conscript more young men into the US forces based on birth dates. A new wave of anti-conscription protests result.

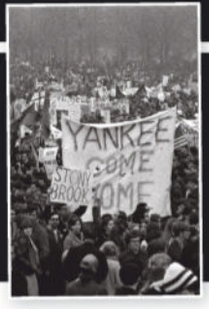
05 SEP 1965 — JUN-SEP 1967 — 15 FEB 1968 — 25 MAR 1969 — 15 AUG 1969

COMMUNAL LIVING
MAY 1965

Drop City is founded in Colorado, one of the first hippy communes to begin popping up around the United States promoting an alternative way of life.

ANTI-WAR PROTESTS
15 APRIL 1967

A day of protests spans multiple cities, with the most significant seeing 400,000 march from Central Park to the UN to voice their opposition to the Vietnam War.



KENT STATE SHOOTINGS
4 MAY 1970

Four students are shot dead by National Guard during a protest against the Vietnam War at Kent State University. The shocking images spark a new wave of student protests.

25 MAR 1969 BED-IN FOR PEACE

Following their marriage in Gibraltar, John Lennon and Yoko Ono invite the press to their Amsterdam Hilton Hotel room to witness their Bed-In for peace. They refused to leave their bed for a week in protest to the Vietnam War, hoping to cash in on public interest in their relationship to promote a bigger message.

15 AUG 1969 WOODSTOCK

A three-day rock festival on a farm in Bethel, New York attracts artists such as Jimi Hendrix, The Who, the Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin and many other luminaries of the counterculture and hippy movements. It's believed that around half a million people attended the festival.

WOODSTOCK FESTIVAL

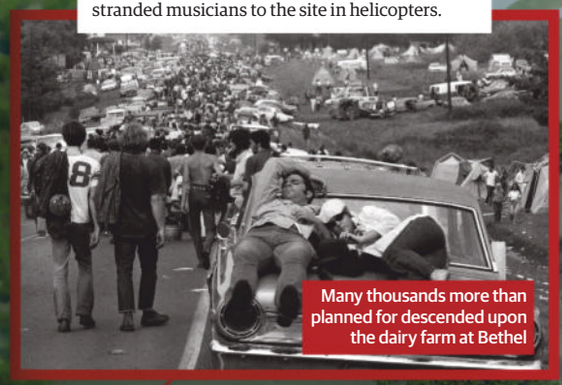
New York, United States 1969

Between 15 and 18 August 1969, a farm in the small town of Bethel, New York became host to one of the most iconic music events of all time. Thousands of young "hippies" descended on the grounds of a dairy farm, at which stages had been erected and performers booked, to take part in a planned three-day festival that celebrated love and peace. The idea for the festival began with a group of musicians, producers and businessmen – Michael Lang, Artie Kornfeld, Joel Rosenman and John Roberts – who wished to set up a new recording studio in Woodstock, New York. To finance their ambition, they came up with the idea to hold the festival, but when they were unable to find a venue in Woodstock itself, the group found a home for their event at the farm in the nearby town of Bethel. Despite the change of location, the group decided not to change the name of the event and so it went ahead as Woodstock Music and Art Fair.

A number of high-profile musicians were booked to perform and tickets were sold to approximately 186,000 people. But on Woodstock's opening day, it became clear that the number of people attending would be much higher. It has since been calculated that over 400,000 people flooded into the farm grounds at Bethel, creating a chaotic and crowded environment. However, the event was largely peaceful, with the crowds of Woodstock bonding over their shared values and desire for peace, particularly with regards to the ongoing Vietnam War that many of Woodstock's performers expressed their opposition to. During the festival, it may well have looked to outsiders that the whole event was a disastrous, muddy, disorganised mess. But to the attendees, performers and onlookers around the world, Woodstock was a seminal moment in history.

TRAFFIC JAMS

On the first day of Woodstock, the roads leading into Bethel became jammed as double the expected amount of festival-goers made their way to the site. With traffic heading back miles, people began to abandon their cars on the roads and walk to the venue. To ensure the performers made it to the farm, the organisers asked the army to help. They stepped in, transporting stranded musicians to the site in helicopters.



Many thousands more than planned for descended upon the dairy farm at Bethel

ILL-EQUIPPED

Given that the festival organisers were only expecting a maximum of 200,000 people to turn up to Woodstock, it is unsurprising that the site was not prepared to accommodate the nearly half a million people that attended. Sanitation became a problem, as did food supplies and medical care. There were at least two reported deaths during the festival (one man was run over by a tractor), as well as two rumoured births, several miscarriages and a multitude of drug overdoses.

A HISTORIC PLACE

Woodstock was significant because it captured a moment in time and the mood of a young generation. It has become synonymous with the hippy and counterculture movement, and thus retains an important place in American history. Organiser Michael Lang said of Woodstock: "That's what means the most to me – the connection to one another felt by all of us who worked on the festival, all those who came to it, and the millions who couldn't be there but were touched by it." The site of the festival was put on the National Register of Historic Places in 2017.

MUD, MUD, AND MORE MUD...

Mother Nature was not kind to those at Woodstock, as sporadic bouts of rain caused problems all weekend. Consistent downpours turned the fields of the dairy farm into a mud-covered landscape and meant that scheduled performances kept getting delayed. However, the festival continued until the bitter end and attendees endured the muddy conditions to remain at the site.

MAX YASGUR

The owner of the farm at which Woodstock took place was Max Yasgur, a 49-year-old dairy farmer who offered his land to the festival organisers for a price. Many of his neighbours who opposed the festival made life difficult for Yasgur, threatening and shunning him. Some even made signs saying "Don't buy Yasgur's milk. He loves the hippies". However, Yasgur ignored them and even made a speech from the main stage praising the young crowds.

JIMI HENDRIX

Arguably the most iconic and memorable moment of Woodstock came when Jimi Hendrix took to the main stage as the last performer of the weekend. Originally scheduled to close the festival on Sunday night, delays meant that Hendrix didn't actually go on stage until 9am on Monday. At this point, many of the crowds had headed home and so Hendrix only performed to around 40,000 people. His electrifying set, complete with his politically charged rendition of the American anthem *The Star-Spangled Banner* became an enduring moment in the counterculture movement.

Jefferson Airplane performing with their lead singer Grace Slick

PERFORMERS

A total of 32 musical acts performed over the course of the festival weekend, beginning with Richie Havens who took to the stage on the Friday afternoon. He was not scheduled to perform until later, but due to the extreme traffic, was one of the first performers available as the festival opened. Other Woodstock performers included Janis Joplin, The Who, Jefferson Airplane (above), Creedence Clearwater Revival, Ravi Shankar and The Band.

FREE FESTIVAL

Woodstock was intended by its organisers to be a ticketed festival with entry to each day costing $6 each. But, the number of people that turned up and the lax security measures left the organisers with little choice but to declare the event a free festival. As a result, Woodstock left the organisers in debt, having spent around $15 million in today's money to put on the event and keep everyone safe and fed throughout the festival.

MAIN STAGE

The stage at Woodstock was graced by music royalty over the course of the festival weekend. However, it was a rush for the organisers to build the stage on time, and it was still unfinished when the first festival-goers turned up at the site a couple of days before the event was due to start. As the organisers prioritised the building of the main stage, they did not have time to build security fences.

Hundreds of thousands endured the rain and mud for the historic festival

HOG FARM

The organisers of Woodstock turned to Hog Farm, a hippy commune established in California in the 1960s, to help them with the running of the festival. Led by peace activist Wavy Gravy, also known as Hugh Romney, Hog Farm travelled to Bethel to help with security, set up food stands and build fire pits. They also erected a children's playground and a tent in which anyone reacting badly to drugs could get help.

Anatomy

HIPPY

USA
1960s

NON-CONFORMITY

Hippy fashion of the 1960s can be characterised as disruptive and rebellious. Not wanting to conform, the hippy 'look' for men often involved growing their hair and beards long, wearing jewellery and favouring 'unusual' clothing. Women also favoured long hair, tended to wear minimal makeup and sometimes did not wear bras.

INSPIRATIONS

Hippies of the 1960s took inspiration for their fashion from across the world. Garments like kaftans, tunics and kimonos from Asia began to become popular clothing choices, as did Eastern patterns and motifs like paisley. Tie-dye techniques, synonymous with the hippy movement, were inspired by dyeing methods used in Asia.

JEWELLERY

Wearing jewellery, particularly for men, allowed hippies to rebel against societal norms. The style of jewellery worn was largely influenced by Eastern cultures, as well as by Native American art. Beaded necklaces, like this one, were popular with both men and women.

PSYCHEDELIA

The use of psychedelic drugs, like LSD and magic mushrooms, was widespread in the hippy movement, and as a result heightened and flamboyant colours and patterns became popular fashion staples. This 'psychedelic' style served as an opposing choice to the fitted and monotone clothing that had been popular in the previous decades.

EVOLVING FASHION

At the beginning of the 1960s, the fashion favoured by early hippies tended to be muted in colour and clothing was simple and understated. However, as the decade progressed, hippy fashion became more garish and colourful with psychedelic patterns, wider trousers and jewellery for men and women becoming the norm.

BARE FEET

As hippy culture was part of the wider counterculture movement of the 1960s, much of the fashions reflected a desire to go against the grain and protest against the establishment. Going barefoot acted as a symbol of resistance as well as a fashion choice for some hippies, though sandals were also a popular form of footwear for both men and women.

BELL BOTTOMS

Flared trousers, also known as bell bottoms, were worn as part of the US Navy uniform. Second-hand Navy bell bottoms bought from thrift shops became part of the resistance of the counterculture movement when hippies, who promoted peace and love, repurposed them. Seeing their popularity, clothing lines started to produce their own bell bottom trousers in different designs and colours for the fashion market.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

JANIS JOPLIN'S PORSCHE 356

This trippy mode of transportation was owned by one of the hippy movement's key figures, before her tragic death

United States, 1960s

Of all the musical legends associated with the hippy movement, the name of Janis Joplin is one of the most famous. She instantly became a counter-culture icon due to her psychedelic musical styles, which infused rock with traditional blues. Previously a singer with the band Big Brother and the Holding Company, she is best known for her two solo albums, *I Got Dem Ol' Kozmic Blues Again Mama!* in 1969 and *Pearl* in 1971. Visually she likewise became recognised for her bold fashions, which inspired many a young hippy. Alongside her beaded necklaces, fur hats and crocheted vests was her pop-art mode of transportation.

Joplin's trippy transport was a 1964 Porsche 356C, which she bought in 1968 for $3,500. Although she initially received the car in a standard production colour, she offered roadie Dave Richards $500 if he could devise something a little more 'colourful'. His artwork was given the nickname 'the history of the universe' and ensured the car was instantly recognisable. Fans would flock to the vehicle and purportedly even leave notes for Joplin under the windshield wipers.

On 4 October 1970, Joplin passed away of an accidental heroin overdose in a Los Angeles hotel at the age of 27. Three months later, her second album *Pearl* was released posthumously and became an instant sensation. It reached number one on the Billboard charts and according to *Far Out* magazine was certified a platinum album four times. Joplin herself has received a number of posthumous honours, including being inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1995 and receiving a Lifetime Achievement Award at the 2005 Grammys.

Following her death the car became the property of her manager Albert Grossman, before he gave it to her siblings in 1975. The car was sold in 2015 to an anonymous buyer for $1.76 million, but eager Joplin fans may still be able to catch a glimpse of the iconic vehicle as the car is still occasionally displayed in the Michigan area where the owner resides.

ABOVE Joplin pictured with her famous Porsche, a year before her death

RESTORED ARTWORK

When the Porsche became the property of Michael Joplin, he personally used the car and painted it Dolphin Grey. In 1995, Jana Mitchell and Amber Owen worked hard to recreate Dave Richards' original artwork.

ETHEREAL DESIGN

Richards stated that he worked on the iconic 'History of the Universe' artwork for a week. Among the sights depicted are ethereal landscapes, Joplin herself and a strange eye which Richards himself described as 'the eye of god'.

ATTEMPTED THEFT

In 1969, Joplin's Porsche was stolen when she was performing in San Francisco. The thief had painted over some of the car's famous design but the original artist was able to restore much of the original art.

ENGINE

The 356C was produced when Porsche had already begun making the first of their 911 models, and only 16,684 were made. The car had a top speed of 125mph and was capable of going 0-60 in 11 seconds.

Hall of Fame

INFLUENTIAL HIPPIES

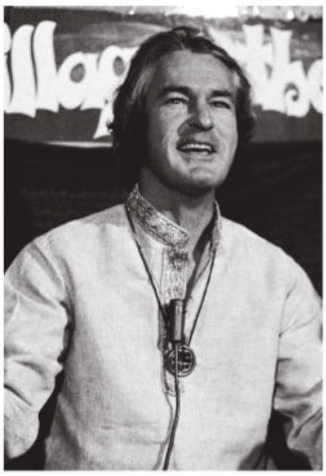
Some of the artists, musicians and thinkers who shaped the counterculture movement

Hendrix's last gig was at the Isle of Fehmarn festival in Germany on 6 September 1970. He died 12 days later.

Jimi Hendrix
1942 – 1970

As a Black musician bringing a civil rights message to a largely white hippy crowd, Hendrix bridged the gap between two major social movements of the 1960s. With his colourful Carnaby Street clothing and sensuous style, he also fully embraced the image of love and community that his fans were drawn to. The Jimi Hendrix Experience released their first album in 1967 and dazzled crowds with Hendrix's inventive guitar skills. He famously played *The Star-Spangled Banner* at Woodstock, the last artist to take the stage for the three-day festival. He died from a drug overdose in London in 1970, aged 27.

TIMOTHY LEARY
1920 – 1996



Hallucinogens were an important element of the hippy movement and one of the leading figures in researching psychedelic substances was Timothy Leary, who worked in the Department of Psychology at Harvard. Leary had a Catholic background and attended West Point Military Academy before receiving his doctorate in psychology in 1950. At Harvard he began working with psilocybin and investigating its effects for expanding human perception. His work was discredited and he was fired from Harvard, but remained an advocate for such drugs.

OWSLEY STANLEY
1935 – 2011

Known as the King of LSD (but simply 'Bear' to his friends), Stanley produced millions of doses of the psychedelic drug during the 1960s, supplying many of the famous bands and artists who crossed his path, including The Beatles, Jimi Hendrix and the Merry Pranksters. He toured with the Grateful Dead, working as a sound engineer, innovating new techniques for live audio recording to create his Sonic Journals.

Joplin's last recordings were *Mercedes Benz* and a birthday song for John Lennon.

JANIS JOPLIN
1943 – 1970

Joplin left Port Arthur, Texas, in pursuit of a music career in 1963. She sang her beloved blues music in clubs before moving to California and becoming lead vocalist for Big Brother and the Holding Company in 1966, being drawn into the Haight-Ashbury hippy scene of San Francisco. With a reputation for hard partying and bisexual relationships, not to mention her gutsy, powerful vocal styles, Joplin embodied the liberation many sought from the hippy movement. She sadly died from an overdose at the age of 27 in 1970.

Michael Bowen
1937 – 2009

The 'Beat Generation' were a massive influence on the hippies and artist Michael Bowen fully embraced the movement of this new era. He co-founded the underground newspaper, the *San Francisco Oracle*, organised the Love Pageant Rally against the criminalisation of LSD and held performance art events. One of the most famous was 'Human Be-In' in 1967 starring Allen Ginsberg, Timothy Leary, Ram Dass and other counterculture luminaries as speakers. It brought together the free-love hippies and non-violent activists into one space and is thought to have been a catalyst for the Summer of Love.

ABBIE HOFFMAN
1936 – 1989

Hoffman is best known as one of the Chicago Seven, activists who were arrested following their anti-war protest of the 1968 Democratic National Convention, on charges of criminal conspiracy and incitement to riot. Hoffman had started the Youth International Party (Yippies) in his attempts to direct the youth counterculture movement into more effective political activism. Hoffman, with four others, was found guilty of crossing state lines to start a riot, but this conviction was later overturned.

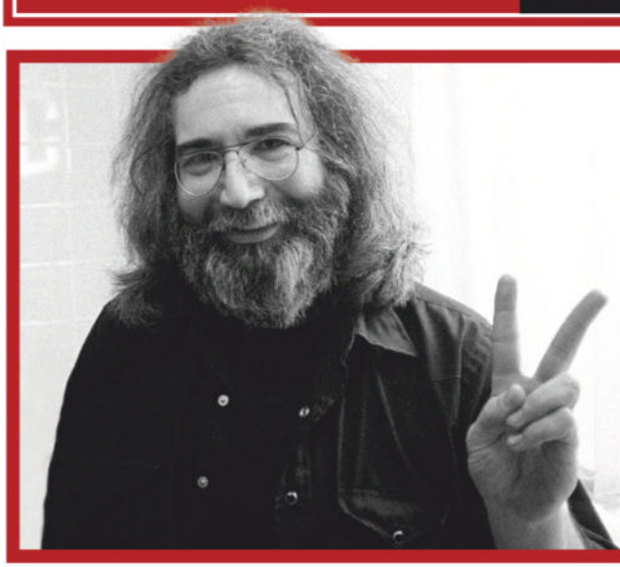
KEN KESEY
1935 – 2001

Author of *One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest* (1962), Ken Kesey's follow-up book, *Sometimes A Great Notion* (1964) challenged conformity and individualism, core questions of the hippy movement he was fast becoming a focal point for. He was also the ringleader and chronicler of a band of entertainers and psychedelic evangelists known as the Merry Pranksters. They crossed the United States in a bus, covered in graffiti, sharing LSD in their 'Acid Tests'.

Yoko Ono
1933 – Present

Best known as the wife of The Beatles' John Lennon, Ono had already established herself as a provocative and experimental artist in New York's gallery scene through the 1960s. The first woman admitted to Gakushūin University's philosophy program in 1952, she moved to New York from Tokyo in 1953. From 1956 she was engaged with the avant-garde art scene, working on multimedia and genre works that mixed performance and viewer engagement. Many of these were gathered in her book, *Grapefruit* (1964). Ono met Lennon in London in 1966, marrying in 1969 and holding their famous bed-ins for peace that same year.

Ono's first solo show in Manhattan included 'Instruction Paintings' for viewers to interact with her work.

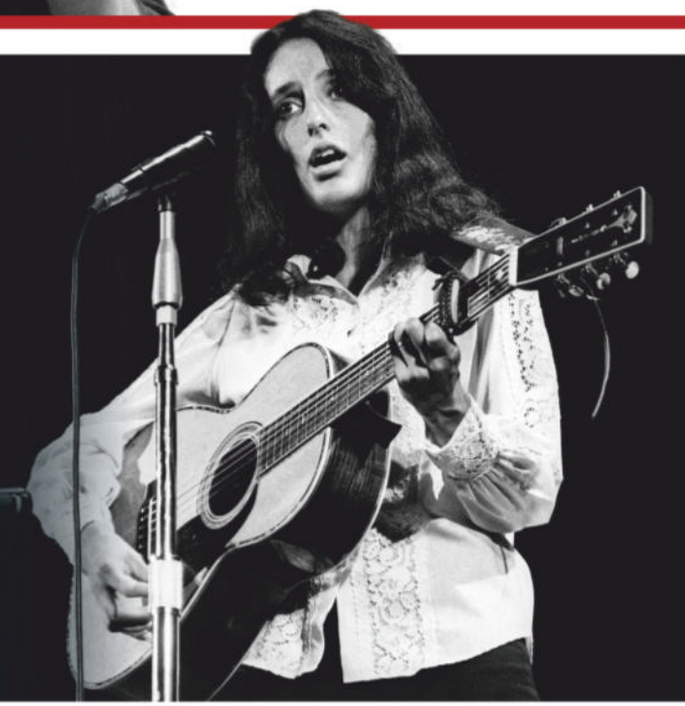


Jerry Garcia
1942 – 1995

As the lead singer, guitarist and songwriter of the Grateful Dead, Garcia was the avatar of one of the most long-lasting and iconic bands of the hippy era. The Dead toured and recorded incessantly, well beyond the 1960s and '70s, drawing massive crowds, but even more uniquely, a travelling coterie of devoted fans who saw multiple performances. Going to see the Dead was a pilgrimage and Garcia was its preacher. Bandmate John Perry Barlow told *Rolling Stone* after Garcia's death, "Jerry was one of those manifestations of the energy of his times."

Joan Baez
1941 – Present

Folk music was the soundtrack to the early counterculture movement and Baez was its biggest star for many years. Born on Staten Island, New York, Baez released her first solo album in 1960 and played with Bob Dylan as they spearheaded a folk music revival. While Dylan's music was embraced by activists, Baez was the one who embraced them back, offering free shows in support of civil rights causes and anti-war groups. She sang *We Shall Overcome* at the March on Washington in 1963, the setting for Martin Luther King Jr's famous 'I have a dream' speech.



Q&A

NOT ALL PEACE AND LOVE

John A Moretta explains how the Vietnam War threatened to tear American society apart and launched a wave of impassioned student protests

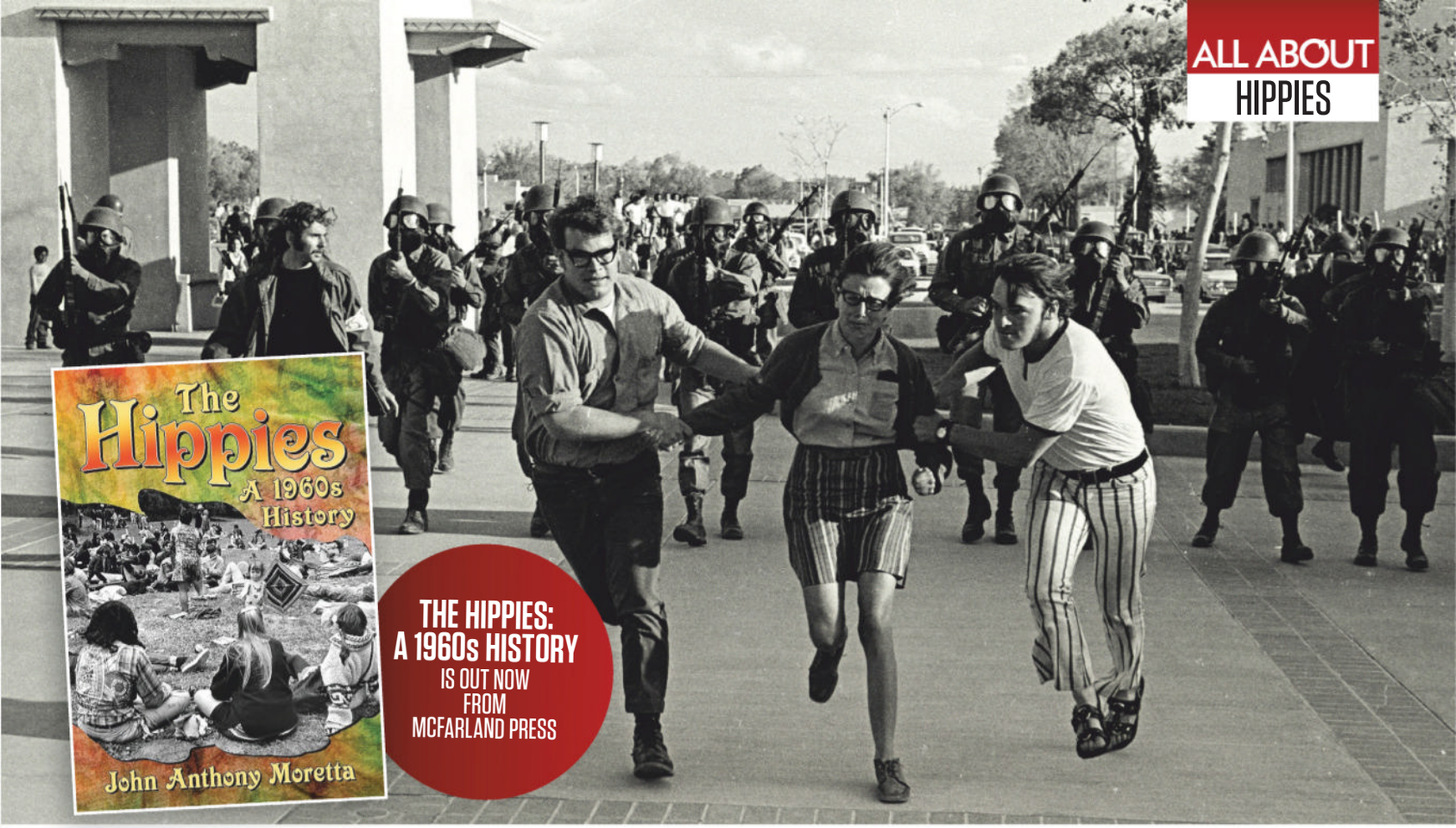
Why was the US involved in the Vietnam War?

Since the start of the Cold War, the USA had become increasingly afraid of the spread of communism. Interestingly, this was never the Soviets' objective. While countries embraced Leninism, for example Cuba, this was never a policy that the USSR actively pursued. But American anti-communist paranoia resulted in an overwhelming fear of more countries falling to communist ideology. In the 1950s under the auspices of John Foster Dulles, a rabid anti-communist Secretary of State for the Eisenhower administration, the Domino Theory was developed. He posited that if communism was allowed to thrive in one country, it would quickly spread to others and they would fall one by one like dominoes. The Democrats, Kennedy and Johnson, also embraced this idea. It is this fear that led to US involvement in Vietnam.

How did US involvement intensify?

