

THE BIRKBECK
EARLY MODERN
SOCIETY
BULLETIN

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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Early Modernists,

Welcome to the eighth edition of our bulletin. I am delighted to say that our events programme for 2008-09 has shaped up very well, with confirmed speakers including Heather Forsyth from the Museum of London, who will talk about the treasure found in Stuart London that is known as the 'Cheapside Hoard', and Peter Burke, who will discuss the rhetoric of autobiography in seventeenth-century Europe. At Christmas we have a real treat: Lady Antonia Fraser will be speaking about whether or not historical biography is a worthwhile pursuit. I suspect that the answer is yes, but I am looking forward to hear her expand on why this is so. Looking further ahead to the spring term, Prof. William Brooks gets the prize for having a paper with a title that is guaranteed to raise eyebrows! In March 09 he will be talking about 'French, German, and Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of Madame Palatine, Sister-in-Law of Louis XIV; or, The Case of the Shat-Upon Carrot'. I expect that Prof. Brooks will take us beyond the well known glossy exterior of life at Versailles to a murky and salacious world populated by the likes of Louis XIV's brother, Monsieur. Full details of our programme can be found within this issue and on our web-page, and will be e-mailed out to members. We also hope to have more film nights, guided walks and other more recreational-type events, and will forward details of these as they are planned.

I'm delighted to say that following our AGM in the summer, membership to the society will remain at a mere £5 for the year, with non-members still able to attend events at a cost of £3 per evening, unless otherwise stated (e.g. at walks where numbers are limited).

Finally, I wish to thank the committee members for their hard work, and the staff in the Students' Union and History offices for their help in promoting our events. I look forward to seeing you at our first event on Tuesday 21st October, when Dr Adam Smyth will be speaking about 'Life-Writing in Early Modern England: the Case of the Almanac'.

With best wishes,

Stephen Brogan

President, Birkbeck Early Modern Society

<http://www.bbk.ac.uk/hca/current/societies/#earlymodern>

<http://www.bbk.ac.uk/susocieties/earlymodern/index.htm>

THE BULLETIN: EDITOR'S WELCOME

Welcome to Issue Eight of the *Birkbeck Early Modern Society Bulletin*. Thank you for all your kind comments about the publication and I hope that you find this edition just as interesting and entertaining as previous ones. The range of articles and features is again diverse and thought-provoking with all our usual features. Our Society is growing from strength to strength and from our President's welcome you will have seen what a fascinating and varied collection of lectures we have arranged for the coming year. I do believe that this is an exciting society to be involved with and I have striven to ensure that the *Bulletin* is an essential part of this process.

I was pleased to receive three contributions from two of our members who have not written for this publication before and can I use this opportunity to ask that you all put pen to paper and submit a review or an article for a future edition. History is enjoying a renaissance at the moment with a plethora of television programmes, films and books, on a wide range of subjects. London history has also made the news with the general Market Building in Smithfield being saved from demolition, whilst country-wide, recent government legislation has been aimed at simplifying and reforming over a century of piecemeal legislation in its Heritage Protection Bill. If any particular topics interest you then why not write an article? Our 'Visits' section is another ideal opportunity for an article. The only real criteria being that it deals with a subject within our date range of 1450-1815.

Please contact me for any information regarding the *Bulletin*. You will see below that my contact details have changed. You can still send e-mails to the previous address but this is the preferred option. The next issue will be out in the winter of 2008. I hope that you have a wonderful autumn and that the present 'Indian Summer' continues.

John Croxon
Editor
johnmcroxon@googlemail.com



**SECOND BIRKBECK EARLY MODRN SOCIETY STUDENT
CONFERENCE**

12TH July 2008

“Journeys and Encounters”



The speakers, from left to right: Virginia Chatson, Kate Meaden, Timothy Alves, Nick Poyntz, Karen Baston, Richard Tilbury (not pictured: Barbara Wooding)



I always wondered when David Lynch would make a follow-up to ‘Twin Peaks’

It was a rather gloomy London Saturday when just over 30 of us gathered for the “Journeys and Encounters” conference at Birkbeck.

We began with a paper by Karen Baston on Sir Kenelm Digby, the well-known court figure who spent some months in 1627-9 sailing in the Mediterranean on what he saw as a gallant adventure, but which other parties saw as more piratical. Digby’s idealised vision of his mission (he saw himself as another Francis Drake) included recording his adventures in a memoir *Loose Fantasies*. This very sybaritic journey, was followed by Barbara Wooding’s paper on the manuscript of the play “The Soddered Citizen” and the eventful life of its supposed author John Clavell. The paper discussed just how persuasive the geographical argument is for Clavell’s authorship of the manuscript, which appears to have been as much travelled as Clavell himself. After tea, we were entertained by Timothy Alves’ thoughts on the artist Rosso Fiorentino and whether his paintings expose him as a ‘sexual image tourist’ as he included jokes and sexual innuendos in his paintings suggesting he was on a voyage of personal discovery.

Following lunch, we entered the fray between the pamphleteers John Taylor and Henry Walker. Their encounters in print have been interpreted in different ways by historians who have seen the printed texts exclusively as the products of their authors. Nick Poyntz, who gave the paper, put their encounter back into the ‘communication circuit’ of the print trade, and gave us a new analysis of their pamphlet war which reflected this. My own paper was on Culpeper’s Herbal, first printed in 1652 and containing plant locations from which historians have recreated journeys undertaken by Culpeper. I hope I demonstrated that these journeys are fictional, and that Culpeper had used plant locations from other herbals thus recording the journeys of other plant collectors rather than his own.

We then listened to two papers exploring issues from the other side of the early modern world, the first by Virginia Chatson on ‘Encounters with the New World’ and the cultural clash between the Aztecs and their Spanish conquerors. Virginia described some of the views of the Aztec’s themselves in their encounters with the conquistadors, a perspective which has not received as much attention as it might. To complete the day Richard Tilbury explored the fishing technique recounted by Columbus of the ‘fisher fish’. Columbus had made many outlandish claims about what he had encountered in the New World, and Richard explored the problem of verifying what truth may exist in this particular ‘myth’, a process which has proved problematic because once again, the culture observed has been destroyed.

The day was hugely interesting, and for myself, I was certainly inspired to return to my own research with fresh ideas! Thanks to the Committee of the Early Modern Society for expending a good deal of energy on the arrangements for the day, and encouraging us all with their vitality and enthusiasm. I would certainly recommend this conference as a sympathetic forum for the experience of presenting cherished research.

Kate Meaden

VISITS

Gladstone's Land, Edinburgh



Chinese Cobbles and a Golden Bird: A Visit to Gladstone's Land, Edinburgh

Edinburgh is a city rich in history with many early modern treasures. One of the lesser known is Gladstone's Land in the Lawnmarket just down the hill from the Castle. This remarkable building dates from the 1550s and has been in continuous use ever since.

Gladstone's Land is named for the merchant who bought and renovated the property in the late 1610s. Thomas Gledstanes, to give him his real name, moved to Edinburgh in the early 1600s. His success in business and a good marriage enabled him to buy this Lawnmarket tenement. He and his family lived in the upper floors and he rented out the ground floor sections to a cloth merchant and a tavern keeper. He also developed the property adding new levels and decorating its ceilings with the very latest in painted designs. The new flats were rented out to increase Gledstane's income.

All went well until 1627 when the three ships carrying Gledstane's cargo from foreign trade were taken by French pirates. Gledstanes had to downsize and sold some of the new flats he had created in the building. He moved to the top floor where he lived until his death in 1654.

Members of the Gledstanes family retained an interest in the building and continued the tradition of development. In the next century some of his descendants bought the neighbouring property and extended Gladstone's Land. They furnished the new sections in Georgian style and imported the latest musical instruments and clocks from London. They also covered over the Renaissance styles their ancestor installed thereby preserving them for the future.

Gladstone's Land is a remarkable survivor of changes in building use and fashion. It remained a residential block of flats until the 1930s and was only saved from destruction by accident when Gledstane's painted ceilings were discovered. The National Trust for Scotland stepped in to preserve the building.

Today, visitors to Gladstone's Land can enjoy the conversation of extremely knowledgeable volunteer guides while drifting through centuries of social and urban history. To get there look for the golden bird over the front door. This is a 'gled', an eagle-like bird from the Highlands used to identify the house in the days before street addresses. Contrary to many guidebooks, Thomas Gledstanes has no connection to the Victorian Prime Minister William Gladstone. (This is not an early modern concern but probably worth a mention as a general historical point!)

The Royal Mile continues to reveal more historical treasure. Some of these can be seen out of the window over the gled. They are marked by spots of tarmac among the cobbles in the street. These gaps show locations of another level beneath the one we see. Recent excavations have discovered a painted room of a similar date to Gladstone's Land underneath what will be a new luxury hotel opposite the Deacon Brodie pub. Most of the Royal Mile may have a lower level and tantalising clues emerge as new buildings are developed.

The famous cobbles of Edinburgh's Old Town are no longer made in Scotland and now have to be imported from China by slow boat. Hopefully, they will be safe from pirates as they make their way to the Royal Mile.

Gladstone's Land is closed during the winter months but is open from March to October.

KAREN BASTON

The Battle of Towton

Palm Sunday, 29th March 1461



The Towton Memorial Cross

Towton

The battle of Towton was fought on Palm Sunday, 1461 between the Yorkist forces of Edward, earl of March who had just had himself crowned King Edward IV, and those of the Lancastrian King Henry VI. In what was to prove a decisive battle, Edward's army defeated those of the king and the Lancastrians were routed.

The battle of Towton is not one of the most famous battles fought on English soil, but it should be. Towton was unusual in that most late-medieval battles were fought early in the day and lasted for only three or four hours. Towton lasted all day. What was also unusual were the numbers involved. A battle

between two medieval armies usually consisted of less than ten thousand men on either side, whereas, at Towton, it is estimated that some twenty-eight thousand men died, meaning that not only did it incur more deaths than any other battle on English soil but, more Englishmen died at Towton than at any battle until the First World War.

It was a cold afternoon when I turned my car towards the site of the battlefield. I had spent the morning and early afternoon looking at other buildings and sites associated with the War of the Roses and Towton was my final destination. It had been dry and warm when I had left the south-east early in the morning but in Yorkshire it had rained and then grew colder and as I drove east the rain turned to hail. This, I should tell you, was in the first week of April, less than a week after the anniversary of the battle, and as I got closer to Towton so the hail began to turn to snow. Now, the battle of Towton was fought in thick, driving snow and as I parked my car next to the stone cross marking one part of the battlefield the snow pounded onto the windscreen and turned everywhere white.

I got out of my car, in my shirtsleeves (perhaps to prove to myself that southerners were every bit as tough as northerners!) and surveyed the scene. If it was atmosphere that was wanted then here it was. The site has thankfully not been developed, and although it has experienced some alterations with changes to modern farming methods, it isn't so different from how it must have looked in 1461. Standing there in the driving snow, I tried to imagine how men coped with fighting all day in those conditions; the thick snow falling as they clambered over bodies whilst hacking and stabbing at their opponents. I wandered down to the River Cock where the Lancastrians tried to cross as they broke and fled. This was where much of the slaughter took place as the triumphant Yorkists pursued them, cutting them down from behind. Part of the area is known as Bloody Meadow due to the vast numbers of Lancastrians killed on the day. Returning to the memorial cross I noticed the garland of white roses attached to it, an indication that I am not the only one who retains an interest in the Wars of the Roses and possess a Yorkist heart.

For those who wish to find out more about the battle of Towton I have included the following account from English Heritage. There are also many excellent books on the battle or more generally on the Wars of the Roses.

John Croxon

Prelude to Towton

Instead of following up his triumph at the Second battle of St. Albans with a decisive march on London, Henry VI opted for caution and withdrew his men north. So the Lancastrians withdrew to their power base in the north, probably destroying as they did so their only real hope of a quick end to the conflict. Edward IV threw caution aside, quickly raised a fresh army, and pushed north on his enemy's heels. He caught up with them near the river Aire, where both armies spent the night on the cold, snowy ground.

The Battle

Edward sent a detachment under Lord Fitzwalter to seize the bridge at Ferrybridge. They found the bridge broken down, but unguarded, and spent the day repairing it. Fitzwalter's men were caught completely unaware by a dawn attack led by Lord Clifford and the Yorkists were forced back across the river.

Edward immediately sent another force upstream to cross the river at Castleford and cut off Clifford's retreat. This fresh force caught Clifford's men and killed most of them within sight of their lines. Somerset, for reasons known only to himself, sent no troops to help the unfortunate Clifford, but instead waited for the advance of the main Yorkist army.

Now the snow whipped up, driving full into the face of the Lancastrians. This made their attempts to return arrow fire laughable, and Edward's archers inflicted great damage. Perhaps because of this, Somerset ordered his men to advance first.

In a terrible hand to hand fight that lasted all day the Lancastrians pushed their foe back, yard by bloody yard. The bodies piled high in the freezing cold, and fresh troops had to climb over corpses to reach the front lines. Edward's cause looked almost lost, when reinforcements arrived in the shape of men under the command of the Duke of Norfolk.

Norfolk's men changed the course of the battle, and now it was the Lancastrians who were pushed back, across the field we now know as Bloody Meadow. Finally they could take no more, and Somerset's men broke and ran. At least as many perished in the panic that followed, and the death toll may have reached 28,000 men or more. Towton was by far the bloodiest battle of the Wars of the Roses.

The Results

The Lancastrian cause suffered an immense blow at Towton; many of their leaders were killed or captured, and King Henry and Queen Margaret were forced to flee north towards Scotland. Yet despite the slaughter (more men died at Towton than in any other battle on British soil), nothing was settled.

Over the next decade a further seven major battles were fought until the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471 brought about a lull in the struggle. But for the moment, Edward IV was free to prepare for his coronation and enjoy his rule.

Indication of Importance

The presence of over 100,000 men and upwards of 28,000 deaths makes Towton the largest and bloodiest battle ever fought in England. Even if the figures are incorrect it is clear that contemporaries - who were able to make comparisons with other battles of the Wars of the Roses - considered Towton to have been an exceptionally sizeable and sanguinary struggle. The significance invested by contemporaries in the Battle of Towton had much to do with the

way in which it was regarded as the grand climactic not only between the Houses of York and Lancaster - each of which now had its rival kings - but between the prosperous south and the rapacious north.

The sheer scale of the battle, and the fact that its outcome saw one dynasty removed from the throne of England and another elevated in its stead, makes Towton of the greatest importance.

For such an important battle the written sources are disappointingly few. The two major sources - the writings of Hall and Waurin - portray the events of the battle differently: historians differ over to whom to lend greater credence. Archaeological methods, in terms of identifying grave pits etc., hold considerable potential for increasing our knowledge of the battle.

Battlefield Area

The battlefield area boundary defines the outer reasonable limit of the battle, taking into account the positions of the combatants at the outset of fighting and the focal area of the battle itself. It does not include areas over which fighting took place subsequent to the main battle. Wherever possible, the boundary has been drawn so that it is easily appreciated on the ground.

The western edge of the area is delimited by the River Cock, from the point where it meets the Old London Road in the north as far as Castle Hill Farm to the south-west. This ensures that such important features as the Cock crossing where the Lancastrians came to grief, the Bloody Meadow, Castle Hill Wood and the tumuli near Castle Hill Farm are included in the battlefield area. From Castle Hill Farm the boundary line follows existing field boundaries across to Catchers Lane, across Whithill Field and the A162 road as far as Carr Wood, where it turns north.

On the eastern side, the battlefield area takes in a series of fields beyond the plateau and the Tadcaster-Ferrybridge road. There are two reasons for this. The first is that writers tend to be aware that, in view of the large numbers present, the frontage of the lines of battle on the plateau are very narrow. To compensate they a) represent the two armies as each ranged in multiple lines of battle (this, it is claimed, is how the battle could last ten hours: fresh men were continually being fed into the fighting) and b) the left and right flanks of the Lancastrians and Yorkists respectively are shown as falling off the eastern edge of the plateau. This, therefore, must be allowed for. Second, space must be created for the belated intervention of the Duke of Norfolk's division to take effect on the Lancastrians' open left flank. A margin extending some 400 metres beyond the road should be sufficient.

The boundary line rejoins the A162 just to the south of Towton, runs south of the centre of the village and then continues along the Old London Road as far as the River Cock. The lines of the road and the Cock create a funnel, channelling the Lancastrian fugitives to their doom at the river crossing. Although the rout continued beyond the crossing, the focal point at the crossing is considered to be an appropriate point at which to draw the boundary.

Landscape Evolution

Contrary to the belief of Alex Leadman, local historian and author of an article on the Battle of Towton, who wrote that 'At the period when the battle took place the whole of the ground would be unenclosed, chiefly moorland', field evidence suggests that the battle was fought on agricultural land between two villages. The appearance of the landscape in March 1461 would have been largely hedgeless open fields, used for grazing after the Autumn harvest, with perhaps some early-season ploughing and with substantial woods on both flanks.

The field patterns in Saxton parish show evidence of arable medieval open field patterns in the hedge boundaries, which are of characteristic 'reversed S' form (most clearly seen in the 1849 Ordnance Survey and Enclosure maps and extending almost to the parish boundary). Similarly, much of Towton parish land in the battlefield area appears to have been an open field rigg-and-furrow landscape. The North Acres area features a substantial bank (including old burr elm stumps) running across it which could have been produced by ploughing - a 'headland'. Further evidence for ploughing exists in the form of medieval lynchets below Castle Hill Wood.

This agricultural landscape was flanked on the west by the wooded Cock Valley - Renshaw Woods are listed as ancient semi-natural woodlands as are Towton Spring and Carr Woods to the east. Place-name evidence suggests coppicing in Towton Spring woodlands whilst the name Carr Woods suggests heavy, waterlogged ground.

The landscape was crossed by roads and tracks. The hedgerows around the bridleway called Old London Road are certainly old enough (from field evidence) to have been there in 1461. It was here, where the track descends to the River Cock, that the fleeing Lancastrians came to grief after the battle. The present B 1217 Saxton-Towton Lane would also have been present in 1461, judging by its relationship with field boundaries. Other tracks, such as that leading to the Trigonometric Point, follow the old field boundaries and therefore could too be old. The present A162 Barkston-Towton road could also be on an old line subsequently improved by eighteenth-century turnpiking.

Parliamentary enclosure in the early nineteenth century subdivided the existing fields rather than imposing a new system on the landscape. The recent removal of hedges in accordance with post-War agricultural practice has served to return the landscape to something of its medieval character.

ARTS REPORT



THEATRE

**Romeo and Juliet: Middle Temple Hall, London
Theatre of Memory September 2008**



Santiago Cabrera as Romeo and Juliet Rylance at Juliet

Middle Temple Hall has been the prestigious setting for several Shakespearean plays over recent years and in August and September hosted Theatre of Memory's production of *Romeo and Juliet* directed by Tamara Harvey. With similar staging to previous presentations by Shakespeare's Globe companies there, the central acting area was surrounded by raked seating on three sides and employed an additional exit under the raised 'presence' end, which would not have been the situation for original performances, where the highest ranking members of the audience would be placed in the most favourable position for hearing and seeing with their entourages around them.

However, true to the spirit of original Shakespeare performances, there was no scenery. The players utilized spaces among the audience, the gallery and the platform and steps at the 'presence' end to create variety and movement. Examples included Romeo hiding among the audience, who had temporarily assumed the role of trees in the Capulet orchard, and Friar Lawrence plucking sprigs from the hanging baskets adorning the walls.

Theatre of Memory builds on experiences of playing at Shakespeare's Globe, many of its team having worked there extensively, including Jenny Tiramani, the designer for *Romeo and Juliet*. This production sought inspiration from the practices of the original period, when players would mainly have worn contemporary costume appropriate for their characters, violating the sumptuary laws demanding that dress should reflect social position.

The costumes were almost entirely white, with the prince's status being underlined by the use of material woven with gold-coloured thread. Variety was provided with black belt and stockings for the nurse and traditional Pierrot outfits for the gate-crashing Montagues at the Capulet ball, while Friar Lawrence was set apart from the fashion-conscious families by his grey friars' habit. The ladies Capulet and Montague wore beautifully sculptured outfits, embellished with frills on the bodice accentuated by touches of black. Juliet's youth was indicated by romantic flowing skirts or tight pants and chemise. While this approach worked well for the women, the strange, tight, shorter-length trousers worn by the men, topped with expensive-looking shirts and jackets, merely looked odd. Their status was indicated by hats for the upper echelons and caps for the servants.

Another with much Globe experience is Claire van Kampen, who wrote all the music. The Prologue, sung by the company, provided a striking introduction. Appropriate incidental music was supplied by Argeir Hauksson and Helen Roberts who both played several instruments, providing contrasting timbres and registers. At the end the company sang again, the last lines of the play, providing an atmospheric conclusion.

Most members of the company were young – for some it was their first professional engagement - among whom I must mention Gruffudd Glyn for three arresting cameos, Sampson, Peter and the Apothecary. The youth of the company added a quality of impetuosity to the playing, setting up a fast-paced narration with an exciting forward momentum. This did not prevent them from capturing changes of mood remarkably well, for example, Juliet's rhapsodic delivery of 'Gallop apace you fiery-footed steeds' truncated by the trudging entry of the nurse.

Much of the playing was of a very high order, especially Juliet Rylance, who perfectly captured her namesake's youthful exuberance combined with a steely stubbornness, her verse speaking underlining the lyricism of the play. The relationship set up and explored among the Capulet women, mother, daughter and nurse, was always convincing. Ann Mitchell's Nurse was one of the most complete readings of the character I have experienced, her eloquent body language complementing voice and reaction throughout, making her approach to Juliet, carrying the wedding dress which will never be worn, a heart-rending coup de théâtre.

Among the men, Santiago Cabrera portrayed a truly romantic Romeo one might be prepared to die for, in contrast to so many Romeos who leave you wondering what on earth Juliet sees in him. Max Bennett's Benvolio was another strong performance, showing a masterly ability to articulate the verse effectively whilst projecting the emotional turbulence within a character who remains something of a cipher in some productions. This production achieved a balance between the major young characters, rather than weighting all the action in favour of the charismatic roles of Mercutio and Tybalt.

The great fight scene culminating in the death of both was nonetheless powerful. The energy and athleticism of the young cast which had produced original and effective dance sequences for the meeting of the lovers was here focussed upon the confrontation between a Mercutio (Will Kemp) and Tybalt (Ifan Meredith) who conveyed the hatred and recklessness which courts destruction. The meticulous choreography of the fight began with a duel literally 'by the book', developed into a murderous intent which resulted in the first death, and proceeded with the inevitable logic of unleashed violence into Romeo's animal assault on Tybalt.

Unfortunately, the acoustic of Middle Temple Hall provides an echo which adversely affects audibility. This was compounded at the matinee performance I watched by undeservedly poor attendance, but the loss of some audibility was compensated for by the vigour and freshness the company brought to a familiar play. Lastly, and crucially important, their playing demonstrated a clear understanding of the requirements of a central acting area.

Barbara Wooding

The Merry Wives of Windsor
The Globe Theatre



Mistress Page (Serena Evans) and Mistress Ford (Sarah Woodward)
draw Falstaff (Christopher Benjamin) from his basket

The 2008 production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* at Shakespeare's Globe, directed by Christopher Luscombe, radiates his comic inventiveness to an appreciative audience. For this production an elaborate walkway separates the groundlings into two areas. If the present tendency of directors to have the players encroach ever more into audience space continues, there will soon be no room for standing audience at all. Aside from making viewing from the galleries problematic, this will eventually impoverish Globe presentation, because all the earlier enthusiasts appearing on the Globe stage used to mention how the auditors in the yard buoyed up performance, enabling the cast to surmount all the perceived difficulties of presentation in the style of the early playhouses. At the talkback session for Friends after the matinee performance on 12th July opinion was divided almost equally between those who loved the additional staging areas and those who loathed it.

However, any disquiet over staging was immediately dispelled by the delights of performance. Christopher Benjamin, triumphing over the pain of a broken toe, gave what I hope will become a seminal interpretation of Falstaff, using his rich vocal tones to reinforce the absurdity of the fat knight's aspirations, made visual in movement and gesture. The felicitous combination of word and movement permeated

the entire company, from the merry wives, played by Serena Evans and Sarah Woodward, in their deception of Sir John, to the frenetic activity of the monstrously jealous Ford of Andrew Havill, whose performance owed much to John Cleese's Basil Fawlty, but was no less funny for that. It was also a performance imbued in places with an aching poignancy, which added depth to the reuniting of the couple for the last act.

The effectiveness of the voice work was pointed up especially in the characters of Gareth Armstrong's Sir Hugh Evans and Philip Bird's Doctor Caius, characters often played as two-dimensional stereotypes. Both actors enriched their performances by accurate inflection of Shakespeare's words to enhance their portrayal of men possessed of an inward dignity but constantly assaulted by uncaring circumstance. In Bird's case this made the crudities of the English words he sometimes uttered as a result of his French accent all the funnier.

Special mention must be made of the admirable audibility of the entire cast. Shakespeare needs to be heard, and audibility can be a problem at the Globe, especially for those of us with imperfect hearing, but the play is beautifully spoken throughout. Credit is also due to Nigel Hess, who composed the accompanying music to underscore the action. In his note in the programme, Hess writes that though the style of his music is 'eclectic': 'The soundworld of crumhorns, shawms, curtals and sackbuts is one which would have been very familiar to Shakespeare's audiences, and we can, with some certainty, say that you are hearing many of the same instrumental timbres that would have been heard close to this spot around 400 years ago.'