The initial plan was to prop up the Vietnamese government, sending them any military hardware they needed. When John F Kennedy became president he didn't want to lose the war, so he started pouring what he referred to as 'advisors' into Vietnam and at the time of his assassination over 16,000 troops had been deployed there. That's a hell of a lot of advisors. But it's JFK's successor, Lyndon B Johnson, who really escalated the war and by 1967-68, there were close to 600,000 troops deployed in Vietnam. In January 1968 there was the Tet Offensive and Johnson lost tremendous credibility. It was incredibly embarrassing, he had just told the American people there was

John A Moretta is a historian and Professor of History at Houston Community College. He is the author of numerous works exploring the counter-cultural movements of the 1960s including *The Hippies: A 1960s History* (McFarland Press, 2017). He is currently working on a book exploring the SDS's legacy in Austin, Texas.



THE HIPPIES: A 1960s HISTORY
IS OUT NOW FROM MCFARLAND PRESS

light at the end of the tunnel and now they saw the American Embassy being assaulted on television. The result was that he chose not to run for reelection. Richard Nixon initially campaigns on a promise to end the war, but when he is elected it drags on for five more years. The result is student unrest and the war becomes the single most important issue with the youth rebellion.

How involved was the hippy movement with these protests?

Well, I would be careful not to conflate the hippy movement with the New Left. These are really separate counter-cultural movements. 80 per cent of the hippies opted out of society and the war was just one more confirmation that this was a vicious, murderous country. And so they retreated from society into communes and into drugs. On the other hand, the student activists, the New Left, believed they had a responsibility and moral obligation to stop the war. They saw it as blatant American aggression run amok.

Who were the New Left? What was their place among the counter-cultural movements of the time?

The New Left is really SDS (Students for Democratic Society) and they were formed in 1960 by Tom Hayden. Their early years were spent fighting the biggest sin in the United States: racism. So this mostly white student activist group, and there weren't very many of them, began

LEFT An anti-war protest in Washington DC in 1970

ABOVE Following the deaths at Kent State University on 4 May 1970, the National Guard were once again called in to remove students who had taken over the Students' Union in protest

to join the freedom marches. When Johnson began to pass the civil rights acts, that momentarily took the wind out of these protests. However, in 1965, when Johnson started to escalate the war, the students suddenly had a new cause. They protested about how this reflected America and demonstrated the military industrial complex run amok. When he then began to draft, the student protests got even bigger.

How much is the draft responsible for the protests?

The anti-war protest is against the war, though obviously that also means being against the draft. Kids of that generation were told they were the future of America, but that depended upon you getting a college degree. White, middle-class college kids were not being drafted. The rank and file of SDS are overwhelmingly white middle- and upper-class college kids. You didn't find some poor blue collar kid protesting the war, because he's not in college. He's not exposed to all of these ideas, he's not aware and he's the poor guy that's going to end up going over there.

How much can the Kent State University protests of 4 May 1970 be considered a flash point?

That was the beginning of the end. On 4 May 1970, during student protests at Kent State University in Ohio, the National Guard were called out and ended up killing four students and wounding nine more. When the guards were called out, the protests just shut down. This was not what they had bargained for and Nixon knew this. By 1969, SDS had already imploded and so the next wave of protests were spontaneous and localised. Those kids who protested at Kent State were not part of a wider national movement. In the United States, the National Guard can only be called on the direct orders of the President. American youth in the late 60s, we were a pampered generation, we were not going to stand up to this - it was not worth it.

In Austin, Texas there was an interesting case of the hippy movement working alongside the student activists - could you tell me a little more about this?

This is the whole focus of my new book. In Austin, Texas there was a huge university, 50,000 kids there and SDS had a very strong presence. SDS realised that their movement would be much stronger if they became inclusive of all the other counter-culture groups. As such they actively welcomed the hippies into their ranks among a wealth of others. Together they protested the war, among other issues. This mindset carried over into the 1970s and allowed Austin, Texas to become one of the most progressive, avant-garde and music capitals of the world. This is all part of the legacy of this unique blend of cooperation between the hippies and the political students.

THE HIPPY MOVEMENT

Create your very own hippy trail with these five stand-out sites

1 GLASTONBURY
SOMERSET, UK

Few places in the UK have kept up the hippy vibe into the modern day quite so much as Glastonbury has. You may know it for the famous music festival that takes place near Pilton each year, but the town itself is a haven of hippy fashion, trends, and interests. Hippy counterculture began leaving its mark on the town in the 1960s, with caravans of eager travellers scattering across the area and Pat Leyshon painting the first of the town's colourful murals, composed of bright flowers and butterflies, on the front of her shop, the Pat Li Shun.

Glastonbury is now full of colourful street art, which you can follow via the mural trail, as well as a range of shops selling unique clothing, accessories, candles, incense, and books on all manner of topics like history, mythology, yoga, and astrology. You can also visit the ancient Chalice Well and its surrounding spiritual gardens.

Town free and open all hours. Chalice Well open 10am to 6pm, entry £5.


The high street is filled with quirky and colourful shops

2 BEATLES ASHRAM
RISHIKESH, INDIA

The hippy movement saw an increased interest in Eastern cultures and alternative ways of life, and it was this quest for new experiences that prompted The Beatles to journey to an ashram in Rishikesh, northern India, in 1968. They went to take part in a Transcendental Meditation course led by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, inspiring them to write many of the successful songs that appeared on the White Album released later that same year.

Nowadays, the ashram is abandoned and derelict, but it opened to the public in 2015 and attracts many visitors each year. The site is partially overrun by jungle, but it is also filled with colourful murals and graffiti dedicated to the Beatles, affording you some great photo opportunities. You can also explore the meditation huts and chambers and imagine what life might have been like here when the Beatles used it to escape the hustle and bustle of the Western world.

Open 10am to 4pm, entry ₹600.


Numerous Beatles images and lyrics adorn the walls


These colourful Victorian houses bore witness to the Summer of Love in 1967

3 HAIGHT-ASHBURY
SAN FRANCISCO, USA

San Francisco became a major centre for the hippy movement in America in the mid-1960s, culminating in the famous 'Summer of Love' in 1967, during which up to 100,000 young people descended on the Haight-Ashbury district of the city. They gathered in their droves to protest against the war in Vietnam and the materialism of modern American society, to experiment with alternative religions and the use of psychedelic drugs, and to celebrate music and 'free love'. Celebrities like The Beatles' George Harrison made visits to the Haight-Ashbury gathering, and its heavy presence in the media gained worldwide publicity for the counterculture movement at that time.

Unfortunately, the situation became increasingly chaotic, with the proliferation of crime, overcrowding, and homelessness prompting people to gradually leave the area and return to their former lives. In a symbolic act, the hippies who remained in San Francisco held a mock funeral ceremony known as the 'Death of the Hippie' in October 1967 to mark the end of the event.

Despite undergoing extensive regeneration in the 1980s, Haight-Ashbury still retains a strong affinity with its hippy history. You can walk along streets of colourful Victorian houses, shop in vintage clothing and record stores, and visit the nearby Hippie Hill where the likes of Janis Joplin and The Grateful Dead once played to their enraptured audiences.

Free and open all hours.


Street stalls in the medina of Essaouira

4 ESSAOUIRA
MARRAKESH-SAFI, MOROCCO

In an attempt to discover alternative perspectives and work out their own place in the world, many hippies journeyed overland along what become known as the 'hippy trail'. From 1957 to 1978 around 100,000 young Americans and Europeans embarked on the trail, visiting places like India, Morocco, Iran, Afghanistan, and Nepal. Essaouira, a laid-back seaside town not far from Marrakesh in Morocco, became the destination of choice for several famous musicians of the day, most notably Jimi Hendrix in the summer of 1969.

While the details of Hendrix's time here have become increasingly embellished by the locals, he undoubtedly left a profound mark on the place during his short stay, leading to numerous stories, murals, and a Jimi Hendrix café in nearby Diabat. Visitors can still soak up the calm, rich atmosphere so loved by these former hippies by wandering through the artisan craft shops in the medina, taking a stroll along the hot beach, or relaxing in the rooftop bars and restaurants.

Free and open all hours.

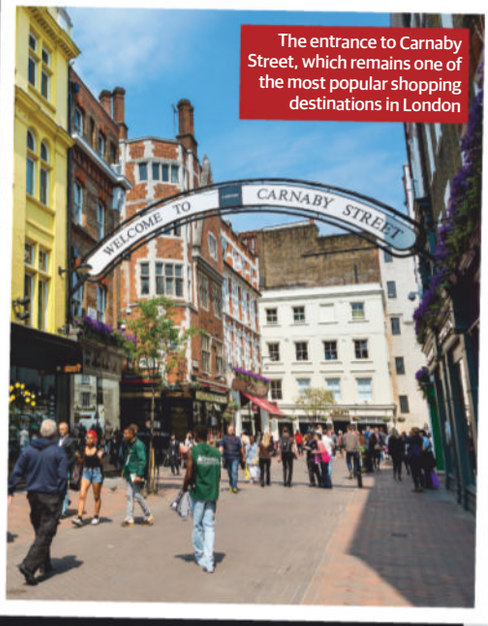
5 CARNABY STREET
LONDON, UK

Time magazine first described London as 'The Swinging City' in 1966, and Carnaby Street in London's Soho district became a key centre for the music, fashion, and trends of the time. Young people flocked to the boutiques along this street, keen to soak up the colourful and creative atmosphere, discover new music and fashion trends, and perhaps even catch a glimpse of some of their favourite celebrities. Popular bands such as The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Kinks and The Who could regularly be seen visiting Carnaby Street, adding to its image as the up-and-coming place to be.

Retailers played heavily into this image, planning various publicity stunts to lure even bigger crowds to their shops. Lord John, which sold youthful and trendy menswear and classed The Beatles among their customers, hired British rock groups Small Faces and The Yardbirds to play sets outside their store in 1966. The same year, the Tom Cat boutique attracted even more attention by hiring singer Tom Jones to perform up and down the street alongside *Casino Royale* actress Christine Spooner and a cheetah on a lead.

Carnaby now encompasses 14 interlinking streets lined with a huge range of shops, from indie clothing stores to sportswear, beauty, accessories, and high-end fashion. You'll also find a range of restaurants, artisan coffee shops, and cocktail bars.

Free and open all hours.



The entrance to Carnaby Street, which remains one of the most popular shopping destinations in London

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Medieval Medicine

From leeches to brain surgery, uncover the surprising truth of dark age health

Written by Elma Brenner

When she died in 1316, Tevena, a merchant woman of Lyon, possessed a range of precious stones, including a sapphire believed to cure swellings. Tevena was not a trained physician or surgeon, but she owned healing objects for addressing her own medical issues and those of her family members. There was a great richness and diversity of medicine in medieval Europe. From the elite practice of university-educated doctors, to care within monasteries and households, medieval people benefited from a wide range of ideas, strategies and treatments aimed at preserving health and combating illness. Some of these approaches, such as magico-religious healing charms that involved 'drinking' words written on parchment and dissolved in water, may appear bizarre or futile today. Yet they demonstrate the careful attention that medieval women and men paid to their health, and their resilience in the face of disease, especially after the arrival of plague in Europe in the mid-14th century. ▶

Illustration by Joe Cummings

BODY & HEALTH

Medieval medicine was rooted in a set of theoretical concepts derived from the ancient world, above all from the writings of Hippocrates of Cos (c.460–c.370 BCE) and Galen of Pergamon (129–c.216 CE). These ideas taught that health depended on the balance of four fluids or humours within the body: blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm. Illness occurred when one of these humours predominated or was lacking. Health was also affected by a set of six external or variable factors known as the non-naturals: the air, food and drink, exercise/rest, sleep/wakefulness, retention/purgation and emotional states. In his *Tacuinum sanitatis* (Tables of health), composed in Arabic in the mid-11th century and subsequently translated into Latin, the physician Ibn Butlān explained how the non-naturals operated and needed to be managed, situating the human body in the broader context of the natural world. He detailed how, like the humours, the non-naturals should be kept in equilibrium. For example, emotions should be regulated "by moderating joy, anger, fear and distress". Late medieval illustrated manuscripts of the *Tacuinum* vividly depict medicinal plants and foodstuffs alongside the winds, the seasons and other environmental factors that impacted on health.

> "THE HUMAN BODY WAS ALSO UNDERSTOOD TO BE A MICROCOSM OF THE UNIVERSE"

The human body was also understood to be a microcosm of the universe. According to this model, the phases of the sun and moon and the movements of the planets directly impacted health. Furthermore, each of the zodiacal signs was associated with a specific area of the anatomy, as illustrated in the Zodiac Man image that frequently appears in medieval medical manuscripts. Particular astrological conditions could bring about illness and disrupt everyday medical practices. In 1496 the sudden arrival of the pox, a debilitating venereal disease identifiable with modern-day syphilis, was attributed by the German humanist scholar Joseph Grünpeck in his *De pestilentiali scorra, sive mala de Franzos* to the ill effects of a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn on 24 November 1484. Bloodletting and other treatments were considered dangerous when the moon was in the astrological sign of a certain part of the body. Medical practitioners sometimes fell back on astrological theory to defend their work when treatments went wrong. In 1424, for example, when William Forest accused the barber-surgeons of London of malpractice in treating his thumb, a jury of surgeons and physicians found that Forest's digit had failed to recover because it was first injured when the moon was "in a bloody sign, namely Aquarius, under a malevolent constellation." While Forest's case reveals the expertise in astrological medicine of reputable practitioners, by the later Middle Ages astrology formed part of the package of knowledge that lay people used to regulate their own health and bypass the expensive treatments of physicians and surgeons.

PREVENTION

One of the most effective approaches to health in medieval Europe was to avoid illness altogether, especially since a fever, a bout of epidemic illness or an infected wound could quickly prove fatal. The non-naturals represented a holistic set of lifestyle principles for wellness that strike a chord with how we approach health today. These tenets were widely disseminated in the later Middle Ages within advice texts known as Regimina sanitatis (Health regimens), particularly once these began to be printed from the later 15th century in Italian, German, French and other vernacular languages that were more accessible than scholarly Latin. Alongside 'standard' regimens such as that written by the physician Arnau of Vilanova (c.1240–c.1311 CE), several of these texts were associated with elite figures, such as the *Régime du corps* (Bodily regimen), written in 1256 in

ABOVE Bloodletting was believed to be an effective treatment for a large number of medical conditions

RIGHT Among the services monks provided to the community was dispensing remedies

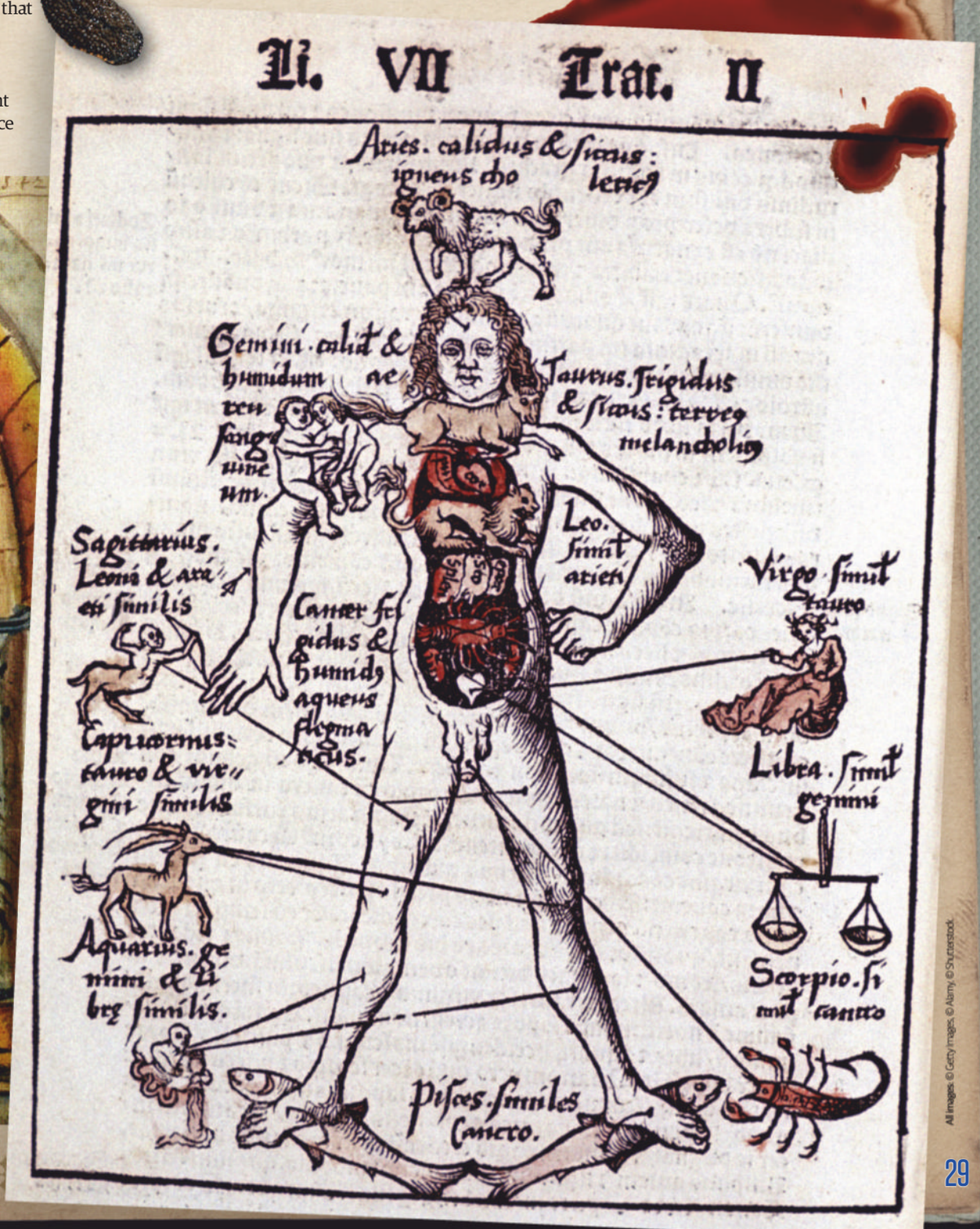
French for Beatrice of Savoy, countess of Provence (d.1266), for her benefit and that of her four daughters, all of whom became European queens. Authored by Aldobrandino of Siena, Beatrice's personal physician, the *Régime du corps* includes detailed advice about pregnancy, childbirth and the care of infants, alongside other health issues. Almost 70 manuscript copies survive, testifying to the popularity of the text and its dissemination well beyond the French royal household. Regimens instructed their readers to pay careful attention to their diet, sleep, emotional state and exercise, with an overall emphasis on balance and moderation that aligned closely with humoral theory.

RIGHT A depiction of the interior of a doctor's house, reproduced from a miniature in a 15th-century text by Christine de Pisan

BELOW An illustration linking the important organs and humours of the body to the astrological signs

RELIGION

Medieval Europeans could also prevent illness by looking after their souls, since medicine was closely bound up with Christian religious devotion. Many believed God was the ultimate cause of illness, raising concerns about sin and immorality, especially during outbreaks of epidemic disease. When illness occurred, it was understood that the soul needed to be in good health for the sick body to recover, causing divine worship to be prioritised in institutional and domestic settings for the care of the sick. At the hospital of San Egidio in Florence, an inventory of 1376 detailed a large number of devotional objects, from liturgical books to crucifixes, altarpieces and vestments. These artefacts ▶



were quasi-monastic institutions that often followed the Augustinian rule. Leprosy was associated with the physical suffering of Christ on the cross, and people with leprosy were held to have been specially chosen by God to suffer on earth and avoid the pains of Purgatory. In 1188 at the leprosy hospital at Chartres, for example, Nivelon, son of Geoffrey du Grand-Pont, was received "having been marked with leprosy by the will of God". Medieval Europe's Jewish communities also catered for this debilitating illness, with a Jewish leprosy institution at Provins, France documented in the 13th century.

LEFT A woodcut from Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Book of Surgery* showing a man having his leg rebroken as it had healed incorrectly

ABOVE A buildup of blood was thought to lead to fevers and rashes, so bloodletting remedies were common

RIGHT A patient has their boils treated with a hot herbal bath

ensured that both patients and staff could engage in worship, furthering the wellbeing of their souls. Religious objects also played a vital role during pregnancy and childbirth, a moment of considerable danger for mother and infant in the Middle Ages, above all due to risks of infection. Parchment manuscript rolls containing prayers and invocations to the Virgin Mary and Saint Margaret – both religious figures strongly associated with women's reproductive health – were carried by pregnant women or wrapped around their bodies during labour. Remarkable research published in 2021 identified the presence of human cervico-vaginal fluid on an English birth roll produced c.1500 and now held by Wellcome Collection, confirming that it was actually used during childbirth.

Leprosy hospitals, which provided long-term care to their chronically ill residents,

THE FOUR HUMOURS

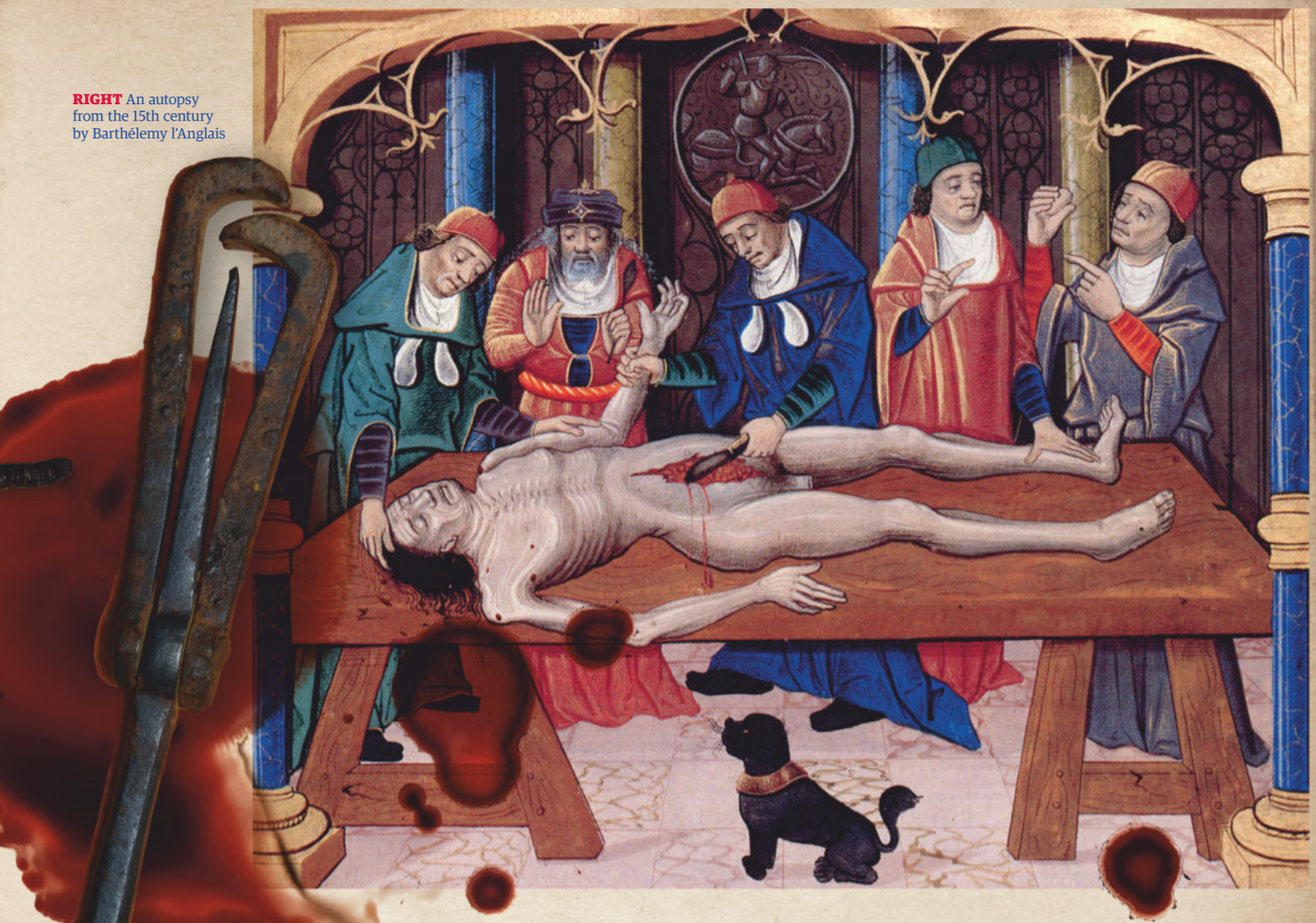
How medieval medics thought about a balanced life

BLOOD

According to Galen, blood was the key humour, the basis of all the others. Blood provided the energy for the body and the soul. An individual in whom this humour predominated was sanguine: happy, generous, enthusiastic and amorous. Not surprisingly, this was regarded as the humour that, in excess, caused the fewest problems, although an imbalance could lead to fevers and rashes. Unfortunately, adjusting the amount of blood in the patient through bloodletting became one of the key treatments for disease in the ancient and medieval worlds.

YELLOW BILE

People with a preponderance of yellow bile in their makeup were choleric. By temperament, they were argumentative, short-tempered, ambitious, decisive and they could be violent. Yellow bile was produced in the gallbladder and physicians thought they could see it in vomit. An excess of yellow bile produced jaundice, high temperatures and fevers, and stomach disorders. These could be treated environmentally by cold baths, to act against the heat and dryness of yellow bile, or by eating cold and wet foods, such as fish.



RIGHT An autopsy from the 15th century by Barthélemy l'Anglais

"MEDIEVAL MONASTERIES WERE CENTRES OF MEDICAL LEARNING AND EXPERTISE"

OBSERVATION & INTERVENTION

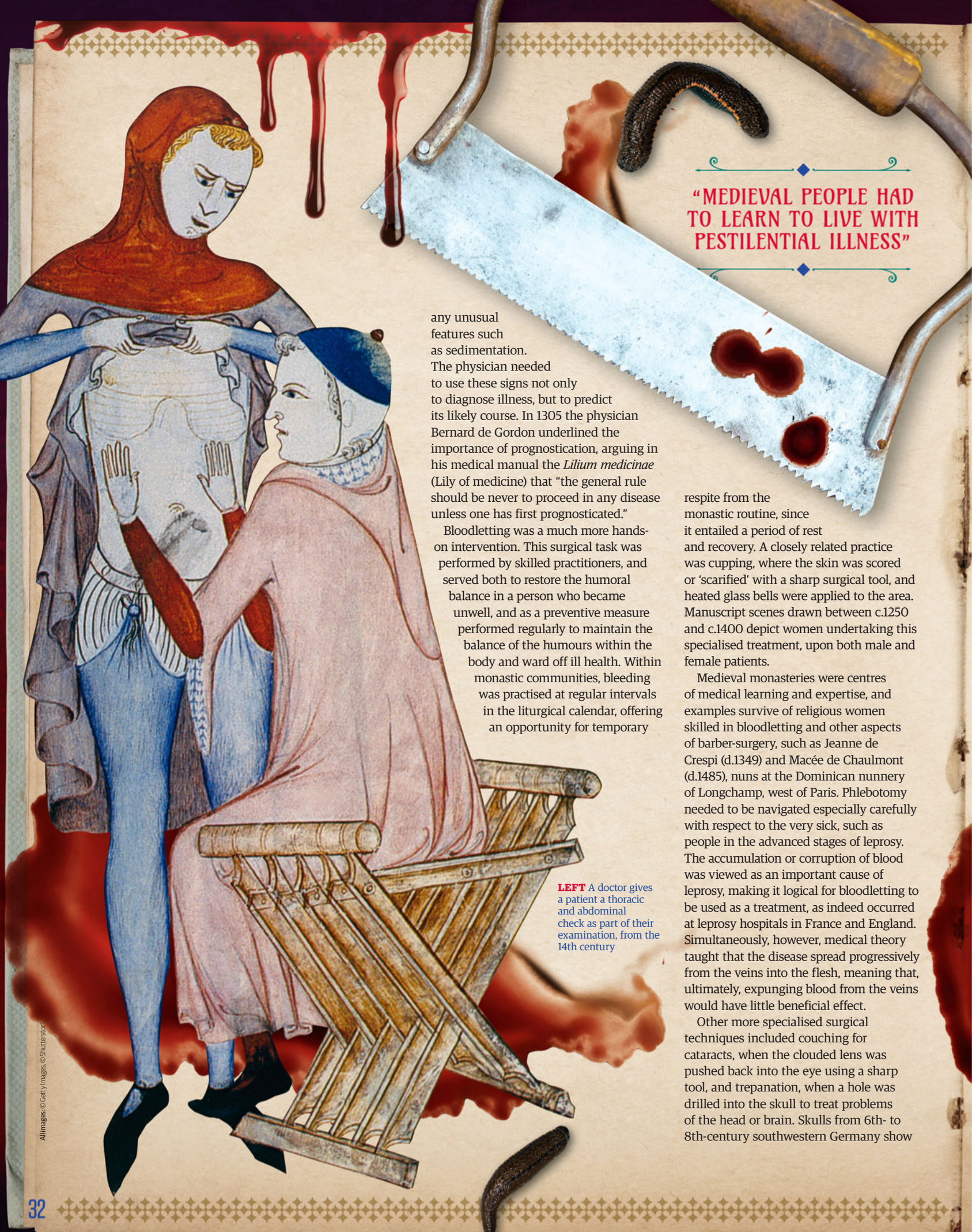
In an era before X-ray imaging and MRI scanning, medieval physicians relied on the patient's body itself to reveal its internal state, above all by examining the pulse and urine. While taking the pulse involved a brief moment of physical interaction, the practice of physicians was characterised by a distinct lack of direct contact with the patient, in sharp contrast to the work of surgeons and barbers. The ubiquitous image of the medieval doctor holding a urine flask up to the light and carefully examining its contents exemplifies how physicians did their work at one step removed from the person in their care. Uroscopy was a multisensory skill, involving attention to the colour, consistency and smell of urine, as well as ▶

PHLEGM

Phlegm gives us the word 'phlegmatic'. According to the dictionary definition, a phlegmatic individual is one who is unemotional and calm, which comes directly from the theory of the four humours. However, too much phlegm could lead to a person being cowardly and dull. Phlegm, as defined by the theory, was not confined to the mucus found in the mouth, throat and nose but accounted for all the clear and white liquids in the body. Colds and other infections of the respiratory system were seen as being caused by an excess of phlegm.

BLACK BILE

The other bile, the black kind, was produced in the spleen and an excess of it made people melancholic. In fact, the word 'melancholic' comes from the Greek word for black bile, showing how deeply embedded the idea was linguistically. Melancholic people were prone to depression, as well as being lazy and prone to eating far too much. To cure people suffering from an excess of black bile, physicians prescribed a diet of hot and spicy foods, warm baths and steam treatments. Cancers were believed to be caused by a buildup of black bile in a particular area.



> "MEDIEVAL PEOPLE HAD TO LEARN TO LIVE WITH PESTILENTIAL ILLNESS"

any unusual features such as sedimentation. The physician needed to use these signs not only to diagnose illness, but to predict its likely course. In 1305 the physician Bernard de Gordon underlined the importance of prognostication, arguing in his medical manual the *Lilium medicinae* (Lily of medicine) that "the general rule should be never to proceed in any disease unless one has first prognosticated."

Bloodletting was a much more hands-on intervention. This surgical task was performed by skilled practitioners, and served both to restore the humoral balance in a person who became unwell, and as a preventive measure performed regularly to maintain the balance of the humours within the body and ward off ill health. Within monastic communities, bleeding was practised at regular intervals in the liturgical calendar, offering an opportunity for temporary respite from the monastic routine, since it entailed a period of rest and recovery. A closely related practice was cupping, where the skin was scored or 'scarified' with a sharp surgical tool, and heated glass bells were applied to the area. Manuscript scenes drawn between c.1250 and c.1400 depict women undertaking this specialised treatment, upon both male and female patients.

LEFT A doctor gives a patient a thoracic and abdominal check as part of their examination, from the 14th century

Medieval monasteries were centres of medical learning and expertise, and examples survive of religious women skilled in bloodletting and other aspects of barber-surgery, such as Jeanne de Crespi (d.1349) and Macée de Chaulmont (d.1485), nuns at the Dominican nunnery of Longchamp, west of Paris. Phlebotomy needed to be navigated especially carefully with respect to the very sick, such as people in the advanced stages of leprosy. The accumulation or corruption of blood was viewed as an important cause of leprosy, making it logical for bloodletting to be used as a treatment, as indeed occurred at leprosy hospitals in France and England. Simultaneously, however, medical theory taught that the disease spread progressively from the veins into the flesh, meaning that, ultimately, expunging blood from the veins would have little beneficial effect.

Other more specialised surgical techniques included couching for cataracts, when the clouded lens was pushed back into the eye using a sharp tool, and trepanation, when a hole was drilled into the skull to treat problems of the head or brain. Skulls from 6th- to 8th-century southwestern Germany show

ABOVE Like today, dentistry was a big part of the medical treatment patients sought

ABOVE RIGHT The Islamic world was making great strides in medicine in the later medieval period

BELOW Step by step of a medieval trepanning procedure

that trepanning was certainly practised in the early Middle Ages, and reveal that patients often survived the procedure.

REMEDIES

Alongside bloodletting and other surgical treatments, medicinal remedies were a major feature of medieval healthcare. While apothecaries supplied these remedies in their shops in towns and cities, many treatments could also be produced at home through a do-it-yourself approach using kitchen or brewing equipment. In medical manuscripts, recipes were arranged according to a range of criteria, from the body part they addressed, to the ailment they treated, to the type of remedy they represented – pills, plasters, ointments, distilled waters and so on. The organisation of treatments reveals the flexibility and pragmatism of medieval medicine, since multiple remedies were often listed for the same problem, indicating that, if the first recipe did not work, the practitioner or patient should move on to the next one. An early 15th-century Middle English translation of the 13th-century *Compendium medicinae* (Compendium of medicine) of ▶

BIRTH OF QUARANTINE

We have medieval Dubrovnik to thank for modern lockdowns

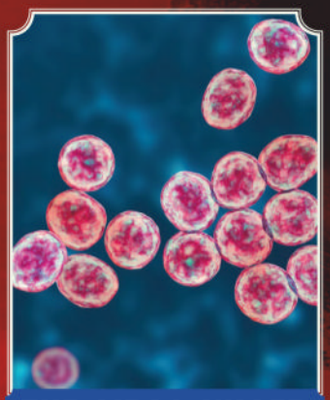
The word 'quarantine' comes from the Italian word for 40, *quaranta*. The idea was popularised in the various Italian city states, but the first quarantine measures were actually introduced on the other side of the Adriatic Sea, in the city of Dubrovnik, Croatia. There, on 27 July 1377, the city council met to discuss measures to deal with the plague that was spreading throughout Europe. They designated a small island where all visitors coming to the city had to remain for a month before being allowed further contact. Furthermore, anyone from Dubrovnik visiting the island would also have to stay there for a month too.

It was a quarantine in all but the 40 days that would be introduced by Italian cities that later adopted similar measures in their efforts to prevent the spread of the plague. The idea of quarantine implied an understanding of the concept of the incubation period for a disease, and even that apparently healthy people might spread the infection. To enforce quarantine, the city officials in Dubrovnik established an office, the Officials Against those Arriving from Plague-Infected Areas, whose job it was to ensure that people observed the regulations as well as severely punish anyone who broke quarantine.

These measures proved effective and, seeing its success, Italian cities followed suit, many insisting on 40 days of isolation, thus introducing the term quarantine to the world.

Surviving Cures

These treatments have stood the test of time



The MRSA killer
10th century

Reading more like a medieval recipe for soup, an Anglo-Saxon remedy found in a volume of *Bald's Leechbook* in the British Library, originally designed to cure eye infections, has proven to be highly effective at wiping out MRSA (methicillin-resistant staphylococcus aureus). The recipe includes bile from the stomach of a cow, onion or leek, garlic and wine and is to be brewed in a brass container and left for nine days before straining. A team from AncientBiotics tested the mixture and discovered that it killed 90 per cent of MRSA bacteria in wounds.

Trepanning
Prehistoric

The oldest documented surgical procedure, the practice of trepanation dates back to prehistoric times, with evidence suggesting it was used over 10,000 years ago. Also known as burr holing, the procedure involves the drilling of holes directly into the skull, and its original purpose was to assist in dispelling bad spirits from the body. By the Middle Ages it was used to try and treat seizures and skull fractures (among other things), but today it's performed by surgeons to relieve pressure on the brain following a serious trauma.

ABOVE With no anaesthetic to ease the pain, depictions of medieval tooth extraction make our modern dentist visits seem far less unpleasant

RIGHT A 15th-century illustration of the four elements and their related humours

the physician Gilbertus Anglicus, for instance, lists several possible remedies for the falling sickness (epilepsy), from a syrup made from peony, sage, nettles and horehound, to an ointment formed from fennel, violet, sage and other ingredients.

Medical remedies were based on a wide range of natural materials, especially plants, animal substances (honey, milk) and minerals. Herbals, such as the widely copied *Circa instans* (Book of simple medicines) of the 12th-century physician Matthaeus Platearius, described the healing properties of plants and other substances. Some treatments had exotic or very expensive components. A popular late medieval French compendium of medicinal waters, the *Traité des eaux artificielles* (Treatise of artificial waters), opens with 'water of gold', created by submerging thin sheets of molten gold 40 times in water from a well or a fountain. When drunk, this water had several uses, including comforting the heart, relieving flux of the stomach and alleviating the symptoms of leprosy. The cure-all drug theriac, considered especially effective against plague, included substances like myrrh and opium that were imported to Europe from Asia and Africa. Much theriac was produced in Venice, the nexus of European trade with the East. The availability of theriac in markets throughout Europe testifies to how medicinal substances were traded across long distances.

Plague

While theriac and other remedies were deployed against plague by the 15th century, when the Black Death struck Europe between 1346 and 1353 both medical experts and the wider population were powerless to combat what was perceived as an entirely new illness that was not explained by ancient medicine. Eyewitness accounts of this first plague outbreak, such as the report of the physicians of the University of Paris of October 1348, reveal an urgent attempt to understand the causes of plague in a situation where there was no effective treatment. The mortality caused by the Black Death and subsequent plague

ABOVE RIGHT Scenes from a 12th-century manuscript *Practica Chirurgiae* (Surgical Practice) by Rogerius

RIGHT Surgery tools drawn in an Islamic medical treatise from the 12th century

FAECAL TRANSPLANT
4TH CENTURY

According to unearthed Chinese documents, using faecal matter to treat faecal diseases was a common practice as far back as the 4th century. It remains effective for treating a range of infections and gastrointestinal issues. Today, microbiota is transferred directly from the donor into the patient's intestines by colonoscopy, nasoduodenal or nasogastric tube, enema or capsule. People in the medieval period weren't quite so fortunate: they had to consume a soup-like concoction with faeces in it!

LEECHING
PREHISTORIC

Dating back almost 3,000 years, the use of leeches as medical devices continues to be a primitive but effective form of pooling blood following a surgery. Originally used to cure serious illnesses, headaches and fevers through bloodletting (withdrawing blood from the veins), leeches continue to be used following reconstructive surgery, skin grafts and to aid circulation. When applied to the body the leeches will secrete saliva containing compounds and enzymes that help to inhibit the coagulation of the blood.

epidemics was devastating and had long-term effects. For instance, the population of England and Wales had reached 4.5–5.5 million in c.1300, but had fallen to 2–2.5 million by 1450, and only returned to 5 million by the mid-18th century.

The recurrence of plague outbreaks in the later 14th and 15th centuries meant that medieval people had to learn to live with pestilential illness. A new form of medical text, the plague tract, offered self-help advice about causes and prevention, following the format of health regimens. Derived from theories of infection and contagion elaborated in the *Canon of medicine* of the Persian physician Avicenna (980–1037), first composed in Arabic and then translated into Latin in the 12th century, this advice centred above all on avoiding corrupt air and crowds of people, guidance that resonates with modern-day society's recent experience of Covid-19.

The isolation of plague victims became an increasingly urgent concern, resulting in a major innovation of late medieval Europe – the establishment of quarantining procedures. In Ragusa (now Dubrovnik), people and objects that had come into contact with plague were isolated on two adjacent islands from the 1370s, while plague hospitals to confine patients operated in Madrid, Venice, Milan and other cities from the first half of the 15th century. The preoccupation with death and dying in the visual and literary culture of the later Middle Ages reveals the profound cultural and social impact of plague.

LEGACY

The initial months of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 open a fresh perspective on medieval medicine and its methods. Many of the key features of modern-day European medicine, such as antibiotics, vaccination and genetic screening, were absent from medieval Europe, and earlier treatments like trepanning, bloodletting and healing charms appear strange or dangerous today. Yet, when faced with a new illness that had no effective cure, global societies in 2020 responded in much the same way that medieval communities had tackled epidemics. Our vulnerability during Covid-19 suggests that the overarching strategies of medieval medicine, focusing on prevention, observation and a flexible array of treatments, were far from ineffective. Perhaps there is still much to learn from the resourcefulness of medieval approaches to health, as well as from how people integrated the environment into their thinking about the body.

THE MYC

THE MYC

In an age of legends, heroes and gold, what role did this ancient civilisation play in Greece's history and mythology?

Written by Emily Staniforth

During the Bronze Age, there were two major civilisations that dominated ancient Greece. The Minoan culture emanated from the island of Crete, while the Mycenaean civilisation was established on Greece's mainland. Though the Minoans had been a powerful people from around 3000 BCE, the Mycenaeans became Greece's prominent power from around 1600 BCE to 1100 BCE. Named after the impressive hilltop fortification of Mycenae, the civilisation has fascinated archaeologists and historians alike as they have tried to learn more about the society that dominated trade in the Aegean, faced off against Troy in the Trojan War, and became the homeland of Greece's mythical heroes. Relying on the vast archaeological remains left behind, experts have, over the centuries, been able to determine some of the answers to questions about the Mycenaeans, though new discoveries continue to be made. But, at least for now, here's everything you need to know about this impressive ancient civilisation.

THE CHIEF CITY OF THE CIVILISATION WAS MYCENAE

The stronghold of Mycenae is situated in Argolis in the northeastern Peloponnese, around 120km away from the city of Athens. The first stronghold built at the site is believed to date to the Neolithic period, with the oldest archaeological remains dating back as far as c.5000 BCE. Thousands of years later, by around 1600 BCE, the settlement at Mycenae had expanded dramatically and was becoming the central state in a new Greek era. The location of the site itself was impressive, sitting up high

GHT OF

LEFT The Mask of Agamemnon is arguably the most famous artefact to have been found at Mycenae

on a hill that provided natural fortifications for the citadel, with a view of the surrounding valleys that allowed the Mycenaeans to spot the approach of any unwanted visitors. The settlement itself was surrounded by imposing walls that legend has it could only have been built by giant one-eyed Cyclops. The Cyclopean walls towered over the city, possibly as tall as 13 metres during Mycenae's heyday, and provided the Mycenaeans with protection and defences against potential warring neighbours.

The defensive aspects of Mycenae were crucial during the Mycenaean period, as the rulers of the city lived in their palace located within the walls of the stronghold. Inside the palace, the throne of the kings was situated in the megaron, a grand great hall that faced out onto a porch area and served as the city's centre of power. From here, the kings would grant people audiences and preside over the administration of their domain.

From the height of its power, there are other aspects of the citadel of Mycenae that speak to the style and influence of the Bronze Age civilisation. On approach to the settlement, Mycenaeans and other visitors would have been confronted with the Cyclopean walls running along one side of the path before reaching the settlement's iconic entrance. Above the main gate to the city, two animals, believed by archaeologists to have been lions, were carved into the design of the entryway. Though headless now, these sculptures are significant in that they are reminiscent of the classical sculpture that became popular later in Greece's historical timeline, suggesting that the art of Mycenae had some influence on later Greek culture. During the power of Mycenae, however, these lions would likely have been intended to intimidate enemies that arrived at the Lion Gate, and possibly demonstrate the strength of the civilisation.

Other archaeological discoveries at Mycenae have also highlighted the sophistication of Mycenaean culture, with several inscribed tablets having been found at the ▶

> In the *Iliad*, Homer describes Mycenae as "rich in gold"

ENAEANS

site during excavations from the late 1800s. The symbols on these tablets were deciphered by archaeologists who concluded that they were examples of a language used in writing by the Mycenaeans – a language that predated the Greek alphabet by centuries. Named Linear B, it is considered to be the earliest Greek language that has been able to be decoded.

MYCENAEAN GREECE ENCOMPASSED MANY CITY-STATES

The influence of the Mycenaean people is clear given that the citadel of Mycenae gave its name to an entire era in the history of ancient Greece. It wasn't just Mycenae that made up the Mycenaean period, with several other prominent strongholds across the Peloponnese having been identified by historians as being part of the Mycenaean culture. City-states such as Pylos, Tiryns, Thebes, Sparta and possibly even Athens have been linked to the Mycenaeans during their period of dominance and are believed to have played a part in the vital trading network they established. These states likely had contact with the powerful Minoans on Crete, whose prevalence in the Aegean was declining as the Mycenaeans' status was expanding. It has been posited that the Minoans acted as an intermediary part of Mycenaean trade links with Egypt and potentially other trading posts, until eventually the Mycenaeans supplanted the Minoans on Crete when they settled in Knossos. As a result, many Minoan influences can be seen in the cultures of many of these Mycenaean city-states.

BOTTOM LEFT The Lion Gate stands at the entrance to the citadel of Mycenae

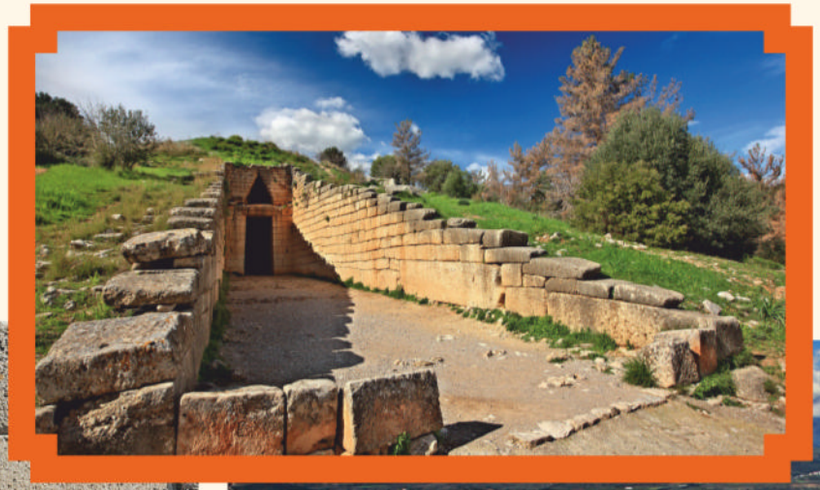
MIDDLE The Treasury of Atreus is one of several magnificent tombs that have been excavated at Mycenae

BOTTOM RIGHT 'Grave Circle A', where several gold funeral masks were unearthed

FAR RIGHT Tablets inscribed with Linear B were discovered at Mycenaean sites

The nature of the relationship between all the states accepted to have been part of the Mycenaean civilisation has been a puzzle for archaeologists and historians. They were certainly not all ruled by the same all-powerful leader, with each city-state known to have had its own political hierarchy with a monarch at the top. It is likely that some form of political alliance existed between the individual states, but the details of those relationships remain a mystery. However, shared archaeological features have been identified in many of these places that provide tangible links to the powerful people of Mycenae and each other from during this period.

Located 20km south of Mycenae was its closest neighbour Tiryns. Architecturally, both citadels were similarly built, and Tiryns' Cyclopean walls, which still stand today, are a prime



example of the talent and skill of Mycenaean builders that can be seen across Mycenaean archaeological sites. At Pylos in the southwest of the Peloponnese, the archaeological remains of King Nestor's Palace can also still be seen. Featured as a setting in Homer's *Iliad*, the palace at Pylos is a typical design of a royal house that would have stood in many Mycenaean states, and gives an indication of the ways in which palaces of this kind may have been decorated. Fragments of bright colourful frescoes have been discovered within the palace's ruins, providing an insight into how similar wealthy palaces across the Mycenaean civilisation may have looked before their destruction.

THE MYCENAEANS WERE VERY WEALTHY

The positioning of Mycenae on the Greek mainland was an advantageous one for trade. Located within touching distance of the Aegean Sea and the Gulf of Corinth, trade routes to Italy, the East and possibly further afield would have been vital for Mycenaean merchants. The Mycenaeans were skilled craftsmen and created tools, weapons and art in their workshops that they used to trade with these foreign states, with pottery having been an important export for the civilisation. Their trading endeavours were clearly successful given that Mycenaean pottery has been found at ancient sites in various areas such as Egypt, ▶

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN

The controversial archaeologist who unearthed Mycenae's greatest treasures

We know a fair amount about Mycenae itself because of the work of a German archaeologist called Heinrich Schliemann. Schliemann had been obsessed with Homer's epics as a child and wanted to prove that there was some historical fact behind Homer's myths. He had already achieved success in his excavations at Hisarlik, Asia Minor that revealed the archaeological remains of the lost city of Troy. However, his decision to smuggle treasure found at the site out of the country angered the ruling Ottoman Empire and Schliemann's excavations were suspended. In 1874, Schliemann set his sights on Mycenae and was determined to find the grave of the mythical King Agamemnon. By this time, the site of Mycenae had already been examined by archaeologists from 1700, though limited excavation work had taken place there. The biggest achievement of Schliemann's work at Mycenae came when he uncovered a royal grave circle, within which he discovered the legendary Mask of Agamemnon.

Though Schliemann's discoveries were hugely important in understanding more about the history of Mycenae, there has since been a cloud of controversy around his archaeological methods. It is generally accepted that his excavations were shoddy, particularly at Troy where it has been alleged that he destroyed the layers of the city from the time of the infamous war in his efforts to prove his theories right. There have also been allegations that Schliemann forged the Mask of Agamemnon and planted it at Mycenae, though more recent investigations have concluded the mask is of genuine Mycenaean origin. Despite all this, many people still consider Schliemann to have been a visionary.

THE FALL OF MYCENAE

How did this mighty civilisation come to an end?

For a civilisation that dominated ancient Greece for so long, it is disappointing that historians have struggled to identify the reason for its decline from around 1200 to 1100 BCE. Having enjoyed status and power, the prominence of the Mycenaeans appears to have waned as their societal structure – a hierarchical one with the royal palace at the head – began to collapse. It has been established that around this time many Mycenaean sites were destroyed, affecting the wealth and prosperity of the civilisation as a whole. There are several possible explanations for the end of the Mycenaean culture, which range from the onset of natural disasters like earthquakes, political unrest and foreign interference. It may be that we never know how or why this mighty civilisation came to an end, but we do know that they left a legacy that can still be seen today.

Sicily and the Middle East. The Mycenaeans are also thought to have produced glassware and jewellery that they skilfully crafted out of gold and bronze.

As a result of their extensive trading, the Mycenaeans were known to have been a wealthy civilisation. In the *Iliad*, Homer describes Mycenae as "rich in gold", an idea that has been perpetuated and confirmed by the vast amount of gold artefacts uncovered at the citadel during archaeological excavations. The most famous of all Mycenae's gold treasures is undoubtedly the Mask of Agamemnon, which was recovered from a shaft grave by archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann in his 19th-century excavations of the site. The treasure, made from a sheet of gold that's shape had been manipulated into a funeral mask, has become symbolic of Mycenaean wealth and was named by Schliemann for Mycenae's legendary king. While it is highly unlikely that the mask did belong to Agamemnon – as several archaeologists' investigations into the veracity of the mask have found it to have been made before the accepted dates of the Trojan War – the magnificent golden decoration could possibly have belonged to another Mycenaean ruler.