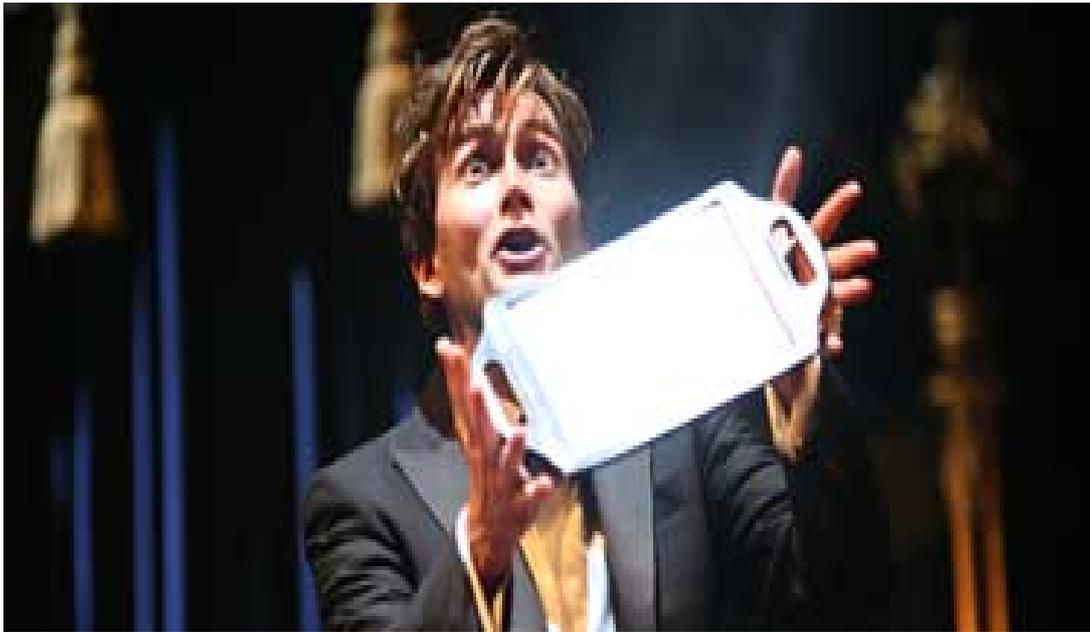
Similarly the traditional costuming was enlivened with imaginative variations, like Falstaff's fantastic purple-trimmed, gold coloured courting costume, complete with feathered hat, which was admirably employed by Benjamin as a comic prop, and the rustic costumes of the company for the Herne the Hunter sequence. The cast explained that the intention had been to make these look as though they had been created by the townsfolk themselves, and the result was a carnival appearance which was both comic and scary.

Luscombe was at pains to make the action fast-paced and visually interesting. Thus some scenes were lost, for example, Evans's attempts to teach Latin to his pupils. The cuts were, however, logical, so that narrative integrity was maintained. It was also interesting to see the deployment of a number of child actors, a feature which would have been familiar to the original audiences, but which is often lost to us, and which enriched the midnight scene and the festive dancing.

Barbara Wooding

Hamlet
Royal Shakespeare Company,
Courtyard Theatre, Stratford upon Avon

WARNING: POSSIBLE SPOILERS



David Tennant as Hamlet

This production of *Hamlet* is a lively, polished story of conspiracy and ill-fated revenge. David Tennant in the title role is by turns silent, angry and lively to the point of manic. From the early scenes after his father's ghostly appearance on the battlements, to his climactic fencing match with Laertes, Tennant's character burns with nervous energy. Patrick Stewart plays a dual role as the ghost of Hamlet's father and the king of Denmark. His character Claudius, the new king, oozes urbane smoothness, but this masks a cold reptilian nature. Two characters, both plotting towards each others destruction.

What follows is a lively three and a half hours of intense speeches and plotting, leavened with a smattering of black comedy. Shakesperian experts will be interested that as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, (also reviewed in this Bulletin), Shakespeare works several theatrical in-jokes into *Hamlet*: Before the *Mousetrap* play-within-a-play, Hamlet refers to poor acting and nods towards the standing audience at the Globe Theatre: 'to see a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings' (Act 3, Scene 2).

Historians will also be fascinated that Shakespeare also works in an allusion to plague in the midst of his revenge saga. After the failure of his ploy with the *Mousetrap*, Hamlet declaims: 'Tis now the very witching time of night, when churchyards yawn

and hell itself breathes out contagion to the world: now could I drink hot blood' (Act 3, Scene 2). The consensus of medical knowledge in Shakespeare's time held that plague was caused by foul miasmas, the result of human sin. Murder and usurpation were great sins, but is Shakespeare making a further association? Hamlet's boast 'now I could drink hot blood', is neatly tagged on and one wonders if Shakespeare was making the point that Hamlet's quest for blind revenge - without thought for consequences - was adding to the problem. Hamlet's journey of vengeance is littered with victims: Polonius (Oliver Ford Davies), Ophelia (Maria Gale), and Laertes (Edward Bennett) all fall before he settles his account with Claudius.

Science fiction fans cannot fail to identify the two male leads with the television characters that made them famous. This is understandable. It is however, a tribute to their acting abilities that this does not detract from their performances or the story. This is as it should be. If the cast of *Hamlet* is a who's who of popular television shows, it is also a coming together of experienced actors, giving memorable performances. Special mention should be made of acting veteran John Woodvine, the leader of the players, while no review of *Hamlet* would be complete without mention of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern (Sam Alexander and Tom Davey respectively). Their admittedly smallish roles illustrate another facet of Shakespeare's writing: small parts are written with as much care as the lead cast; the actors concerned respond with worthy performances.

As one expects of an RSC production, the music and lighting is superb. *Hamlet* is performed in modern dress, but considering it was originally set in medieval Denmark, this is acceptable and simply brings the production up to date. Sets are non-existent: props are placed and removed from the stage as the script demands. All attention is therefore focussed on the players and their lines. *Hamlet* is unusual among Shakespeare's plays in that the title character speaks nearly forty percent of the lines and delivers over 340 speeches. This is a brilliantly played story of a troubled young man and the results of his (well-intended) obsession.

Hamlet transfers to The Novello Theatre, London in December 2008. Due to the extraordinary demand for tickets, however, it appears that all performances are already sold out. For more information please see www.rsc.org.uk.

Robin Rowles

A Midsummer Night's Dream
Globe Theatre, Southwark



A Midsummer Night's Dream is really three plays in one: the saga of Hermia, Demetrius, and Lysander; Oberon and Titania; and finally, the antics of the Athenian players rehearsing their play 'Pyramus and Thisbe' which they intend to perform at the wedding of Duke Theseus and Queen Hippolyta. Predictably these subplots overlap and carefully plotted chaos ensues. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare appears to have drawn inspiration from classical mythology, elements from Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and even the Tudor preoccupation with witchcraft (Bottom's transformation). This might seem like an impossible jumble of ideas, but somehow Shakespeare weaves this collection of plot elements into a surreal tale of another world, where nothing should be taken for granted and nothing is what it seems.

This was a lively production and the actors worked hard to produce interesting performances. Tom Mannion was a believable Theseus/Oberon. Michael Jibson's Puck/Robin Goodfellow produced an engaging performance. Paul Hunter's performance as Bottom was really special. As Nick Bottom, the weaver, Hunter spoke normally. As the ass, complete with asses-head, Bottom speaks clearly and intelligibly over his exposed teeth – an extraordinary act of vocal projection. On the downside, however, Siobhan Redmond as Titania could not completely disguise her Scots accent and this detracted from what was a good performance as Hippolyta. The fairies accents also sounded strained and artificial. Presumably their high pitched voices were an attempt to emphasise the surreal nature of the play, but the end result sounded contrived. This was a shame because their costumes and choreography were superb.

Unlike a high budget movie, or in a West End theatre, the Globe does not easily lend itself to special effects and props. To a certain extent, the actors must improvise their surroundings on the bare boards of the stage. A banquet hall can be depicted by table and chairs, but how do you simulate a magical wood? Simple. The fairies performed a dance, under cover of which they planted flowers on the stage and left the rest up to the audience's imagination.

Another highlight of this production was the Athenian players' performance at Theseus's wedding feast. It takes a good actor to deliberately portray a bad performance. The tragedy of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' was laughable, as Shakespeare intended, prompting Theseus to exclaim: 'No epilogue, I pray you'. (Act 5, scene 1). In this play-within-a play, Shakespeare is laughing aloud at the pretensions of the acting profession and the limitations of the Tudor stage.

At the play's conclusion, the audience is gently released from the surreal atmosphere, as Robin Goodfellow explains: 'If we shadows have offended, think but this and all is mended, that you have but slumbered here, while these visions did appear' (Act 5, scene 1). In other words, it was all a dream. Nowadays, of course, this ending would be considered an appallingly weak cop-out. In Shakespeare's hands however, this particular 'cop-out' is neatly presented as the only way to finish the play. Overall, this was a good, if slightly flawed, performance. Summery and charming.

Robin Rowles

The Girl With A Pearl Earring

The Haymarket Theatre, London



Adrian Dunbar as Vermeer and Kimberley Nixon as Griet

The Girl With A Pearl Earring started life as a novel by Tracy Chevalier and was then turned into a film starring Scarlett Johansson and Colin Firth. I really liked the novel; a wonderfully subtle, compelling, first-person narrative about the obsessive nature of genius and the disruptive impact of the presence of a beautiful girl upon Vermeer's household. It succeeded in evoking the atmosphere of Delft in the seventeenth century and describing the tensions between the characters living in the painter's household. The film however was rather bland and forgettable, losing all the charm and human emotion of the book. At *The Haymarket* we are presented with a theatrical interpretation of the story that, whilst not as good as the original written story, is far better than the poor cinematic effort.

The action opens, not at the beginning, but at the end of the story when Griet is summoned to the house following the death of Vermeer and is presented with the earrings that caused so much trouble. The scene is set, and then we are transported back to the day when Griet, the daughter of a tile painter, begins her work as a maid in the house and the story is told. It is her instinctive sense of visual awareness that arouses Vermeer's interest just as much as her looks arouse his lustful but aging patron, Van Ruijven. But it is Griet's privileged access to Vermeer's studio that provokes the jealousy of his wife. And when Griet secretly becomes the model for one of his most beautiful paintings, the happiness of the entire household is threatened by his quest for perfection.

The idea of looking back is continued with the use of soliloquies by all the members of the cast bar Griet herself. Although not of course new, it can be an interesting device, and here it does work to good effect with each character recalling a moment that, in retrospect, issued a warning of imminent disaster.

I could not possibly claim this as a great theatrical event but it is a good piece of theatre and something worth seeing. All the actors give competent performances; Kimberley Nixon gives a fine, appealing performance as Griet, portraying her as an intelligent, dignified, somewhat aloof young woman, whose misfortune is to have others project their feelings on to her. Adrian Dunbar is just right as Vermeer, obsessed by his painting. The desire to create beauty in portraiture and the developing attraction between the two leads the Protestant Griet to remove her hat and let down her hair, and when he cries "I had to paint her" it sounds like a euphemism for something far more basic. The rest of the cast, Lesley Vickerage, Niall Buggy, Sara Kestleman, Maggie Service, Jonathan Bailey and Flora Spencer-Longhurst, all perform their roles with great proficiency. This isn't Pinter but it is a good, solid piece of drama that does enough to keep one interested throughout the evening.

John Croxon

OPERA

The Rake's Progress by Igor Stravinsky

The Royal Opera House



In this production, the rake made his progress in the 1950s from life as a hicksville cowboy in the oil fields of the American Mid West to that of film star living it up in the razzmatazz of Las Vegas. An inventive updating of the story it certainly was and there is a neat justification for it in that Igor Stravinsky was living in Hollywood when he wrote the work, however, it did not particularly convince. The moral of *The Rake's Progress* translates well into different time periods and the 1950s was no exception to this. It is more difficult to move the work satisfactorily through space, however, as London is its natural setting and others can appear somewhat incongruous. Notwithstanding this criticism, the production was both clever and humorous. From the inflatable caravan for Tom Rakewell as film star; to the oil rig which became a camera boom from which Nick Shadow could literally direct events; to Tom and a whore disappearing through the middle of the stage entangled in sheets and a large mattress; it moved from one witty idea to the next. Unfortunately, good as it was, the set does lead to a second criticism which is that you only realise how large the stage at Covent Garden is when you see a set that is somewhat too small for it. The Coliseum may have provided a better venue.