The Mycenaeans have variously been described as warrior-people throughout history. It is therefore likely that some of their wealth was achieved through the sacking of other cities as their influence spread, and they are known to have looted Egyptian and Hittite territories on occasion. The Mycenaean warriors themselves were an important part of society, and could have been rich individuals in their own right. The discovery of a Mycenaean soldier's grave in Pylos in 2015 unearthed a treasure trove of gold and bronze artefacts that indicated the personal wealth of the man buried there. The Griffin Warrior's tomb may, in time, shed more light on the status of other Mycenaean soldiers.

ABOVE A wealth of gold jewellery were found at Mycenae

RIGHT Perseus, Mycenae's mythical founder, holding the head of Medusa

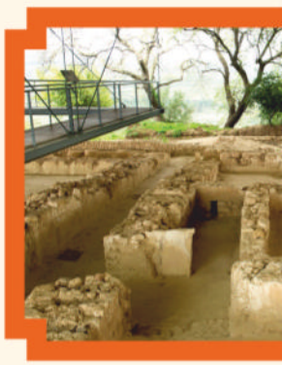
BELOW RIGHT Inside the Archaeological Museum at Mycenae

BOTTOM RIGHT The remains of the Cyclopean walls

MYCENAE FEATURED IN SEVERAL ANCIENT MYTHS & LEGENDS

When trying to understand the history of the Mycenaeans, it is easy to rely on the wealth of archaeological evidence that remains from their time. However, one other fascinating resource, that may give some indication of how the Mycenaeans were considered and perceived by those Greeks who came after them, are the works of the poet Homer. In his epics the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, both written around the late 8th and early 7th centuries BCE, Homer frequently refers to Mycenae as the home of King Agamemnon. In the *Iliad*, which recounts the story of the Trojan War, Agamemnon is the legendary ruler who leads Achaean troops into battle against Troy. In Homer's tale, it is suggested that Agamemnon may not have just been Mycenae's king, but the overarching ruler at the head of all the Mycenaean city-states that made up the Achaean army. While the truth behind the stories of the Trojan War, and indeed the existence of a Mycenaean king called Agamemnon, remains unknown, these stories were incredibly important to the later Greek cultures and placed the Mycenaeans at the heart of their history.

Perhaps the most famous Greek hero to have ties to the Mycenaeans was Perseus, the son of the god Zeus and the mortal Danaë. In a history of Greece called the *Bibliotheca*, written between the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, Perseus is described as the founder of Mycenae and the citadel's first king. In popular myth, Perseus was known to be one of the greatest heroes of ancient Greece, with his exploits including slaying the Gorgon Medusa and rescuing his future wife, Andromeda, from a sea monster. While we understand Perseus to have been a figure of legend, many Greeks would have believed in his existence and that he established the city of Mycenae. They would have also understood that the dynasty of Mycenaeans that were said to be descended from Perseus (the Perseides) counted among their number another major mythical hero in Heracles.



> Perseus is described as the founder of Mycenae and the citadel's first king

With many of the Greek pantheon's deities featuring in the same myths and legends as Mycenaean heroes, it may seem easy to assume that the Mycenaeans themselves worshipped these same gods and goddesses. However, it has been difficult for historians to establish anything about Mycenaean religion for certain due to a distinct lack of evidence. It has been suggested that the megaron in Mycenaean palaces may have had some sort of religious function, and that burial rites and animal sacrifices were an important aspect of Mycenaean culture, but those possibilities do little to help with understanding their religious practices in much detail. Some Linear B tablets that mention the names of deities such as Zeus, Poseidon and Artemis have been deciphered, though this does not explain how, or if, these figures were particularly important to the Mycenaeans.

YOU CAN VISIT MYCENAE AND OTHER MYCENAEAN SITES TODAY

The main reason historians have been able to decipher as much as they have about the Mycenaeans is because of the numerous archaeological remains from the time of the civilisation that have been unearthed across different sites in Greece. Since the finding of these various sites and treasures by archaeologists, the memory of the Mycenaeans has been kept alive and interest in their civilisation continues to be renewed with every discovery. It has therefore been important to try and preserve as much of these fascinating historical sites as possible, and in 1999 both Mycenae and Tiryns were designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Both ancient citadels remain open to the public, and are able to be explored by visitors who want to see the ruins of a once magnificent civilisation for themselves.

Many of the artefacts uncovered during excavations at Mycenae have been preserved and put on display at the site's own Archaeological Museum, though many of the more famous pieces are kept elsewhere. The Mask of Agamemnon, for example, is on display at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, alongside other treasures found at the settlement.

How the golden boy of the German film industry used cinema to ridicule the Führer

Written by Callum McKelvie

FRITZ LANG

The Director Who Snubbed The Nazis

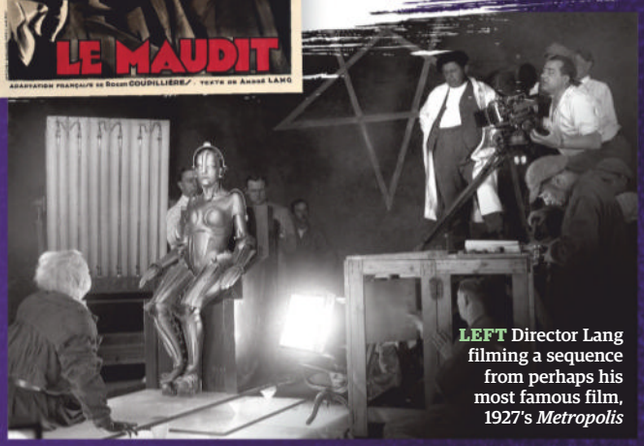
By 1933, Fritz Lang had become the most celebrated director working in Germany. Movies such as *Metropolis* (1927) and *M* (1931), while not as commercially successful as some of his other works, cemented his reputation as a cinematic genius. That same year Lang became one of a number of filmmakers who fled Germany following the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party. But the story of Lang's exile is not as simple as it sounds, and is directly tied to the fictional arch-criminal Dr Mabuse, a diabolical mastermind Lang first brought to the screen in 1922 in *Dr Mabuse The Gambler*. Its 1933 sequel, *The Testament of Dr Mabuse*, would prove to be the most controversial film of his career and earn him the ire of the Nazi Party. What happened next has become the stuff of legend, with stories of a terrifying meeting within the offices of Joseph Goebbels and a fraught escape aboard the night train to Paris. Yet all is not as it seems in the strange tale of the director who snubbed the Nazis.

THE EARLY YEARS OF A CINEMATIC GENIUS

Friedrich Christian Anton Lang was born in Vienna on 5 December 1890. As a young man, he trained as a civil engineer at the Technical University of Vienna, but his true passions lay in the visual arts. He attended art school, but his ambitions were interrupted by the outbreak of World War I and Lang served in the Austrian army, receiving several injuries including losing the sight in his right eye. ▶

LEFT Fritz Lang depicted in 1926, one year before producing his masterpiece *Metropolis*

BELOW LEFT French poster for 1931's *M*, which Lang claimed Joseph Goebbels and Adolf Hitler watched together



LEFT Director Lang filming a sequence from perhaps his most famous film, 1927's *Metropolis*

Hospitalised for a year, he occupied his time by writing film scripts and in 1919 was offered the opportunity to direct his first feature. The still burgeoning art form would never be the same again.

One of the most noteworthy of Lang's early works also introduced a character that would come to haunt him over the subsequent years. 1922's *Dr Mabuse The Gambler*, released in two parts and totalling over four hours in length, was based on the novel of the same name by Norbert Jacques and told an epic tale of a master criminal loose in Weimar Berlin. Mabuse proved to be a monumental success for the young filmmaker, but unfortunately, his 1927 science-fiction masterpiece *Metropolis* – despite now being arguably the director's most famous work – was at the time something of a disaster and was recut by the distributor.

> *"He wanted the director to produce films for the Nazi state, films that would entertain as well as promote National Socialist ideals"*

That same year Warner Brothers Pictures released *The Jazz Singer*, setting the film world alight. Now considered the first 'talkie' film, the technology soon spread globally and reached Germany. In 1931, Lang produced a 'talkie' of his own but, instead of a lighthearted musical, his was a sinister tale of child murder. Like *Metropolis,* while now considered one of the director's greatest works, *M* was only a partial success at the time of its release, earning mixed reviews despite making a reasonable profit.

THE TROUBLE WITH THE TESTAMENT

Lang immediately began work on his next film, *The Testament of Dr Mabuse*, a sequel to the highly regarded 1922 movie. Otto Wernicke, who had played Inspector Löhmann in 1931's *M* was asked to reprise his role in *Testament*, creating a link between these two crime-thrillers. *The Testament of Dr Mabuse* follows Löhmann as he investigates a spate of crimes, supposedly organised by the notorious Dr Mabuse. There is just one problem; Mabuse is currently in a mental institution and non-communicative, spending his days scrawling incoherent notes and ramblings. In a surprise twist (spoilers for a nearly 100-year-old film) it is revealed that Mabuse's psychologist, Professor Baum, has been driven mad by the writings and it is he who has been secretly running the new 'empire of crime'.

Although Lang himself claimed that *The Testament of Dr Mabuse* was the result of demand by producers for a sequel, author David Kalat in his definitive guide to the character, *The Strange Case of Dr Mabuse* (McFarland, 2001), refutes this. According to Kalat, Mabuse's creator, Norbert Jacques, was working on a sequel novel to be called *Mabuse's Colony*. The book followed a new female villain, Frau Kristine, who began where the not-so-good Doctor had left off. Lang sought Jacques' help in developing the screenplay for *M* and contacted the author, who told Lang of his manuscript. Lang was himself interested in further exploring the character, but rejected Jacques' proposal and instead began working on a story of his own.

The film that would eventually emerge took a key concept from Jacques' story, that of the 'testament', a manuscript

THE MANY FACES OF DR MABUSE

The creepy criminal mastermind has a long legacy spanning decades, here is the ultimate history of the empire of crime!

1921

Dr Mabuse The Gambler by Norbert Jacques

Author Norbert Jacques publishes *Dr Mabuse, Der Spieler* (Dr Mabuse The Gambler). The novel tells of the titular master criminal and quickly becomes a bestseller.

1922

Dr Mabuse The Gambler

Fritz Lang directs the two-part adaptation of Jacques' novel, starring Rudolf Klein-Rogge as the villainous hypnotist and criminal mastermind. The film ends with Mabuse sent to a mental institution.

1933

The Testament of Dr Mabuse

Rudolf Klein-Rogge returns in the film that sees Lang forced to flee Germany. Despite being only Lang's second sound feature, it is widely considered the best of the original trilogy.

written by Mabuse that influences others into committing crimes. But Lang forged this into a sly satirisation of the Nazi Party, whose leader Adolf Hitler had written his own 'testament', *Mein Kampf*, while imprisoned in 1924. Lang himself informed *Sight and Sound* magazine in 1967 that the film was "of course a veiled commentary on Nazism." As Hilmar Hoffmann writes in *The Triumph of Propaganda* (Berghahn Books, 1995): "the analogy between the paranoid Führer and the psychopathic demagogue Dr Mabuse, appeared much too obvious to the Nazis." This sly commentary was about to land both the director and his work in very hot water.

On 30 January 1933, Paul von Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany. The move signalled the end of the Weimar Republic and the beginning of the Nazi's reign of terror. Shortly after his appointment, Adolf Hitler assigned Dr Joseph Goebbels to head the new Ministry of Propaganda. The Ministry quickly took control of all media produced in Germany with Goebbels vetoing anything that did not fit his vision of clean, moral entertainment. By 30 March 1933, after its premiere had been delayed several times, *The Testament of Dr Mabuse* was banned and all copies confiscated. The official reason given, according to Kalat, was that the film "posed a threat to law and order and public safety."

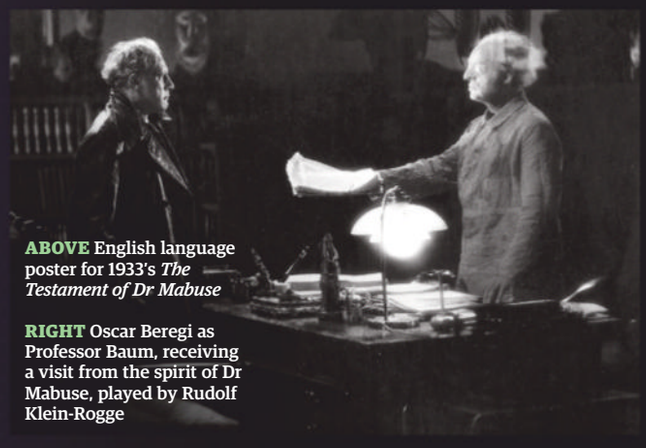
FLEEING NAZI GERMANY

Following the film's banning, the director was summoned to the offices of Joseph Goebbels. Expecting to be reprimanded, Lang was surprised to discover the Minister of Propaganda had something else in mind entirely. The details vary slightly according to Lang's numerous retellings, but in one he claims that Goebbels informed him that he and Hitler had seen *M* in a theatre together and had enjoyed it very much. "This is the man who will give us THE National Socialist film," Goebbels quotes the Führer as saying in another. The Minister was offering Lang a job. He wanted the director to produce films for the Nazi state, films that would entertain as well as promote National Socialist doctrine. When Lang mentioned that his mother was born Jewish, Goebbels responded, "Mr Lang, we decide who is an Aryan." Feigning both interest and gratitude, Lang knew that he had to leave Germany – fast.

Following his meeting with Goebbels, Lang instructed his household staff to pack his bags while he visited his wife Thea Von Harbou. Unlike Lang, Von Harbou was a supporter of the Nazi regime and would continue to have a successful career producing propaganda films for the Third Reich during the war – ironically, at the same time Lang was himself making propaganda films in Hollywood. Knowing he needed to leave quickly and aware that the banks had closed during his meeting with Goebbels, Von Harbou provided Lang with some of her jewellery for him to sell. The two would never speak to each other again. That night, Lang boarded the train to Paris and would not return to Germany until after the war.

A FABRICATED TRUTH

However, there is some evidence to suggest that Lang's escape might not have been as dramatic as he alleged. According to Arts in Exile there is "no indication he left Germany hastily", and surviving documents, including Goebbels' own diaries, make no mention of any meeting between Lang and himself. Perhaps even more damning, Lang's passport proves that he returned to Berlin several times during 1933. According to an article in *Film Quarterly* by Gösta Werner, "foreign currency stamps from Berlin testify, as do the various entry and exit stamps, that between the journeys abroad in the summer of 1933 Lang returned to Berlin, which he left finally only on 31 July ▶



ABOVE English language poster for 1933's *The Testament of Dr Mabuse*

RIGHT Oscar Beregi as Professor Baum, receiving a visit from the spirit of Dr Mabuse, played by Rudolf Klein-Rogge

1960

The Thousand Eyes of Dr Mabuse

For his final film, Lang returns to his most famous character. Smaller in scale than the prior movies, the story eerily predicts the 21st-century obsession with surveillance.

1961

The Return of Dr Mabuse

Following the success of the previous instalment, producer Artur Brauner demands a sequel but Lang retires and Brauner instead turns to Harald Reinl. *Goldfinger* actor Gert Frobe once again stars.

1962

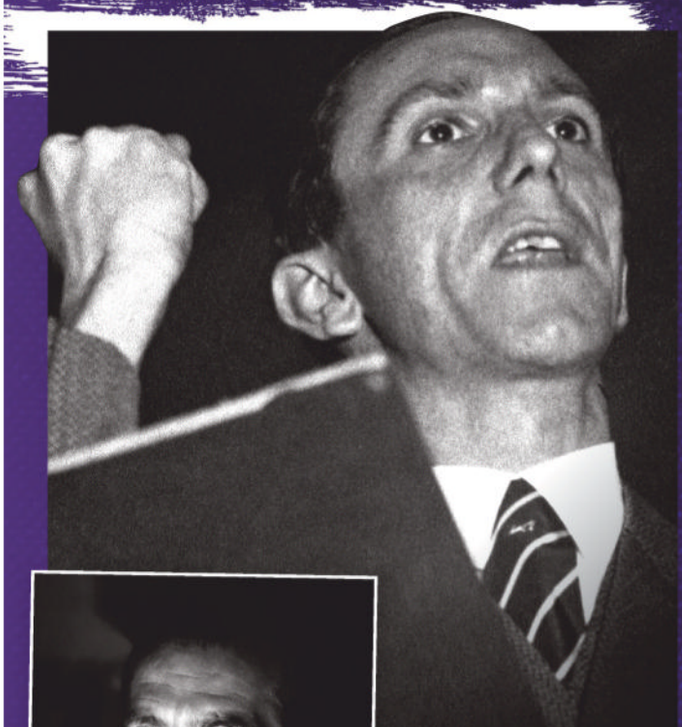
The Invisible Dr Mabuse

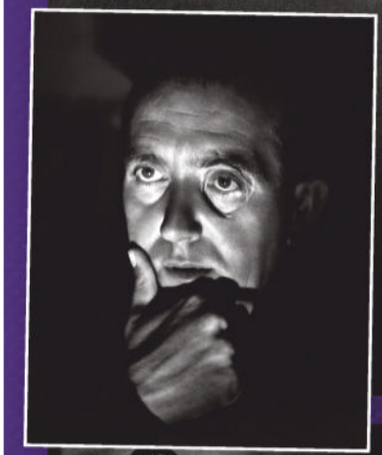
This entry sees Mabuse attempt to steal the means of turning invisible, while the German police and FBI investigate a murder in a theatre, introducing some of the Gothic tropes of *Phantom of the Opera*.

1962 »

The Testament of Dr Mabuse

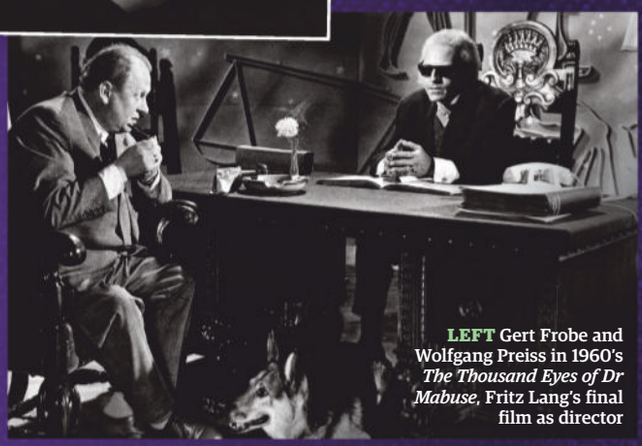
Artur Brauner finally gets his wish and remakes the 1933 film of the same name. Rather inventively, however, the film also functions as a sequel to the prior films as well as a remake.





ABOVE Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, whom Lang claimed offered him a role as head of German cinema

LEFT Fritz Lang, a pioneer of German expressionist cinema, directed over 40 films in his career



LEFT Gert Frobe and Wolfgang Preiss in 1960's *The Thousand Eyes of Dr Mabuse*, Fritz Lang's final film as director

1933 – four months after his legendary meeting with Goebbels and supposed dramatic escape."

And what of Thea Von Harbou? Lang's Nazi-supporting wife, who he would abandon as he boarded the train to Paris? Well despite Lang's claim, it was not politics that drove the couple apart, but infidelity. Lang had several affairs throughout their marriage. Around 1928 he began to see the actress Gerda Maurus, who had starred in *Spione* for him that same year. When Von Harbou began an affair of her own with Ayi Tendulkar, according to AM Sigmund (quoted by Laxmi Tendulkar Dhaul in *In the Shadow of Freedom*), Lang "considered her affair with the young Indian man an assault on his male honour." The pair would actually divorce one month after his supposed flight, in April 1933. Years later, Von Harbou would inform her secretary that, "We were married for eleven years because we found no time in ten years to get divorced."

> *"Hitler, like Mabuse, may be dead – but his dangerous ideology continues to haunt us to this day"*

Furthermore, even the reasons behind the banning of *The Testament of Dr Mabuse* have come under scrutiny. While certain parallels between the title character and Adolf Hitler cannot be denied, how obvious they are and if they were responsible for the film's fate has been debated. After all, Thea Von Harbou, herself a Nazi member, worked alongside Lang on the story. Lang would later insist that in several sequences Mabuse spouts Nazi slogans, but this has proven to be untrue. David Kalat claims it is the dubbed American version that emphasises the anti-Nazi themes, whereas they are far less prevalent in the German original. But if this is the case, then why was the film banned in the first place? *Senses of Cinema* suggest that one reason given at the time was the simple fact that the producer was Jewish.

But why would Lang lie about leaving Germany? According to Professor Michael Tratner, Lang spent much of the 1940s attempting to "prove that he had been anti-Nazi even before they came to power," and that *Testament* was a part of this. Tratner suggests this is in reaction to the Nazis promoting his earlier works. Is it possible that the fabricated story was a further attempt to separate himself from the Nazi state?

PRODUCING PROPAGANDA

Upon arrival in the United States, Lang joined a host of other German emigres in the American film industry. Among their number were actors such as Marlene Dietrich and Conrad Veidt, writers like Curt Siodmak and fellow directors including Billy Wilder and Otto Preminger. Throughout his time in Hollywood, Lang made westerns (such as 1952's *Rancho Notorious*), film noirs (1944's *The Woman in the Window*) but perhaps most interesting are his four World War II dramas. Comprising 1941's *Man Hunt*, 1943's *Hangmen Also Die*, 1944's *Ministry of Fear* and 1946's *Cloak and Dagger*, all were deeply political works of propaganda. *The New York Times* claims that *Man Hunt* was "one of many interventionist films produced by the Hollywood studios before Pearl Harbor, but it may be the best of them," going on to state that the film portrays "Nazis as observed by someone who knew them intimately."

ONE MORE MABUSE

Lang's final films were in many ways a return. Firstly, they were the first movies he had made in Germany since leaving

1963

Scotland Yard Hunts Dr Mabuse

Brauner's Mabuse series delves further into aping the popular Edgar Wallace adaptations of rival studio Rialto. According to Kalat, this film uses his son Bryan Edgar Wallace's novel *The Device* as a basis for its script.

1964

The Death Ray of Dr Mabuse

The last of Brauner's current batch of Mabuse films (he would produce one more eight years later) is the most influenced by the 60s spy craze with secret agents tracking Mabuse as he seeks a deadly laser weapon.

1970

Scream and Scream Again

This British horror film was retitled *The Living Corpse of Dr Mabuse* when distributed in Germany. Despite star Vincent Price calling it an "odd film", Fritz Lang supposedly saw the retitled version and loved it.

NAZI CINEMA

Under the direction of Joseph Goebbels, German cinema was transformed into a propaganda machine

The Ministry of Propaganda transformed Weimar Germany's open and free media into a propaganda machine, utilising radio, film, music, books and the press as weapons to promote Nazi ideology. Adolf Hitler himself was an avid cinema-goer and so film in particular was paid special attention by the Third Reich. The Nazis bought all of Germany's film companies and began producing a combination of films designed to be popular with the public alongside outright works of propaganda. Perhaps the most famous (or infamous) film produced during the Nazi's reign is 1935's *Triumph of the Will*, which has been described as taking inspiration from Lang's *Metropolis*.

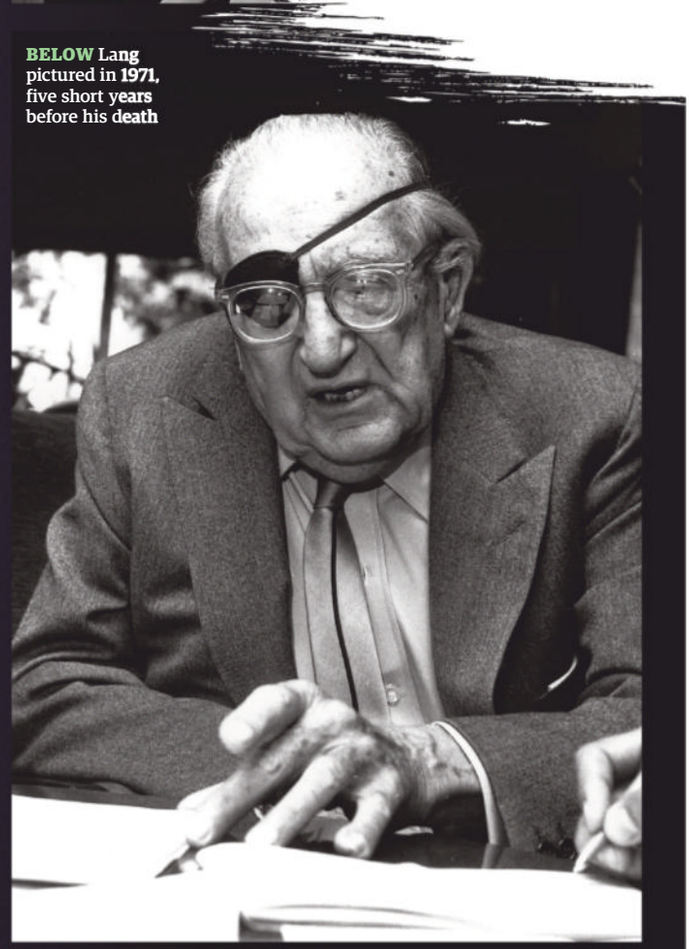
in 1933. Secondly, all saw him revisit earlier, more lauded works. The first two, *The Tiger of Eschnapur* and *The Indian Tomb*, were a two-part remake of a 1921 film, while the third was a return to the character who had forced him to flee Germany in the first place.

The project began life when producer Artur Brauner proposed a remake of *The Testament of Dr Mabuse*, only for Lang to exclaim: "I already killed that son of a bitch!" Instead, Lang pursued a new tale that, like the previous Mabuse films, would explore fears of the day. The resultant *The Thousand Eyes of Dr Mabuse* was enough of a success that Brauner launched a whole series of Mabuse films. For Lang however, this was to be his final project as director and he would pass away in 1976 at the age of 85.