The Rake's Progress was written in the late 1940s after Stravinsky became pre-occupied with William Hogarth's set of eight prints chronicling the downfall of a young man after he had seen them in Chicago in 1946. A year later, he told Aldous Huxley about his fascination with the story's operatic potential and Huxley suggested that he meet W.H.Auden as a possible librettist. Huxley later claimed that he had been 'the go-between who happily arranged the meeting of those two eminent Lesbians, Music and Poetry'. Throughout The Rake's Progress, Stravinsky runs the whole gamut of musical styles with references from the earliest operas of Monteverdi to the then very latest atonal sounds. His admiration for Mozart, however, provided the prime musical model for the The Rake's Progress. The mixture of musical references is such that he was accused of writing a pastiche, Stravinsky replied to such charges by asking somewhat acerbically:

Can a composer re-use the past and at the same time move in a forward direction? Regardless of the answer (which is 'yes'), this academic question did not trouble me during the composition ... I ask the listener to suspend the question as I did while composing and, difficult as the request may be, to try to discover the opera's own qualities

Thomas Adès, a notable composer in his own right, did ample justice to these qualities by conducting the work with his typical energy and enthusiasm. At times Adès seems to conduct the orchestra with his entire body. Charles Castronovo as Tom was engaging as a cowboy, although perhaps fitted the glamorous film star image less well. He was given the one allusion to a Hogarthian scene in the production when he assumed eighteenth century garb as he was corrupted by Nick into forgetting his young love, Anne, and marrying the bearded woman, Baba the Turk. Inexplicably this worked, although why it did so was hard to tell. Castronovo came more into his own, however, as the tragic figure reduced to playing cards with Nick for his life, before being cursed with madness. His singing after being incarcerated in an asylum was very heartfelt. John Relyea played Nick well with just the right mixture of charm and edge of menace at he started off Tom's progress. Relyea had clearly taken a considerable amount of inspiration for his role from Jack Nicholson in a combination of The Witches of Eastwick and The Shining. He even had the eyebrow movements off to a tee. Sally Matthews made a sweet, virginal Anne Truelove, whilst Patricia Bardon gave a sympathetic portrayal of Baba the Turk. She also had the best line of the opera, neatly encapsulating the moral at the end as she sings, 'all men, whether good or bad, are mad'.

Sue Dale

CONCERT

String Quintet in G minor K.516 W.A. Mozart (1756-1791)

Primavera Chamber Ensemble

St Peter's Methodist Church, Canterbury, Kent



Primavera is one of the country's finest ensembles. This was the first night of a short tour of venues in the south-east. The Primavera Chamber Ensemble is an off-shoot from the London Primavera Orchestra which was formed by its Artistic Director, Paul Manley in 1986. Comprised of some of Britain's finest chamber music players, all section principals being soloists in their own right, the ensemble performs frequently on London's South Bank, St George's in Bristol and at the Nouveau Siècle in Lille. At their maximum they number some nine individuals, but Primavera played Canterbury as a sextet consisting of the leader of the ensemble, Paul Manley, along with his fellow violinist Martin Smith, the violas of Catherine Musker and Rebecca Carrington, and the cellos of Andrew Fuller and David Burrowes. At Canterbury they began with Richard Strauss's String Sextet from capriccio Op.85 and finished with Tchaikovsky's Souvenir de Florence Op.70. In between David Burrowes took a break from the stage and the others played as a quintet for the Mozart.

Upon arriving at the venue I quickly realised that we were the youngest people in the audience. Almost everyone appeared to be past retirement age, grey hair and hearing aids seemed to be everywhere. However, this is sadly not unusual at classical concerts in towns outside London but it is still a great shame especially as Canterbury is quite a vibrant city, as evident by the hoards of young women in various states of undress that wandered noisily through the streets as we exited the venue after the concert. My friend is moving to the city and after witnessing what happens on a Saturday evening I am considering relocating there myself!

The Methodist Church is a lovely Georgian building with absolutely superb acoustics. Indeed, Paul Manley remarked upon this himself. Primavera have played at some of the finest venues in Britain and abroad and they ooze class. At Canterbury they played an imaginative, insightful and sensitive set, displaying warmth, passion and high energy, evoking the incredible beauty of Mozart's work.

Mozart's five great string quintets of 1787, 1790 and 1791 confirm both his genius and his mastery of the string chamber idiom. All the quintets are highly personal works, particularly the G minor.

The G minor Quintet was completed in Vienna on the 6th May 1787. After the huge success of Mozart's initial years in the city, the composer was undergoing a series of setbacks. The difficulties that beset Mozart at this time can clearly be felt in this work which is riven with despair and sadness. It is quite rare for Mozart to express his feelings as openly as he does here. The music is redolent of resignation and despair and the opening movement achieves a climax of heart-rending intensity. Yet even amongst this sorrow Mozart appears to galvanize himself to produce a passage of breathtaking beauty and energy.

All the players were superb and it was quite evident that they enjoyed the performance as much as the audience. There is no way that I would want to single out any individual for particular praise as all the musicians played with such beautiful clarity, producing an exhilarating buoyant performance. Manley's direction and arrangement ensured a melodically tight recital, deeply sympathetic to the composition. This proved to be an intoxicating and captivating evening and if you have the chance to hear Primavera during their current tour then seize the chance.

As both the Strauss and the Tchaikovsky were composed outside of our period I have not reviewed these pieces other than to say that they were just as wonderful as the Mozart. In fact, I bought a couple of the CD's on sale during the interval and played the Tchaikovsky as I drove down to the West Country on a sunny Monday morning and somehow the prospect of another long drive along the M4 and a week of project work didn't seem too bad.

John Croxon

ART EXHIBITIONS

The British Printed Images to 1700 Second International Conference, 12-13 September 2008, held at the V&A.

The British Printed Images to 1700 project (<http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/index.html>) has been funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council from 2006-09 to provide a searchable internet database of over 10,000 printed images from early modern Britain. The majority of these images will come from the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, with material introduced from other collections such as the National Art Library and the V&A too. This enormous project is directed by Professor Michael Hunter, who has organised two project conferences, the second of which has just been held. It was an international event, with a total of approximately eighty scholars, students, collectors and other interested people attending from Britain, Europe and the USA. The two day programme comprised eleven papers, a demonstration of the trial interface, a special display of books from the National Art Library, and a new researchers' session.

My overall impression of the event is excellent: if anything, it was even better than last year's conference. It was well organised, the papers were all of a very high standard and the IT worked well. It was good to see art historians and historians that are interested in images talking to each other and sharing information. Indeed, as we all know, sometimes at conferences it is the break times that prove to be the biggest challenge when striking up a conversation can feel excruciating, but not so at this event – people really did mix and quite a few ended up at the local pub at the end of the first day!

The papers that deserve special mention are as follows.

Alex Walsham (Exeter), '“Like Fragments of a Ship Wreck”: Printed Images and Religious Antiquarianism in Early Modern Britain': this was a fascinating discussion of the creation of religious ruins during the Reformation and their effects on early modern attitudes towards landscapes.

Malcolm Jones (Sheffield), *The Common Weales Canker Wormes*: this talk addressed one print (named in the title) and teased out its complex message concerning the duplicity of certain early modern stock types, and its use of emblems. It was very interesting to focus upon one image only, and Malcolm Jones' ability to speak lucidly without notes was impressive.

Kevin Sharpe (Queen Mary), 'Images of Oliver Cromwell': a lively paper that argued that Cromwell and/or his followers appropriated much of Charles I's imagery in order to establish the Protector's authority. I wasn't completely convinced and felt that we could have heard more about the ambiguous nature of certain images, but it was a slick and thought provoking session nonetheless.

Justin Champion (Royal Holloway), 'Decoding the Leviathan: Doing the History of Ideas Through Images 1651-1700'. This paper discussed the highly engaging title pages of Hobbes' *Leviathan* and Shaftesbury's *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*. Justin Champion explained how Shaftesbury's detailed instructions to his engraver were part of an attempt to provide a pictorial version of his text within the frontispiece, to the point that at certain places the frontispiece even featured page number references inserted within the illustration.

The new researchers' session was lively and stimulating, and praised at the round table discussion at the end of the conference– but I can't say too much about this as I was one of the new researchers that gave a paper. However, it was certainly a good innovation to have a session set aside specifically for research students to divulge their findings.

The project database is scheduled to go live in March 2009, and promises to be a valuable resource for researchers and staff of all stripes. The two conferences have helped to establish the project and to provide a sense of community for those interested in the British printed image pre 1700. I hope that further funding is made available to the project after March 2009 in order that the website can be updated and reviewed periodically, and so that further conferences can happen.

Stephen Brogan

Thomas Hope Regency Designer

The Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Exhibitions at the V&A can range from the breathtaking to the ridiculous as the museum wavers between works of real substance and a need to be fashionable. However, what cannot be denied is that, aside from the occasional lapse into banal trendiness, it does stage some really strong exhibitions. Thomas Hope, Regency Designer, is not one of the blockbusters but it is still a charming, well-designed, and interesting exhibition.

Thomas Hope was born in Amsterdam in 1769 to a wealthy banking family. Between 1787 and 1797 he travelled widely through Europe and the Near East, enriching his knowledge and passion for architecture and the arts. In 1794 the family decided to move to England to escape the French occupation of the Netherlands, and when he returned from his travels Hope joined his family in England. He became an avid collector on a grand scale and also a talented and innovative designer who helped define what became understood as the Regency style.

Hope was a man of style and vision and he attempted to reform contemporary taste by championing a return to what he saw as the spirit of classical purity in the arts, architecture, interior design and furniture. Hope displayed this essence of classicism in his two houses, in Duchess Street, London and The Deepdene in Surrey, with grand collections gathered from his travels from all over the world. His book 'Household Furniture and Interior Design' published in 1807 introduced the term 'interior decoration' into the English language.

We are first introduced to Hope and his family and his travels before proceeding to rooms depicting the atmosphere of his London house in Duchess Street, off Portland Place. The Statue Gallery displays fine antique sculpture dating from the Roman Empire. In the Vase Room Hope displayed his enormous collection of Greek figured vases. The Aurora Room housed the statue of Aurora, goddess of dawn. The Egyptian Room featured Egyptian sculpture. The exhibition then moves on to display household furniture and interior decoration and then finally to show images of Hope's country house in Surrey, The Deepdene.

This is an interesting and informative exhibition which highlights the style, beauty and influence of Thomas Hope's collection and of his ideas. Sadly, both of his properties were demolished and his collection dispersed. However, the spirit and beauty of his ideas have had a great influence upon style, design and presentation in subsequent eras, and with this exhibition the V&A have done a marvellous job in assembling and displaying some of his collection and thereby introducing Thomas Hope to a new range of people.

John Croxon

THOUGHTS ON PHILIP II AS A COLLECTOR OF ARTISTIC AND ARCHITECTURAL MOTIFS INSPIRED BY THE HADRIAN EXHIBITION



I

It has long been recognized that Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli has many reminiscences of the art and architecture of the provinces of the Roman Empire. In his very different residence at the Escorial, begun 1562, Philip II, the most powerful Spaniard since Hadrian, collected motifs and objects from his empire including parts that slipped from his control during the construction of the edifice. Philip ruled a more fragmented state, if it even deserves the name, than Hadrian who controlled the entire Mediterranean basin and less important areas as far north as the Cheviot Hills, the Rhine, the Danube and the eastern Carpathians. Scattered among and between Philip's territories in a far less homogeneous world were independent realms with their own vibrant cultures. Some artists he approached, or from whom he received work, such as Titian, Michelangelo and Cellini were not his subjects. Hadrian we may presume hardly concerned himself with the cultures of the rather limited number of surviving independent states he knew about, all at the edges of his world. It might be noted in passing and with regard to recent events that Hadrian had the sense to see that even a completely united western world could not hold down what we now call Iraq or fully integrate into its systems client states on the southern side of the Caucasus. He abandoned both.

Hadrian's passionate interest in a non-Roman culture of a subject people, that of the Greeks, long entwined with Roman life, was problematic. There were mutterings in Rome about the "Greeking" ruler. In this he was the opposite to Philip in whose reign the fatal Castilianization of the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs began and damaged their standing in their other possessions. Hadrian travelled compulsively; Philip, after returning to Spain a few years after his accession. This does not mean that Philip did not have a deep appreciation of foreign art, subject to a whole series of qualifications.

The Italian painter Federigo Zuccaro was criticized by the King in a face to face encounter for introducing a basket of eggs as an offering into a “Nativity” he had done, on the grounds that the shepherds, as they hurried from the fields to adore their Saviour, would not have stopped on their way to collect eggs, even supposing they kept chickens (Brown, “Painting in Spain, 1500-1700”, p. 58, reproducing a quotation from Sigüenza). Eggs were a rather obvious fertility symbol, a point that seems to have eluded Philip.

El Greco, in who’s style there are elements of the Byzantine and Venetian manners, also failed to find favour. His “Martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion”, 1500-2, El Escorial, for the Basilica of San Lorenzo, was notoriously rejected, banished from the main church to (?) the Chapter House. Incredibly a vastly inferior, more literal version, 1582-3, El Escorial, Basilica, by the now all but forgotten Romulo Cincinnato (Brown, “Painting in Spain, 1500-1700”, ill. 92) was substituted. It showed the acts of martyrdoms more literally and prominently. Philip, it must be admitted, had artistic as well as political lapses. In possible mitigation it might be pointed out that after El Greco finally penetrated the most prestigious circles of patronage in Madrid, he was offered a huge commission for the retable at Guadalupe, a monastery with longstanding royal connections. For reasons almost certainly unconnected with Philip it was sadly never executed. Did the “Cautious King” finally have second thoughts about the greatest painter working in Spain? The commission dates from 1597. Then on August 28 of the following year Philip, close to death, undertook to donate 20,000 ducats to the project (Brown, “Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spain”, p. 116). On 22 July the King, having undergone a complete physical collapse and covered in painful boils had taken to his bed for an agonizing 53 day deathbed ritual, stoically borne.

El Greco’s breakthrough into the royal circle had already come in 1597 when he was given the contract by the Council of Castile for a major retable (National Gallery recent catalogue, “El Greco”, 2003-4, pp. 168-176 with illustrations of some canvasses and a reconstruction; Mann, “El Greco and His Patrons” pp. 47-110), which surely would not have happened without tacit royal approval. Moreover the Council was acting on behalf of the Augustinian College of Our Lady of the Incarnation in Madrid, founded by Doña María de Aragón, a deceased lady in waiting to Philip’s fourth and last Queen, on land close to the palace in Madrid on land given by the King in 1581 (Mann, “El Greco and His Patrons, p. 58). The paintings in El Greco’s wild, almost final, late style, far more unconventional than that in the “St. Maurice” and the architectural supporting structure were not finally transported to Madrid until July 1600 (Mann, “El Greco and His Patrons”, p. 70). People in the royal entourage may have known well before then what was coming. The paintings were executed in Toledo, close to Madrid, the ecclesiastical capital of Spain and home to many of the nobility, a place frequently visited by courtiers and civil servants. It is not inconceivable that that Philip knew what unorthodox images could end up over the main altar at Guadalupe. It is possible that he was too far gone to care by the time the donation of money was made or that others were acting on his behalf as he made his painful exit from this world.

Philip’s catholic taste with a small “c” was part of his conscious headship of the Catholic world. His father had tried to make him emperor and the leaders of the other branch of the family, Maximilian II (1564-76), and Rudolf II (1576-1612), clearly

were not up to playing the role of the ultimate authority figures the imperial title was supposed to confer. Maximilian in particular was suspected of being a closet Lutheran, while Rudolf was an eccentric obsessed with collecting and alchemy, often uninterested in government and sometimes mad. So conscious of his position, resulting from his own psychology and his father's example was Philip, that he had his agents conduct a military campaign against the pope, banned the publication of the Tridentine decrees in his dominions for a considerable period and intervened in the most intrusive ways in the internal affairs of France and England. "I will not be the King of heretics". He had as much right as Hadrian, as he saw it, to assemble representations of the entire (approved part of) the cultural world about him in his monumental retreat.

The villa at Tivoli and the Escorial are very different places. The Spanish establishment is closer in spirit to Diocletian's late imperial, grim palace at Split than the erratically arranged pavilions and precincts of Hadrian's pleasure palace. The closest thing in Philip's residence/monastery to a statue of Hadrian's boyfriend, Antinous, is, given the artist's ambivalent sexual orientation, Cellini's totally nude "Christ Crucified", 1556-62, El Escorial, Basilica. It was originally, more appropriately, for the sculptor's own tomb but was sent by the Grand Duke of Tuscany who thought Philip would like it. The King had it carried on the backs of 40 men from Madrid thinking, before it was unpacked, that it was an image of the Saviour executed with proper *gravedad* and *decoro*. Philip was so shocked by what was inside the packing that he placed his own handkerchief over the genitals and had another sculpture commissioned for the great retable. It can now, as a result, be seen relatively close to, not several stories up and with a fabric loin cloth. Philip's handkerchief supposedly became a relic (Trever-Roper, "Princes and Artists", p. 63).

Philip's Escorial now seems quintessentially Spanish thanks to centuries of acclimatization, its use as a setting by Schiller and Verdi and a number of Spanish buildings that emulate its extreme austerity including the ducal palace intended to lure the king there at Lerma for Philip III's all-powerful minister (Kubler, "Building the Escorial", ill. 106) and the Buen Retiro of Philip IV in Madrid. The latter has been almost entirely destroyed but part of the exterior is shown in two works by Velázquez and/or his shop of which there are two versions. They are "Prince Baltazar Carlos in the Riding School", the earlier version, 1636, the Duke of Westminster, lent to the recent National Gallery exhibition of the artist's work; and the later, 1643-6, the Wallace Collection. In the second the by then disgraced Count-Duke of Olivares has disappeared, like one of Stalin's former colleagues air brushed out of the picture – the *privado* (favourite), not the commissar vanishes. There are several churches that exemplify the Escorial style such as the Augustias Church in Valladolid, 1597-1604, and the towers of San Miguel de los Reyes, 1632-44 in Valencia (Kubler and Soria, "Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500-1800", ill. 6A, 9A); and the huge San Juan Bautista in Toledo almost the only bulky thing to rise above the roofscape other than the Alcazar and the Cathedral; and San Domingo el Antigua also in Toledo, rebuilt beginning in 1576 by El Greco's great patron Don Diego de Castilla, Dean of Toledo Cathedral and housing some of the El Grecos commissioned for it. Even to day the little town of El Escorial, with the palace looming over it and with villas in it copying the palace's style seems more Swiss or South German than Castilian.

II

Perhaps the most obvious source for the Escorial is St. Peter's in Rome itself. In various projects from late ones by Bramante through to those of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, the dome and the central vessels came to be surrounded by expanding subsidiary enclosures to such an extent that Michelangelo, who tore some of them down, said people would use them to coin money and rape nuns, both noisy activities requiring remote venues. The great curtain wall running around the Basilica of San Lorenzo and various other buildings and courtyards was somewhat like the sheer multi-story ones Sangallo and later Michelangelo proposed to erect at St. Peter's at various distances from the dome to mask the very variable roofscape. Sangallo proposed two towers for the façade as the Escorial has on the church frontage on its courtyard and, in some plans, was also meant to have on the outer perimeter as well. Michelangelo's final St. Peter's plan, leaving aside the unexecuted portico, is almost reduced to a square but at 45° to the orientation and with various rounded and angular bulges. The great outer perimeter of the Escorial is hardly any different in principle. The so-called "Palladian" and "Alessian" projects for the great entrance to the Escorial with domed and spired towers (Kubler, "Building the Escorial", ills. 83 A&B) are very close to some of the pre-Michelangelo projects for St. Peter's façade.

The monastery entrance, however, does not abut the Basilica but an entrance loggia and, over it, a splendid barrel vaulted library. Once inside the loggia the courtyard must be traversed to reach San Lorenzo. As executed the frontispiece lost the towers but is still church-like, being a two story version of a Roman Counter-Reformation church with buttresses curving up from a wider lower story to the top of a narrow pedimented first floor, both levels being articulated by an array of columns and a series of obelisks on the outer bays of the lower story. These could have been quoted from Vignola's church of the Madonna del Orto in Rome. The way in which the lower curtain wall of the western half of the Escorial was later raised to conformity with the eastern half to produce a uniform, monolithic exterior (Kubler, "Building the Escorial", ill. 30 with two reconstructions of the earlier plans) recalls the homogenification of the outer walls at St. Peter's raised to an overpowering level as Sangallo and perhaps Michelangelo evolved their plans. We don't have much information on the areas between the apses of the earlier Michelangelo phases but it cannot be ruled out that they were lower.

The lateral walls of the courtyard between the Library and the Basilica are among the most austere parts of the vast complex, but the end walls are much more elaborate, one being the façade of the church and the other that of the entrance loggia and the library above. The later has a strong resemblance to the river front of the Uffizi in Florence by Vasari. It is very interesting that the Escorial, the Uffizi, the great unfinished palace of Philip's Farnese in-laws in Piacenza and the Strada Nuova in Genoa, all governmental/residential centres for the rulers (in Genoa for an entire patriciate with individual family palaces) begun almost simultaneously. The Uffizi with its colonnade on the long sides and windows higher up is very like a great basilican church without a roof. The entrance courtyard of the Escorial can be thought of as an unroofed nave preceding the centralized church in an arrangement in which the façade and the gallery behind it become, in effect, a choir screen or, in Italian, a tramezzo, between the open nave and the choir constituted by the entire church. The outer portals at the edges of the basilican façade do not coincide with the

aisles of the church, nor does the articulation of the Library range. The 1-3-1 disposition of the arches at the ends of the court, wider than the Uffizi's, and the bleak lateral walls, however, gives the impression that this is a courtyard corresponding to the open nave's central vessel and aisles combined, whereas in the Uffizi the aisles, in the form of long loggias, are outside the main space. It hardly matters that in the Spanish example the actual aisles of the church are displaced outwards. The possibility of some cross-referencing between the Uffizi and the Escorial is very likely. The displacement of the actual aisles of the Basilica means that this church when entered is wider than one would expect, an almost proto-Baroque effect.

The façade is somewhat fragmented. Where we would expect there to be buttresses rising to the upper centre there are merely shed roofs in the gap between upper nave and towers. This unfinished effect makes us feel that we are looking at the hidden bits such as we might see, as it were, behind the scenes from an aisle roof, as though we had gone through the public parts of the sacred edifice and on into the hidden "staff only" areas. An early plan shows the pedestals over the great entablature carrying obelisks with balls on top in contrast to the finished version where there are Old Testament Jewish kings (Kubler, "Building the Escorial", ill. 20). This is a Late Renaissance version of yet another prototype, the French royal gallery, on the west fronts of the cathedrals of Chartres, Reims, Amiens and Paris. The French sculpted kings are either ancient Jewish rulers or Capetians or both; those at the Escorial are labelled so there is no doubt. Why were the projected obelisks replaced? Could it be that Philip, as France plunged into anarchy in the Wars of Religion, was taking upon himself the role of Most Christian King, a French royal attribute, virtually abdicated, as he saw it, by the French kings who first periodically negotiated with heretics and then, in the person of Henri IV, became heretical? More or less French style cathedrals were in Philip's Spanish dominions. Burgos has two western towers and no royal gallery, while León has no royal gallery and odd gaps between the two west towers and the upper central west front, a possible source for the Basilica's façade at the Escorial. In Brussels, the capital of Philip's Netherlandish possessions, the present Cathedral, not then raised to this status, was close to the palace and contained stained glass donated by Philip's aunt and for a long time a governor-general of the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary. He must have known it well. It has two western towers. The church of the metropolitan see for most of the Netherlands, Mechelen, is internally quite French but has a single Flemish west tower, as did Saint-Quentin Cathedral, now in France but then in the Spanish Netherlands. The first major victory of Philip's reign over the French took place just outside Saint-Quentin. This Cathedral is mostly in the French tradition but it has a single Flemish west tower.

Amiens nearby had periodically been ruled by Philip's Burgundian ancestors, Philip the Good and Charles the Rash, and was occupied, by Philip's forces during the overt intervention in the French civil wars. It has the full programme of the western towers and the royal gallery at the same relative level as at the Escorial. The thwarted would-be emperor or nearly acting emperor and self-appointed arbiter of the legitimacy of French rulers seems to have been making an ideological statement, taking on himself the architectural attributes of the kings of France, expressed, among other places on the coronation church of Reims. Since the fourteenth century the kings of Castile had ceased to be crowned so there can have been no attempt to make San Lorenzo de El Escorial the coronation church though it was the royal pantheon where Philip gathered together the bodies of many of his predecessors. Philip had to go to Lisbon when he

enforced his rights to become king of Portugal to be crowned there. A full formal coronation is something that had not happened to him before. This required a rare trip outside his Castilian comfort zone. Interestingly around the time Amiens fell into Philip's hands El Greco produced works with figures, if not like the royal gallery figures, similar to the lower jamb figures on the great French cathedrals and on some of the Spanish ones including Burgos, Toledo and Santiago de Compostella.