THE FINAL REEL

Of all of Fritz Lang's contributions to cinema, his most celebrated achievements will perhaps remain *Metropolis* and *M*. The latter is credited by the BFI as providing the "blueprint for the serial killer movie", while the former is considered a pioneering work of science fiction, inspiring everything from *Blade Runner* (1982) to *Star Wars* (1977). Yet 1933's *The Testament of Dr Mabuse*, though not always among his most celebrated works, is arguably one of the most defining of his career. If Lang is to be believed, responsible for his leaving Germany and beginning to work in America, Mabuse's shadow hangs over Lang's life. While his version of the film's banning might be far from the truth, if read as a parable on Nazism (as Lang claims he intended), it remains disturbing. As the film demonstrates, the written word has the power to change hearts and minds. It can corrupt good people and make them do terrible things. Hitler, like Mabuse, may be dead – but his dangerous ideology continues to haunt us to this day.

RIGHT Fritz Lang's second wife, Thea Von Harbou remained in Germany making films for the Nazi regime



BELOW Lang pictured in 1971, five short years before his death

1972

The Vengeance of Dr Mabuse

Brauner decides to produce one more Mabuse film, hiring notorious Spanish filmmaker Jess Franco (top right) to helm this tale which sees Mabuse try to steal a mind-control ray with the help of a monster.

1984

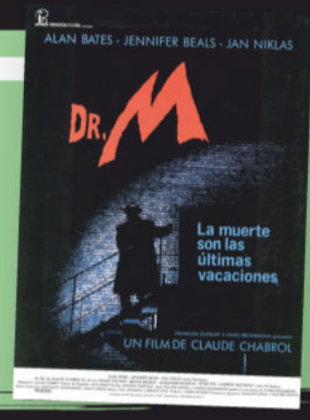
Dorian Gray In the Mirror of the Yellow Press

Possibly the strangest film to involve Dr Mabuse – and if you've got this far you'll realise that's saying something – sees the immortal Dorian Gray take on the media empire of Dr Mabuse, played by Delphine Seyrig.

1990

Dr M

'The French Hitchcock' Claude Chabrol turns his attention to the good Doctor in a story that sees the population of a divided Berlin killing themselves in very alarming numbers.



The Battles Tha

ABOVE The siege of Dover Castle by French forces in 1216

MIDDLE RIGHT King John, depicted here hunting on horseback, was an unpopular monarch

While the Magna Carta has gone on to be considered a hugely significant and influential document, the peace it was supposed to bring between King John of England and the powerful barons was not long-lasting. With King John reneging on his promises and the Pope weighing in on the document's legitimacy, the First Barons' War followed, splitting the nation in half. In this period of turmoil, some barons turned to Louis VIII of France as a successor to the throne and brutal battles ensued. In *1217: The Battles That Saved England*, Catherine Hanley breaks down these hugely impactful events, and we were delighted to learn more about them from her.

What was the political landscape of England like in 1216?

It was pretty turbulent. King John had been on the throne since 1199, and he'd spent most of the intervening time making a complete hash of being king and becoming deeply unpopular. By the mid-1210s the nobility was split down the middle between those (the 'royalists') who still supported him – because they respected his position as crowned monarch even if they didn't necessarily like him personally – and others (the 'rebels') who believed he needed to be made to see the error of his ways. The rebels thought they'd succeeded in 1215 when they forced John to agree to Magna Carta, which spelled out for the first time that the king of England was subject to the law rather than sitting above it, but he reneged on his word almost immediately. Civil war was then inevitable, and armed conflict ensued. So England in 1216 wasn't a particularly peaceful or stable place.

t Saved England

When a French king took the throne of England, a divided nation needed to unite

Interview by **Jonathan Gordon**

All images: © Getty Images

RIGHT The First Barons' War involved battles on land and at sea

BELOW RIGHT King John approving the Magna Carta in 1215

Could you tell us how King Louis came to be proclaimed King of England on 2 June 1216?

It sounds almost unbelievable, but it was actually a logical progression from the prevailing political situation. As soon as John reneged on Magna Carta, the rebel barons knew they were never going to be able to control him. So they had two choices: submit and take the consequences of John's revenge, or overthrow him. They chose the latter, which meant that they had to find themselves a new king (they weren't radicals who wanted to get rid of the monarchy as a whole, they just wanted a better king than John). The problem was, there was no suitable candidate in England. John's children were very young at this stage and would only have ended up being his puppets, perpetuating the status quo, and the ▶

EXPERT BIO

© Charlotte Mears

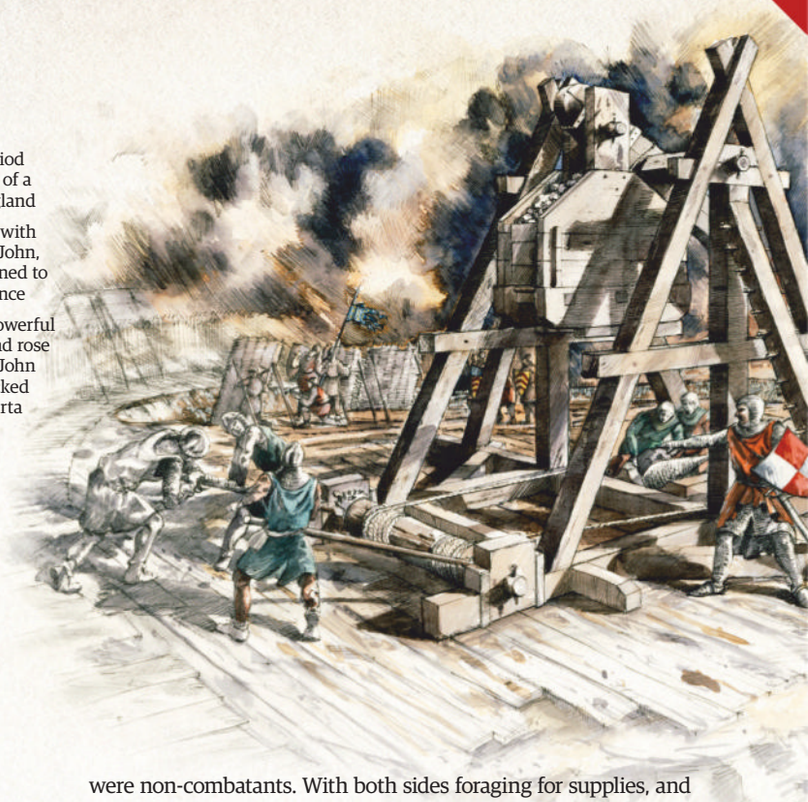
CATHERINE HANLEY

Catherine Hanley is a medieval historian specialising in the warfare of the 12th and 13th centuries and author of both fiction and non-fiction. Her previous books include *Two Houses, Two Kingdoms: A History of France and England, 1100-1300* (Yale University Press, 2022) and *Matilda: Empress, Queen, Warrior* (Yale University Press, 2019).

idea of the rebels promoting one of themselves to be king was just asking for trouble.

What the barons needed was a man who was already royal, who had at least a vague semblance of a right to the English throne, and who – crucially – was capable of winning the war that would inevitably follow when the royalists fought on John's behalf. Louis of France was the ideal candidate. He was in his late twenties, already the heir to the French throne, an experienced and keen warrior, and actually quite bored, as his father (Philip II Augustus) was in robust health and not likely to hand over any power in France any time soon. And the icing on the cake was that Louis was married to Blanche of Castile, who was King John's niece and a granddaughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. This gave the fig-leaf of justification that was needed in terms of hereditary right.

A delegation of barons sailed to France to offer Louis the English throne. He accepted, mustered a fleet and sailed, arriving in England to find no resistance as he rode to London and was proclaimed king.



RIGHT This period saw the first use of a trebuchet in England

BELOW Fed up with the rule of King John, some barons turned to Louis VIII of France

MIDDLE The powerful barons of England rose up against King John after he backtracked on his Magna Carta promises

How brutal were the conflicts of 1216 and 1217 in the context of war for the time?

We could probably class them as more or less average for the period. Any army of the time was made up of a mixture of nobles, knights and commoners (who might be foot soldiers, archers, engineers and so on), and any campaign of the time was more likely to be characterised by sieges and ravaging than by pitched battles. Both of these were the case in England in 1216 and 1217, when there were lots of sieges and only two battles. In any of these types of encounters, the nobles and knights were likely to experience better outcomes as they tended to be captured for ransom if they were defeated. We have first-hand evidence from the two battles that took place in 1217 (at Lincoln and Sandwich) that those of knightly rank and above were spared and ransomed, while commoners were killed.

Unfortunately for them, it was the ordinary people of England who came off worst, even if they were non-combatants. With both sides foraging for supplies, and ravaging lands to stop their opponents doing the same, many civilians saw their crops burned or their livelihoods destroyed through no fault of their own. But, as I say, this was unhappily no more nor less than was expected at the time.

What were some of the key technological innovations that were deployed in this war?

There were a couple of really interesting points from a technological and tactical point of view. There were many sieges during the campaign, but castles were very strongly built and most stone-throwing machinery (which worked by traction – that is, men pulling down on ropes on one side of a balance beam in order to throw a stone from the other side) was ineffective. Louis's father, King Philip, was a noted proponent of siege warfare, and while Louis was besieging Dover – one of the biggest and most well-defended castles in England – he sent over a new and bigger device called a trebuchet. This also used a balance beam to throw stones, but instead of traction it had a huge counterweight that enabled larger missiles to be launched with greater speed and accuracy. This was the first time a trebuchet had ever been seen in England.

Two tactical innovations also took place during the sea battle off Sandwich in August 1217. Naval warfare at this time mainly involved the straightforward ramming of an opponent's ship and then jumping across to fight hand to hand. But at Sandwich the English sailors were able to manoeuvre their ships expertly, such that they were aided by the conditions. And then, because they had the wind behind them, they were able to shoot pots of lime dust at the enemy fleet, which proved extraordinarily effective – the French combatants were choking, burned and blinded before the English even reached them, so they were in no condition to fight back when their ships were boarded.

Who were some of the key figures who emerged from this conflict who influenced the years to follow?

I think we're probably quite familiar now with the name of William Marshal, the earl who took charge of the royalist cause and who acted as regent for the young Henry III, John's son and successor. But you can pat yourself on the back if you've ever

"It was the ordinary people of England who came off worst"

heard of Hubert de Burgh, Peter des Roches, Nicola de la Haye, Philip d'Albini or William of Cassingham. The parts they played during the war were just as pivotal, but somehow clergymen, women, minor gentry and commoners didn't seem to get the same plaudits as kings and earls. Funny, that.

What influence did the First Barons' War have in shaping a new English national identity?

Ah, this is one of my particular hobby-horses. It's often thought that in the early 13th century everyone was just out for what they could get personally, and that there was no particular sense of national identity. But while there certainly was a hefty dose of self-interest going on, we can trace a real sense of the development of 'Englishness' during this war. To start with it was merely an internal conflict, and contemporaries talked about royalists and rebels just as I've done here. But the offer of the throne to Louis, and the French army he brought with him, began to change all that. As the war went on, the chroniclers and participants started to say things like 'the French are here to take our land' and 'we must defend our homeland against the foreign threat', and the two sides were no longer the royalists and the rebels, but the English and the French.

You mention in the introduction of your book that this war has been largely forgotten. Why do you think that is?

To be honest, I think we can put most of it down to sheer embarrassment. When scholars of the 18th and 19th centuries started to write their great narrative histories, they had a very definite sense of national pride, and Britain was at war with France for long periods. So the idea that a French prince had actually been invited to come and take the English crown, and had been cheered through the streets of London, simply didn't fit with what they wanted to say. So they minimised it, and later historians followed the same pattern. There is also the fact that the campaign was, ultimately, an unsuccessful attempt at invasion. If Louis had indeed become the crowned and acknowledged king, this war would probably be as famous as the Norman Conquest.

TOP RIGHT Louis' father had been a big believer in siege warfare tactics

ABOVE The English fleet led by Hubert de Burgh met Eustace the Monk and Robert of Courtenay's French armada off Sandwich, Kent

What do you hope readers take away from 1217: The Battles That Saved England?

Firstly, the knowledge that this campaign actually happened, and that in its way 1217 was just as pivotal a year in English history as 1066. And, added to that, I hope also a sense of what that period was really like – its events, its politics and its people, even if they were previously unfamiliar. History isn't all about the rich and famous, and it isn't always about the winners, either!

1217: The Battles That Saved England
BY CATHERINE HANLEY IS AVAILABLE NOW FROM OSPREY PUBLISHING

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Forgotten W

Mary Knowles, Needlework Picture, 1779. Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

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INTERVIEWEES

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TABITHA BARBER

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TIM BATCHELOR

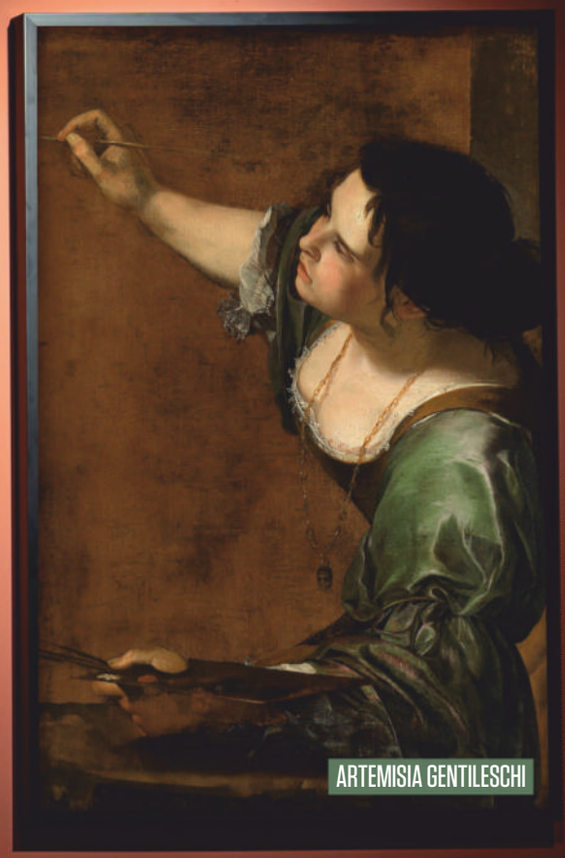
For centuries they lingered in the shadows, now a new exhibition shines some light on the overlooked women of British art history

Written by **Callum McKelvie**

OMEN ARTISTS

© Alamy

Photo Tate (Mark Heathcote and Samuel Cole)



Artemisia Gentileschi Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting (La Pittura) (RCIN 31339) Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

Look at most lists of the great artists who worked in Britain and you're unlikely to find many women listed. Why is this? You might immediately assume that perhaps there were few female artists to begin with, but you'd be wrong. In fact, as a new exhibition proves, there are a large number of women whose creative legacies are barely known today. Running until 13 October, 'Now You See Us' at Tate Britain in London is a collection of over 200 artworks from across the globe that showcases the work of 100 women to explore female artists in the British Isles from 1520 to 1920. In some cases, these artists were among the greats of their time whereas others were little known, but all are barely recognised today. We spoke to curator Tabitha Barber and assistant curator Tim Batchelor to examine the fascinating lives of just a handful of these forgotten women. ▶

© Getty Images

Elizabeth Butler, The Roll Call, 1874. Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

Hidden in Plain Sight

But first we need to ask, just why were these women forgotten? "The reasons vary depending on which century you're in," Barber explains. "But there is a notion throughout the exhibition that women were seen as different. The way they were spoken of was different to men. For example, we start the exhibition in 1520, in a period when women were not expected to have a public role. To do anything even vaguely on the public stage, was just not regarded as proper or ladylike."

There are other reasons however that have spread across the centuries, one being the power that husbands continued to hold over their wives. "A number of those that succeeded were in relationships with men who supported them," Tim Batchelor, the assistant curator of the exhibition, tells us. The marriage laws in Britain were very strict at the time. Prior to 1870, anything women earned automatically belonged to their husbands. As such it was difficult for married women to forge careers as artists. Furthermore, those who were married might have their husband's support, but were still subject to their commands. "So they might want them to be chaperoned, or they might not want them to paint men at all," Batchelor continues.

Given such laws, you might not be surprised to learn that there were numerous examples of women who, in order to maintain their independence and ability to make their own living, simply chose not to marry at all. "There are the Mutrie Sisters [Annie Feray Mutrie and Martha Darley Mutrie]," Batchelor recounts. "They were born in Ardwick, near Manchester, in 1826 and 1824 respectively and moved to London in the 1850s. They were supreme painters of flowers and they lived together, working as artists and exhibiting their paintings. They are just one example of many who took that path."

Levina Teerlinc 1510-1576

The exhibition opens by displaying the work of the 16th-century miniaturist, Levina Teerlinc. Born in Flanders, Belgium in 1510, she was the daughter of Simon Bening, a manuscript illuminator of some repute. "She was brought to the court of Henry VIII because of her skill," Barber states. "There's a 1560s art history which names only six women artists and she was one of them." Beginning work as the royal 'paintrix' for Henry VIII in 1546, Teerlinc worked for the crown for the subsequent 30 years of her life. According to historian Louisa Woodville, she would go on to be commissioned by all three subsequent rulers; Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I.

> "In some cases, these artists were among the greats of their time whereas others were little known, but all are barely recognised today"

ABOVE Elizabeth Butler (1846-1933) is a rare example of a female artist who specialised in painting military scenes

BELOW A miniature of Elizabeth I, one of many attributed to the artist Levina Teerlinc

BELOW LEFT Now You See Us can be seen at the Tate Britain until 13 October 2024

However, there is a twist in the tale: in the centuries since her passing an extraordinarily large number of artistic works have been attributed to Teerlinc – perhaps not all painted by her. "During this period there are a number of miniatures that are produced in Britain and none of them are attributed to a named artist," explains Barber. "For a while, historians [such as Roy Strong] believed these were by Teerlinc." However, work carried out by the Victoria & Albert Museum assessed a number of these surviving miniatures and discovered that they were in fact done by different hands.

But this raises the question – just how do Barber and Batchelor know that the works on display in the exhibition were those truly painted by Teerlinc? "There is a group of miniatures which really are by the same hand, and those are also some of the miniatures that have traditionally been attributed to her," Barber explains. "These are the miniatures we have managed to obtain for the show and it's the first opportunity to see them side by side since 1984." ▶

© Tate photography (Lucy Green)

FORGOTTEN ARTISTS FROM ACROSS THE GLOBE

Britain is not alone in overlooking the contributions of its female artists, here are five women from across the globe whose work deserves to be recognised

1 Artemisia Gentileschi
1593-c.1654

Described by the National Gallery as 'the most celebrated female painter of the 17th century', Gentileschi was the daughter of Orazio Gentileschi, himself a celebrated painter. As a child she learnt her craft from her father, but these early years were also marred by tragedy when, at the age of 17, she was raped by Agostino Tassi – a friend of her fathers. But following a harrowing trial (in which she was tortured), she was able to carve a career for herself as an artist. During her lifetime she worked for the Medicis and was purportedly an avid proponent of the styles of the painter Caravaggio. She spent the final years of her life operating a salon in Naples.

2 Élisabeth Louise Vigée le Brun
1755-1842

According to the National Gallery, when Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun was only 15 she was being commissioned to paint the portraits of the French elite. Marie Antoinette took a shine to the young artist and Le Brun became a favourite of the French queen, painting her portrait several times. In 1789 she left her home country for good as the fires of the Revolution threatened to engulf all France. Four years later, her good friend Marie Antoinette would be executed by guillotine. Le Brun spent the final years of her life moving across Europe, settling in places such as Rome and Vienna – though never for long.

1

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3 Tarsila do Amaral
1886-1973

According to Aware Women Artists, despite having a background in classical art it was the avant-garde movement of Paris that truly appealed to the Brazilian painter, Tarsila do Amaral. Upon her return to São Paulo, she discovered that her native city had developed an experimental art scene of its own. According to the Tate, Amaral mixed "the innovations of the European avant-garde with a Brazilian vernacular sensibility." One of her most famous paintings is *Abaporu*, shown here and produced in 1928. Decades after her passing, her work continues to inspire Brazilian artists.

4 Lyubov Popova
1889-1924

Relatively unknown in the western world, Lyubov Popova was an important proponent of the avant-garde in Soviet Russia. According to the Museum of Modern Art, Popova's early works showed an influence from Futurist and Cubist works, both popular artistic movements at the time, but her work developed throughout her life. Popova also worked as a teacher and designed sets for theatre productions. Herself an ardent communist, she also produced a number of propagandist materials, including posters. She passed away from scarlet fever when she was only 35 years old.

5 Lois Mailou Jones
1905-1988

Lois Mailou Jones was born in Boston, Massachusetts. She began working in the textiles industry but in 1928 took up a position teaching. In teaching, Jones appeared to find her purpose and she would teach until her retirement at the age of 71. In 1930 she took up a post at Howard University in Washington, DC and for the following 47 years ran a course in which she taught numerous African-American artists. After visiting Africa in 1970 as cultural ambassador for the United States Information Agency, Jones' own work began to show more visible African influences.

© Tate photography (Lucy Green)

ABOVE The exhibition also features a number of other art forms alongside paintings

Mary Grace Unknown – 1786

One of the real highlights of the exhibition is the opportunity to view rarely seen paintings by artists whose work has not been exhibited in Britain for some time. "I think people will be really surprised to see work by Mary Grace," Barber says. "The self-portrait we have is coming from America and it's the first time that the picture will have been seen in this country since around 1960."

Born sometime in the 18th century, Mary Grace is one of the most obscure names out of the many that Barber and Batchelor have been able to accumulate works by. According to art historian Marcia R Pointon, she began exhibiting at some point in the 1760s and Wendy Wassyng Roworth states that she was one of only a small number who was granted an honorary membership to the Society of Artists.

"She's not a name people have heard of, yet she was exhibiting when few other women were," Barber continues, "and not just portraits, genre works and history paintings. Unfortunately, the self-portrait we have is the only known surviving work by her. A prime example of a career that history has just lost sight of, a well-known name in her day, but who's heard of her now?"

"It makes you consider how history is written," Batchelor adds. "We know about artists like Angelica Kauffman, because she was celebrated, her works collected and preserved. Other figures have just disappeared. The history of art as we know it could have been so much different had the works of Mary Grace survived. It's interesting to think about how history comes about because of what remains and what's lost."

Sarah Biffin 1784-1850

One of the most remarkable artists showcased in the exhibition is Sarah Biffin, whose story still inspires even centuries after her death. For as well as being a woman and having to face the same challenges and prejudices as the other artists featured in the exhibition, Biffin was also disabled. Born in 1784 without arms and only vestigial legs, Biffin learnt painting and drawing from a young age – using her mouth to hold the brush. She spent much of her early life in a travelling show, after showman Emmanuel Dukes made a deal with her parents when she was probably only 13 years old. Biffin travelled throughout Britain with Dukes, painting portraits of paying customers who marvelled at her talent.

According to the South West Heritage Trust, it was while she was travelling with Dukes that Biffin met the 16th Earl of Morton. With his support she was able to move to London, undertake professional lessons and leave travelling sideshows for good. Biffin quickly established herself as a successful portrait painter for the elite of British society. In the words of the Trust: "She painted members of the royal family, including in later years Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, and travelled to Brussels where she became miniature painter to the Prince of Orange and Princess Augusta."

> "Women have always been part of the art world in Britain over the previous 400 years, we just don't talk about them"

THE LOST JOPLING

The acclaimed artist's painting of the famous actress is just one of the many works seemingly lost to time

In 1883, the artist Louise Jopling painted the famous actress, and her close friend, Ellen Terry. Yet this painting is just one of the many Jopling works that are now lost. According to The Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow, the portrait depicted Terry in the role of Portia from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. While a single 'photogravure' of the painting exists, it is in black and white and we can only imagine how the original must have looked. In 2015, during an exhibition on Jopling's work, the university spoke openly of their desire to unearth the lost work – but as of writing, the painting has not yet been discovered.

Laura Knight, A Dark Pool, 1917 © Estate of Dame Laura Knight. All rights reserved 2024 / Bridgeman Images

© Tate photography (Lucy Green)

Forgotten Women Artists

Despite still being a subject for mockery by the contemporary press, her peers recognised her achievements and the Society of Arts awarded her a medal, while the Royal Academy exhibited a number of her works.

Yet, despite her contemporary fame and the determination she showed throughout her life, Biffin's remarkable story has been largely confined to the past. Once again however, Barber and Batchelor ensure that Biffin's legacy goes unknown no longer. "Among the works in the exhibition we have a miniature by her," Barber explains, "a self-portrait she used to advertise herself. It's an important work because the money raised from that engraving helped Biffin set herself up as a professional artist in London."

ABOVE Laura Knight's 1917 work *A Dark Pool*, one of the works available to view in the exhibition

ABOVE RIGHT *Susanna and the Elders* by Artemisia Gentileschi, a work previously thought to be lost

BELOW Now You See Us explores the forgotten legacy of women artists working in Britain

Louise Jopling 1843-1933

One of the surprises when looking at the various names featured throughout the exhibition is realising how respected some of these figures were in their day. One of the most highly regarded was the artist Louise Jopling. Primarily a portrait painter, Amersham Museum suggests this was her chosen form because it provided her with a way to earn a living. So popular was her work that she painted a number of contemporary celebrities including Ellen Terry (a leading actress) and was herself the subject of a painting by famous artist Sir John Everett Millais.

A committed suffragist, in 1884 she gave her signature to a letter advocating Votes for Women and continued to support the movement throughout her life, her fame no doubt carrying some weight. In 1903, according to the University of Glasgow, she penned the essay *On the Education of the Artistic Faculty*, arguing for the rights of women to an education equal to that of men.