The identification of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Spaniards of French royalty as prototypes of desirable rulers was not confined to Philip. There is a painting by El Greco of "St. Louis, King of France with a Page", probably 1590s, Louvre. In the background there are a dome and spires under a mountain that could be the Escorial – Philip II as St. Louis IX. The only significant emulator of El Greco's style, other than his son, Jorge Manuel, Luis Tristan, did a "Louis IX Distributing Alms", 1615-20, Louvre. This Louis may represent the useless Philip III, thinly disguised. Amiens was in Spanish hands from Spring to September 1596, only being recovered by Henri IV at great cost. It is no surprise that El Greco's "St. Martin and the Beggar", National Gallery, Washington, dates from 1597-9, being commissioned as late as 9 November 1597. St. Martin divided his cloak with the beggar at one of the gates of Amiens while serving as a soldier in the area. In the painting Martin wears armour virtually identical with that in the El Greco St. Louis painting. Philip or his nephew and proxy ruler in the Netherlands, Alessandro Farnese, both descendants through the Burgundian Valois of St. Louis, in French royal armour it is suggested are covering the spiritual nakedness of Amiens under the Calvinist Henri IV. The catalogue of the recent National Gallery exhibition "El Greco" makes the point about the armour (pp. 156, 164) but does not link the painting to contemporary political events. El Greco and the short lived beneficiary of royal patronage, El Mudo, painted several saints either as individuals or in pairs in abstract settings with attributes who seem to derive from the sculpted jamb figures of French and Spanish Gothic cathedral portals. Some of the El Mudos are hung on the internal piers of the Basilica of the Escorial, recalling internal jamb sculpture on the piers of Cologne Cathedral and the central pier of the south transept of Strasbourg Cathedral. Examples of the genre with paired painted saints include El Mudo's "St. James and St. Andrew", ca. 1577, El Escorial; and El Greco's "St. Andrew and St. Francis", ca. 1590, Prado, Madrid. There are other paired "jamb" paintings in the Basilica one of which "St. Isidore and St. Leander", ca. 1582 by an utterly obscure artist with a wooden manner (reproduced in Brown, "Painting in Spain, 1500-1700") even includes several columns, somewhat as in a Gothic portal. Given the obvious awareness in Spain of Gothic types it seems inconceivable that the royal gallery at the Escorial was not consciously modelled on French galleries. The library incidentally offers, from a high vantage point, a view across the forecourt to the gallery such as was not planned for any of the French examples.

Inside the Basilica are the funerary statues of Philip II and his father Charles V and their families on either side of the chancel. The settings of these groups recalls some of the earlier proposals for St. Peter's, especially the straight bay of the choir actually executed by Bramante, but pulled down by Michelangelo, and possibly, if one believes one of the modern reconstructions on paper (ed. Millon and Campagnani, "The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo", ill. 15, p. 415), the intended outer walls of the aisles of the nave in one of Bramante's projects for the nave. It seems to me that one of the great unwritten stories of Art History is Michelangelo's

flagrant appropriation of Bramante's ideas in the latter's Medici tombs in the New Sacristy of another San Lorenzo, that in Florence. Bramante's motif was intended to find a home for the ancient spolia columns of old St. Peter's. On the, I would argue highly derivative, but creatively designed walls above the Medici tombs Michelangelo blocked the window openings and made the columns pilasters but retained the basic format of the order in a large arch. It is more than likely that he thought long and hard about Bramante's motif as the great tomb Michelangelo was to sculpt for Julius II mutated from a freestanding edifice to a wall tomb. It might have had to stand under one of the Bramante internal facades. If this was the case the Medici tombs are merely a brilliant very truncated version of a composite Bramante/Michelangelo Julius tomb, a forced not a co-operative collaboration. This scenario would mean that the young Michelangelo was indebted to the older master far earlier the grudging genius would admit as he finally did, when long after Bramante's death, he became the chief architect of St. Peter's. The family groups of Philip II and Charles V, 1591-8, by Pompeo Leoni, are far more freely arranged in open Bramantesque colonnades than are Michelangelo's executed Medici princes and other intended figures in niches between the pilasters of the Medici tombs. The Leoni sculptures are casually disposed in tableaux vivants in space that continues real space as Philip's and Charles's images project from the barrier of the colonnade into the chancel. Accidentally or as a result of knowledge circulating in the sculptural fraternity Pompeo Leoni recreated and liberated elements of a long abandoned phase of the tomb for Julius. Pompeo and Leone Leoni incidentally made a bronze "Christ Crucified" which took the place of Cellini's rejected version on the top of the great retable. This retable was a classical version of a traditional Spanish type to which the images of the kings and their families pray. Late Medieval versions of a retable are to be found in Toledo Cathedral, begun in 1498, and the Monastery of the Miraflores in Burgos, ca. 1496-9.

There are many other instances of architectural quotations in the in the Escorial. In spite of his problems in the Low Countries Philip was a great admirer of things Netherlandish, among them Hieronimus Bosch whose works he collected, Flemish gardens and Flemish steeply pitched slate roofs, but excluding his disobedient subjects. Flemish gardeners and slaters were imported to work on the royal residences in and around Madrid (Parker, "Philip II", pp. 39, 43). The roofs at the Escorial are very un-Spanish looking and at the Buen Retiro of Philip's grandson Philip IV, in other respects reminiscent of the Escorial, terra cotta tiles re-appeared. Even more alien in a Mediterranean context are the strange slate covered spires at the corners of the Escorial and the less steep ones over the intersections of the internal ranges. In the tower under one of these in the monastery there is an extraordinary interior in which five stories of stark granite windows of the single space are set against white stucco over the portals. This interior has the understated quality of some of the later exteriors of Medici villas. The diagonal sides of the octagonal dome over the tower rest on pendentives terminating in lines straight in plan and elevation, really triangular fragments of barrel vaults. Pendentives of this type, which abut the arches of a square space at points on the rising curve of the four big arches not at the middle, are very rare. The only other instance with the totally straight line at the top I can think of is in the Madonna del Calcinaio just outside Cortona in Tuscany, begun 1482 (Heydenreich, "Architecture in Italy, 1400-1500", ill. 175; Frommel, "The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance", ill. 98), by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, 1439-1501. Something fairly, but not exactly, similar with a slight curvature in elevation was to be found in the destroyed Cathedral of Urbino, begun before 1482

(Heydenreich "Architecture in Italy, 1400-1500", ill. 176; Frommel, "The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance", ill. 93), also by Francesco.

These two buildings are much earlier than the Italian sources one would expect for the Escorial. Another medieval connection appears here in that several major Spanish Gothic churches employed forms akin to those preferred by Francesco. It was even possible that he introduced Spanish squinch forms under octagons into central Italy, transcribing into them into an Italian pendentive idiom, as a result of contacts with the Aragonese ruled Kingdom of the Two Sicilies or the lands of the Crown of Aragon. Spanish churches with crossings close to Francesco's include Barcelona Cathedral in the western crossing, 1418-30; San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, in the central crossing, 1479-80, both quite recent for Francesco; and the much earlier Tarragona Cathedral in the central crossing.

Another quotation from a surprisingly early Renaissance structure is in the main and transept upper facades of San Lorenzo de El Escorial. These are incredibly close to the facade of Leon Battista Alberti's little church of San Sebastiano in Mantua, begun in 1460, with its narrow arch over a small high central window cutting through the main entablature of the pediment. At the Escorial this format is only used for the upper facades which from high ground at a distance or over internal ranges are all that can be seen. The east facade, dominating a diminutive courtyard is a window-less blank wall under the pediment, an exercise in virtually proto-Facist architecture. The rulers of Mantua, the Gonzaga, were virtually Hapsburg clients. Charles V twice visited Mantua and was received in the Palazzo del Te very close to Alberti's San Sebastiano. His host, Federigo Gonzaga, Marquess, raised to Duke of Mantua by Charles, served as viceroy in Milan and Naples. Later in the 1540s another Gonzaga, Ferrante, was viceroy in Milan. The Escorial's quotation from such an early monument in the Renaissance could be explained by these close dynastic and political links continuing into Philip's period. His Farnese in-laws were the princely neighbors of the Gonzaga. Alternatively the architects at the Escorial could merely have like the form of San Sebastiano. The extent of architectural quotation and cross referencing at Escorial is indicated by the fact that a royal gallery, in origin from the French High Gothic, was mounted on a facade taken from the most learned of Renaissance architectural practitioners.

Many of the Italian quotations, more or less contemporary with Philip's reign at the Escorial, are almost too obvious for Art Historians to write about. There is one, however, that should be mentioned because it shows that Philip could mine his own Italian dominions as well as going to the Venetians and Central Italians. The ultimate sources, and possibly the means of transmission almost certainly involve people not his vassals. The only part of the Escorial to project from the vast rectangle, and linking it to the ministerial offices opposite the entrance, other than the east end of the Basilica, slightly, and the court of royal lodgings, is the "sun corridor", an "L" shaped two story loggia overlooking formal gardens and the pond. The lower floor combines bays with flat lintels and others with arches in what would in more normal circumstances be called a sequence of Serlianas or Palladio motifs. In a more usual configuration an arch is placed between two bays with lintels all on a common order. One of the best-known examples, and possibly the ultimate source for the sun corridor, is Palladio's Basilica in Vicenza, begun in 1549. In the sun corridor's lower level, however, the arch lintel pattern is reversed, two arches being between single

lintels, except at the middle of one range where four arches are together without interruption flanked by lintels at the ends of the sequence.

This is precisely the sort of Mannerist manipulation of that seems utterly at odds with the character of the patron. More conventional versions of continuous Serlianas can be found in the Duchy of Milan ruled over by Philip, in the courtyard of the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, begun 1564, by Pellegrino Pellegrini; and in the Palazzo Marini in Milan, begun 1557-8, by Galeazzo Alessi (Lotz, "Architecture in Italy, 1500-1600", ill. 225, 212; Frommel, "The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance", ill. 287). The owner of the Palazzo Marini was a banker and tax farmer. Philip's endless financial problems were in part the result of the syphoning off of money by the likes of this person, by purchase (!) the Duke of Terranova. At least the crown got some of its own money back. Such outrageous embezzlement was regarded as the legitimate perk of tax farmers in early modern times. Pellegrini, the architect of the Collegio Borromeo, also confusingly called Tibaldi, much later would work at the Escorial as a painter after Zuccaro's performance was judged unsatisfactory, a turn of events marked by the affair of the eggs in the "Nativity" (see above). Any influence Pellerini/Tibaldi had on the sun corridor would have been through his early architectural work than through direct intervention in the building work at the Escorial during his late flowering as a fresco painter there. Some of the paintings in the Sacristy in a proto-Pointilliste stipple technique to counteract an ill lit venue are remarkable.

Architectural variations on the Serlia, again probably ultimately derived from Palladio's Basilica in Vicenza, had also, well before the Escorial was conceived, been tried in a new, 1554, cloister of the Cristo Monastery at Tomar in Portugal, attached to a late Gothic church (Sutton, "Western Architecture", ill. 186). Except when pushed Philip observed the dynastic proprieties punctiliously, but it would be fair to say he had designs on Portugal, realized in 1580. He would have been aware of major artistic projects in that country. At Tomar the two types of Serliana bay alternate on an A/B/AA/B/A rhythm on the ground floor, while the upper floor has an A/A/A/B/A/A/A pattern. There are more bays with straight lintels on both stories than arched ones, on both levels complicated by a giant order. The cloister at Tomar is on such a large scale that it anticipates the largest but far less lively arcaded courts at the Escorial. The presence of such a monument in the lands of the less powerful dynasty on the Iberian peninsula may have contributed to galvanizing Philip into starting the Escorial.

The sun corridors are a relatively frivolous if pleasant addition to a building that many find forbidding, intimidating and bleak. The corridors are the closest thing this edifice has Hadrian's wonderful pavilions at Tivoli that would inspire Borromini. Hadrian lived so long ago that we will never really know to what extent he was involved in the design of his dream house. The documentary proof exists to show how Philip, a total control freak and obsessive micro-manager interfered in the creation of the Escorial, if hardly in ways that could be called creative. He however laid down the rules of an enterprise in which the types of the French and Spanish Middle Ages, the early Renaissance, Mannerism, Tuscan regional characteristics and Flemish forms and materials are triumphantly combined in an imperial statement.

Timothy Alves

A Guide To Early Modern Pubs in the City of London

Karen Chester

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We City Guides are often asked, “Which is the oldest pub in London?” Of course, the answer depends on what you mean by ‘oldest’, and what you mean by ‘London’, and even what you mean by ‘pub’. But if you are hoping to have an early modern drinking experience in the City, here are a few suggestions.

Ye Olde Watling

29 Watling Street, London, EC4M 9BR

On the corner of Bow Lane and Watling Street stands Ye Olde Watling. ‘Watling’ is a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon ‘aetheling’, or ‘prince’, and is commonly attached to roads that were originally built by the Romans. Despite what a thousand guidebooks, and even the pub’s own publicity, will tell you Watling Street in the City is not on the line of the famous Watling Street. That great road, the Roman highway that ran from the Kent Coast all the way to North Wales, crossed over the Thames further upstream at Westminster. This Watling Street was a smaller road within the City that led from the riverside docks to the markets at Cheapside. But, nevertheless, archaeological excavations in the early 1990s discovered a Roman road beneath the medieval street.

Ye Olde Watling was reputedly built by Christopher Wren to provide a place of refreshment for the masons and craftsmen that were working on the rebuilding of St Paul’s Cathedral and the other City churches immediately after the Great Fire. It certainly dates from 1668 and was constructed from the recycled timbers of old ships. The upstairs rooms were used as drawing offices in the 1670s and today serve as the dining rooms/restaurant. The floors are satisfyingly wonky, reflecting how the building has settled over the centuries.

Downstairs, there are very few places to sit, so everyone is usually standing around tall tables, or out on the street. The decor is, admittedly, an Edwardian remodelling of the ‘ye olde England’ variety but it is very atmospheric with white plaster walls and a low, beamed ceiling (Cromwellian ship timbers?). It’s usually overflowing with City banker types and the occasional tourist; there’s a good buzz and a great view of the Cathedral.

Williamson’s Tavern

1 Groveland Court, Off Bow Lane, London, EC4M 9EH

Head north up Bow Lane from Ye Olde Watling towards the church of St Mary le Bow and look out for a tiny courtyard leading off to your left. There you will find Williamson’s Tavern. The original tavern dates back to the 17th century and claims to hold the oldest excise licence in the City. It must have been a very grand place as it served for many years as the official residence of the Lord Mayors of the City of London before the building of Mansion House in 1752. William and Mary are said to have been entertained here, and the wrought iron gates standing at the furthest entrance to the pub are believed to be a gift from them and feature their entwined initials.

The premises were substantially rebuilt in the 1930s, and there are two distinct areas. The front bar is the cosiest, with a fireplace built using Roman tiles excavated from underneath the building. There is also a large lounge at the rear offering a spacious dining area with lots of pictures of Lord Mayors and the old City hanging on the walls.

Olde Doctor Butler's Head
12-24 Masons Avenue, London, EC2V 5BT

Dr. Butler was a very successful 'quack' of the early 17th century. You can read all about him in John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*. He developed some especially outrageous cures. For example, he would creep up behind his unsuspecting patients and fire pistols next to their ears to chase away epilepsy. Another treatment involved dropping trusting patients unexpectedly through a trapdoor on London Bridge into the freezing cold Thames.

These unconventional practices, coupled with an even more eccentric personality, did nothing to impede his success and he was eventually appointed court physician to James I. His fame enabled him to successfully market a popular medicinal ale, which was only available from taverns which displayed Dr. Butler's head on their signs. Tucked down an alleyway near the Guildhall, this is the last such one remaining.

The original, was rebuilt after the Fire and it has been renovated several times since then. The facade is Victorian, but the building is from the late 17th or early 18th century; a miracle of survival. New building all around attests to damage done to the immediate neighbourhood during the Blitz. The dark panelled interior, has a wonderful period atmosphere, despite the wide-screen television which gets switched on for the football.

The relatively recent opening of two very modern, brightly lit bars in the same small alley has done much to undermine the 'lost in the mists of time' feel that this pub once had. And, sadly, Dr Butler's ale is no longer on tap. But it is still a favourite and worth a visit.

The Old Bell
95 Fleet Street, London, EC4Y 1DH

Like Ye Olde Watling, The Old Bell was reputedly built by Wren after the Great Fire and dates from the 1670s. You can enter from busy Fleet Street, passing through what was once an off-licence shop. Far more evocative of days gone by, however, is the entrance at the rear of the pub which faces onto the churchyard of St Bride's. Pubs close to churchyards are commonly named after the bells, and over the years this pub has also been known as The Bells, The Twelve Bells and The Golden Bell.

St Bride's has had a long association with printing and journalism on Fleet Street. In 1500, Wynkyn de Worde moved his printing press here from Westminster, possibly even to the site of The Old Bell, and was buried here in 1535. Samuel Pepys was baptised here, and if the churchyard is open you can search out the gravestone of the 18th-century novelist and publisher Samuel Richardson, leaning against the east wall of the church.

Although the newspapers have all left the 'street of ink', the pub is still busy most evenings. It is full of genuine restoration character, with open fires, dark wood and cosy corners.

The Tipperary
66 Fleet Street, London, EC4Y 1HT

Just a few yards west along Fleet Street from The Old Bell is The Tipperary. In 1700 Mooney's Brewery of Dublin bought the pub, then called The Boar's Head. Thus, they claim to be the first Irish pub outside Ireland and, later, the first to sell Guinness in England. The pub retains an authentic Irish theme, not to be confused with all of the manufactured Irish pubs found on local high streets across the nation. The interior today is a Victorian refit, and a very attractive one too. But the building itself dates from soon after the Great Fire, and this is immediately apparent in the dimensions and configuration of the rooms and staircase.

Ye Olde Cock Tavern
22 Fleet Street, London, EC4Y 1AA

Why did the chicken cross the road? This pub used to stand on the other side of Fleet Street but was forced to move in order to make way for the Law Courts branch of the Bank of England to be built. Ironically, this bank has now been converted back into a pub.

Anyway, the original Cock crossed the road to the south side in 1887 and was rebuilt in the grand Victorian gothic idiom. However, much of the original 17th-century interior, wood panelling, the fireplace and overmantle, moved with it and was incorporated into rooms on the first floor. The wood carving is sometimes claimed to be the work of master carver Grinling Gibbons; highly unlikely. But this is almost certainly the woodwork that witnessed the scene of Samuel Pepys sharing lobsters with the actress, Mrs Knipp, to which he guiltily confessed later in his diary.

There is also a claim that the pub is haunted by the ghost of Oliver Goldsmith, who was buried in the Temple churchyard immediately behind. He, or at least his disembodied head, has appeared in the back alley to terrified barmaids when they are putting out the rubbish at the end of an evening. He reportedly bobs about, smiling, just as amiable and engaging as he was in life!

Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese
Wine Office Court, 145 Fleet Street, London, EC4A 2BU

Quite probably the most famous pub in the City, in London, in England, in the world? So I daren't leave it off the list. Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese can truly justify the 'Ye Olde' in its name. In the middle ages, this was the site of the London palace of the Bishops of Peterborough. An earlier tavern, The Horn, is recorded here in the early 16th century. The current pub was built in 1667 to replace the one lost in the Fire.

The approach is through a narrow alleyway, Wine Office Court, and enter a dark maze of narrow corridors and somewhat treacherous staircases leading to numerous

bars and dining rooms. Immediately to the right of the entrance is a very dark panelled bar with a large open coal fire.

The Chop Room across the hall is reserved for diners, and there are more dining rooms upstairs. High backed benches and small booths create a powerful eighteenth-century atmosphere. A portrait of Samuel Johnson hangs on a far wall; the house where he completed his famous Dictionary in 1755 is just around the corner in Gough Square.

The stairs to the cellar bars are very narrow and awkward but down below is an intriguing sequence of tiny, irregular stone rooms, incorporating cellars and vaults from the medieval, episcopal palace.

The pub is so famous, and so firmly on the tourist trail, that it can feel very cold, commercial and impersonal when it is heaving on a weekday evening. But it is well worth visiting then because that is when the cellars are open. Unusually for the City, the ground floor bars are open weekends. On a cold, wet, winter Sunday afternoon, you can often grab a pint, read your paper and bask by the coal fire in the front bar, with only the barman for company.

In conclusion:

The foregoing is, by no means, intended to be a complete list. And, I'm no expert on beer, so you'll have to test them all for yourself. For a hungry group of friends, I'd recommend Williamson's Tavern. For an intimate tête-à-tête try The Old Bell.

But if you plan to visit any of these pubs, be warned. With the exception Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese, all of these pubs are closed at weekends. They are very busy on weekday evenings when they are full of City suits. But, if you visit in the middle of the afternoon, they are usually peaceful and comfortable: the perfect place to commune with early modern spirits - in more ways than one!

Karen Chester
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FORTHCOMING SOCIETY EVENTS

Events 2007-2008

All events start at 6.30pm, and are followed by refreshments and Questions

- 21st October 2008: Dr Adam Smyth (University of Reading), 'Life-Writing in Early Modern England: the Case of the Almanac', Room TBC.
- 31st October 2008 Film Night: 'The Crucible' starring Daniel Day Lewis and Winola Ryder, Mallet Street, Room B35
- 11th November 2008 - Hazel Forsyth, 'The Cheapside Hoard' Hazel Forsyth (Museum of London), 'Rediscovering The Cheapside Hoard', Clore Building, G01
- 12th December 2008 Antonia Fraser, 'Is Historical Biography Worth It?' followed by Christmas Party – both rooms TBC.
- 16th January 2009 Dr. Mike Smith, 'William Byrd's "Why do I vse my paper incke & pen": a song and its context', Clore Building 101.
- 20th February 2009 - Prof. Susan James, 'Spinoza' (Birkbeck, University of London), 'Spinoza', Clore Building G01.
- 19 March 2009: Professor William Brooks (University of Bath), 'French, German, and Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of Madame Palatine, Sister-in-Law of Louis XIV; or, The Case of the Shat-Upon Carrot', Room TBC.

- 13th May 2009: Dr Roger Mettam, 'Absolute Monarchy and Provincial Identity in Louis XIV's France', Room TBC.
- 24th June 2009: Prof. Peter Burke (Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge), 'The Rhetoric of Autobiography in 17th-century Europe', followed by end of year party, both rooms TBC.

For further information on membership and activities contact the secretary, Laura Jacobs: l.jacobs@english.bbk.ac.uk

Membership is £5 for the year. Non-members may attend events at a cost of £3 each.

Film Night

As a Society we are constantly looking at ways of extending our scope and entertaining our membership, one such innovation is a monthly film night, held on a Friday and shown in one of the lecture theatres at Birkbeck.

Film Night has been running for a few months now and has proved a popular event for our members. Why not come along, see a great film and meet other members. We show a variety of British and foreign films, all dealing with subjects associated with the Early Modern era. Film Night is free to members and we also provide wine and snacks.

For October we will be screening 'The Crucible' starring Daniel Day Lewis and Winola Ryder. This will be shown in Room B35 at Birkbeck College in Mallet Street, London on the 31st October 2008.

For further information on Film Night contact the secretary, Laura Jacobs: l.jacobs@english.bbk.ac.uk



The Birkbeck Early Modern Society



*Life-Writing in
Early Modern England:
The Case of the Almanac*



Dr. Adam Smyth



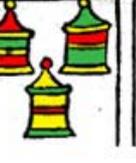
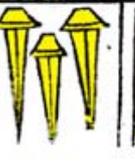
21st October, 2008, 6:30 pm



Malet St. Room B18



Free to members
£3 non-members £5 membership



FORTHCOMING EVENTS

This section concerns those events staged by other societies which we feel might be of interest to our membership.

Society, Culture and Belief, 1400-1800

The programme for the academic year 2008-9 continues our series on *The Senses*, with the theme:

Touch

Convenors: Laura Gowing (KCL), Kate Hodgkin (University of East London), Michael Hunter (Birkbeck), Miri Rubin (Queen Mary), Adam Sutcliffe (KCL).

Seminars will take place in the Ecclesiastical History Room at the Institute of Historical Research on the following Thursdays at 5.30 p.m. All are welcome!

23 October 2008 Mary Kovel (IHR)

Ecclesiastical vestments and the tradition of the untouchable priest in early modern England

6 November 2008 *Dr Jonathan Durrant (University of Glamorgan)*

‘Contaminating to the touch’: the ambiguities of touching taboos in the early modern period

20 November 2008 *Dr Peter Elmer (Open University)*

The politics of touch in 17th-century England

4 December 2008 *Dr Melissa Hollander (Open University)*

Possessions and possessing: The politics of sex and touch in the early modern church courts

22 January 2009 *Dr Alex Cowan (Northumbria University)*

Touching her reputation: marriage, gossip and social networks in early modern Venice

5 February 2009 *Dr Willem de Blécourt (Roehampton)*

Touching witches and the witch's touch

19 February 2009 Professor John Walter (University of Essex)

Gesture and the politics of touch in early modern England

5 March 2009 *Stephen Brogan (Birkbeck)*

The sacred touch: scrofula and the restored Stuarts, 1660-88

19 March 2009 *Dr Lauren Kassell (Pembroke College, Cambridge)*

The magical and medical powers of touch in early modern England

BIRKBECK RESEARCH SEMINARS AUTUMN 2008

30th October 2008 *Francis Bacon and the politics of attribution*
Professor Alan Stewart (Columbia University)

Held at 6pm on alternate **Thursdays** in **UCL Engineering 1.04, Malet Place**

(opposite Waterstone's, along Malet Place, second entrance on the left and up to the first floor)

For further information contact daniel.wilson@history.bbk.ac.uk
<http://www.bbk.ac.uk/hca>

Early Modern Reading Group

Monday 10th November 2008
Room 502, the Tillotson Room, 30 Russell Square.
6.00pm to 7.30pm



This month we will be exploring biographical writings: first we will look at some chapters of Suetonius' colourful biography of the Emperor Nero (Suetonius, *Nero* 26-31), and then we will be reading a couple of John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*: Sir Philip Sidney, and his sister Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke.