But why, if Jopling was so renowned in her day, is she largely forgotten about now? Because, unfortunately, there is a tragic aspect to Jopling's legacy. "Glasgow University [where Jopling's archive is kept] has a database of over 600 works Jopling painted in her lifetime," Barber explains. "But only 30 have images attached. Because we just don't know where the others are. That's an incredible statistic really, because she was exhibited almost every year at the Royal Academy and was regarded as a substantial figure in the art world."

However, unfortunately this tragedy is not confined to Jopling alone. "At the very beginning we came up with a huge list of names," Batchelor laments. "We would hear about some amazing work that was shown at the National Academy and we'd think 'Let's get that! That'd be fantastic. Where is it?' And of course it would be lost, with only something like a black and white image from 1975 remaining or just gone altogether. And there were so many instances where we were trying to track down works, only to discover that many just don't exist at all."

© Tate photography (Lucy Green)

Now You See Us is running from 16 May to 13 October at Tate Britain in London. Further details can be found on the Tate's website.

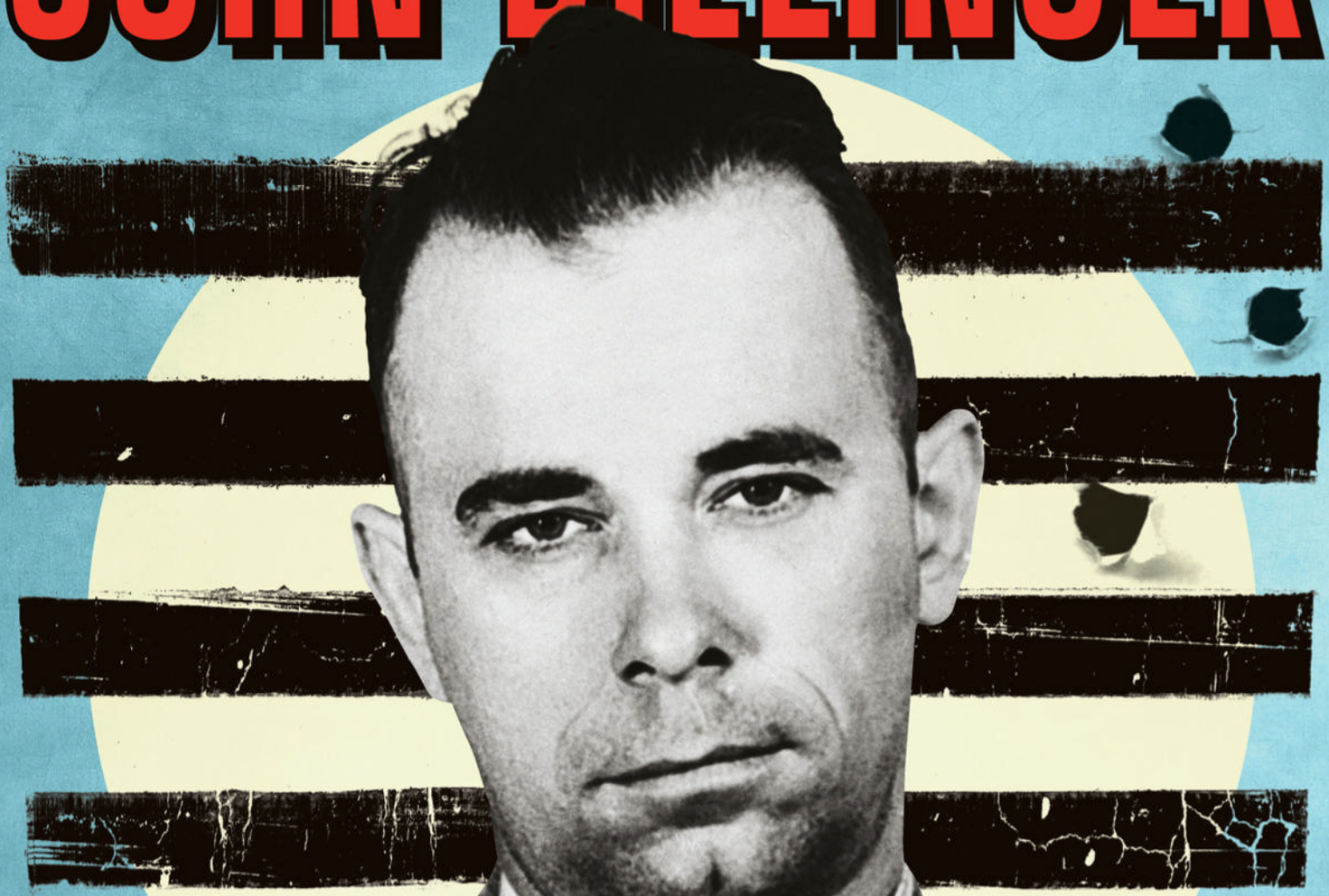
Overlooked No More

'Now You See Us' is certainly an ambitious project, bringing together over 200 works, spread across 400 years under a single roof. But exactly what is it that Barber and Batchelor hope the exhibition will achieve? "Women have always been part of the art world in Britain over the previous 400 years, we just don't talk about them," Barber says. "What we're trying to say with our exhibition is not only that we recognise their contributions, but also show that the Tate and other museums and galleries are actually doing something about the representation of women artists, actively acquiring works for permanent collections and staging exhibitions."

From the inspiring story of Biffin to a tantalising glimpse of some of the surviving treasures by Jopling, 'Now You See Us' is a must visit for lovers of art history. There are other riches on display too, such as the evocative battle scenes of Elizabeth Butler, the enigmatic works of Laura Knight or the 17th-century portraits of Joan Carlile. The hard work by Barber, Batchelor and others at Tate Britain and all related galleries and museums has created an exhibition unique in breadth and scope. One thing is for sure, their hard work will ensure that these women will not remain forgotten for much longer.

All images: © Alamy unless stated

JOHN DILLINGER



PUBLIC ENEMY Nº 1

The criminal who brought government law enforcement into the spotlight, helping to establish the FBI

Written by Christian Cipollini

The Great Depression in America set the stage for a perfect storm. The clash of economic turmoil, larger-than-life figures, and sensationalised media coverage propelled the likes of mobsters and outlaws into the limelight. The frenzy of chaos, hype, and daring escapades turned both criminals and law enforcement agents into media sensations.

The peak of the Midwest's brief 'war on crime' era unfolded between 1933 and 1934. This period witnessed the dramatic rise and fall of notorious figures like John Dillinger, Pretty Boy Floyd, and Baby Face Nelson. Simultaneously, a once obscure group of special agents emerged as a formidable and respected force in the fight against crime.

THE MAKING OF AN OUTLAW

John Herbert Dillinger was born on 22 June 1903 in the Oak Hill section of Indianapolis. His mother died when he was three years old and his father later moved the family to Mooresville Indiana and remarried. As a young man Dillinger enlisted in the Navy, which, according to the FBI, was a decision born out of "a break with his father and trouble with the law (auto theft)." Dillinger deserted and moved back to Mooresville in 1923 where he met Beryl Hovius; they married in 1924.

On 6 September, Dillinger and Ed Singleton robbed a Mooresville grocer named Frank Morgan. During the course of the holdup, Dillinger hit Morgan with a cloth-wrapped piece of iron. Morgan wasn't seriously hurt but when the perpetrators faced a judge, Dillinger had the book thrown at him. The judge sentenced Singleton to 2 to 14 years, but Dillinger got 10 to 20. He began the sentence at Indiana State Reformatory.

In June 1929, Dillinger's wife Beryl filed for divorce. A month later he requested and was granted a transfer to Indiana State Prison. The time spent among the more seasoned and hardened criminal element had a profound effect, serving as defining education in how to be an outlaw.

But then in May 1933, and thanks in part to a petition signed by 184 Mooresville residents, Dillinger was granted parole. He wasted little time in applying the skills learnt in prison and carried out his first bank robbery in June in New Carlisle OH, whereby he netted over $10,000. He would go on to hit a dozen more banks, rake in an estimated $500,000, execute clever escapes, utilise plastic surgery and bulletproof vests, gain a fan following and ultimately fall in a hail of bullets.

FOLK STATUS

Columnist Herb Michelson once wrote of John Dillinger, "Jails couldn't hold him, bullets couldn't scare him, women couldn't resist him."

To be clear, Dillinger was many things, but he wasn't a lone wolf, nor an organised gangster in the purest sense of the phrase. He did run with some of the same people from time to time, but it wasn't a consistent 'gang' per se. It's been said he was very generous, but not quite a 'Robin Hood' figure either.

Crime is a vocation founded on opportunism, adapted to and plied within the environment, and seeks the path of least resistance. For bandits like Dillinger and his contemporaries, the Midwest was conducive to a particular brand of criminality, especially in terms of logistics, culture, geography and the fragmented,

BELOW LEFT Young John Dillinger photographed on his father's farm in Indiana

BELOW A six-year-old Dillinger sitting with his father on the right along with family friends

BOTTOM The Dillinger family home in Mooresville, Indiana

"FOR BANDITS LIKE DILLINGER, THE MIDWEST WAS CONDUCIVE TO A PARTICULAR BRAND OF CRIMINALITY"

All images: ©Getty Images

often under-equipped law enforcement agencies. These outlaws often acquired bigger guns, faster cars and even, to some degree, the support of civilians.

This was the Great Depression after all and in the wake of the 1929 stock market crash, people squarely blamed the financial sector. So, when banks were getting robbed – especially by a charismatic Midwestern bad boy – a growing segment of the public viewed it with ambivalence or as justified.

After a series of robberies, Dillinger was arrested in Dayton, Ohio, and was taken to Allen County Jail in Lima, Ohio in September 1933. A few days later, ten men managed to escape from Indiana State Prison with guns previously smuggled in by Dillinger. Then on 12 October, several of those men broke Dillinger out of jail in Lima, Ohio, one of whom, Harry Pierpont, killed Sheriff Jesse Sarber during the escape.

Dillinger continued evading the law and met Evelyn 'Billie' Frechette that November in Chicago. Although they became lovers, it's been said she didn't directly get involved in criminal exploits, beyond providing clothing, money or transportation when necessary. Still, the law was gunning for anyone and everyone associated with Dillinger.

BLUNDERS & REBRANDING

As history shows, John Dillinger proved to be a defining factor in America's crime-fighting evolution. His notoriety drew folk hero status, and the ire of an embarrassed legal system, which helped force the hand of the Federal government to pass new laws and form a centralised enforcement unit.

Enter J Edgar Hoover. In 1924, Hoover assumed the role of acting chief of the Bureau of Investigation (BOI). Subsequently, he ascended to the position of its leader, which he held until his demise in 1972. During its initial years however, the bureau possessed restricted capabilities and garnered minimal recognition beyond the confines of the greater Washington DC region.

Bryan Burrough, the author of the 2004 publication *Public Enemies*, drew a correlation between Hoover's ascent to fame and Dillinger's criminal activities in the documentary *The True Story of John Dillinger*. Burrough asserts that Dillinger's narrative was closely intertwined with Hoover's narrative, as Hoover and his bureau's obscurity were transformed during Dillinger's crime spree. Burrough notes, "18 months later, Hoover is a household name."

But Hoover's bureau had little power to intervene in the Midwest mayhem, at least for the moment. The shift began when Dillinger escaped from Lake County Jail

"THE TIME SPENT AMONG THE MORE SEASONED AND HARDENED CRIMINAL ELEMENT HAD A PROFOUND EFFECT"

MOST WANTED

Five more famous fugitives from American history

THOMAS JAMES HOLDEN

Holden became the first person to be placed on the FBI's 'Ten Most Wanted Fugitives' on 14 March 1950. Holden was suspected of the murder of his wife and two brothers after a drunken argument in Chicago. He was apprehended in June 1951 following a tip in Beaverton, Oregon.

RUTH EISEMANN-SCHIER

The first woman to make the FBI's top ten most wanted list in 1968, having kidnapped Barbara Jane Mackle, daughter of a millionaire, and buried her in a box for 83 hours. She and her partner had demanded a ransom of $500,000. She was apprehended by the FBI in Norman, Oklahoma in March 1969.

VICTOR MANUEL GERENA

At large for around 40 years, Gerena was accused of armed robbery in 1983, taking $7 million. Working as a Wells Fargo security guard, he also allegedly took two fellow guards hostage in the armoured car robbery. The FBI is still offering a reward for information leading to his capture.

TED BUNDY

This infamous serial killer was on the most wanted list twice, first for rape and murders starting in 1974 and then again for six days when he escaped from the courthouse where he was standing trial in 1977. He ultimately confessed to 28 murders, although he is suspected to have perpetrated more.

OSAMA BIN LADEN

The head of the al Qaeda terrorist organisation was first added to the FBI's most wanted list after the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York and 18 Americans killed in Mogadishu, Somalia, in 1993. He was ultimately killed in a special operations raid of his compound in Pakistan in 2011.

in Crown Point Indiana, using a wooden gun and stealing the sheriff's car. Driving the car across state lines opened Pandora's box; now the Feds could take the reins of pursuit, but not without some epic fails.

CHICAGO CINEMA SHOWDOWN

By the spring of 1934, the pursuit of Dillinger was marred by various errors and mishaps by law enforcement, such as the accidental shooting of two innocent individuals at the Little Bohemia Inn in April (Dillinger, of course, slipped away). Frechette, however, was arrested in April on charges of harbouring a criminal. She received a two-year sentence. Dillinger seriously contemplated breaking her out, but was eventually talked out of the idea. After Frechette's imprisonment Dillinger took up with other women, but maintained some written correspondence with Frechette, who also insisted he not risk attempting a breakout.

President Roosevelt threw his weight into the mix, and urged Congress to pass new anti-crime legislation, resulting in the criminalisation of fleeing across state lines and granting Hoover's agents increased authority. "Shoot him first and ask questions, if necessary, later," wrote INS reporter Robert S Thornburgh in an article on 24 April. "That's what the Department of Justice says about America's public enemy no. 1."

Anna Sage, a friend of Dillinger's new girlfriend Polly Hamilton, was a brothel owner entangled in her own legal issues when she entered the story. In a bid to evade deportation and legal repercussions, Sage decided to act as an informant. This led to a meeting with agent Melvin Purvis, ultimately sealing Dillinger's fate that summer. Hamilton, Sage and Dillinger were going to catch a gangster flick at a theatre in Chicago.

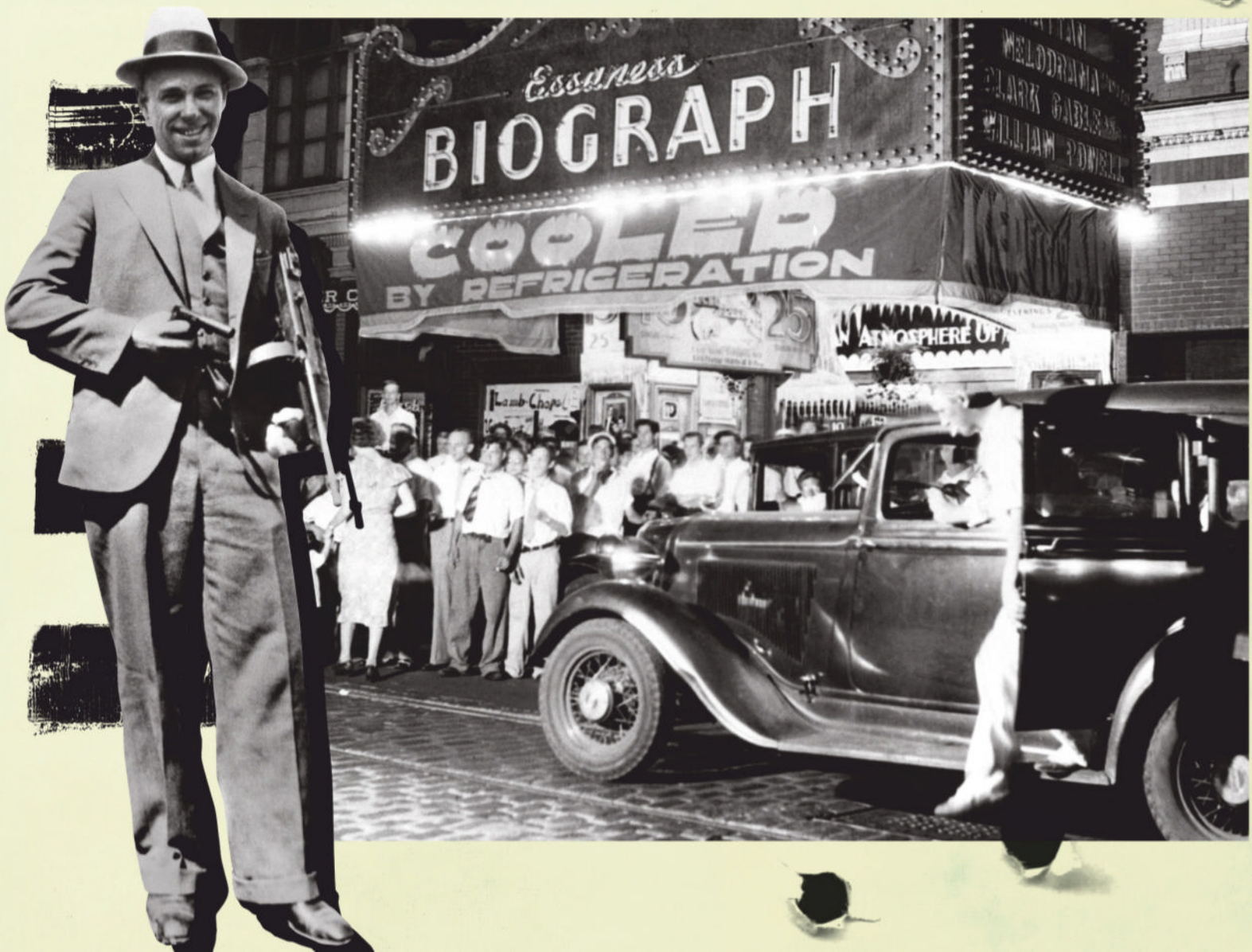
A memorandum dated 3 October 1935 summarised the FBI's version of Dillinger's last stand – "About 10:50 o'clock on the night of July 22, 1934, Dillinger, accompanied by two women companions, was observed emerging from the Biograph Theater. They walked south on Lincoln Avenue from the theatre. Special Agent in Charge M. Purvis gave the pre-arranged signal of lighting a cigar. Agents immediately began to close in slowly towards Dillinger from all sides. Dillinger apparently became apprehensive. He glanced over his shoulder at [the] Agents and started to run, grabbing for his gun simultaneously. As Dillinger grabbed for his gun, five shots were fired by three Agents, one Agent firing three shots and two Agents firing one shot each. Dillinger fell face downward near an alley. A 380 calibre automatic pistol was in his hand when he fell. No shots were fired from Dillinger's pistol. An extra clip for his pistol was found in his pocket."

The authorities placed both Sage (who was being identified as 'the lady in red')

TOP LEFT Some of many mugshots of the notorious Dillinger; a collection of weapons used by John Dillinger during the course of his criminal career

BELOW The theatre where Federal agents caught and killed Dillinger on 22 July 1934

BELOW LEFT Dillinger posing with a Colt .38 and a submachine gun



All images: © Getty Images, © Shutterstock

ABOVE Dillinger handcuffed to Deputy Chief Carroll Holby at his Indiana trial in 1934

BELOW J Edgar Hoover with Chicago Bureau Chief, Melvin Purvis after the slaying of Dillinger

RIGHT The body of Dillinger is brought out to a large crowd outside a Chicago funeral home

and Polly Hamilton in witness protection, but Sage's true identity was exposed to the media shortly thereafter. Despite popular belief, Sage wasn't actually wearing a red outfit, but instead an orange skirt paired with a white top. Unfortunately, her efforts to avoid deportation also proved to be in vain as she was eventually sent back to Romania by the government in 1936.

After Dillinger's downfall, the G-men targeted and killed another Midwestern outlaw in October, Pretty Boy Floyd, who was suspected of being a key figure in the 1933 Kansas City Massacre. Next, Dillinger's erstwhile pal (and often described as a psychopath) Baby Face Nelson succumbed to wounds during a gunfight with agents on 27 November in Barrington, Illinois. "Dillinger would only shoot when he was cornered," J Edgar Hoover later said, "but Nelson will shoot without any provocation."

"HIS NOTORIETY DREW FOLK HERO STATUS, AND THE IRE OF AN EMBARRASSED LEGAL SYSTEM"

THE STORY ISN'T QUITE OVER YET

Less than a year after Dillinger's death, J Edgar Hoover's department got a new permanent name – Federal Bureau of Investigation – and he went on to become one of the most powerful, and contentious, figures in American law enforcement and political realms. After release from prison, Dillinger's former lover Evelyn Frechette toured with members of Dillinger's family for a few years, giving interviews and speaking engagements. She died in 1969.

Like so many of history's legends, the posthumous legacy of John Dillinger conspiracies and mysteries gained traction and continue to this day. Was Dillinger really dead? Where was all the cash hidden?

In 2019 a faction of Dillinger family members, in league with the History Channel, sought to have the dead outlaw's remains exhumed in hopes of answering the burning question – is it him? However, after initially being granted the permits, the project was challenged. Family members then filed a lawsuit. The History Channel then pulled entirely out of the project the following month. As of January 2020, the lawsuit was withdrawn.

Even more recently, another documentary series went on the search for Dillinger's money stash. Hosted by Josh Gates, Discovery Channel series *Expedition Unknown* didn't find any cash but when the episode "Dillinger's Lost Loot" aired in July 2021, it showcased the triumphant return of a fully restored stolen police car. The vehicle had been thought long lost but was returned in pristine form to the Crown Point police in April 2021. "The 1933 Ford Police V-8 stolen by John Dillinger is back at the same jail from which he stole it 87 years ago," NPR announced in April. "An enthusiast tracked down the car in Maine and it was restored to its original form." In August 2023, the car was sold in auction for $150,000.

All images: © Getty Images

Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF MARENGO

MARENGO, ITALY, 14 JUNE 1800

Written by David Smith

When Austrian troops advanced to attack two French divisions near Marengo, Italy, on 14 June 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte was shocked. Fully expecting the Austrians to avoid a fight, he had detached several of his divisions to block potential escape routes, and he didn't arrive at the battlefield himself until the French situation was almost lost.

The French and Austrian armies were evenly matched, each numbering around 31,000, although the Austrians held a significant advantage in artillery (100 guns to just 40), but Napoleon's decision to disperse his forces meant he was facing the full strength of his enemy with just 22,000 men and 20 guns.

Disaster loomed as he tried to slow the Austrian advance, buying time for the return of his scattered divisions. Whether or not any of them could get

Chaos reigns in this painting of the battle by Louis-François, Baron Lejeune

back to the battlefield before the Austrians won a decisive victory would determine Napoleon's fate. He stood on the brink of a humiliating failure from which he might never recover.

PRELUDE TO BATTLE

Napoleon had built his reputation in Italy. Taking command of a bedraggled and listless Army of Italy in 1796, he reinstilled fighting vigour and led it to a series of sweeping victories that announced the arrival of a bold and innovative commander. By the end of the year, most of Italy was under French control.

Napoleon then embarked on a daring campaign in Egypt, before returning home to take a position in a new three-man consulate to rule France. Quickly establishing himself as First Consul, he recognised the need for a period of peace after years of fighting. The Second Coalition against France had all but collapsed, but Austria remained hostile and needed to be persuaded to accept peace once more. Napoleon now set about recovering lost gains made in Italy and forcing peace upon his principal enemy.

Planning for the Italian campaign included the adoption of a new corps system for his armies. The use of corps (self-contained, all-arms units of two or three divisions, able to operate independently as small armies) was not a new idea, having been tried over the previous decade, but now Napoleon made their adoption general through the entire army.

Although the leader of the republic, Napoleon did not yet have dictatorial powers. He was not technically allowed to command an army, but wasn't about to let such a minor detail hold him back. He had two main forces to work with: the Army of the Rhine (120,000-strong, under Jean Victor Marie Moreau) and the Army of Italy (36,000, under André Masséna). Napoleon favoured working with the larger force but could not usurp Moreau, who enjoyed fierce support from his men. Italy therefore became the target once more, and the formation of an Army of Reserve gave him the tool to work with. Napoleon planned to descend on Italy through the Alpine passes with his new army and hit the Austrians, engaged with Masséna's Army of Italy, in the rear.

The stage was now set for a confrontation between Napoleon and Michael von Melas, commanding the Austrians. Having forced Masséna's surrender on 4 June, Melas moved his 32,000 men to Alessandria, between Turin and Genoa, and awaited Napoleon's approach.

Miscalculations on both sides now shaped the coming battle. Melas fed the French with ▶

Main image source: wiki/Musée National du Château

false intelligence that made it sound like he was planning to withdraw from Alessandria. Not entirely duped, Napoleon allowed this to enter into his planning – he detached three divisions (two under Louis Desaix) to block potential escape routes for the Austrians. At the same time, Melas thought his trickery had been swallowed whole, and expected Napoleon to move towards Sale.

THE BRIDGEHEAD

When Napoleon's advanced units (a division under Claude-Victor Perrin) reached Marengo, they clashed with the Austrian bridgehead on the eastern side of the Bormida. Two pontoon bridges gave Melas the means to cross his entire force, but the French were unaware of them and believed that the Austrian units on their side of the river were merely a rearguard to cover a withdrawal.

At the same time, Melas believed he was dealing with an isolated French force and was not expecting it to receive support from Napoleon. Sharp fighting erupted, with neither side understanding what was actually going on. As the fighting died away and night fell, nobody believed a major battle would be fought around Marengo the next morning.

At 8am on 14 June, Melas began to move his men over the Bormida in force, expecting to brush aside limited French resistance and march to intercept the French on their way to Sale. A 57-year-old Irishman, Andreas Graf O'Reilly von Ballinlough, led the first column over the pontoon bridges into the difficult terrain around Marengo.

The weather was good, but there were several factors to hamper military movements. Ditches, hedges and bushes punctuated the farmland around the village of Marengo, with corn standing 6ft (1.8m) high in some places. Vine plantations also hindered visibility, meaning that both sides had a limited view of what their enemy was up to.

The French advanced guard, under Claude Matthieu, Count Gardane, was driven back onto Pedrabona and then across the Fontanone, a narrow but deep stream. A second French division, under Jean Lannes, was on its way, but Napoleon still believed this was nothing more than the Austrian rearguard and was more concerned with preventing Melas from escaping. With the French commander unwilling to commit the rest of his force to Marengo, the Austrians enjoyed a massive superiority in the developing engagement.

Perrin's single division now found itself dealing with four Austrian divisions. That of O'Reilly was moving past the left flank of Gardane's men, while three further divisions (under Karl Graf Hadik, Freiherr von Kaim and Johann Maria Philipp Frimont) advanced on Marengo. The Austrian assault, however, was not well handled. At first it was bogged down and then flung back by determined French resistance, Hadik being mortally wounded in the process. A second assault was launched at 10:30am, with Kaim's division now spearheading the attack on Marengo. Other units swung to their left and took advantage of the Austrians' numerical superiority, making good progress through lightly defended territory to Barbotta farm.

As the situation threatened to get out of hand for the French, Lannes' division arrived and instantly shored up the right wing, evicting the Austrians from Barbotta farm and stabilising the position. As Austrian troops continued to cross the two bridges, however, it was only a matter of time before their numbers became overwhelming.

By now the sounds of a major confrontation, carrying to Napoleon's headquarters, were unmistakable, and he realised that he had been fooled. Messengers were sent to recall the detached divisions from their now pointless missions. The message to Desaix in particular gives an insight into Napoleon's level of anxiety over developments: "Melas has attacked me first: For God's sake, come up if you still can!"

Napoleon had personally called for Desaix to return to France from Egypt, having a high regard for the man. His faith was to be justified – some sources claim Desaix had already heard the battle around Marengo and was doing what any good general would, marching to the sound of the guns, before Napoleon's message arrived. Whatever the truth, Desaix was on his way back, and whether or not he could bring his 9,000 men up in time would probably decide the outcome of the battle.

THE FRENCH OVERWHELMED

A third Austrian column, commanded by Peter Karl Ott von Bátorkéz, had crossed the Bormida, and moved northeast to occupy the village of Castel Ceriolo. Numbering around 8,000 men, this could have delivered a crushing blow to the beleaguered French around Marengo, but Bátorkéz was confused. According to Austrian intelligence, Napoleon's main body ought to have been moving towards Sale, further to the northeast, but Bátorkéz's cavalry scouts confirmed that there were no French units in that direction. Clearly, the Austrians had made a mistake in their planning, but this left Bátorkéz uncertain of how to proceed. If he flung his men to the southwest, against Perrin and Lannes, he might find himself attacked in the rear by the French under Napoleon. Bátorkéz made a compromise: he sent most of his advance force to attack Lannes in the flank, while keeping the bulk of his column to the north of Castel Ceriolo. Dragoons were sent on a scouting mission to the east to try and locate Napoleon.

Hard-pressed, Lannes deployed his reserve units and grimly held on, but the pressure was becoming intolerable. On the other side of the battlefield, nine squadrons of Austrian cavalry were dispatched across the Fontanone to bear down on Gardane's left flank, but they were routed by 640 heavy cavalry under François Étienne de Kellermann, who sent them piling back into the stream in chaos. The French position was saved, at least temporarily, but a nightmarish situation was developing along the banks of the Fontanone. With only the narrow stream between them, opposing ranks of infantry exchanged musketry at close range.

With the French guarding the only bridge across the stream, Austrian pioneers arrived to assemble temporary crossings. Seeing that this was taking too much time, the local commanding officer decided to order a party of men to stand

Image sources: wiki/Musée National de Versailles et des Trianons (Lannes), Heeresgeschichtliches Museum (Hadik), © Getty Images (battle)

The French and Austrian armies both numbered around 31,000, but the Austrians had more artillery

The arrival of Jean Lannes' division helped the French hold their line through most of the day. (Painting by Jean-Baptiste Paulin Guérin)

The Austrian general Karl Joseph Hadik fell in the initial assault on the French position at Marengo

A romanticised depiction of Napoleon crossing the Alps prior to his 1800 Italian campaign, painted by Jacques-Louis David

Image source: wiki/kbdk

in the water and form a human bridge, allowing a battalion to cross.

Lannes saw that his position was becoming untenable. After three hours of fighting his men were tired and running low on ammunition, and Austrian units were now moving across the Fontanone. Units from Bátorkéz's column were called for and added their weight to the Austrian tide, which was becoming irresistible. By 2:30pm, the French were withdrawing and a huge cheer went up from the Austrians, who believed they had won the day.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST CONSUL

Half an hour later, Napoleon arrived to see two battered French divisions setting up a new defensive position, under threat of encirclement on both flanks. With limited resources on hand and with multiple weak points to reinforce, Napoleon chose to commit his best infantry in a desperate attempt to buy time for Desaix to arrive.

Austrian mounted units saw a new French formation advancing through cornfields, the tops of their headgear (displaying red plumes) clearly visible. The column was small, only around 800 men, but the plumes identified the men as the Consular Guard. Napoleon was making his last throw of the dice.

Ordered in to support Lannes' right flank, the Guards became embroiled in a close-rage duel with two Austrian battalions of the 51st Regiment. Due to superior artillery support (the Guards had just four four-pounder guns), the Austrians held the upper hand, and after a prolonged exchange of fire they prepared to charge home with the bayonet.

As the Guards braced, they were hit in the rear of their left flank by four squadrons of light dragoons, supported by Jäger zu Pferde, mounted riflemen. The Guards were crushed. Around 400 were

AUSTRIAN ARMY

© Getty Images

MICHAEL VON MELAS

Born in Transylvania, von Melas joined the Austrian Army at 17 and served in the Seven Years' War. He was in charge of the army by the time Napoleon arrived in Italy during the War of the Second Coalition. He served under Alexander Suvorov achieving victories at Cassano, Trebbia, Novi, Genola and Genoa before his surprise attack at Marengo nearly defeated Napoleon. He retired three years later.

© Alamy

PETER KARL OTT VON BÁTORKÉZ

Ott fought in wars against the Kingdom of Prussia, the Ottoman Empire and French Republic in his service of the Austrian monarchy. He served in the hussars, earning the role of colonel for his efforts on horseback. Ott commanded the Austrian left wing at Marengo and achieved some success before French reinforcements pushed him back. The battle was his last in active command.

FRENCH ARMY

© Getty Images

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

The newly appointed First Consul sought to lock in his rule of France by achieving 'victorious peace' and crossed the Alps with his forces in the hopes of surprising the Austrian Army. It was the Austrians that got the drop on him at Marengo, however, but he still achieved victory. He reopened hostilities in November when peace negotiations broke down, with the Treaty of Lunéville signed in February 1801.

© Getty Images

LOUIS DESAIX

Victory for Napoleon was in large part thanks to the timely arrival of Desaix on the field. The noble-born general had been fully behind the revolution and served the Republic with distinction. Serving with Napoleon, his forces took the full force of the Mamluk attack at the Battle of the Pyramids. Hearing the cannon fire at Marengo he diverted his men to join Napoleon, turning the tide of the battle.

© Getty Images

LOUIS-ALEXANDRE BERTHIER

Napoleon's chief of staff from 1796 to his abdication in 1814, Berthier was also prince of Neuchâtel and Valangin. He served in the American Revolutionary War and then rose up in the French Revolutionary Army having proven himself loyal to the new Republic after the revolution. After the Coup of 18 Brumaire and Napoleon becoming First Consul, Berthier was made Minister of War.

Jean Broc's painting captures the moment when Napoleon was presented with the lifeless body of General Desaix at the end of the battle

Image source: wiki/Musée du Château de Versailles

taken prisoner, with a small group of around a hundred managing to escape with the colours.

It appeared as if the battle was over. Exhausted Austrian infantry began to scatter to search for food and water in the afternoon heat. Around 3,000 French prisoners were being led away and all over the battlefield the wounded cried out for attention.

Melas believed the day was won and was personally battered, having suffered two falls during the day. Giving orders for his men to pursue the retreating French, he retired to his base at Alessandria to rest. Kaim was left in charge of the pursuit of Napoleon's army.

French sniper fire was all the Austrians had to fear now as they swept forward in pursuit. Napoleon attempted to form up a new defensive line and was overjoyed when Desaix appeared at around 5pm, bedraggled from his frantic race to rejoin his commander.

With two relatively fresh divisions to play with, Napoleon's first thought was to secure his retreat. He suggested to Desaix that Jean Boudet's division (5,300 men, 240 cavalry and six guns) ought to be thrown in to screen the withdrawal.

Desaix saw things differently. Whether he recognised that the Austrian pursuit was losing shape and cohesion, or whether he just had a gut instinct that they would be flagging after a day of brutal fighting, he saw the potential in launching a counterattack, but time would need to be bought to allow for reorganisation.

Among the troops of Boudet's division was the 9e Légère, a regiment of light infantry, three battalions strong. These men were ordered to delay the Austrian pursuit and then fall back on a newly formed French line – 2,000 light infantrymen duly engaged the 11th Infantry Regiment of the Austrians, sending them reeling in disorder. Austrian grenadiers advanced to maintain pressure on the French, and the 9e Légère fell back, until Kellermann saw an opportunity to disrupt the Austrians once more, launching a cavalry charge into their left flank. At the same moment, the 9e Légère pushed forward and three Austrian grenadier battalions were shattered. The price was high, as Desaix fell mortally wounded in the attack, but Austrian momentum had been broken. A victory was quickly turning into a stunning defeat.

THE TABLES TURN

One last chance remained for the Austrians to win their battle for a second time. Bátorkéz's column, largely untroubled during the day's fighting, was still intact to the north. He was deploying into line to hit the advancing French in the flank, but at the last moment decided it would be best to preserve his men and withdrew back towards Castel Ceriolo.

Napoleon pressed the retreating men, aware of the danger they still posed, but as darkness fell Bátorkéz's men found their way back to the main Austrian army. The battle was over and by around 8pm the opposing armies were in much the same positions in which they had started the day.

Austrian casualties were high, with almost 1,000 dead, 5,500 wounded and nearly 3,000 captured. French losses were, if anything, a little higher, although they attempted to downplay the severity of the battle by claiming only 700 casualties, a ludicrously low figure.

By the end of the year the Austrians had agreed to a new peace treaty, which was signed in February 1801. Napoleon, having so narrowly avoided a humiliating defeat that might have ended his career and would certainly have undermined his authority as First Consul, had secured his position. Taking advantage of a period of precious peace, he began work on reorganising his army. The old Royal/Republican Army would be reformed, and the Grande Armée would soon be unleashed upon Europe in wars that would rage until his eventual defeat at Waterloo, 15 years later.

08 Kellermann's charge

Kellermann makes his second decisive intervention of the day, launching his cavalry into the flank of three grenadier companies and breaking them. The Austrians begin to fall back and Napoleon has snatched an improbable victory.

07 Desaix's intervention

Following the timely arrival of Desaix, three battalions of the 9e Légère are thrown forward to slow the Austrian advance, before falling back on a new defensive line, strengthened by the arrival of two more French divisions.

04 Lannes to the rescue

A second French division arrives just in time, extending the French defensive line at Marengo and preventing it from being outflanked, but the situation is still desperate as more Austrian units are brought to bear on the defenders.

05 Bátorkéz's column

A formidable column of Austrians takes possession of Castel Ceriolo, but is unsure of the whereabouts of the main French army. It is therefore not committed to the fight, where its weight might have proved decisive.

06 The sacrifice of the Guards

Napoleon arrives around 3pm and commits his Consular Guard to protect the right flank of the French line. First pinned by infantry and artillery, they are then routed by a devastating cavalry charge into their rear.

Map illustration: Rocío Espín Piñar

What If...

STALINGRAD HAD FALLEN TO THE NAZIS?

How might a Nazi victory have broken Russian courage and changed the war on the Eastern Front?

Interview by David Williamson

INTERVIEW WITH

© D Stone

DR DAVID R STONE

David teaches in the Strategy and Policy Department of the US Naval War College. He received his PhD in Russian history from Yale University and is the author of numerous books and dozens of articles on Russian and Soviet military history. His most recent book is titled *The Russian Army in the Great War: The Eastern Front, 1914-1917.*

• These views are David's own and not any official position of the US government.

It is a battle still celebrated today in modern Russia as the very heart and soul of their courage and fortitude against an invading army. On the surface, the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact of 1939 between Hitler and Stalin gave each what they wanted. But Hitler wanted more. Extra land for the German people and the annihilation of the Slavs were central to his plan. All went well, until Stalingrad stood firmly in his way. The city's refusal to break came at a terrible cost in lives. But if the Nazis had managed to defeat the Soviet forces and taken the city, how might the Eastern Front, and the rest of the war, have been different?

Would the Nazis have continued their expansion eastwards and what may this have looked like?

I don't think that's likely. When the Germans got to Stalingrad in late summer 1942 and began the months-long struggle for the city, the German military was already stretched to breaking point. Keep in mind – the battle for Stalingrad was only part of a much bigger campaign. In spring and summer 1942, Hitler had sent his Wehrmacht on an offensive through eastern Ukraine and southern Russia, aiming at the Caucasus. The goal was oil: some in Chechnya but far more around Baku, in present-day Azerbaijan. Hitler's empire in Europe had very few sources of oil – basically limited to some from Romania. That wasn't nearly enough to wage the global war that Hitler was now caught up in. The oil resources of Baku were enormous. Hitler's hope was to make it to the shores of the Caspian Sea and use that oil to fuel his war.

Stalingrad ended up part of this campaign because it lay on the left flank of the German move towards the Caucasus. The Germans couldn't afford to leave Stalingrad in Soviet hands – it was a potential base of operations for the Soviets to cut off the German drive for oil. The propaganda benefit of taking the city named for Joseph Stalin was a nice bonus. But the distances involved were enormous. The German jumping-off point in spring 1942, already deep inside the Soviet Union, was 1,000 kilometres (621 miles) from Baku, and there wasn't much of a transportation network in between for the Germans to commandeer. And, of course, the Soviets made sure to wreck anything of value. As it was, the Germans had to stretch their resources very thin to make the push for Baku. While they managed to get awfully close, the eventual Soviet victory at Stalingrad forced them to withdraw in early 1943.

If the Germans *had* won at Stalingrad, it *might* have solved some of their resource problems. But even if that had happened, German manpower and logistics couldn't have sustained much beyond what they were trying to do in 1942. Even by late 1941, well before Stalingrad started, the German military was worrying about finding enough able-bodied men. And ▶

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Main image source: © Getty Images, © Alamy

RIGHT Hitler's instructions were to win Stalingrad at any cost

THE PAST

22 JUNE 1941

RENEGING ON THE DEAL

Having used the non-aggression pact with the USSR to his own advantage, Hitler was now ready to turn the tides and push eastwards. The beginning of Operation Barbarossa saw a rapid and deadly assault from land and air deep into Soviet territory. Despite greater numbers of men and equipment, the Soviets were quickly overwhelmed and encircled, leading to the surrender of hundreds of thousands. By December 1941, despite being on the outskirts of Moscow, Barbarossa had stalled, and the Russian winter began to take its toll on the German forces.

17 JULY 1942

THE SLAUGHTER BEGINS

The assault on Stalingrad was to see some of the most ferocious, brutal, and bloody close-hand combat of the entire war. Fighting street by street, within a month the Soviet general, Vasily Chuikov, and his men were pushed into a strip along the Volga River. Stalin had refused to allow civilians to be evacuated, telling the city's defenders, "not one step back", in the belief that having their fellow Russians so closely in harm's way would prove to be the greatest motivation the Soviet troops could have. It was a huge price to pay in Soviet lives.

NOV 1942 – FEB 1943

THE TIDE TURNS

The Soviet counteroffensive aimed to turn the German's own tactics back on themselves. Instead of striking back at the Nazi forces head-on, General Georgy Zhukov sent his troops around the flanks, overwhelming Romanian forces and encircling the German lines. Now trapped, an attempt was made to breach the Soviet lines by Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, but was unsuccessful. The encircled commander of the Sixth Army, General Friedrich Paulus, creates a plan – Operation Thunderclap – but this was vetoed by Hitler, who wanted Stalingrad defended to the last. It is clear Paulus did not agree, allegedly telling his generals, "I will not shoot myself for this Bohemian Corporal," and he surrendered his forces. It has been estimated that across both sides in the Battle of Stalingrad, there were up to two million deaths and casualties.

"It's more likely Hitler would have been able to reach the oil fields of Baku, solving one of his resource problems"

keep in mind – there wasn't a simple way to get oil from the Caspian Sea back to Germany for fuelling the fight against the Western allies.

What would a Nazi win at Stalingrad have meant for the Russian war effort, its people, and the challenges facing the Russian leadership?

Just the fight for Stalingrad was bad enough. The city was a major industrial centre, not least for Soviet tank production. As the Germans approached Stalingrad at the end of August 1942, Hitler's Luftwaffe carried out major bombing raids that devastated the city. And once the battle for the city itself started, it got much worse. The city, with all its factories, was essentially levelled.

Perhaps an even more important issue was what the Battle of Stalingrad meant for Soviet transportation and fuel. Stalingrad sits along the western bank of the Volga River, and the Volga was – and still is – a major transportation artery. In particular, the Soviet Union in WWII didn't have much of a pipeline network, so the vast majority of the oil produced in Baku got to the rest of the Soviet Union by ship – across the Caspian Sea and then up the Volga.

Starting in summer 1942, German bombers were already dropping mines in the Volga and sinking river traffic. When the Germans reached the banks of the Volga itself, traffic was completely halted. Oil started to back up in Baku as well as on the tankers in Astrakhan. The Soviets had to turn to an alternate and much less efficient route. Oil now had to go to Guryev (now Atyrau in Kazakhstan), up the Ural River, and then by rail to the rest of the Soviet Union. The Volga was closed from summer 1942 through to April 1943, and that was even with the Soviet victory.

If the Germans had won at Stalingrad, the Volga would have been closed longer, perhaps permanently. In the best case for the Soviets, they'd be stuck for a longer time with a much less efficient delivery of oil to fuel their war. In the worst case for the Soviets, German victory at Stalingrad would have allowed them to make it all the way to Baku, and the Soviets would have lost that oil entirely. That would have put the Soviet leadership in an even tougher position and might have made them rethink whether to seek a separate peace.

BELOW The incredibly brutal Battle of Stalingrad resulted in an estimated two million casualties, with thousands of civilians losing their lives

Could the Germans have maintained resources for two active fronts?

By this point, Germany was already badly stretched. Winning at Stalingrad, though, would actually have eased Germany's problems a bit. Taking Stalingrad would let the Germans put part of the front line on the Volga River, which would have made for a more defensible position. Taking Stalingrad would also have made it more likely that Hitler would have been able to reach the oil fields of Baku on the Caspian Sea, which would have solved one of his resource problems.

What impact would such a victory have on morale of the German people and how might the Nazi propaganda machine have benefitted from it?

No doubt Joseph Goebbels' propaganda machine would have made a great deal out of the capture of Stalingrad – the city of Stalin. But morale was not a problem for Hitler's regime. There was no significant internal resistance at this point. That only came later, when the war was clearly lost. And German soldiers fought even harder when the war turned against Germany. There was a pretty good sense among German soldiers and civilians of what Soviet victory and Soviet occupation would mean for Germans, after all the horrific crimes they had committed against the Soviet people.

The real question was how Hitler was going to compensate for the enormous material and manpower advantages of the Allies, not whether he could get his people to actually fight.

How might the Western Allies have viewed such a victory by the Nazis and what action would they need to have taken?

It certainly would have been a major morale blow, which would partially offset the Allied successes at El Alamein and the Torch landings in North Africa. But it's hard to see much changing in terms of what the Western Allies were doing – they were already shipping raw materials and munitions to the Soviet Union. It would have shifted the route: the Persian Corridor through Iran would have been forced to detour by the Nazi capture of Stalingrad, so more aid would have had to come through other routes.

Could a German victory at Stalingrad have changed the timing of the war, and even the outcome?

Certainly, winning at Stalingrad would have staved off German defeat for a time. The Soviet victory at Stalingrad not only destroyed the entire German Sixth Army, but it was followed by an offensive that liberated huge amounts of Soviet territory (and a young Mikhail Gorbachev, who lived for a time under German occupation) and forced the Germans to rapidly evacuate their troops pushing towards Baku. It gave renewed conviction to the Soviets and to the Western Allies that the Germans could indeed be beaten.

The question of changing the outcome of the war is much tougher. One of the aspects of the history of the war that is still quite mysterious is the extent of Nazi-Soviet discussions of a potential peace deal. There's reasonably good evidence that Stalin made some kind of approach to Hitler about a separate peace, though we know almost nothing about the details. If the Soviets had been defeated at Stalingrad, and if Soviet victory seemed distant or even impossible, then Stalin might have been willing to offer Hitler substantial concessions in terms of territory or resources in order to get out of the war. That would have allowed Hitler to focus exclusively on the Western Front. While this almost certainly wouldn't have been enough to enable him to defeat the United States and the United Kingdom, it might have been enough to drag the war out even longer and force the Western Allies to accept a peace of exhaustion, leaving Hitler in power in Germany with at least some of Germany's conquests. After all, Stalingrad took place a full year and a half before the Western Allies went ashore in Normandy – imagine what D-Day would have looked like with the bulk of the German military waiting in Western Europe. US Army Chief of Staff George Marshall said that he expected the American people would be willing to fight for four years before they would get tired of the war. As it was, the US only had to fight for three and a half.

ABOVE Many of the prisoners of war would not survive their captivity

THE POSSIBILITY

1942

NON-AGGRESSION PART 2

It is possible Stalin may have looked to turn defeat into a victory of his own. Vital Nazi resources were being exhausted on the Eastern Front, but if that problem were to go away, by Stalin offering a peace deal and cessation of combat, those resources could be used more effectively in the West against the Allies. Hitler could possibly get the land he wanted for his Lebensraum (living space) for the German people, which had been at the heart of Operation Barbarossa. And Stalin would have the breathing space to rebuild the Soviet economy and armed forces in peace, ready for any possible future conflict with the West.

JUNE 1944

D FOR DISASTER DAY

Without the distraction and drain of conflict in the East, Nazi forces would have ample opportunity to strengthen, reinforce, and regroup in the West. With such a change in strength of Nazi defences, the timing and execution of the Allied invasion of Europe may have come under close scrutiny. It may be that more than one direct route back onto the Continent would be required, perhaps from the south, in order to gain a foothold.

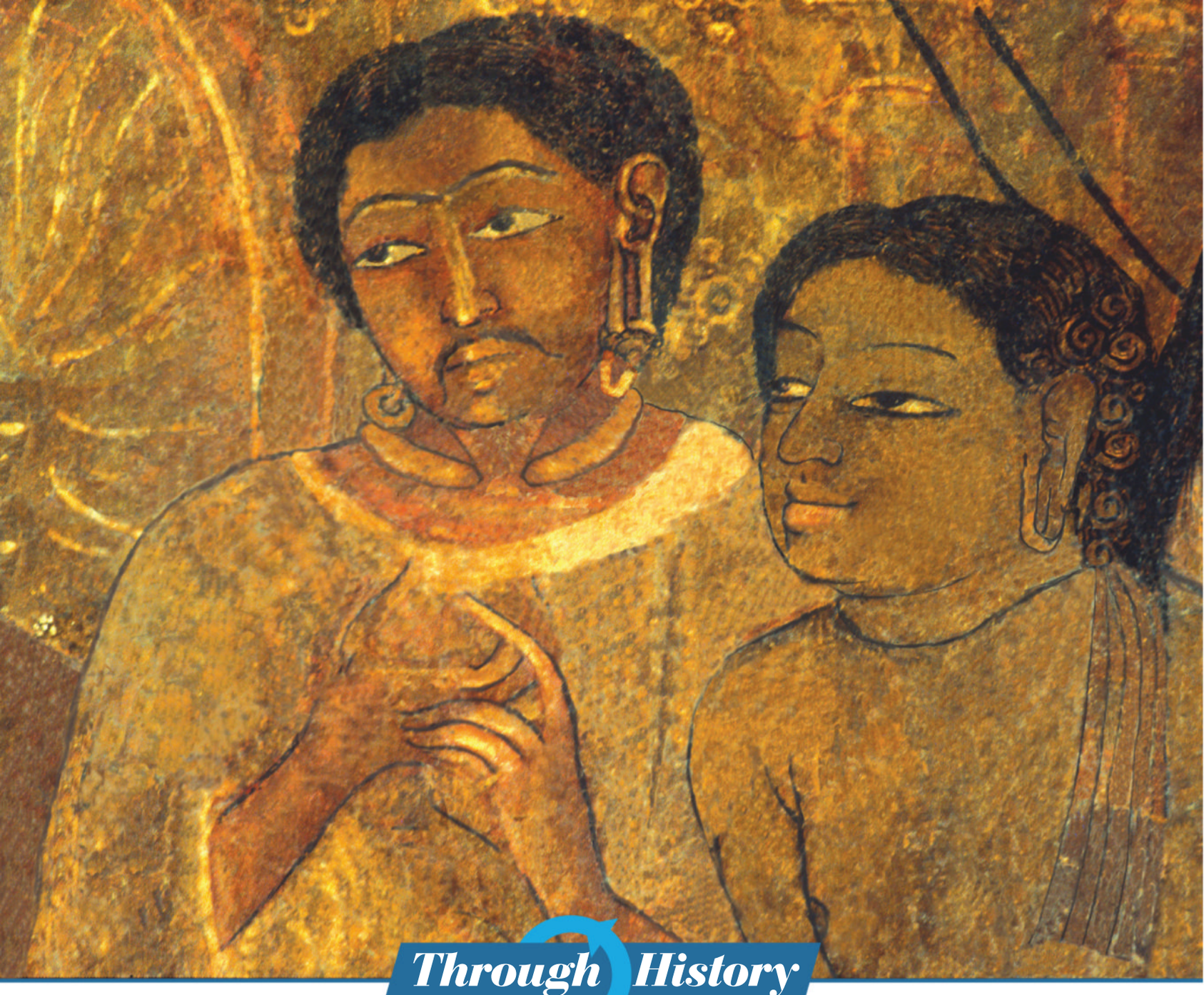
Potentially, larger numbers of Nazi forces would have made a beach invasion more of a gamble. And even once a foothold had been created, the sheer scale of Nazi defences could have drastically slowed, or stalled, the advance across Europe towards Berlin, leading to a possible stalemate.