Suetonius is available online at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>, Aubrey doesn't seem to be available online but is easy to pick up from any library. Wine will be provided and everyone is welcome. If you have any questions, do email me (Linda Grant) on L.Grant@qmul.ac.uk.

**The Historical Association
Central London Branch**

11th October 2008, Profesor Barry Coward, John Wesley and the Rise of the
“Enthusiastiks”

16th October 2008, Kevin Shaw, Samual Pepys: Upstairs, downstairs in the Age of
Charles II

17th January 2009, Stephen Brogan, A ‘monster of metamorphosis’: reassessing the
Chevalier/Chevaliere d’Eon Affair

**Turmoil and Tranquillity: The Sea Through the Eye of Dutch and
Flemish Masters, 1550-1700**
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London
Telephone 08707804552
Until the 11th January 2009

Featuring seascapes painted during the Dutch Golden Age when the Dutch Republic
became one of Europe’s foremost maritime powers.

The Paradox of Mezzotint
UCL Art Collections, London
Telephone 02076792540
Until the 31st October 2008

Mezzotint is a form of engraving that was developed in the 17th century in Holland
but was most widely used in Britain, reaching its heyday in the late-18th century. The
method was particularly effective in reproducing paintings. This exhibition features
work by some of the most prominent exponents of mezzotint and also explains the
importance to art history of the technique.

BOOK REVIEW

NON-FICTION BOOKS

I hope that many of you will send in your reviews of newly published books and the occasional old book. The only criteria being that it deals with a subject within the Early Modern period, roughly from the Renaissance (the middle of the fifteenth century) through to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and that the book is still in print.

John Croxon

*Stoke Field The Last Battle of The Wars of the Roses by David Baldwin
Pen and Sword Military*

Many people think that Bosworth Field was the last battle of The Wars of the Roses when of course there was one further battle, Stoke Field in 1487. The battle of Stoke was the final and most neglected battle of the dynastic conflict of the late-fifteenth century. It was also one of the great might-have-beens of English history. The battle was fought on Saturday, 16th June 1487 in fields just south of Newark in Nottinghamshire when the forces of Henry VII confronted the Yorkist army of Lambert Simnel and his commander the earl of Lincoln. Less than two years after the defeat of the last Plantagenet King of England, Richard III, at Bosworth, the fate of England again hung in the balance. Henry's victory at Stoke Field would end the dynastic wars and condemn England to over one hundred years of harsh Tudor rule.

One of the reasons that Stoke Field is largely forgotten is of course due to the great Tudor myth of an England saved from tyranny and united under a stable and true monarchy. Stoke gives the lie to this and indeed, Henry Tudor spent his entire reign with his fortune close at hand ready to flee, so frightened was he of being deposed. Stoke may have been the only occasion during Henry's reign when he faced open rebellion by sections of the nobility but there were a number of outbreaks of unrest throughout his reign, and at no time did he ever feel secure upon the throne.

Baldwin's comparison of Stoke with Bosworth is well made. He makes the point that Tudor's invasion in 1485 was a huge gamble that, rationally, was unlikely to succeed. That it did, meant that the invasion that he faced in 1487 took on a major significance. In both battles the rebels made the first move and large elements of the royal army were never engaged. Just like at Bosworth, Henry looked to his own safety, preferring to leave the control of his troops to the earl of Oxford. Here is the major difference, for his rivals, in both battles, more impetuous, lost both their lives and their cause. However, Baldwin makes the point that had Lincoln won, then Bosworth and the Tudor dynasty would have been relegated to a footnote of history, and the House of York would have governed for many more years.

David Baldwin has produced a fascinating and well researched study of the battle and the deep-rooted conflicts of interest that led to it. He combines knowledge of fifteenth-century warfare, the use of foreign mercenaries, a detailed grasp of local topography, rivalry between the nobility, and a clear understanding of the events that led up to the battle. He also interestingly focuses upon Francis, Lord Lovel who, emerges as a man of principle, firmly committed to Richard III and to the wider Yorkist cause.

The book is well written and features drawings, diagrams and photographs. It includes appendices providing lists of those who fought on each side, on Simnel's Irish coinage, and a section on the grave pit unearthed in 1982. David Baldwin writes in an engaging style whilst retaining its academic basis.

John Croxon.

***The Medieval Soldier in the Wars of the Roses by Andrew Boardman,
Sutton Publishing Limited***

In this fascinating study of the dynastic struggles of the late-fifteenth century Andrew Boardman utilises a variety of documentary evidence to answer a range of questions appertaining to the conflict. How did medieval armies line up on the battlefield? What did noble and commoners actually think about killing their fellow Englishmen? How were men recruited? What were they paid? What sort of weapons did they use? What protective clothes did they wear? What tactics were employed on the battlefield?

In this revealing study of the medieval soldier in the Wars of the Roses Boardman addresses these and other issues in an informative and detailed study of those engaged in the conflict. He uses eyewitness accounts of men who fought as captains, archers, artillerymen, billmen, men-at-arms and cavalry, and succeeds in presenting a vivid picture of conflict in the second half of the fifteenth century in all its confusion and violence.

Boardman uses evidence gleaned from the excavations of the mass graves close to the site of the battlefield of Towton to shed new light upon the type of men who fought in the Wars of the Roses. He demonstrates that the age range was greater than most people believe and that medieval surgery was more advanced than many had previously believed, and also, that the common medieval soldier was more valued than previously supposed.

Splitting the topics into different chapters Boardman supplies us with a huge amount of information. In his section on billeting and army camps he reveals that Henry VII's preparations before the battle of Stoke were a complete shambles; the royal army had no idea where the rebel forces were, and overnight encampments had not been arranged, leading to the army wandering about searching for a convenient place to spend the night, Henry's actions in riding in one direction and then the other led to rumours that he had fled leading to a number of the royal army to desertion.

It is though when he concentrates upon the common soldier that Boardman is at his most fascinating. Detailing the different methods of recruitment, the training, the hard campaigning, and the bloody battles, he presents soldiering in all its varied aspects. Military service was not sought out by the common man nor was it in any way heroic, but for the nobility it was exactly the opposite. Retainers and their masters would fight for territorial, political or family reasons, but the common soldier fought for wages, or because he was bound as a tenant to an estate. Men-at-arms were well-trained soldiers who formed the nucleus of armies of levied soldiers who generally had little experience of battles. Common soldiers were tough, resilient individuals who were used to hard manual labour in their everyday lives and therefore able to cope with the rigours of a battle if led properly by their captains. Divisions in recruitment catchment areas made villages, towns, cities and even families take opposing sides. However, the main thing that we take from this book is that despite five hundred and fifty years distance, fifteenth-century man was little different from the man of today, and the strength of this book means that we can well understand the uncertainty and confusion in which the soldiers of the Wars of Roses lived.

John Croxon.

*Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire by Amanda Foreman,
Harper Collins Publishers*

With the almost non-stop publicity for the current film of this book starring Keira Knightly, I thought that it was an apt time to take my copy of Amanda Foreman's biography off the bookshelves and review it for this publication.

The first thing to say is that despite all the hullabaloo, the references to Diana in the PR for the film, and the author posing naked except for a large number of copies of her book strategically placed in front of her, this is a well-researched biography. The book developed from Amanda Foreman's PhD and her growing obsession with her subject.

Georgiana Spencer became Duchess of Devonshire in 1774 and proceeded to become the undisputed queen of fashionable society. She was also an influential figure in the Whig party; a great fund-raiser, she spoke at election rallies, organized social events, and recruited new blood into the party and stem desertions. She was also one of the first to refine political messages for mass communication. All this though belied a personal life of domestic sadness and disappointment. Despite being adored by the public she was incapable of satisfying her husband who preferred her best friend. She also had a gambling addiction that brought insurmountable debts and ignominy.

This is a wonderfully written account of an intelligent person who was one of the most fascinating women of her age. An accomplished biography, diligently researched and entertainingly presented, providing fascinating detail with a serious scholarly research. This book describes not just Georgiana's life but demonstrates how aristocratic women could play a significant role in eighteenth-century political life.

John Croxon

FICTION BOOKS

The criteria for fiction books is the same as that for non-fiction book reviews; that it deals with a subject within the Early Modern period, roughly from the Renaissance (the middle of the fifteenth century) through to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and that the book is still in print.

John Croxon

Revelation by C J Sansom
Published by Macmillian

This is the fourth novel featuring the hunchback sixteenth-century lawyer Matthew Shardlake. The previous three books in the series have been masterly and I have no hesitation in stating that *Revelation* continues in the high standard.

It is Spring 1543 and King Henry VIII is wooing the recently widowed Catherine Parr whom he wants for his sixth wife. Archbishop Cranmer and the embattled protestant faction at court are keen for this marriage to take place as Catherine Parr is known to possess reformist sympathies. Simultaneously, the Catholic Bishop Bonner moved against radicals in London.

Meanwhile, Matthew Shardlake is representing a young man, Adam Kite, who has been placed in the Bedlam lunatic hospital amidst fears that his religious mania could see him burnt as a heretic.

Shardlake is then horrified when his old friend Roger Elliard is brutally murdered and his promise to his widow that he will find the killer brings him once more into the services of Cranmer and into the duplicitous and dangerous world of Tudor politics. With the help of his assistant Jack Barak and his friend the physician Guy Malton, Shardlake uncovers a series of horrific murders by a deranged killer, restaging each of the dark prophecies of the Book of Revelation. This biblically inspired psychopath is just the extreme of the wider religious hysteria produced by Henry's unfinished break with Rome. Sansom depicts London as a city overrun with religious fanatics and a frightened populace.

This is a wonderful novel, written with great skill and displays a strong sense of historical authenticity. A compulsive and gripping read that grabs you, pulls you through the dramatic twists and turns of Shardlake's investigation, and envelops you in Henry's miserable kingdom. Historical detective novels do not get any better than this.

John Croxon

THE AUTUMN QUIZ

1. The 1st August 1798 saw the start of which naval engagement?
2. Which famous cartographer, explorer and navigator was born in Marton, Yorkshire in 1728?
3. Which Elizabethan statesman died, aged 77, in 1598?
4. Which writer, journalist, satirist and reformer was born in Farnham, Surrey in 1796?
5. Who wrote *Toxophilus*, a treatise on archery in 1544?
6. Who was governor of the Bastille at the time of the French Revolution?
7. Which admiral died when HMS Association sunk off the Scillies in 1707?
8. In which battle, fought on the 21st August 1808, did Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the duke of Wellington) defeat the French?
9. Who was executed at Westminster on the 29th August 1618?
10. What was finally finished on the 26th October 1708?
11. Where, on the 18th September 1644, did parliamentary troops defeat a royalist force in one of the largest battle ever fought in Wales?
12. Who was born in Somerby, Leicestershire in 1688, and was the author of *Osteographia or the Anatomy of Bones*?
13. Which Dutch artist painted 'The procuress' in 1656?
14. Which statesman died on the 23rd January 1806, aged forty-six?
15. Which famous society hostess and influential figure in the Whig party died on the 30th March 1806?
16. Which financial institution was founded by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1565?
17. Which battle was fought on the 15th May 1464?
18. Whose state funeral took place on the 23rd November 1658?
19. Who landed unopposed at Brixham in Devon on the 5th November 1688?
20. What was unique about the Delft Bible published in 1477?

Answers on the following page

ANSWERS TO THE AUTUMN QUIZ

1. The Battle of the Nile
2. Captain James Cook
3. William Cecil, Lord Burghley
4. William Cobbett
5. Roger Ascham
6. Bernard de Launay
7. Sir Cloudesley Shovell
8. Vimeiro, Portugal
9. Sir Walter Raleigh
10. The final stone of the lantern on the dome of St Paul's Cathedral was put in place
11. Montgomery, Wales
12. William Cheselden
13. Johannes Vermeer
14. William Pitt (the Younger)
15. Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire
16. The Royal Exchange
17. The Battle of Hexham
18. Oliver Cromwell
19. William of Orange
20. It was the first book published in Dutch

THE BIRKBECK EARLY MODERN SOCIETY

FOUNDED 2006

This society was founded in the belief that more study, discussion and interest in the Early Modern period is required. The society aims to promote, encourage and stimulate new research and discussion into a wide range of themes, including art and images, consumption, gender roles, literature, magic, politics, religion, science, music, sexuality and, travel and exploration.

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