1945 ONWARDS

SOFT LINE NOT PICKET LINE

With a greater depth of force between him and the invading Allies, Hitler's options may have been very different. Allied war fatigue and slow progress, plus a quiet and unpredictable Soviet Union, may have played into Hitler's hands to broker a form of peace. Germany remains intact, with him as leader and buffer between capitalist West and communist East. So, no race to Berlin between the Soviets and the West; no East and West Berlin, no East Germany; and a very different look to the plans for a closer post-war European union.

All images: © Alamy



Through History

THE AJANTA CAVES

An updated book showcases India's ancient Buddhist paintings in a new light

In 1819, a group of British hunters following a tiger through the jungle near the city of Aurangabad in India made an amazing discovery. When the tiger disappeared into a ravine, the hunting party followed and came across a man-made entrance in the rock face. Heading through the entrance, they happened upon a Buddhist stupa – a domed building used for meditation and to house relics – carved into the cave at the end of a long hallway. Along the walls of the cave were a myriad of beautiful murals. It turned out that this was one of 31 man-made caves, all Buddhist monuments, the oldest of which dated from between 90 and 75 BCE.

The paintings inside the Ajanta caves date from between 2nd century BCE and the 6th century CE and are some of the most significant pieces of art from the ancient world. Over the years the quality of the murals has diminished, but now, images of these magnificent paintings have been digitally restored to showcase their true beauty. Art historian and photographer Benoy K Behl's restored photographs are now displayed in the updated paperback version of *The Ajanta Caves*, which showcases the murals as they were intended to be seen.

COMPASSIONATE GLANCE

This restored painting depicts two men giving a compassionate glance towards a prince and princess, who in the wider scene have been banished from the city. The prince and princess have given away everything they owned.

PALACE SCENE

This image shows a small part of a wider mural of a palace scene. The painted scene is taken from a popular Jataka tale, one of many that make up the literature that tells the stories of the former lives of the Buddha. It is found in Cave 17.

BEFORE AND AFTER

These two images show the current state of an Ajanta cave painting and the result after the painting has been digitally restored by Behl. The original painting has been covered by early 20th century graffiti, obscuring the beauty of the ancient artwork.

KITCHEN SCENE

In this kitchen scene, women are depicted grinding spices as one of them pushes her hair out of her eyes. This is just one of many scenes of daily life shown in the Ajanta paintings that provide some insight into how people from this area lived in ancient times.

DIVINE BEING

Digitally restored so that we can see it in all its glory, this impressive painting shows Bodhisattva Vajrapani, the Bearer of the Thunderbolt. Located by the main shrine in Cave 1 of the Ajanta caves, it is considered to be a masterpiece of the group of murals.

BODHISATTVA PADMAPANI

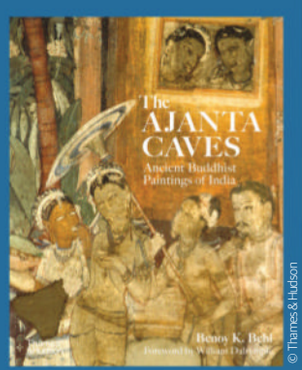
Dating from the 5th century CE, this painting from the Ajanta caves shows a figure entitled Bodhisattva (one who is on the path towards enlightenment) Padmapani (one who bears a lotus).

FEMININE BEAUTY

▲ This image shows the unrestored painting of a princess being offered a lotus. Like many of the Ajanta cave paintings, it has suffered damage throughout the centuries, but still manages to depict ancient Indian feminine beauty.

KING SIBI

▶ In this mural, Bodhisattva King Sibi is pictured standing next to a set of weighing scales. The scene shows him preparing to sacrifice himself in order to ensure that justice is done. His expression is described as gentle and poignant.



© Thames & Hudson

The Ajanta Caves: Ancient Buddhist Paintings of India (Thames & Hudson, 2023) by Benoy K Behl is available to buy now.

All images: © Benoy K. Behl

REVIEWS

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

© FlixPix/SKY Studios/Alamy

THE TATTOOIST OF AUSCHWITZ

An engaging and well-acted, if sometimes cliché-ridden, Holocaust drama

Cert: 15 **Director:** Tali Shalom-Ezer **Cast:** Harvey Keitel, Melanie Lynskey, Jonah Hauer-King **Released:** Out now

"In this hell we're in, we're only given two choices. The bad one and the worse one." Auschwitz concentration camp worker, Leon (Phénix Brossard), puts this observation to fellow inmate, Lali Sokolov (Jonah Hauer-King), during one of their many, often quick, conversations. These conversations are always swiftly conducted, for at any moment the hard handle of a whip or the butt of a rifle could come raining down on the side of the head, the jaw or the nose. They could even be executed on the spot. It is indeed hell they are in.

Leon's dialogue also encapsulates the thematic arc of this six-part series about a Slovakian Jew selected to work as a tattooist. He spends his waking hours inking serial numbers onto the forearms of prisoners selected for slave labour, while others are dispatched to the gas chambers. Lali must somehow survive his own ordeal while maintaining not just his sanity, but equally his dignity, while frequently having to compromise his morality. He not only witnesses atrocities at the hands of violent and erratic SS guards, but sometimes, heartbreakingly, has to partake in certain actions that will lead to the deaths of others. This is a grim burden; one many survivors faced daily.

The Tattooist of Auschwitz (2024), based on the novel by Heather Morris, who in turn based the story on a series of conversations she held with elderly Holocaust survivor Lali Sokolov, explores two parallel narratives. One is set in the present day and involves esteemed actor Harvey Keitel as the elderly Lali reminiscing – usually with a grimace on his leathery face – about his time at Auschwitz. The other unfolds as the story of the younger Lali and how he met his future wife Gita (Anna Próchniak) at the most distressing and fraught environment imaginable.

A frequently gripping story of the past and the present colliding, and like Claude Lanzmann's acclaimed nine-hour epic *Shoah* (1985), exploring time and memory, and how our recollections can shift and change with age, *The Tattooist of Auschwitz* is let somewhat down by pedestrian direction, overbearing music and scenes of merciless horror that have become so conventional, it is now pure genre cliché and always to the detriment unless it can convey unyielding and monstrous power.

Of the cast, Keitel and Melanie Lynskey (playing Heather Morris) share a lovely screen chemistry, while in the flashbacks Jonah Hauer-King does sterling work as a man cleaving as tightly as possible to his humanity under pressures none of us could hope to imagine, and because the other option is to go stark raving mad and run for the electrified fences (which we see others do, just to end the nightmare).

A litany of Holocaust drama clichés and annoying scoring arrangements aside, *The Tattooist of Auschwitz* is worthwhile viewing for its central performances by Keitel, Lynskey and Hauer-King, and because the themes at least are genuinely well-handled and delivered with emotional potency. Its flaws are forgivable. ***MC***

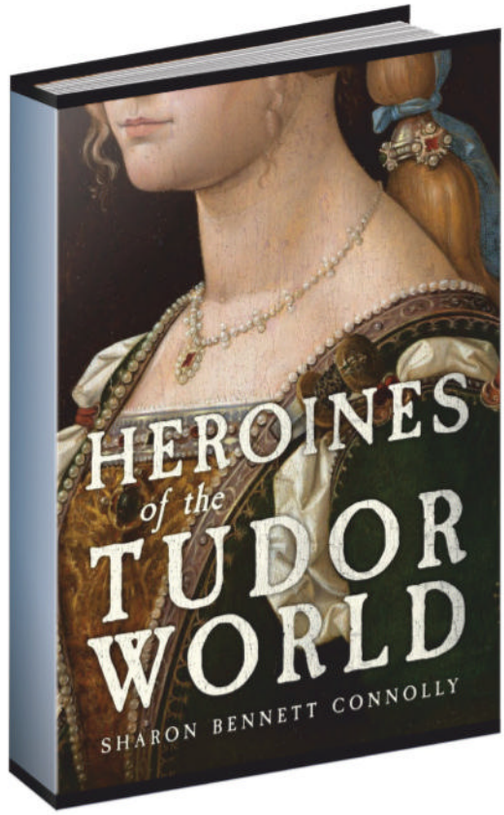
★★★☆☆

Reviews by
Martyn Conterio, Catherine Curzon, Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth

HEROINES OF THE TUDOR WORLD

A fascinating portrait of women in the Tudor era

Author: Sharon Bennett Connolly **Publisher:** Amberley Publishing
Price: £22.99 **Released:** 15 June 2024



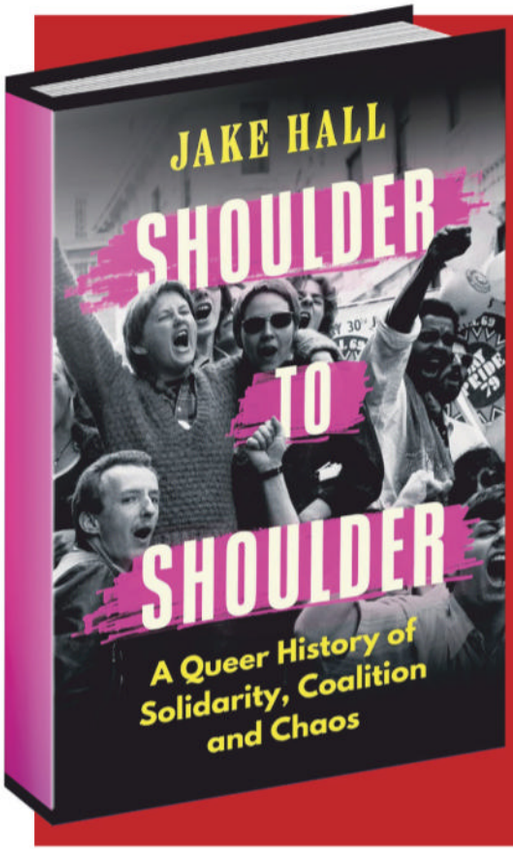
In *Heroines of the Tudor World*, Sharon Bennett Connolly takes readers on a journey back in time to meet a cast of women from across the social classes and society, each of whom has a story to tell.

This sequel to Bennett Connolly's earlier examination of women in the medieval world takes a similar approach, turning the spotlight on women who made a difference, from queens to nuns, writers to mothers and more. With heavy-hitters such as Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I sitting alongside less well-known names, this is not a greatest hits collection of Tudor women either. Rather, it is a chance to tell lesser known stories as well as revisit more famous characters, examining and rehabilitating those who have been maligned and delving into the truth of those who have become revered as virtual saints.

Heroines of the Tudor World reminds readers that the lot of women in this era was not easy, but in these fascinating stories she reminds us too that there have always been women who dared to challenge the status quo. Whether standing up for country, crown, family or love, the women who spring into life in these pages are richly deserving of their place in history.

This book will appeal to casual readers as well as those seeking an introduction to this fascinating subject. A comprehensive bibliography rounds out the package for those who wish to go deeper. ***CC***

★★★★☆



SHOULDER TO SHOULDER:

A QUEER HISTORY OF SOLIDARITY, COALITION AND CHAOS

A comprehensive study of LGBTQ+ visibility, protest and the collective fight for a better world

Author: Jake Hall **Publisher:** Orion Books **Price:** £25 **Released:** Out now

Protest has become an important part of daily life. Many of the civil freedoms and liberties we now have were achieved through protest. For LGBTQ+ people, this is doubly so. Yet these rights have not always been attained alone and there is a complex history of LGBTQ+ people working alongside other groups, from the Black Panthers to Welsh miners, to achieve a common purpose. In *Shoulder to Shoulder*, Jake Hall attempts to chronicle these moments in one comprehensive work.

Hall begins by examining 1960s anti-war protests and then the coalition between the Black Panthers and the Gay Liberation Front, before going all the way through to more recent events, such as trans rights activists working with pro-abortion campaigners in Argentina. The examples Hall uses are fascinating and they expertly weave and connect the various movements together to show a combined struggle.

Hall's writing is vibrant and while their topic can at times be heavy, Hall keeps the reader engaged with witty remarks and honest opinions. Though, we might not be able to agree with Hall's assertion that the Mimosa is "arguably the most overrated drink in history", surely that award must go to the Vodka Lemonade? Nonetheless, they expertly mix humour with the more serious moments – even though a lot of that humour is most definitely not safe for work!

Shoulder to Shoulder is truly impressive, with an important message for a world where the rights of LGBTQ+ are again under threat. ***CM***

★★★★½

The History Of Gangs

Think you got what it takes to survive in the world of organised crime? Then get ready to meet the most formidable gangs on Earth, from the Peaky Blinders of the early 1900s to the Italian crime syndicates. Plus the ruthless prison gangs, street thugs such as MS-13 and more all lurk inside this latest bookazine from the creators of **All About History**.

Buy *The History Of Gangs* in shops or online at **magazinesdirect.com Price:** £17.99

HISTORY OF WAR RECOMMENDS...

Agent Zo

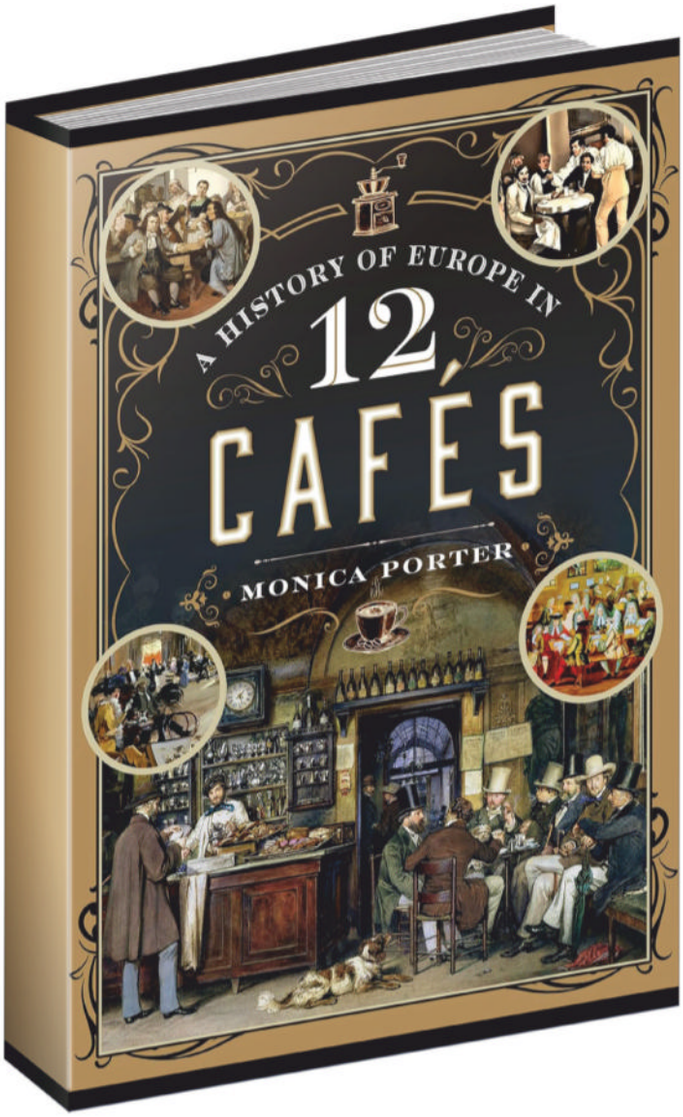
Author Clare Mulley **Price** £22 **Publisher** Weidenfeld & Nicolson

Agent Zo tells the story of one woman's courageous and remarkable life. She fought in the Warsaw Rising of 1944 and subsequently suffered arrest, imprisonment and torture under the Soviet imposed government. It also offers us rare glimpses into the lives of the women who ran perilous courier networks whose vital wartime service has been all but forgotten. Yet, for whose military recognition, Agent Zo never stopped fighting.

A HISTORY OF EUROPE IN 12 CAFÉS

A fast-paced journey through Europe's history via its most significant coffee houses

Author: Monica Porter **Publisher:** Pen & Sword History
Price: £25 **Released:** Out now



Journalist Monica Porter's latest book *A History of Europe in 12 Cafés* opens with the suggestion that cafés, coffee shops and coffee itself have been "instrumental in forging the modern world". While this is certainly a strong statement, it is easy to understand where Porter is coming from once you finish this book. Guiding readers on a journey through Europe from the 17th century, Porter's work does what it says in the title and visits a number of the most influential, important and iconic cafés from Europe's history. Each café or coffee house is given its own dedicated chapter, where Porter delves into their significance – the people who frequented them, the ideas that were spawned there and the roles they played in some of Europe's most important events.

The very first chapter of the book does not introduce us to a café, but instead begins in 850 CE with the discovery of coffee beans in Ethiopia. This short history of coffee making, trade and consumption appears to have little to do with the coming history Porter wants to tell, but it is an interesting aside. A second chapter detailing the invention of the European coffee house does more to set the scene for the rest of the book and helps the reader to understand the significance of coffee houses and cafés in society. It is particularly interesting to learn that some of the earliest coffee houses were designed to encourage sociability among their customers.

The 12 cafés featured in Porter's book are located in nine different European countries. Two are Parisian and another two are Viennese, and while all the cafés are worthy of their place in this list of significant establishments, it does seem that using multiple cafés from the same cities results in the book feeling like a rather narrow view of European history. Furthermore, the majority of the cafés featured are in western Europe, which again adds constraints to how much of Europe's history is covered. However, it would be unfair to expect Porter to cover the entirety of European history in such a short book of around 180 pages.

> "An intriguing, novel way of reframing familiar stories"

Porter's engaging writing style makes this book an entertaining read. Her ability to write so eloquently, concisely and compellingly results in a book that is never boring. The concept is intriguing and a novel way of reframing events and stories that readers may already be familiar with. Revolutionaries, writers and philosophers come alive in this work, and through Porter's writing it is easy to picture them sitting in the establishments that form the basis of the book. It is a lovely surprise that at the end Porter has listed the details of each of the cafés, all of which are still standing, so that readers can research and visit them for themselves. Overall, the book is an enjoyable read that covers an impressive amount of Europe's history and brings to life these noteworthy hubs of activity. ***ES***

★★★★½

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

CORSAGE

Director: Marie Kreutzer **Starring:** Vicky Krieps, Florian Teichtmeister, Katharina Lorenz **Country:** Austria **Year:** 2022

Can this even accurately be called a biopic of the famous Empress Sissi?

VERDICT: There's really not much that's accurate in this otherwise fascinating character study.

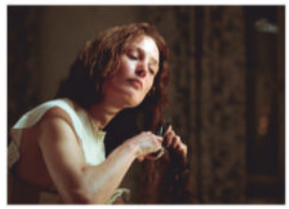
01 We're introduced to Empress Elisabeth (aka Sissi) as she attempts to squeeze into a tight corsage, obsessed with her weight and image. This is one of the few accurate details, including her spare diet of orange slices and milk.

02 Sissi is told by her physician that in turning 40 she has lived longer than the average life of her citizens. This is also true, as the life expectancy in Austria in the 1870s was below 35. Infant mortality was over 40 per cent in this period too.

03 Disenchanted with royal life and desiring more involvement in politics, Sissi is prescribed heroin to help her mood. It's not clear that this was done, but there are reports she was prescribed cocaine as a mood enhancer, as was her son.

04 On a trip to Britain, Sissi meets the famous film innovator Louis Le Prince who records her on his movie camera. No such meeting ever took place and during this period Le Prince used paper to capture his images, not celluloid as shown in the film.

05 Sissi cuts off her famous hair and then has one of her ladies impersonate her, ultimately jumping off a boat while no one watches. In reality, the empress lived to the age of 60 and was killed by an assassin in Switzerland while travelling.



All images: © Alamy

Did you know?

The Athenian poet Cratinus' description of steaming pancakes is the first written record of the food, dating from c.500 BCE.

TIGANITES

TRADITIONAL GREEK PANCAKE, ANCIENT GREECE

Ingredients

- 1 tsp yeast
- 400-450g flour
- 2 cups water
- ½ tsp sugar
- ¼ tsp salt
- Oil for frying
- Honey (to serve)

Did you know that the Ancient Greeks invented pancakes? Tiganites most likely have their origins in an ancient Greek pancake known as teganites, a recipe for which still exists thanks to the physician Galen and his book *On The Properties of Foodstuffs*. According to Galen, they would have been served nice and hot with plenty of honey. For this modern version, only the yeast and sugar differentiate it from its ancient counterpart. A variety of additions can be made to tiganites, depending on the tastes of the chef. The ones pictured here, for example, contain raisins and polenta.

METHOD

01 First, activate the yeast. Do this by combining the yeast, sugar and ½ a cup of water. Mix thoroughly in a bowl and then leave to sit for 10 minutes.

02 In a large mixing bowl combine the salt and flour, stirring well before adding the rest of the water and the yeast mixture.

03 Whisk the ingredients together until you have a smooth batter.

04 Next, pour enough oil in the frying pan to coat the bottom of the pan and heat.

05 When the oil is hot, drop tablespoons of the batter into the oil. Depending on the sizes you wish, add a further tablespoon of the batter to each pancake. If the pancake seems too thick, use a spatula to flatten slightly if needed.

06 Fry for roughly 5 minutes, flipping throughout to make sure the pancakes are evenly cooked and browned on both sides.

07 Dry on paper towels to drain any excess oil.

08 Serve hot and with honey.

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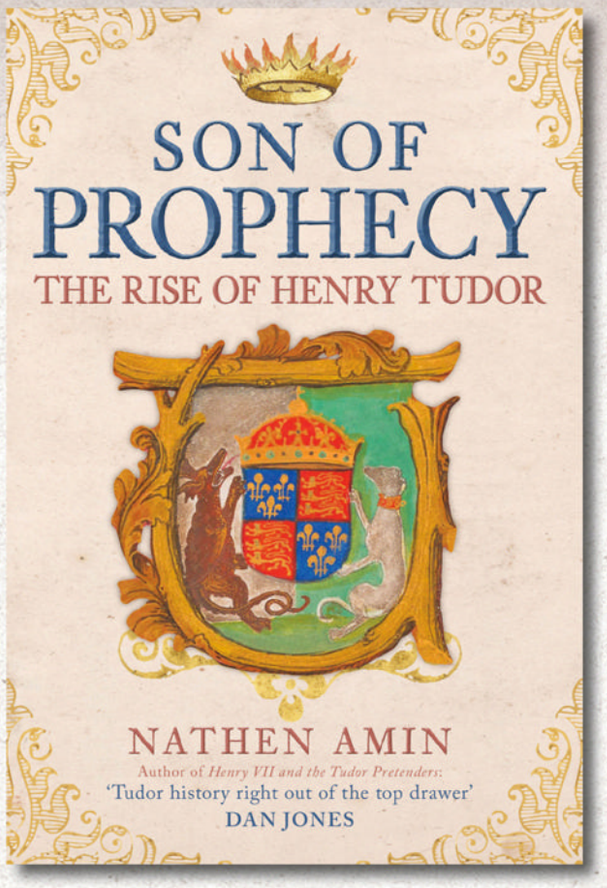

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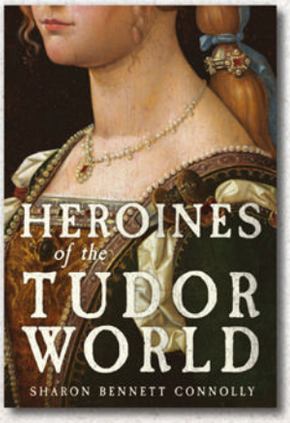

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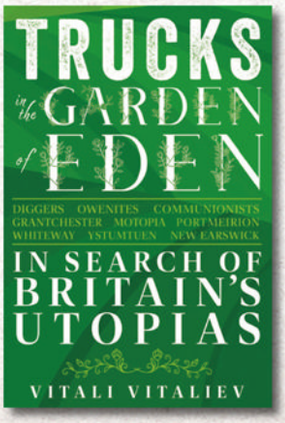

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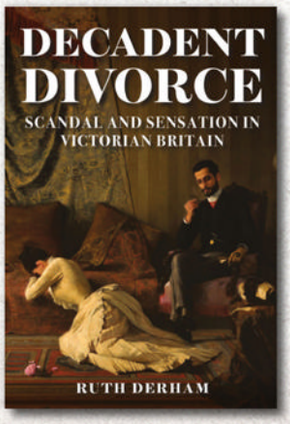

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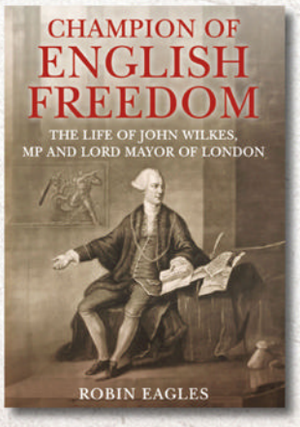

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